

ანთროპოლოგიური კვლევანი
Anthropological Researches



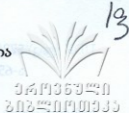
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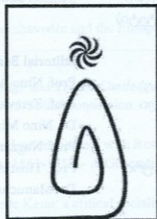


ანთროპოლოგიური კვლევანი
Anthropological Researches

II

Introduction to European Encounters with Georgia in past and present

Françoise Companjen, guest editor



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Association of Georgian Anthropologists

საქართველოს ანთროპოლოგთა ასოციაციის კრებულის სპეციალური გამოშვება განკუთვნილი სპეციალისტთა და დაინტერესებული საზოგადოების ფართე წრისთვის.

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The Guest Editor of the volume:
Dr. Françoise Companjen
(Amsterdam VU University)

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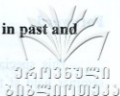


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Foreword



This special volume of *Anthropological Researches* is a product of a seminar held at the VU University Amsterdam in April 2010 conceived and organized by undersigned with moral support by Prof dr Michael Kemper. Caucasus Interconnect funded the seminar. The theme “European encounters with Georgia in past and present” has an interdisciplinary character. One gets to know Georgia’s history through encounters of scholars, tradesmen and travellers with Georgia and Georgians between 17th-21st centuries framed in an anthropological-intercultural perspective. In keeping with the central theme of this volume, the contributions refer at one point to the motivation to travel, the kind of encounter, imagery and stereotypes, and to the possible impact of the encounter.

The readers we have in mind vary from anthropologists, orientalist, communication scholars, to civil servants working at various foreign office desks dealing with Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus, developing policy for Eastern Partnership countries including Georgia. But scholars, travellers and visitors of the Tbilisi based French cultural centre Alexandre Dumas, the Goethe institute and the British Council, will find this volume useful for a deeper understanding of European-Georgian encounters and vice versa.

My special thanks go to Prof dr Ketevan Khutsishvili for her long lasting friendship and for inviting me as a guest editor of *Anthropological Researches*.

Françoise Companjen

The Hague, September 2014, FJC



წინასიტყვაობა

ჟურნალ *ანთროპოლოგიური კვლევების* სპეციალურ გამოშვებას 2010 წლის აპრილში ამსტერდამის უნივერსიტეტში პროფესორ, დოქტორ მიხაელ კემპერის მორალური მარდაჭერით ჩატარებული სემინარის შედეგს წარმოადგენს. სემინარის ფინანსური მხარდაჭერი იყო Caucasus Interconnect. სათაური „ქართულ-ევროპული ურთიერთობები წარსულში და აწმყოში“ კრებულის ინტერდისციპლინურ ხასიათს უსვამს ხაზს. კრებულში წარმოდგენილ სტატიებში ანთროპოლოგიურ-ინტერკულტურული პერსპექტივითაა გაანალიზებული 17-21 საუკუნეების ევროპელ მეცნიერთა, ვაჭართა, მოგზაურთა შეხედულებები საქართველოს შესახებ. კრებულის ძირითადი ჩარჩოს შესაბამისად ავტორები განიხილავენ ევროპელთა საქართველოში მოგზაურობის მოტივებს, ურთიერთობის სახეებს, წარმოდგენებსა და სტერეოტიპებს, ასევე ევროპულ-ქართულ ურთიერთგავლენებს.

კრებული განკუთვნილია ანთროპოლოგთა, აღმოსავლეთმცოდნეთა, კომუნიკაციის მკვლევართა ფართე წრისთვის, ასევე აღმოსავლეთ ევროპისა და კავკასიის საკითხებით დაკავებულ საერთაშორისო ორგანიზაციებში მომუშავე იმ სამოქალაქო მოხელეთა წრისთვის, რომლებიც წარმართავენ აღმოსავლეთ პარტნიორობის ქვეყნებთან, მათ შორის საქართველოსთან ურთიერთობის პოლიტიკას. ამას გარდა, კრებული საინტერესო იქნება მკვლევართა, მოგზაურთა და თბილისში არსებული ცენტრების ისეთის როგორიცაა ალექსანდრე დიუმას ფრანგული კულტურული ცენტრი, გოეთეს ინსტიტუტი, ბრიტანული საბჭოები, თანამშრომელთათვის. ვიმედოვნებთ, კრებული გარკვეულ წვლილს შეიტანს ქართულ-ევროპული ურთიერთობების უკეთ წარმოჩენის საქმეში.

განსაკუთრებული მადლობა პროფ. ქეთევან ხუციშვილს ხანგრძლივი მეგობრობისა და კრებულის სპეციალური გამოშვების რედაქტორად მოწვევისთვის.

ფრანცუაზ კოპანიენი, ჰააგა, 2014 სექტემბერი

European Encounters with Georgia in past and present.

Introduction¹

The term encounters is used in various ways in various disciplines but it is most frequently to be found in history and linguistics. It especially thrives in work on missionary and colonial relations (Bitterli 1986, Hulme 1986, Mason 1990, Lightfoot 2006). More recently it has been included in works on the conceptualization of globalisation (Trouillot 2001) and in travel and tourism (Chambers 2010, Crouch *et al.* 2011). In Dutch (*de ontmoeting*) and French (*la rencontre*) it is used in discussions of pedagogical intercultural communication (Bos 1980, Melloukki 2004). The term encounter is also used metaphorically, for instance, when people meet ideas through texts. Finally, it is also applied abstractly to descriptions of encounters within texts, and for the comparison of these accounts with other representations. In other words, a more recent trend is to compare two perspectives, for example, the colonial representation with that of the indigenous population. Such a use allows the creation of a larger, inter-subjective textual body from which the colonial discourse or ways of 'othering' can be recognized (Hulme 1986). In a negative sense, encounters is resorted to when cultures collide (Bitterli 1986) or for when cultures clash (Huntington 2000), a use which in both cases is a reification. Ultimately it is a person be they researcher, diplomat, tourist, civil servant, who travels, meets, learns (or not), even if the professional, human experience is mediated through treaties and the transfer of policy.

This volume focuses on the encounters in past and present described by various travellers to and from Georgia in the context of Europe at large. The character of the volume is interdisciplinary. The first question which needs to be posed is what do we mean by encounters? An encounter, or cultural contact, is 'an initial, short-lived or intermittent encounter between a group of Europeans and members of a non-European culture' (Bitterli, 1986:20). In his work he compares encounters with pre-industrial, non-Europeans to European discourses on these people. Bitterli's great service is that his approach transforms colonial history into cultural history (Preachly 1991). But in this approach lurk two problems for our volume: the encounters we are dealing with take place within larger Europe (different space) and cover a wider time frame, spanning both the pre-industrial and the industrial era (longer time span).

Therefore our theoretical challenge is how to embed 'our' encounters in time and space? The solution is to adopt a diachronic frame, since the contributions cover various centuries up to present. The second challenge is to frame our

¹ With many thanks for suggestions received from both Abel Polese and Licinia Simao on a much earlier version of this introduction.

encounters allowing some flexibility in terms of space and borders. The goal is to revise the existing classification of encounters. Is Bitterli's categorization still adequate and, should this not be the case, in what way could it be refined on the basis of our contributions on encounters with Georgia in past and present?

Encounters

In his original title the Swiss professor Urs Bitterli (1986), who is known for theorizing on encounters, refers to *Kulturkontakt* in terms of: *Alte Welt, neue Welt : Formen des europaisch-überseeischen Kulturkontakts 1492-1800*. This has been translated as *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*, thereby framing encounters in conflict. The original German title is a more accurate reflection of what his oeuvre is about, namely describing a phenomenology of encounters and creating a theoretical typology.

On the basis of past explorations and conquests throughout the world, varying from Captain Cook in Australia to the Spanish Conquistadores in Latin America, Bitterli breaks encounters down into three major groups: contacts, collisions and relationships. To grapple with the mixed-race, post-colonial societies which emerged in the nineteenth and twentieth century it is essential to add a fourth category, that of intermingling. This will give us: 1) the fleeting and *superficial* contact as in the early relations between Europe and China; 2) the *collision*, in which the weaker partner needed to assimilate or be swept away, as in the Spanish Conquest of the West Indies and Mexico; in the worst case: ethnic cleansing or genocide; 3) the more *sustained* relationship: trade and missionary work among the North American Indians – ethnocentric enterprises. However as Bitterli argues (Bitterli 1986:19-20) his typology is intended to be applied to pre-industrial times only. As just stated to cover the post-colonial period a fourth category has to be added, namely: the 4) cultural *intermingling* (Bitterli 1986: 20). He goes to some lengths to stress that his typology is an ideal type and 'that contact between cultures may lead to a relationship between them, but need not; a relationship can dwindle into mere contact; collision is not the inevitable outcome and need not mean the end of contact between cultures' (1986:20). Considering collisions Bitterli concludes, 'there are two main reasons for conflict: either the members of the alien culture sensed a threat to their property and their accustomed way of life; or they had ceased to respect and trust the Europeans' (1986:29-30).

The typology is relevant for this volume in which we have analysed tourist, diplomatic, scholarly and commercial visits to Georgia as well as modern policy transfer in EU-partnership relations. Our approach differs from Bitterli's in that the encounters included in this volume have taken place within a larger Europe up to modern times, instead of being encounters with non-Europeans in pre-industrial times. Our first step is to adopt his categorization

with gratitude, and then to try to refine other possible distinctions from this point. Bitterli focuses on encounters between *cultures*. We prefer an actor perspective because the original sources allow us to describe encounters between *people* of flesh and blood. Stressing encounters between people instead of between cultures facilitates the introduction of the concept of the stranger, being simultaneously 'near yet far' (Simmel 1908/1950, Gudykunst and Kim 2003). With the expansion of the EU towards the Black Sea countries (Romania and Bulgaria) and the inception of its Eastern Partnership relations with such countries as the Ukraine, Moldavia and the three South Caucasus countries, Georgia is connected with Europe through its Black Sea border. Although it is undeniably geographically connected, from a centralised Brussels perspective Georgia lies on the edge of Europe.

Superficial contacts, claims Bitterli, are characterised by rudimentary forms of communication: sign language, pantomime, exchange of presents (1986: 21) 'The Europeans were astonished to learn how easily the language of expression and gesture could overcome cultural barriers ...' (1986: 28). Since we remain within Europe at large and within a more recent time frame than that of Bitterli, we have more refined communication styles at our disposal. Some authors (for example, Simmel 1908/1950, Buber 1923/1937, Rahim 1983, Nadler & Nadler 1985) have operationalised communication (encounters) in terms of various crossings-over between the self and the other, analysing communication from a possibly existential point of view (Buber) or more instrumentally as different styles (Rahim). Buber distinguishes the ideal types monologue (I-it) and dialogue (I-thou), reserving the latter for real connection between humans while also acknowledging that everyday communication entails managing the tension between the two. The differentiations named by Rahim are: obliging in superficial encounters; dominating or avoiding style of communication when clashes are involved. Sustained contact generally leads to a compromising or an integrating style of communication. In this we can already see similarities between Bitterli's fleeting contacts and obliging communication, the dominating style when on a collision course, the compromising style for the sustained encounter and the integrating style for the category of intermingling.

Bitterli's Categories of Encounter	Rahim/Nadler Communication style		
fleeting	obliging		
collision	dominating	avoiding	
sustained	compromising		
intermingling	integrating		

Table 1: Comparing Bitterli's categories with communication style by Rahim and Nadler

Even from this quick scan comparing Bitterli's categories of encounters with the communication styles, we can see that the typology could be theoretically extended by a category of avoiding – the consciously chosen non-encounter in the pre-liminal phase, even before the separation has begun. Both the static categorization of encounters and the static typology of communication styles require embedding in a concept which emanates from the dynamic process of travelling, of meeting the other. The concepts of both globalisation and rites of passage can offer this, as we explain in the next section.

Globalisation and the liminal

The most salient characteristic of globalisation is some form of either compression (Robertson 1992), integration (Williamson 1996) or intensification (Giddens 1991, Kearny 1995) of world-wide relations and inter-linkages through time.² Some authors argue that the process began with the opening of the Silk Road from China to Europe. Others point to the great explorers creating new trade routes overseas through such 'multinational trading companies' as the Dutch West India Company (WIC) and the Dutch East India Company (VOC). In short, globalisation has provided a frame for travel, exchange and encounters down the centuries. The concept of globalisation provides a diachronic framework for people moving, exploring, trading merchandise and sharing or imposing ideologies. David Held (1999) postulates that globalisation is characterised by extensity (accessibility of the whole globe), intensity (change of societal arrangement from planned to free market economy), velocity (speeding up the process) and impact on various spheres of life (language, lifestyle). Recently globalisation has been intensified by the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the enlargement of the EU. The consequent opening of previously closed societies has encouraged entrepreneurs from all parts of the world to travel to this region in search of new investment opportunities. Indubitably the process has been speeded up and sustained by the revolutionary development of Information Technology (the Internet, GSM, GPS and similar tools), but the transition has also been slowed down as the Newly Independent States have had to struggle with the consequences of the Soviet legacy. One of the principle obstructions with which they have had to contend has been the way territory was legally organized into Soviet Socialist Republics (SSR), Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics (ASSR) and Autonomous Oblasts (AO). Today this geo-political legacy is still a source of conflict as some of

² The body of literature on globalisation is huge, throwing up theoretical, political and economic debates which contradict each other (integration-disintegration, transformation, conflict, normative discussions on neo-liberalism versus the third way and a labour market approach). For the purpose of this Introduction some generally accepted characteristics will do to hook up with the concepts of "encounters" and with "liminality".

these smaller entities struggle to claim independence from the former SSRs (the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia).

Delving back into history, nobody could deny that the ancient Silk Road stretching over 6,500 kilometres and uniting the Caucasus to Europe was a tremendous boost to the development of trade. This trade began somewhere between 206 BC – AD 220 and limped towards its end around 1453, with the fall of Constantinople. Held (1999:22) has coined a name for this type of development: *thin globalisation* as opposed to *thick globalisation*, because although the enormous distance (extensity Held calls it) of the trade circuit was undeniably present, the intensity, velocity and impact of the trade on everyday lives was low. In other words, of the four characteristics laid down by globalisation theory, only one of the four – the vast distance bridged between China and Europe – was met, justifying the term *thin*. Along with merchandise, technology and even diseases such as the Plague, Christianity was propagated along part of this route.³ The great explorers of the fifteenth to seventeenth century can also be said to have constituted thin globalisation. The seventeenth-century Dutch East India Company (VOC) was very interested in finding a new route overland to India and China, potentially through Russia and the Caucasus. This was one of the most potent motives for various Dutchmen and Englishmen to travel to the land of the ‘Tatars’ as people from this region were referred to. In Bitterli’s terms, the encounters in thin globalisation were generally fleeting and superficial.

The very distinction between thin and thick globalisation creates a historical time-frame placing the travels to and from and through Georgia from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century on a continuum. Initially these travels were part of thin globalisation but became part of thick globalisation with development of a free market economy and the institutionalization of democracy, harmonization with European institutions, policy transfer and other repercussions after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In Bitterli’s terms, this intensification in thick globalisation was inexorably linked to the outermost extremes of either conflicts or sustained relationships. Paradoxically, conflicts can be a reason to develop sustained peace-keeping relationships.

Travelling generally entails crossing borders, whether they be geographical, legal or cultural. The crossing of borders is closely linked to both globalisation and to another concept: ‘rites of passage’, a term coined by Arnold van Gennep.⁴ Such a rite entails a formalised separation (the pre-liminal)

³ In *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, the Georgian “sacred book” (Lordkipanidze 1994:3) direct contact between Georgia and Jerusalem is mentioned embedded in the travels of two Georgian Jews.

⁴ Van Gennep inspired many with his work, even if he did not always receive the recognition he deserved. See Introduction by S. Kimball to the English translation of *Les Rites de Passage* published in 1960; See also Nicole Belmont (1974) *Arnold van*

incurred when crossing the first border, transition (the liminal) and (re-)incorporation (post-liminal)⁵ crossing either into a new local community or returning home. During the phase of transition travellers find themselves in an ambiguous space, “the liminal” (Van Gennep 1908), in the “between and between” (Turner 1967) or in a “new contact zone” (Pratt 1991). This in-between-ness can refer to the space between people, coming close to the meaning of encounters, or can refer to geographical space, to border areas and disputed territories. For example, in contrast to the legally defined term European Union (EU), geographically and culturally speaking towards its eastern fringes there is some ambiguity about where Europe ends as a region. Cultural and historical borders can be either larger or more confined than the present legal borders of a country. Cultural borders can even be abstracted into ‘borders’ between generations,⁶ a form used in Chapter 6 (Reisner). It is this liminality which also allows some flexibility in the contributions, for example, on one occasion (Chapter 9, Jansen) taking a peek northwards through the Daryal Gorge, the pass through the Caucasus Mountains linking the Georgian Military Highway to the North Ossetian road to Vladikavkaz and Ingushetia. This road has been described by many travellers and novelists from Tolstoy to Lermontov to Dumas, *père*, to Prince Ilia Chavchavadze in his *Traveller's Notes*, since it is a major artery through the mountains to and from Georgia.

Travelling used to be a perilous undertaking. As various contributions show, being detained or arrested in a city such as Constantinople was part of the risk run by travellers as shown in the contributions on S. Orbeliani and O. Keun. Dumas, *père*, opens his volume on the Caucasus with the Shamyk taking Prince Orbeliani⁷ prisoner, in the hope of exchanging him for his son who had apparently had been captured and taken to the court of Tsar Nicolas in St Petersburg (Dumas, Volume III 5-24). Much later, during the Menshevik period in Georgia, Keun refers to bandits: ‘Telav was not very safe: bandits were always making their appearance and the militia had all they could do to keep order. The little inn where we lodged was quite undefended.’ (Keun 1924: 151-152). Nevertheless, she personally had no qualms about having a peasant’s horse high handedly taken from them when she needed a new mount.

In his discussion of liminality, Turner notes that those who pass through a liminal phase must be initiated back into society, but as changed, more

Gennep The Creator of French Ethnography. London/Chicago: University of Chicago Press and cf. Bjørn Thomassen in Anthropology and social theory renewing dialogue.

⁵ This is the terminology used in the 1960 translated edition of *Les Rites de Passage*. In French Van Gennep used the terms “séparation, marge, agrégation”. Other English language publications refer to separation, marginality and aggregation.

⁶ See Mannheim 1928, Berger and Luckmann 1966.

⁷ Dumas (1859:7) refers to “Le Prince Ellico Orbeliani” which may be confusing in view of Ellico also being a girl’s name, therefore I simply refer to Prince Orbeliani.

knowledgeable individuals (Turner and Turner 1982), whereas the surrounding local people are framed as unchanged. In reality, as we can see in a number of the contributions, the encounter can change both parties, either in terms of raised consciousness, memories and images in the mind or in vocabulary leading to the incorporation of new words into one's language. Here again some refinement is required in the context of people learning and changing through encounters, we need to distinguish between a *private* and *public* spheres of encounter.

At this stage in which so few private diaries are yet available, it is difficult to reconstruct change and learning in the private space. However, in public space, we find a perfect example of learning in the situation of Prince Ilia Chavchavadze, the leader of a group of students which studied in St Petersburg in the 1860s and subsequently returned to Georgia with an altered mindset. These students were referred to as the *tergdaleulebi*, literally "those who drank from the river Terek". This river came to symbolise a cultural border. Those who crossed it northwards separated themselves from the homeland to enter the liminal space of education in St Petersburg, and indeed as Turner and Turner (1982) claim, later re-entered their local Georgian community 'changed' and 'more knowledgeable' after their studies; a classic rite of passage. It is no exaggeration to say that a new generation of leaders emerged thanks to this education.⁸

The 1860s were also the time of a heated debate about slavery and serfdom in Russia and its satellites. The law abolishing slavery,⁹ which had an impact changing relations in society, was passed in 1864. In the maelstrom of this general intellectual turmoil, the newly educated Georgian generation in St Petersburg became a vehicle for encouraging the development of a Georgian national identity separate from the Russian Empire. Therefore an essential criterion we must bear in mind in any attempt to analyse the contributions is **impact**, mainly in the **public space**. One thing which we can be sure of however is that both the traveller and the locals will at some point and in some form have had memories and images engrained in their consciousness.

Imagery: the Other, the Self

We all construct both sameness and difference through images, imagined or not. *Imagery* or *imagology*,¹⁰ the (collective) creation of an image of the

⁸ The same applies to Azerbaijan: 'Russian education also led to the emergence of an Azerbaijani 'intelligentsia' who had received a Russian version of European style education.' B. Schaffer (2002). *Borders and Brethren. Iran and the Challenge of Azerbaijani Identity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

⁹ This law was compensated by economic exploitation rights, which laid heavy "temporal obligations" on the peasants until the beginning of the 20th century. See Chapter 6.

¹⁰ See Beller, Manfred and Joep Leerssen, eds (2007). *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A Critical Survey*.

other, is a process which takes place in self-other relational structures, precisely what happens during encounters. Mitchell (1986:10) has divided *image* into five semantic categories: 'graphic (pictures, statues, and designs); optical (mirrors, projections); perceptual (sense data, "species", and appearances); the mental (dreams, memories, ideas, phantasmata), and the verbal (metaphors, descriptions)'.¹¹ In this volume, graphic images are literally involved when we think of the maps of East and West Tartary Witsen drew; the early explorers (Dutch, Germans, Georgians) were driven by an enormous passion for describing and categorizing the flora, fauna, ethnic details and languages (the dictionaries by Witsen and Orbeliani and Teimuraz). But we can also think of the more graphic descriptions and categorizations of Asian and European clothing and other culture traits noted by French visitors, not to mention the personal memories recounted in toasts and diaries, all of which are recalled in various contributions of this volume.

On a theoretical level, talking about different images of each other assumes an underlying similarity of some sort. If this were not present, we could not communicate about the differences. Its presence presumes a larger common understanding, a larger shared image. For example, Husserl argues that imagery implies a form of similarity: 'Abbildlichkeit setzt selbstverständlich Ähnlichkeit voraus' (Husserl 1980: 138.8; Peters 1996:46). On a practical level, however, not only do differences in perception and imagery occur during encounters, sometimes reinforcing a personal identity, the specific perception of the other simultaneously affects the image of one's self. There is a connection between one's personal image, and one's interpretation of the other and one's world view (*Weltanschauung*: 'cultural system of meanings').¹² Change one of these aspects and a change will automatically occur in the other two related aspects as well. For instance, were Georgia to change its orientation from Russia to Western Europe, or vice-versa, this alteration has to be understood in the context of one's geo-political world view, one's self-image (South Caucasus, Black Sea, Ancient Europe, Eastern Europe, Europe) and the interpretation such other actors as Russia, Turkey, the USA, NATO and the EU.

When we meet strangers or arrive in unknown places, images and stereotypes of the other form some kind of compass by which to orient ourselves and find our way. The possible **stereotypes** expressed in the contributions

Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi. Beller on Perception, image and imagology p. 3-17; and Leerssen on Imagology: History and Method pp 17-33.

¹¹ Mitchell, W.J. Tomas (1986), *Iconology: Image, text, ideology*. Chicago: MI. For those who read Dutch see Jan Marie Peters (1996) *Het beeld. Bouwstenen voor een algemene iconologie*. Antwerpen-Baarn: Hadewijch.

¹² D'Andrade, R. (1984) 'Culture Meaning Systems' in: Shweder and Le Vine (eds) *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

constitute the fourth and last point in the analytical framework. The point about stereotypes of course is that the image and related beliefs embody some generalizing quality towards a whole group, whereas the images might or might not accurately reflect reality. Oliver Wardrop gives us a nice example of the discrepancy between written image and reality: ‘... the most interesting book we had was Lamartine’s *Voyage en Orient*, and we had read the long description of Baalbek over and over again, until we almost knew it by heart. Need I say that the reality disappointed us?’ (O. Wardrop 1888 – reprint 1977: vi).

Another problem with stereotypes lies in the fact that the images portrayed contradict each other. Nicolaes Witsen believed Georgians to be ‘talkative and trustful’. Since it is doubtful whether he ever set foot in Georgia, this image is probably based on his relationship in Amsterdam and St Petersburg with the two Georgians he knew best: Prince Alexander Bagration and his father, King Erekle II, and what *they* told him about Georgians. On another occasion, however, he describes Georgians as ‘hot-tempered, that they sometimes drink too much and do not always manage to comply with the rules of their faith’. This does prompt one to wonder on which experience this impression was based and whether he is not inadvertently describing the Dutch!

Finally a problem with projecting images on a whole group or nation is one of borders. The concept Georgian can easily be deconstructed into Svanetian, Mingrelian or Kakhetian, in which each province has its own stereotype appended to it. The book on the Caucasus mountain regions is rather crude and shocking in its “othering” of villagers. Men of Svaneti are referred to as being possessed of an “uncouth ferocity” and the women stigmatised as “uniformly ugly”. The children fare even worse: they were: “...wild-looking ragamuffins, with matted locks, and ran about half-naked, clad in one tattered garment of old cloth or sacking; some of the girls had the most savage faces, more like brute animals than human beings.” (Freshfield 1869: p. 300-1).¹³ Later mountaineers modified these descriptions a little, leaving out the adjective brute (Salkeld & Bermúdez (1993:10-11). However, in their report on the Mingrelians suddenly the women, “Mingrelian belles” are praised as “a handsome race” (1869: 89). Importantly the full quote reveals the ethno- and viri-centricity of the male observers: “The women show their half-civilisation by the harsh mixture of colours in their dress. They are distinctly a handsome race, with fine eyes and good complexions; but after the bloom of youth has passed, their features sharpen, and assume a shrewish air, which bodes ill for the peace of their husbands” (1869: 89). This image is more than a description. An interpretation, even a discourse is involved here as in the ‘poor husbands whose peace is disturbed by a shrewish air of their wives’, and in the plural of course!

¹³ David Lang (1966:97) describes Caucasus mountain clans as ‘men of wild and savage appearance’, reiterating this image from *The Life of St Nino*. (M and O Wardrop 1900 Clarendon Press)

In a nutshell, recourse to stereotypes runs into the problems of group borders (to whom does the image apply and to whom not, deconstruction of a national identity into smaller groups) and one encounters the problem of images contradicting each other within a group.

Various contributions convey the image that Georgians waged a permanent battle against the Muslims in dedicated defence of their Christian faith. This we recognize as a discourse which existed from the Middle Ages up into part of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century – in any case from a French perspective – the discourse that Europe could rely on Georgia in the combat against the Persian and Ottoman Muslim worlds had dissipated. The new image which emerged to replace it was of Georgia as a bridge to the East. Interestingly precisely that mixture of Asian and European traits which justifies the term Eurasian was being introduced by certain authors (Trézel 1809), distinguishing the markets and *caravanserais* as an oriental aspect found among the otherwise European morals and manners of the Georgians. Other authors express regret that traditional costumes were being exchanged for European clothes. Still others stress the value of Georgia as the cross-roads of several trade routes, hence offering great commercial opportunities. In these changes in the interpretation of Georgia (from Christian to commercially interesting), we can perceive the relationship between people's (economic or political) interests and their perceptions.

So far, we have introduced two theoretical questions and four analytical questions. The two theoretical questions are: how to constitute a framework for the various encounters and whether the categories as developed by Bitterli are adequate. The four points of analysis are:

1. The type of encounter;
2. Motivation to initiate the voyage and encounter;
3. The possible impact of the encounter;
4. The possible stereotypes and images expressed.

Relevance of Georgia. Georgia in Europe or Europe in Georgia?

Earlier studies of the phenomenon of encounters (Bitterli 1986) have skipped the South Caucasus region. Although many interesting travel accounts, translations and newspaper articles have been published during the past few centuries by foreign scholars, diplomats and merchants who have visited Georgia and reciprocally by Georgian scholars and diplomats visiting various capitals of Europe, these documents do not appear to have been incorporated into more general works on intercultural encounters. Indubitably part of the reason for this omission is the fact that during the past couple of hundred years the Caucasus region was part of the Russian Empire. Later the incorporation into the Soviet Union severely limited its accessibility. Now after two and a half decades of independence from the Soviet Union as it is part of the EU

Neighbourhood Policy (the Eastern Partnership at present) the time seems ripe to explore a selection of the many documents available. European policy makers have developed the Eastern Partnership to create a venue for discussion on economic development, trade and travel agreements.¹⁴ The signing of papers at the Vilnius Summit in November 2013 as a first step towards membership of the EU justifies a publication on encounters in the region as an initial attempt to gain a better understanding of Euro-Georgian relations in past and present.

As a Black Sea¹⁵ neighbour, the South Caucasus *region* is near, yet it is still far away lying at the periphery of Europe. In literature we can find authors who frame Georgia as far, on the edge¹⁶ of Europe, or as near: 'There is no reason why Georgia should not become as popular a resort as Norway or Switzerland. It is not so far away as people imagine – you can go from London to Tiflis, overland, in a week; ...' (Wardrop 1888 – reprint 1977: vii).¹⁷ Goffman (1959:109) argues that a *region* is 'any place bounded to some degree by barriers to perception', a definition which can be applied to geography as well as to cultural behaviour, which is why we sometimes deal with geographical and at other times with cultural borders.

Depending on an author's perspective and social or political position, the region of which Georgia is part is viewed differently. Taking EU relations within larger Europe as an illustration, it is important to recognize that from a Western point of view Russia is Slavic and part of Eastern Europe. The South Caucasus is sometimes included in Eastern Europe, on other occasions it is classified as Eurasian with influences from the Persian and Ottoman Empires. From a South Caucasus perspective, Russia is perceived to be a colonizing force but also as a European, industrializing and modernizing force. The ideas of the Enlightenment considered an important vehicle of modernization reached the South Caucasus preponderantly through those who had received a Russian version of European education in St Petersburg. This "intelligentsia" returned to Georgia full of new ideas. Prominent Georgians, among them the wine magnate Prince Alexandre Chavchavadze (1786-1846) born in St Petersburg, and Prince Ilia Chavchavadze (1837-1907) born in Georgia but who studied in St

¹⁴ Initiated by Poland, it was presented by the foreign minister of Poland and Sweden at the EU General Affairs and External Relations Council in Brussels on 26 May 2008. The Eastern Partnership was inaugurated by the EU in Prague on May 7, 2009. Korosteleva, E.A., Natorski, M. and Simao, L. (eds), (2013), *East European Politics* Volume 29 number 3. Routledge.

¹⁵ With the addition of Eastern European countries to the EU, it has become a Black Sea power sharing a coastline with Georgia. In search of reinventing itself, the "Black Sea identity" has been introduced as a possibility in public discourse.

¹⁶ The book *On the Edge of Europe. Mountaineering in the Caucasus* (1993) by Audrey Salkeld & Josë Luis Bermúdez, London: Hodder & Staughton, frames Georgia at the periphery of Europe.

¹⁷ Nowadays a direct flight Brussels-Tbilisi takes about 4 h 20 minutes.

Petersburg, explained the ideas of the Enlightenment and modernity to a larger Georgian public. The former through literary salons in which the works of French and British authors were discussed after he moved to Tbilisi; the latter through the Georgian newspapers he established.

Depending on whom you ask, Georgians in the South Caucasus perceive themselves sometimes as Asian, sometimes as Eurasian, and, after the Rose Revolution (November 2003), more often as European. In practice, what "European" means in terms of politics (endless discussions, years of decision making), the rule of law institutionalised in details of daily life is still poorly understood in the Newly Independent States. The image of the West is often idealised and associated with prosperity. Conversely, it is difficult for the young generation in north-western Europe to imagine what it means to emerge from the construct of the former Soviet Union. Hence the challenges people from the Newly Independent States have to deal with, are not well understood.

Moreover, although the three South Caucasus countries do share a common history, as time goes by in the post-Soviet era, the inherent differences between the three countries are steadily manifesting themselves to a larger degree both economically and geopolitically. Whereas Armenia has tightened its relations with the Russian Federation, Georgia tussled with tense relations with the Russian Federation and made a clear choice for the EU and NATO. Thanks to its oil and concomitant economic prosperity, Azerbaijan can maintain an independent position from both the EU and the Russian Federation.

This Volume

The first contribution by Givi Taktakishvili (Chapter One) is on Nicolaes Witsen (1641-1717) and Soukhvan Orbeliani (1658-1725). Both were extremely versatile and talented men. Both at one point or another played the role of cultural broker: the first between the Russians and the Dutch, as representatives of Western Europeans; the latter between the Georgian and French kings and Pope Clement XI. Both worked on dictionaries: Witsen on a list of 900 Georgian-Dutch words in his book on North and East Tartary (1692, second edition in 1705, reprint in 1785 in the 1705 edition). Soukhvan Orbeliani was the author of the first Georgian explanatory dictionary - *The Bundle of Words (sitkvis kona)*. Besides his lexical work, Orbeliani was also an outstanding author of other books. The discourse from both men's sources is dominated by 'Christian Georgia fighting Muslim Persian and Ottoman neighbours, asking for help from European Kings, but only actually getting help from Poland.'¹⁸

The motives which awakened interest in the Caucasus area on the Dutch side were trade oriented. Witsen's personal mainspring appears to have been

¹⁸ The same holds for 17th-century diplomatic visit to the Vatican by Niceforo Irbach, not discussed in this volume.



scholarly, mediated through personal acquaintance with Tsar Peter the Great as well as with Alexander Bagration and his father. Although the contact will admittedly have been rather formal and superficial at first, the rather shaky beginning did not prevent him from developing a lifelong interest in the region. The writings of Witsen on Georgia has continued to have an impact as the first list of Georgian-Dutch words is still being studied and published on today. In the case of his visits to Rome and Paris, the motive for Orbeliani's travel was to seek help against Muslim attacks (formal visits); assistance which proved a forlorn hope. Nevertheless, other trips were more scholarly and tourist-like. His work had an impact as it has been translated into many languages and remains a source of inspiration for both scholarly and more general interest.

Gia Gelashvili (Chapter Two) describes the expeditions mounted in the North Caucasus and Georgia half a century later (1768-1774), under the leadership of Johan Anton Güldenstädt (1745-1781). From September 1771 to February 1772 Güldenstädt spent time in Georgia, where he personally met both the king of Kartli-Kakheti, Erekle II, and the king of Imereti, Solomon I. With their help he was able to visit almost all parts of Georgia. In his notes he reveals that the main covert goal and motive behind his travels in Georgia was to explore potential of the mines. Overtly his expedition was to study Georgian fauna and flora. However, King Erekle the II gave him to understand that he was aware of his little secret of finding out more about the mines in Georgia. This visit does not fit the category of superficial contact but it is also not a sustained relationship. It was a mission organized for economic gain under the guise of botanical interest.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century (1801), Russia first incorporated Georgia into its Empire before it moved on towards Persia colonizing Armenia and Azerbaijan along the way. To be able to rule over the annexed territories effectively Russia needed precise information about these countries, their resources and populations. Scientific expeditions served to accumulate this knowledge. The Russian Imperial Academy of Science appointed German scientists to head such expeditions.

Julius Klaproth (1783-1835) was one of those scientists and he led the expeditions mounted in 1807 and 1808. His task was to check, correct and enlarge the data gained by previous explorers, especially in relation to philology, ethnography and history. Klaproth was known as a renowned linguist and Orientalist. His research works were published in Halle and Berlin in 1812/1814 in two volumes under the title *Travels in Caucasus and Georgia*. He was one of the first German travellers to describe the Russian-Georgian relationship from the reign of Tsar Ivan the Terrible up to the death of Duke Tsitsianov in 1805. Klaproth's endeavours and the work of Germans in general had a significant impact in Georgia. The city of Tiflis was composed of a Russian quarter with Persian and German suburbs, 'neat and snug, with its

Biergarten and band, where the German mechanics and *Mädchen* promenade together, fondly and fully as if in their native archduchy.....' (Freshfield 1869: 99). But the Germans, for instance, the German company Siemens, also played an important role in the development of the railway and telegraphic industry in Georgia, and in the cartography of certain parts of the Caucasus Mountains.

Geo-politically, the annexation of the South Caucasus was part of the Great Game: Persia had turned away from England and sided with France against Russia. As George **Sanikidze (Chapter Three)** explains in his *pièce de résistance*, the Treaty of Finkenstein signed between Persia and France was directed against Russia and England. The analysis in this contribution shows how the French perception of Georgia changed three times during the nineteenth century: from negotiating leverage to trade interest to tourism. Once the Russians consolidated their position in the South Caucasus – the region was incorporated into the Russian Empire from 1801 to 1918 – the attitude of the French changed. Georgia was perceived as a crossroads between Europe and Asia and hence economically interesting from a commercial point of view. Especially under the so-called preferential tariff policy, Georgia became a transit trade route for European goods going East, Iran in particular. The first French consul in Tbilisi, François Gamba (1763-1833), is a source of descriptions of life in Tiflis in that period. After the preferential tariff was revoked (1831), economic activity slowed down but many French people were still not deterred from travelling to Georgia. Georgian history, its ethnic and religious composition, and its culture were described as a mixture of Eastern and Western culture traits. The French encounters with Georgia change from negotiating leverage (Category 2) to the fleeting for those tourists who did not publish, to sustained contact (Category 3) for those who did and for those who developed trade relations over time. The widely read Dumas *père* certainly had impact on the perception of Georgia among his readers and the French cultural centre in Tbilisi still bears his name.

During the first half of the nineteenth century (approximately the period of the Great Game), the Georgian prince Alexander Chavchavadze (1786-1846) was born and educated in imperial Russia. In his contribution, Irakli **Pipia (Chapter Four)** describes how Alexander moved to Georgia as a young man and summoning up his entrepreneurial flair decided to improve Georgian wine-making. As we read in his letters kept in archives in Georgia, Alexander considered himself to be more European because of the education he received growing up in St Petersburg. He was familiar with European wine-bottling techniques and his overriding ambition was to create a Georgian brand wine which could be exported to Europe. To this end, Alexander brought Italian and French wine-makers to the Kakheti region and with their help built up an entirely new, European system of wine-making. The oldest wine (Saperavi) bottled in Tsinandali (province of Kakheti) dates back to 1841 and is still kept

till in the Tsinandali Museum Winery. Before that, Georgian wine was produced in clay vessels (*kvevri*). The encounters with Italian and French wine-makers might perhaps be classified as superficial contacts at first, initiated with business in mind but on another level Alexander represents the liminal and the global as the transformer of Georgian viticulture. Interestingly, although he wanted to adapt the Georgian wine to European tastes and standards (adaptation), nowadays traditional Georgian wine is being exported as something special and unique in the wine business! Alexander's impact was lasting in the sense that he prepared a basis of wine-making which could be capitalised on in the 1990s after the independence of Georgia. Again foreign wine-makers came and continued the production of Georgian wine in a more standardised European type.

Manana **Rusieshvili-Cartledge** and Trevor **Cartledge (Chapter Five)** give a brilliant 'insight in the relations Marjory Wardrop and her brother Oliver enjoyed with Georgia'. Marjory Wardrop (1869-1909) first visited Tbilisi as a tourist but afterwards returned several times sealing a lifelong relationship with Georgia. She translated major Georgian literary works thereby not only opening Georgia to the English-speaking world, but with her publications also contributing to the foundations of Caucasus Studies at Oxford: a major impact. Marjory Wardrop had begun to learn the Georgian language before she arrived in Tbilisi. Under the auspices of her brother Oliver, a diplomat and amateur historian stationed in the Georgian capital, Marjory was already corresponding with the Georgian intelligentsia before she had ever physically set foot on Georgian soil; a type of pre-encounter. One of her correspondents was Prince Ilia Chavchavadze. After she had met her Georgian friends personally, Marjory communicated with them by writing letters and occasionally meeting them either in England or in the countries in which she temporarily resided while accompanying her brother Oliver. Her tourist-like encounter (Category 1) became sustained (Category 3) over time. Feeling part of Georgian society (after having passed her own rites of passage as a traveller to and from Georgia), Marjory considered it her duty to support Georgia actively in its struggle against the Russian Empire, publishing articles as well as translations of articles which had appeared in Georgian magazines and newspapers in England.

The hero of Oliver **Reisner's (Chapter Six)** contribution, is Ilia Chavchavadze (1837-1907), an outstanding member of the Georgian intelligentsia mentioned in the previous contribution. Born in the eastern Georgian province of Kakheti, after high school, he was educated at the university in St Petersburg. Reisner takes a generational approach to describe the encounters which took place between students at Georgian and Russian universities. The first generation of Georgians born after the Tsarist annexation of Eastern Georgia in 1801 made an unsuccessful attempt to re-establish the

deposed Georgian monarchy in 1832. The second generation consisted of the *tergdaleulebi*, those who crossed the river Terek and studied in St Petersburg. Prominent representatives of this group were Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli and Jacob Gogebashvili. This group of young Georgian intellectuals, educated at universities in the Russian Empire, did their best to modernise their fatherland by engaging in a cultural public debate: Georgian newspapers were founded, Georgian language text-books written and printed, Georgian theatre groups established. After the turn of the century, the third generation consisted of the Marxist "third group" and the Socialist-Federalist "young Iberians". In their encounters at Russian universities they had been socialised into the debates of socialism and Marxism, leading them to encourage involvement in a larger political spectrum upon return to Georgia, than had hitherto been the case. By crossing cultural and educational borders, through their education and encounters at Russian universities, all three generations went through a rite of passage, returning to their homeland with new ideas and ideals. After independence in 1918, the Georgian Mensheviks took over and attempted to solve the social problems, for example, by imposing land reform.

Françoise **Companjen (Chapter Seven)** claims that, although Odette Keun (1888-1978) could have developed a sustained relationship with Georgia, the course of Georgian history decreed otherwise. The Menshevik Georgia (1918-1921) through which Keun travelled mostly on horseback came to an abrupt end when the Bolsheviks marched in, ushering in the beginning of Soviet occupation and the closure of borders. Consequently, in spite of her book *In the Land of the Golden Fleece*, since it was not written as a systematic tourist guide but rather as a description of her tour and personal encounters with Georgians, her case fits the first category of the fleeting and the tourist-like. Her journey was motivated by a mixture of an interest in socialism, contact with respected Georgian officials facilitating her trip to Menshevik Georgia and earning a living through writing. Her encounter with the Bolsheviks just before she finally set foot in Georgia was a negative learning experience which shook her political assumptions to their very foundations. Her self-critical attitude shows how easy it is to talk about socialists but how difficult it is to behave like one.

The eminent scholar **Fr. Paprocki (Chapter Eight)** writes about another eminent scholar Grigol Peradze (1899-1942). At the end of the Menshevik period in October 1921, while he was still able to leave the country (the Bolsheviks were on the point of occupying it), Grigol Peradze left Georgia to study abroad. He was sent to Berlin where he was given a comprehensive theological education. From there Peradze moved to Bonn, where he actively participated in the scientific community, to Paris where he took monastic vows and was ordained a priest in 1931. Ultimately, in 1933, he was invited to become an assistant professor and deputy director of the Patrology Seminary at the School of Orthodox Theology at the University of Warsaw. He remained at

his post even during the first years of World War II until he was denounced, arrested by the Gestapo and murdered in Auschwitz in 1942 (December 6th). The majority of the encounters of this extremely talented and erudite man, who was later canonised by the Georgian Orthodox Church, were scholarly, religious and charitable – helping poor students in Warsaw and orphans in Wola. His writings are of tremendous value to the Georgian Orthodox Church, linguistics and Georgian culture. His encounters with his fellow men put into perspective Simmel's criterion of strangers being 'near yet far', since as a devout and practicing Christian he shouldered the burden of life, not just his own but also that of so-called "strangers" because in the Christian view we are all without exception "kindred".

Marc **Jansen (Chapter Nine)** gives an entertaining account of his trip through the North Caucasus, on the eve of the dissolution of the Soviet Union. His 'peeking through the Daryal gorge', which contextualises the deportations and conflicts just on the other side of the Georgian border historically, offers an insight into both the cruel ethnic deportations and genocide committed by Stalin and Beria (Bitterli's second category of encounter, the conflict) and into the culture of hospitality and host-guest relations during his travels. Both cases deal with a form liminality. Stalin considered the 'border populations' of the Soviet Union (Chechens, Ingush and other mountain peoples) unreliable and had them deported to Kazakhstan and other Central Asian regions during the 1930s. During WW II and its aftermath minorities were deported ostensibly because they were charged with collaboration with the German enemy and among them were some minorities and individuals in Georgia. In reality, this argument was also used as an excuse for ordinary ethnic cleansing.

During the toasts which are imbued with a strongly ritualistic character on both ends of the Daryal gorge, the style of communication is conciliatory, geared to restore balance between all seated at the table, courteous and civil towards the country of the guest. The journey of local friends to Europe after the dissolution of the Soviet Union is an expression of the intensified movement of people enhancing globalisation. Various discourses emerge about the conflict over the Prigorodnyi district: the Russian divide and rule discourse, the more or less pro-Russian Christian Ossetian 'traitors' versus the unreliable Muslim Ingushetian 'terrorists' discourses. These reciprocal images have become entrenched in public discussions. Both sides draw on ancient history, archaeology and ethnology to substantiate their claims to be the rightful owners of the disputed land. Finally this contribution is layered in that the conflict in this region is reproduced in one of John le Carré's thrillers. Turner's claim that the traveller returns home more knowledgeable and perhaps changed is underscored by the author of this contribution but with his claim 'violence resolves nothing' he also holds up a mirror to his local friends.

This **Rommens (chapter 10)** sketches the political history of Georgia

during its 25 years of independence with special focus on the development of civil society. The transnational contacts in a global context of helping local NGOs develop, of training NGO-leaders abroad, a type of rites of passage with the return of an educated elite, form the motive to travel to European and North American educational institutes. Once back in Georgia, these NGO-leaders were in various cases more interested in entering politics than in enhancing democracy through the further education in democratic values of fellow citizens. The Rose Revolution in particular is a product of transnational contacts, financial support through foreign foundations, and cooperation of both top-down political forces with bottom-up grass roots movements. The increased international attention paid to civil society assistance has opened a window of opportunity for local NGO-leaders it has amplified the impact of a Western orientation within Georgian civil society and Georgian politics and society. The inclusion of civil society organisations into the Eastern Partnership has further intensified the encounters between Georgian and European NGOs, a development that may extend to society at large through the process of visa liberalisation within the recently signed Association Agreement, enhancing further encounters within larger Europe.

Conclusion

The first theoretical question posed at the beginning of this Introduction was how Bitterli's theoretical categorization could be embedded into a larger whole in time and space in order to produce a framework which encompass our contributions. We think we have found an answer by embedding the encounters in globalisation and liminality. The second question deals with refining Bitterli's categorization: when we mix his classification with five types of relationships and apply these to encounters with Georgia, we signal a blind spot in both typologies. Bitterli's sustained contact category needs to be expanded to include scholarly encounters and diplomatic relations. Diplomatic relations can be either fleeting or sustainable depending on the moment in time, but more importantly the encounter between self and the other is operationalised in a different way: not as a dyadic (self x other) but as a triadic (self x other x other). For example, diplomatic communication in the context of conflicts (France – Persia against Russia or in the Georgians asking the Pope or the Spanish or French rulers for military help in their struggles both against Muslims and against Russia) involves a *third* party through which negotiations are carried out. Consequently, the analyses of the encounters in this volume illustrate that when placed in a historical perspective, communication in the case of international relations is very often triadic. Finally, the categories of avoiding an encounter and pre-encounters should also be included in Bitterli's typology.

Turning to the questions of motivation, impact and stereotypes: we can conclude that the encounters between Georgia and Western Europe were based

on a variety of **motives**: commercial (trade), scholarly and the desire to document an unknown territory, primarily seeking for a key to understanding through language by compiling word lists and dictionaries. Finally, religious-military motives have been important: asking for financial and military help from the West to protect Christian Georgia from Islamic (Persian, Turkish) and from invaders intent on expansion (Russian). The first instance occurs in the seventeenth century with Irbach being sent to Rome for help; in the eighteenth century Orbeliani being dispatched to Rome and Spain in search of military assistance; and again in the early nineteenth century when the Georgian Princes Alexandre and Teimuraz sent letters to Napoleon via General Gardan in 1809 pleading for assistance in the struggle against Russia. King Solomon II of Imereti also appealed to Napoleon for help. However, although the French were also fighting the Russians, they had also taken the side of Persia, promising it help to regain its lost influence in the South Caucasus. As far as the French Napoleon was concerned religion played no role and Georgia was not perceived or defined as a Christian country. Instead it was treated as a stepping-stone to attain a greater political goal.

Bitterli categorises missionary work as a sustained relationship entailing some form of ethnocentrism. Interestingly, the ethnocentrism involved in missionary work in Georgia is not necessarily evaluated as negative (as ethnocentrism often is) in Georgian literature on the missionary endeavours in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Instead, the **impact** of missionary activities in enhancing the teaching of the Georgian language among Georgians is gratefully stressed (Vateishvili 2003). Cogently, the strategic hope of possibly being able to communicate with the Vatican through the missionaries might also have coloured the evaluation of the presence of missionaries in Georgia! The attention paid to Georgia by European scholars and travellers in both the seventeenth and the eighteenth century was fairly intensive – and contrasts sharply with the lack of interest shown by those in power at that time. The various dictionaries compiled (by Witsen, Orbeliani, Teimuraz), the cultural threads which have persisted through time and have had a very scholarly impact (Caucasus Studies established in Oxford, and French, British and German cultural centres established in Tbilisi honouring original texts written on the Caucasus). The **stereotypes and images** encountered in the various texts tend to be rather contradictory (trustful – hot-tempered; beautiful – ugly; Asian-European; cultured-wild) and generally say more about the authors than the people represented!

The most recent encounters to be taken into account are those which have been taking place with Brussels and the EU. Such encounters engender difficulties as Western policy which is based on the assumptions of Western society is being transferred unheedingly from one cultural system to another, even when cultural assumptions might differ in the other country. In a nutshell,

choosing for the West involves an attitude in the West which counts on an unquestioned "taking over" of Western strategies, policies and organisational structures. However, Europe must also understand that **intermingling** is a two-way street possibly involving the convergence of certain values. We began by referring to "Georgia in Europe" but in view of the ongoing process of encounters and reforms we might equally have referred to "Europe in Georgia".

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Relations between Georgia and Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries: The value of dictionaries.

Soulkhan-Saba Orbeliani

The Georgian author and diplomat S. Orbeliani (1658-1725) was involved from an early age in literature, scientific activities and in state matters. He was one of leaders against the Persian and Ottoman domination during his lifetime. He was an adviser and a devoted companion-in-arms of Georgian Kings George XI (1651 - 1709) and later (also an educator) of Vakhtang VI (1675-1737). Soulkhan Orbeliani was not only an exceptional politician, but he was also an outstanding writer. He was the author of the first Georgian explanatory dictionary - *The Bundle of Words* (*sitkvis kona*). In his book *The Wisdom of the Lie* with fables on morality, good and evil, friendship, betrayal, stupidity, he fought against the Turkish and Persian influences on the Georgian culture, strived to restore national unity and to defend the Georgian language. This work was translated among other languages into Russian (1878), French (1888), English (1895) and German (1933).

He also wrote and published a book on his trip to Europe. This work is written in the form of diaries. Unfortunately, not all writings have been saved. Of the part which survived, named "Travelling in Europe", the passages describing France and Paris in particular, appear to have been lost. The descriptions of Italian, Maltese and Turkish cities have survived. "Travelling in Europe" is important for its detailed descriptions, with the author's versatile comments, his personal feelings and impressions. It was the first Georgian work of this genre. Unfortunately, contrary to *The Wisdom of the Lie*, his book on Travels has not yet been translated into European languages. In "Travelling" Orbeliani describes the warm relations between him and the Pope of Rome. He also describes the Churches and monasteries of Rome and gives the reader a taste of local life in Rome. It devotes particular attention to the local hospital and asylum of diseased and he liked the prevalence of order and cleanness.

Orbeliani also writes about his adventure on the island of Malta. Together with a compatriot, he was caught and released from Ottomans captivity with help from Europeans. Therefore he concluded with passion that "this Christianity has the same enemy" as Georgia has. He then proceeds to describe Malta, its castles and fortresses, the Maltese and their daily life. He admired the Maltese soldiers.

About Constantinople he wrote that it is a great city but after he returned from France his initial enthusiasm quieted down. Probably the difficulties he encountered in returning home from Constantinople coloured his perception. He was detained in Constantinople for 17 months! Again with the financial and

material assistance of a European, this time a French envoy (unfortunately, his name is still unknown) he was released and allowed to continue his journey back home to Georgia. He wrote and translated other books as well (i.e. Persian fables *Qilila and Damana*).

Nicolaes Witsen

Almost during the same lifespan as Orbeliani there was an extremely versatile Dutch man called Nicolaes Witsen [Nicolaos Vitsenis] (1641-1717). Witsen was a scholar, a cartographer, a diplomat, a businessman, a maritime writer, and an authority on shipbuilding¹⁹, who was interested in Georgia. Born as the son of the Mayor of Amsterdam, he received all the education he needed studying math, astronomy and philosophy at the Amsterdam Athenaeum. At the age of fifteen he accompanied his father for a two week stay in England, where they paid a visit to Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell. Nicolaes enjoyed poetry, and mastered the art of engraving, which he later also used in the shipbuilding.

In January 1663 he began his studies at Leiden University and graduated as a Doctor of Law on July 11, 1664. Having his degree he was free to travel and joined the envoy Jacob Boreel on his trip to Moscow between 1664 and 1665. This marked the beginning of later excellent knowledge of and relations with Russia. The pair traveled to Riga by boat, then on to Sweden and overland to Novgorod before reaching Moscow. The talks with Tsar Alexis of Russia about a monopoly on wheat were of no success.

Witsen was the mayor of Amsterdam thirteen times, between 1682 and 1706. In 1689 he was extraordinary-ambassador to the English court, and became Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1693 he became administrator of the VOC (The Dutch East India Company - Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC). His books on the subject are important sources on Dutch shipbuilding in the 17th century. Furthermore he was an expert on Russian affairs. He had close relations with Russian Tsar Peter I the Great and was his lobbyist in the Government of the Netherlands. He had a close relationship with the king of Imereti (Western Georgia) Archil II and with his son prince Alexander. He devoted an important place in the historical and geographical description of Georgia in his book *Behelzende eene beschryving van verscheidene Tartersche en nabuurige gewesten, in de Nooerer en oostelykste deelen van Azi* (1705). He attached to this book *The Georgian - Dutch dictionary*. Also very interesting is a map prepared by 'Nicolaos Vitsenis' on the Caucasus. Sadly, although this book has been translated into Russian, it is not available yet in Georgian.

¹⁹ *Oorlogsscheepsbouw en werven in Zeeland tijdens de Engels-Staatse oorlogen (1650-1674)* door Benoit Strubbe Universiteit Gent 2006-2007.

Motives to travel: diplomatic, scholarly and trade.

Although European monarchs apparently had no particular interest in Georgia, there were many scholars, missionaries and travellers who did. Some of them not only learned the language but also moved to Georgia, collected and published information on this region. Some of them were Italian Catholic missionaries, such as A. Lamberti who travelled to Georgia between 1630 and 1649 and K. de Castelli (between 1628 and 1652). But also the Frenchman Jean Chardin (1672-1673) after whom a part of the Tbilisi city centre is named, made it to Georgia. There were many other scholars, who gathered information and published articles or books about Georgia without ever visiting the country itself, such as the Frenchman Charles de Montesquieu (1689-1756), or the German Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Although Dutch sources would name the Dutchmen John Struys (1630 -1694), Olfert Dapper (1636-1689) and Nicolaes Witsen (1641-1717)²⁰ as authors who had never actually travelled to Georgia, Russian and Georgian sources indicate otherwise. For example, the Georgian historian and ethnographer J. Vateishvili in his fundamental work *Georgia and European countries*²¹ wrote that Olfert Dapper had been in Georgia. Dapper was a doctor and historian. He translated *The Histories of Herodotus* from Greek into Dutch. The Georgian writer M. Kekelidze in his book *Seekers of bright stars*²² mentions that Nicolaes Witsen was in Tbilisi for two weeks in 1661 – he was then twenty years old – on his way from Persia to Russia via Georgia. The point whether Witsen and Dapper actually set foot in Georgia remains a point of discussion.

Scholarly work

Olfert Dapper published in Amsterdam in 1672 in his work: *Asia, of naukeurige beschryving van het rijk des Grooten Mogols, en een groot gedeelte van Indiën: ... beneffens een volkome beschryving van geheel Persie, Georgie, Mengrelie en andere gebuur-gewesten* (Dutch). As sources he used Greek and Italian works of historians, travellers and merchants. Another author, J. Struys, reported on his journey from Russia to Persia along the coast of the Caspian Sea in his book *Aanmerkelijke en seer rampspoedige reysen door Italien, Turkijen,*

²⁰ Such as Witsen's biographer Johan Fredrik Gebhard (1881) who in *The life of Mr. Nicolaes Cornelisz* wrote that Witsen visited Russia only once from 1664 to 1665 and then continued gathering information on Russia and other regions through correspondents.

²¹ The full title includes: *Historical Essays on Relations 13th-19th centuries*. In 3 volumes. Moscow: Nauka 2003 in Russian. Volume 1, Book 2, P. 341. It contains photos of maps, churches and old manuscripts and a short summary in Spanish (p 460-462) on Spanish-Georgian relations in view of Iberia, a part of Georgia.

²² მკველიძე ბრწყინვალე ვარსკვლავის მამიებელი in Georgian. Tbilisi. 1962 (p. 261-266);

*Persien, Tartarijen, Oost-Indien, Moscovien*²³ (Dutch) published in Amsterdam in 1677. Finally, in his work *Noord en Oost Tartaryen: Behelzende eene beschryving van verscheidene Tartersche en nabuurige gewesten, in de Noozeren en oostelykste deelen van Azië*²⁴ (Dutch) published in 1662 with a reprint in 1705, Nicolaes Witsen used not only his own information, but also the above mentioned works of O. Dapper and J. Struys. He was also in contact with Jean Chardin and on good terms with the Georgian prince Alexander Bagration, who had accompanied Peter the Great on his trip to the Netherlands. Therefore Witsen frequently used the knowledge Bagration had provided to write his book. During the residence of Prince Alexander Bagration in the Netherlands (1697-1699) a Dutch - Georgian dictionary (1705) was compiled. This dictionary was attached as an annex to the second edition of *Behelzende eene beschryving (...)* in 1705.

Nicolaes Witsen enriched and deepened his expertise of the Caucasus and Georgia in particular by referring to the works of the above mentioned friends, scholars and travellers. All his life he kept keen interest in the ups and downs of Georgia. During his lifetime he used his "own little army of correspondents": Dutchman Johan William Keller (in the Russian capital Moscow), also the Dutch Herbert de Jager (in the capital of Persia), missionaries (Jesuits, Carmelites, Franciscans) to be further informed. His close cooperation and correspondence with the Georgian king Archil II and his son, Prince Alexander Bagration was very important for his book *North and East Tartary*. Herein he gives a historical, geographical and ethnographic description of Georgia highlighting the contrast of Christian Georgia surrounded by Muslim countries. In this book, he describes the Georgian resistance against the Ottoman and Persian invaders, which often ended with a defeat for Georgia. Under the treaty of Amasya (1555) the Ottoman Empire gained West Georgia under its influence, and Persia had East Georgia. When the Georgians' resistance against the Turks and the Persians increased, the latter took revenge by imposing higher taxes and exiling Georgians to arid lands. Witsen also describes how the Persians and Turks living in the North Caucasus set up Muslims against Georgians, not only in the border areas, but sometimes also at the heart of Georgian land, plundering and destroying Georgian towns.

Diplomatic contacts

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the Georgian kings often being under pressure by the Persian Shah and the Turkish Sultan, were forced to convert to Islam. Some Kings and nobility continued their Christian faith to secretly practice at the same time seeking help from abroad to fend the Muslim

²³ The title translates as: The perilous and most unhappy voyages of John Struys through Italy, Greece, Moscovia, Tartary, Media, Persia, East-India, Japan and other places.

²⁴ The titles translates as: North and East Tartary: A description of various Tartar districts in the Northern and Eastern parts of Asia. Tartary was a synonym for Siberia.

influence. Georgian Kings were relatively successful in finding support from Polish kings. For example, the Georgian kings Teimuraz I (1589-1663), Vakhtang V (1618-1675) worked closely with the Polish kings Wladyslaw IV (1595 – 1648), and Jan III Sobieski (1629 -1696) against the aggression of the Ottoman Empire. Simultaneously the later Georgian Muslim kings (Vakhtang V, Giorgi XI, Vakhtang VI) facilitated the establishment of Catholic missionaries in Georgia (Tbilisi, Gori, Akhaltsikhe, Guria, Samegrelo) hoping for help from the Vatican in return. Besides sending an envoy to Rome, the Georgian Kings made use of the Catholic missionaries for intensifying their correspondence with the Vatican.

The Georgian kings addressed several Popes, including Urban VIII (1623-1644), Clement XI (1623-1644) and some princes (Spanish king Philip IV, King Louis XIV of France), to request financial and military aid for the liberation of their country from Persian and Turkish invaders. In exchange for this aid the Georgian kings promised the Pope to spread the Catholic faith not only in Georgia but throughout the whole region. Georgian kings also proposed to the Spanish King

Philip IV and King Louis XIV of France to intensify political, military and trade relations between their kingdoms and Georgia. Besides this, the Georgian Kings promised Kings of Spain and France to restore the "Silk Road". The Georgian kings hoped that the trade route from Europe to China via Georgia could be shorter and thus more profitable.

For example, the Georgian king Teimuraz I, sent his envoy - N. Cholokashvili²⁵ to Europe to Pope Urban VIII and the Spanish King Philip IV to request the assistance in the resistance against the Persians in Georgia. N. Cholokashvili stayed in the Vatican and Spain from 1626 until 1629. Unfortunately, Philip IV refused to provide assistance because he was involved in the 30-year War (1618-1648) with France. Later on, the Georgian king Vakhtang VI sent his envoy S. Orbeliani in 1713-1716 to the Pope Clement XI and King of France Louis XIV in order to ask for help in their fight against the Persians in Georgia. Unfortunately, he returned to his motherland without the financial and military aid. Meanwhile, as the Ottoman Empire became a great danger for the European powers, Louis XIV gave great importance to the strength of Persia. A strong Persia potentially posed a threat to the Ottoman Empire, and this reduced the possibility of Ottoman aggression against Europe. S. Orbeliani received only moral support from Louis XIV.²⁶

Trade

Unlike the European Monarchs, European scholars and explorers were active in Georgia in the 17th and 18th centuries. They travelled to Georgia on

²⁵ The same as Niceforo Irbach – the Italian version of his name.

²⁶ <http://publish.dlf.ge>

their own or accompanied European businessmen such as members of the British East India Company (Jean Chardin) or of the Dutch United East India Company – VOC (Nicolaes Witsen). Economy and trade were booming reason for which this period is referred to as the Dutch 'Golden Age'. Tradesmen were mostly interested in finding a short way from Europe to India and China via Russia and the Caucasus. They sent many scholars, researchers and travellers there as 'scouts'. Among them was Nicolaes Witsen. During his trip to Russia (1664 -1665) he gathered much information about Russia and border areas of the country, and kept an accurate diary of his travels. This diary is still one of the main sources on the lifestyle and the "trade and walk" of not only Russians but also of Georgians, Tatars, Cherkas and others. The diary *North and East Tartary* – at that time the Europeans called Siberia "Tartary" – is an important part of the work of Nicholas Witsen.

In January 1668 Jan Struys went as a sail maker with Europeans to an unknown land - Russia - to build ships. He remained there until 1673 and then traveled to the city of Astrakhan situated on the shores of the Caspian Sea and then to the Caucasus and Persia. In 1675 he was a member of the mission of the Dutch ambassador to Kunraada Klenke in Russia. During his stay in Russia, Caucasus and Persia he had many adventures. Those he described in the book – "Significant and Very Disastrous Travels to Italy, Turkey, Persia, Tartary, East Indies, Moscow". This book was published in several languages, including Russian and Georgian.²⁷

Help with matrices of the Georgian alphabet.

The Georgian writer and researcher Michael Kekelidze notes in his book *Seekers of a bright star* that on March 28, 1686 Nicolaes Witsen made with his Swedish friend J.G. Sparvenfeld, his first visit to the Georgian King Archil II in Moscow²⁸, where he and his family lived in their first exile in Moscow from 1685 till 1688. The Georgian King Archil II asked the Russian regent Sophia Alexandrovna (1682-1689) for financial and military aid to get his throne back. Nicolaes Witsen often met with Georgian king Archil II in Moscow where they talked about the history and political situation in the Caucasus and Georgia in

²⁷ In his journal *Le Caucase: Impressions de voyage; suite de En Russie* (in 30 numbers during 1859), the famous French author Alexandre Dumas (father) wrote extensively about the Caucasus region and Georgia and referred to the book of Jan Struys as one of his main sources. Alexander Dumas (father) was in Russia, Astrakhan, Northern Caucasus and Georgia from 1858-1859. Original edition: Paris, Librairie Théâtrale, 1 vol., 4, 1859. It now fills three volumes in the standard Calmann-Lévy edition. In Le Vasseur's "Alexandre Dumas Illustré" it forms part of Vol. XXIII. <http://www.cadytech.com/dumas/work.php?key=58> visited May 1st 2011.

²⁸ M. Kekelidze in his book *Seekers of a bright star* in Georgian. Tbilisi. 1962. P. 261-266.

particular. The Georgian king Archil II asked the Dutchman Nicolaes Witsen and his Swedish friend J.G. Sparvenfeld to assist in molding matrices of the Georgian letters.²⁹ An earlier attempt by the Georgian king at a Moscow printing house was unsuccessful. Miklós Kis (1650-1702) who came from Hungary and was a very famous publisher, worked in Amsterdam between 1685-1689, where he became good friends with Nicolaes Witsen. Nicolaes Witsen asked Miklós Kis to help with the molding of the matrices of the Georgian letters. Despite the difficulties (strange letters, lack of the patterns), Miklós Kis managed to mold the matrices of the Georgian letters in 1687.³⁰

To continue the story of the matrices of the Georgian letters, at the request of Nicolaes Witsen, the Hungarian publisher Miklós Kis sent them to J.G. Sparvenfeld to Stockholm in 1689. The latter had to forward them to the Georgian King Archil in Moscow. By that time, the Georgian King Archil II was no longer in Moscow as he had to defend his throne in Georgia. He did return to the Russian capital in 1699. He began to work in the cultural sphere. Because the political relations between Sweden and Russia had dropped to zero and a war raged between these two countries from 1700 till 1721, J.G. Sparvenfeld could not send the matrices to Moscow. Therefore, J.G. Sparvenfeld withdrew the matrices from Stockholm. On November 20, 1700, during the war between Russia and Sweden Alexander Bagration, together with other Russian generals, was taken prisoner by the Swedish army. At the beginning of his Swedish captivity (it took more than ten years), living conditions were extremely difficult. Later, he received permission to leave the prison during the day on the condition that he would spend night time in prison. In the city he found his old friend J.G. Sparvenfeld who had kept for him the matrices of the Georgian letters for all those years. With the Swedish publisher young Henry Keyser, the matrices of the Georgian letters were improved to perfection. During his Swedish prison time, Alexander Bagration maintained extensive correspondence with Nicolaes Witsen and his old friend, Armenian merchant Maruta Dibagos. In 1704 Alexander Bagration sent the matrices of the Georgian letters to Moscow to his father Archil II with Maruta Dibagos, where Archil II organised the Georgian printing office for printing the Georgian books.

The Russian Tsar Peter the Great tried to ransom Alexander Bagration from the Swedish King Karl XII (1682 - 1718). On February 20, 1711, he was released without ransom. Unfortunately, he died on the way from Sweden to Russia from exhaustion as a result of the hardships in prison (his captivity lasted more than ten years). He was buried in Moscow in the Donskoy Monastery. The death of Alexander was a bitter blow to Archil II, who did not long survive his son. He

²⁹ After the Vatican had moldings made of the Georgian alphabet, these were second moldings made in Europe.

³⁰ G. Sharadze. *Miklos Kis Misztotfalusi* and Georgian typography. Tbilisi. 1982. P. 108 - 109.

died in 1713 and was also buried in the Donskoy Monastery at Moscow.

Imagery and Stereotypes: A Christian nation surrounded by Muslims

According to some Georgian and Iran's (Iranian historian Iskandar Beg Munshi, 1540-1632) sources³¹, more than 150,000 Georgians were exiled from their villages and towns to Persia (in the regions: Khorasan and in the provinces by the Caspian Seacoast, Iran's central and western regions and also in the capital Isfahan. Nicolaes Witsen expressed his surprise at the Georgian riders who fought heroically for the Persian Shah against Afghans in Afghanistan, against Indians in India, to get chances for peace in their own motherland (Georgia). However, this did not solve the problems of the Georgian people. Therefore, the Georgian King Vakhtang VI finally turned to the Russian Tsar Peter I the Great for help against Iranian and Turks.

Nicolaes Witsen's descriptions of the Georgians provide us with a number of opinions. Unlike some European writers, he thought that the Georgians were not uncivilised people. According to Witsen, Georgians were friendly, polite and honest. Nicolaes Witsen believed Georgians to be talkative and trustful, *not* stubborn and arrogant. Georgians are naturally very curious but unfortunately have no chance to develop properly because of the lack of good schools, Witsen argued. He also stressed that the Georgians are the best and brightest people in East Asia and perhaps in the world. He praised the tolerance of Georgians because many Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Turks, Persians, Indians, Tatars, Russians and Europeans living in Georgia were able to keep their own traditions and could confess their faith. He also wrote that the Georgians waged a permanent battle against the Muslims to defend their Christian faith.

Nicolaes Witsen describes Georgia as a particularly fertile land. After the irrigation this land brings forth a rich harvest. Life there is good and cheap. There are many types of bread and tasty fruit. The rivers are rich with various kinds of fish. The Georgian peasants have many cows, sheep, chickens and pigs. Forests are abundant and rich in honey. The Georgian farmers produce excellent wine that they like to drink and export to other countries such as Armenia, Persia. Similarly, silk is exported to the surrounding countries (the Ottoman Empire, Persia). The author also notes the drawbacks of the character of the Georgians. He found that the Georgians are hot-tempered, sometimes drink too much and do not always manage to comply with the rules of their faith.

The relation of the self to the other

Presumably, Nicolaes Witsen became interested in the region of the Caucasus and particularly Georgia because of his due knowledge of Herodotus,

³¹ <http://publish.dlf.ge>; <http://geo.allgeo.org>; <http://www.fereidani.ge>; Iskandar Beg Munshi. Information about Georgia. Georgian translation of Persian texts and Introduction, prepared and published by V. Puturidzem, Tbilisi, 1969.

Strabo, Titus Flavius, Vespasian, and Cornelius Tacitus. At the age of 23, Nicolaes Witsen went to Russia in 1664-1665 as a member of the team of Netherlands embassy, led by Jacob Boreel (1630 -1697). During this mission, besides his official duties, he had time to meet interesting personalities such as the Russian patriarch Nikon (1605 - 1681) and the Orthodox archbishop of Gaza Paissy Ligarid (1610-1678). These meetings turned out to be enriching and deepened his knowledge of Georgia.

It is interesting that the correspondence between Nicolaes Witsen and the Georgian king Archil II continued even after the return of Nicolaes Witsen to the Netherlands and Archil II to Georgia. But the letters from Georgia were not as intensive as in Moscow because Archil II was restoring his throne in Imereti (West Georgia). At that time Nicolaes Witsen asked his informants in the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Russia and the Caucasus region for additional information about the struggle of the Georgian king Archil II for his throne. Nicolaes Witsen took the destiny of the Georgian King Archil II close to his heart. However, Archil II failed to regain his throne in 1699 and went back into exile in Moscow, where he died and was buried in 1713.

After completing his studies in the Netherlands, Alexander Bagration went back to Russia in 1699. Still in the Netherlands, Alexander Bagrationi received a letter from his father wherein he wrote about his unsuccessful and vain battle for the throne and that he had decided to return back in exile to Moscow. Archil II and his son Alexander Bagrationi had agreed that they would meet each other in the Caucasus and then they would go to Moscow together. On the way from Caucasus to Moscow Alexander Bagrationi told his father about his journey with Russian Tsar Peter the Great's Grand Embassy to Europe, studying, friends and work with scientist Nicolaes Witsen in the Netherlands. He told his father about Nicolaes Witsen and his scientific work about Russia and Georgia and the compilation of the first Dutch - Georgian dictionary. He also mentioned the support Nicolaes Witsen provided for him personally, and their scientific collaboration. When Archil II and his son Alexander Bagration came back to Moscow, Archil II sent a letter of gratitude to Nicolaes Witsen for helping Alexander Bagrationi and for their fruitful scientific collaboration in the Netherlands.³²

The acquaintance with the Georgian King Archil II and then with Alexander Bagration in the Netherlands and his relations with them was a further stimulus for Nicolaes Witsen to edit and prepare the second edition of the Georgian section of his book printed in Amsterdam in 1705. In the foreword of the second edition of his book "North and East Tartary" Nicolaes Witsen wrote that it took him 25 years to prepare the first book and 10 years to prepare the second edition.

³² J. Vateishvili. *Georgia and European Countries. Historical Essays on Relations 13th -19th centuries*. In 3 volumes. Moscow, 2003. Volume 1. Book 2. P. 321-322.

Nicolaes Witsen respected his Georgian friends - the Georgian King Archil II and his son, the Prince Alexander Bagration. He was well aware of their problems and wrote about them in his book "North and East Tartary". In this book Nicholaas Witsen gives a detailed view on the futile struggle of Archil II for regaining his throne. He also wrote about the fate of the son of Alexander II, prince Archil Bagration, with warmth. The Crown prince Alexander Bagration was entitled to the throne, and in the Netherlands he studied military science (artillery). With his military knowledge and experience he would be useful to the Russian Tsar Peter the Great and by serving for Russia, would be helpful to his motherland - Georgia. For nearly three years, he studied military science in The Hague in the Knight Academy, where he specialised in artillery and learned how to sail on a ship. His experience stood him in good stead when he joined the army of Russian Tsar Peter the Great, who appointed him first *Feldzeugmeister* (field marshal) on May 19, 1700. He was responsible for the Russian artillery.

Impact

The effects of encounters between Europe and the Caucasus region during the 17th and 18th centuries can be summarised as follows:

Missionary work: Catholic missionaries from Rome were very active disseminating Catholicism in Georgia with the help of Georgian kings. The kings' goal was to save the country from Islamic influence by establishing close political, military and trade relations with the Pope and European Monarchs hoping to receive military and financial assistance. The help hoped for was not received but cultural exchange was effected.

Trade and the Silk Road: The Caucasus and Georgia were traditionally a trading crossroads and an important junction of the Silk Road; although after the fall of Constantinople and the domination of the Seljuk Turks in the Caucasus, the Silk Road lost this function. Europe established their trade contacts with Asia (China, India etc.) over sea. This however turned out to be a long and dangerous route. That is another reason why European scholars came to Georgia to try and rekindle life into the Silk Road. Nicolaes Witsen advised the Russian Tsar Peter the Great to develop trade with Iran through the Caucasus and in particular through Georgia. But the Russian Tsar Peter the Great had other plans.

Scholarly work and the distribution of knowledge: The European scholars visiting Georgia in the 17th and 18th centuries saw the strategic importance of the geopolitical situation of the country and the possibility to fight against Ottoman Empire jointly (Europe and Georgia). They were interested in all positive changes in the country; but instead of financial and military aid the European countries had tried to help Georgia in the cultural field. In 1629 the first Georgian books *The Georgian - Italian dictionary* and in

1643 *The grammar of the Georgian language* were published in Rome. In 1705 the *Dutch - Georgian dictionary* was printed in Amsterdam. Nicolaes Witsen covered the costs of molding the matrices of the Georgian letters in Amsterdam and the delivery costs of these fonts from Amsterdam to Sweden.

– Paintings and maps for reconstructing Georgian history: There were also other Dutch scholars, who had relations with the Georgians. Thus, at the request of N. Witsen, the painter and traveller Cornelis de Bruyn (1652 -1727) painted the portraits of Archil II (king of Imereti) and Irakli I (king of Kartli). The portraits of the Georgian kings of Archil II and Irakli I were especially important for the Georgian history. Nowadays the Georgians know these ancestors through the portraits depicted in the book of Nicolaes Witsen. The same applies to the maps made by Witsen. These are one of the oldest maps of Georgia. It is presumed that later on Vakhushti Bagration (1696 -1757) used the maps of Nicolaes Witsen in the composition of the atlas of Caucasus. The first edition of this atlas was printed in 1735 and the second edition was produced and printed in 1745. Vachushti Bagrationi had good knowledge of the European historical and geographical sources of 17th and 18th centuries (he was the son of the king Vakhtang VI. From 1724 onward they were in exile in Russia).

Conclusion

Despite the fact that travel to Europe by Georgian envoys and the trip of the European scholars to Georgia did not result in military aid, their trips at least were important culturally for both sides. On the one hand the Europeans had received more political, historical, geographical and economic information about the Caucasus, in particular about Georgia. On the other hand, Georgians had received important political information about Europe and their support in the field of education and culture: schools of Catholic missionaries for Georgian children, the molding of matrices for the Georgian alphabet, the printing of Georgian books and last but not least, allowing Georgians to reconstruct parts of their own history through paintings of Archil II and Irakli I and maps of the territory.

Thus, we can conclude that the encounters in this contribution between Georgia and western Europe were based on scholarly motives and the desire to document in writing and painting an unknown territory, as well as religious-military motives: asking for financial and military help from the West to protect Christian Georgia from Islamic Persian and Turkish invaders. The attention of European scholars and travellers towards Georgia in the 17th and 18th centuries was rather high – and forms a contrast with the lack of interest by those in power. History repeats itself. In the past Georgia – with the exception of Polish Kings – received no military support in its fight against the Persians and Ottomans by the European powers. Today, Georgians would have hoped for more help from the West to help maintain and resolve its territorial integrity.

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Germans in Georgia: ethnographic mining or minerals?**Introduction**

To study the history of Georgia it is important to combine Georgian sources with that of foreign writers and travellers in order to avoid one sidedness. Knowledge of Greek and Byzantine sources is helpful as a foundation for understanding data generated by travellers from the Middle East and from Europe. It is the latter we focus on in this contribution.

The remarkable west European travellers from Italy and France who visited Georgia in late midcenturies and new period are Rubruke, Marco Polo, Contarini, Pietro Dela Vale, Lambert, Castel, Charden, Turnefore and Gamba. Of great value are the works of the Soviet researcher M. Polievktov. His fundamental bibliographical research work includes *“European travellers in the Caucasus in 13 – 18 cc ”* (Tbilisi 1935) and *“European travellers in Caucasus in 1800-1830 years ”* (Tbilisi 1946).

In the 1950's at the Academy of Science of Georgia a special group of scientists was established to study foreign sources. Under their leadership many foreign references and works were studied and published in monographs. This research continues up to this day. At present the emphasis will be on German travellers who provide us with significant information about Georgia from 1770 up to the 1850's.

The sources of the above mentioned period are divided into two groups. The first represents the participants of the expedition organised by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. These researchers carried out political and economic tasks of Russia beyond its borders to the east and south. The invited German scientists, who were also the members of this Academy, were leading these expeditions.

Johan Anton Guldenstädt

The first expedition (1768-1774) in the North Caucasus and Georgia was led by Johan Anton Guldenstädt (1745-1781). From September 1771 to February 1772 he spent time in Georgia, where he personally met the King of Kartl-Kakheti, Erekle the II and the King of Imereti Solomon the I. With their help Guldenstädt was able to visit almost all parts of Georgia. Guldenstädt's own words reveal the main goal and nature of his travels “the imperial Academy of Science of Russia gave me the instruction to explore the minerals in Georgia which I was doing discretely as I declared that the main motives of my visit is country's flora and fauna. However, King Erekle the II let me know that he was aware of my task of finding out more about the mines in Georgia.” (Guldenstädt, II.p.145).

On the map drawn up by Güldenstädt in 1772 (*"Mappa Fundamentalis partem Caucasi..."*) there are designated locality of several mines. In his XXIX paper of 15.01.1773, sent to Academy, he describes these mines and offers the outlook of their processing (Güldenstädt, II, p.181-187). "The King has some deposits and works for smelting the iron, copper, lead and silver, but this industry is unsatisfying... by carrying out an appropriate arrangement in this sphere it would be possible to reach more" (Güldenstädt, I, p.229). The King was interested in having the mining expert at his court. That was the reason why He helped him in every way to survey and investigate the area. At that time it had no practical result for Georgia, because the economic strengthening of Georgian Kings was not in the interest of Russian Emperor, having another plans for the future. Güldenstädt left various important data: diaries, lectures, letters, botanical and zoological descriptions, income-expenditure note-books, maps, sketches, recipes, list of people and places, list of herbs and medicine practised at that time in Tbilisi. Remarkable are his meticulous records of his patients: names, age, gender, type of disease and result of treatment in Latin. This list included several important persons' names.

Of great interest was his work "comparing groups of words amongst the spread languages in Caucasus". He compares the chosen words from Georgian languages (Mingrelian and Svan languages) to the similar words in Latin-Russian-German. The second group consists of Lezgian and its relative dialects (Antsukhi, Chari, Khundzakhi, Dido); the third, fourth and fifth represent Khazikhumukh, Andi and Akusha languages; the sixth – Mitsjegian languages (Chechen, Ingush, Tushi); the seventh and eighth groups belong to Kabardinian and Abasian languages (Kabardinian, Kushhasib-Abasian, Altkezek-Abasian); and at last, the ninth group represents Afghan, Dugorian and Ossetian languages.

Georgian is a very particular and peculiar language, which is spoken by Georgians in different parts of Georgia (Kartli, Kakheti, Imereti, Guria, Racha, Pshavi, Khevsureti). Slightly dissimilar dialects make them easily understood each other; in Samegrelo and Svaneti these dialects are stronger, although the root meaning of the words are recognisable"... "comparing Mingrelian words showed me that Mingrelian is a strong dialect of the Georgian Language and it differs from east Georgian as much as Dutch from German language. Tushetian as a language also represents the dialect of Georgian where many Kistik words are mixed in" (Güldenstädt, I. p.209-213). The author in addition gives those 104 words, which are not included in comparative vocabularies.

Regarding the religion in Georgia Güldenstädt says the following: "Throughout the whole of Georgia the predominant religion is the Christian-Greek with its priests, order and liturgy. The government and church are very tolerant towards the other religions such as Armenian, Catholic, Muslim and Jewish faiths. They do not suppress foreigners because of their different beliefs" (Güldenstädt, I. p.205; 209).

The great value for the history of Georgia is based on his following chapters: 1. State of country and its people; 2. Handcraft, mountain engineering, types of buildings. 3. Coins, size, weight and fluid measurements; 4. King's court, laws and justice. 5. Geneology of Royal Dynasty of Bagrationi from 17th century to 1773. 6. Clergy of the church.

The results of **Güldenstädt's** research were first published after his death in St. Petersburg in 1787/91 by the Russian Imperial Academy member from Germany **Peter Simon Pallas** (*Reisen durch Russland und im Caucasischen Gebürge*); The edited version later was published by **Julius Klaproth** in Berlin in 1815 and 1834 ("*Reisen nach Georgien and Imerethi*" and "*Beschreibung der Kaukasischen Länder*" respectively).

In 1962 and 1964 in Tbilisi We published two volumes of "*Güldenstädt's travel in Georgia*" (in both German and Georgian languages). We used the author's unpublished materials from the archives of the Academy of Science of USSR in Leningrad. **Güldenstädt's** "*Travel*" represents the important scientific work. It is unlike to any other studies conducted before. His works are significant and did not loose their actuality up to date.

The second group of travellers-adventurers to Georgia did not have any obligations as they were independent and their main reasons for visiting were curiosity and inquisition to explore. One of the representative of this group was **Jacob Reineggs** (1744-1793) and it was destiny that brought him to Georgia. He met King **Erekle the II's** ambassador in Constantinople, who invited him in Georgia in 1778-1781 as the king's guest. Like **Güldenstädt**, he was equipped with vast and extensive knowledge. He spoke many languages, including Turkish, Persian, Russian and soon learned Georgian. He was skilful in mountain engineering and in printing. He practised medicine and acted in plays. His works however were first published after his death in two volumes by **Enoch Shrödder** in 1796/97 ("*Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*" I-II, Gotha u.SPb.). In 1783 **Simon Pallas** published a short article "*Travelling in the Caucasus*" using **Reinegg's** works. In 2002 in Tbilisi we published a Georgian translation of **Reinegg's** papers about Georgia "*Jacob Reinegg's travel in Georgia*".

Reineggs played a political as well as a scientific role. After he left Georgia in 1781 he was sent back as a commissioner by the Russian duke **Gr. Potemkin**. Because of his extensive knowledge of Georgia and Georgian language he was chosen to participate in the preparation of the well known "*Georgievsk Treaty*" between the King **Erekle the II** and Queen **Catherine the II**. Many Georgian historians consider **Reineggs** as a Russian spy. On July 24, 1783, **Erekle's** representatives signed the "Treaty of friendship" with Russia in the fortress of **Georgievsk** in the North Caucasus. On January 24, 1784, **Catherine II** sent a ratifying deed. After this **Erekle II** also signed the "Treaty". The Emperor of Russia promised the King of Georgia protection and defence

from external enemies. Russia was not to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. The Emperor promised that he would always defend Erekle and his heirs' rights on the throne. The kingdom became a country dependent on the Russian Empire, but it remained a sovereign country. The agreement was of great importance for both parties: Erekle hoped that his country would be saved from being swallowed by the backward East. And Russia managed to get across the Caucasian Range without fighting and received a bridge head to her south.

At the beginning of the 19-th century Russia started to annex Georgia and the whole Caucasus. Russia was openly practising a colonial regime. To conquer, rule and reign over the annexed territories Russia needed precise information about the "country and its population". The new expeditions served this purpose. Russian imperial Academy of Science appointed German scientists as the heads of the expeditions. The participants were free to explore almost everything with protection by the Russians.

Julius Klaproth

The first example of this was the expedition in 1807 - 1808 lead by Julius Klaproth (1783-1835). His task was to check, correct and enlarge the data gained by previous explorers especially in philology, ethnography and history. Klaproth was known as a famous linguist and orientalist. His research works were published in Halle and Berlin in 1812/14 in two volumes as "Travels in *Caucasus and Georgia*". In 1814 his "Geographical description of east *Caucasus which was situated between the rivers Tergi and Aragvi, Mtkvari and Caspian sea*" was published in Weimar. He was one of the first German travellers who describes Russian-Georgian relationship from the reign of Tsar **Ivan the Terrible** up to the death of duke **Tsitsianov** in 1805.

His linguistic abilities were vast. To study Caucasian languages Klaproth used data of **Güldenstädt** in order to enrich and finish his works. Regarding the Svan language he has mainly used **Güldenstädt's** information, because he was unable to collect Svan words. In 1827 in Paris Klaproth published groups of Georgian words and grammar in French, as well as the work about the relationship between Ossetians and Georgians from the middle centuries.

Since 1820 the Russian Imperial Academy of Science developed broad project about exploring "all Caucasian provinces" even deeper.

Eduard Aichwald

Eduard Aichwald (1795-1876) was the prominent representative of this project. He was natural historian, zoologist, mineralogist, anatomist, palaeontologist and medical doctor. His expedition was planned by the University of Kazan and lasted one year. In Georgia he spent from 5-th of April up to 28-th July 1825. The results of this expedition were published in two volumes in Tübingen and Stuttgart in 1834/1837 under the title of "*Reise auf*

dem Caspischen Meere und in den Kaukasus": Aichwald meticulously describes the social state of the population and classes of society before and after the Russian annexation. He studies varieties of nationalities and characterises these nationalities separately: Georgians, Armenians, Tartars, Jews, Ossetians and Russians. For example he writes about Armenians that they were always faithful to the Russian and never participate in any riots against them.

He underlines the uniqueness of the Georgian language and spends a lot of attention on trade relationships, especially on trade roads such as from Persia to Tbilisi via the Black sea; from Odessa to Leipzig etc. Aichwald also describes in detail traditions, wedding ceremonies, ladies makeup, and their attendance on the Russian galas in Tbilisi. He describes in systematic order the diseases spread in Georgia and health defence system introduced by the Russians.

Significant part of Aichwald's works contain the information about riots against the Russians in mountain regions, Kakheti, Imereti, Abkhazeti and Dagestan. Also Russian wars against the Turks, Persians, Abkhazians and Lezgins. Data about political relationship between Mingrelians and Abkhazians are trustworthy because of the good contacts with local government officials.

Finally, Aichwald was the first traveller who revealed the history of German immigrants in the Caucasus. We published his work about Georgia in Georgian in 2005 entitled "*Edward Aichwald about Georgia*", Tbilisi 2005.

Moritz Wagner

Another prominent German explorer-traveller was Moritz Wagner (1813-1887), who travelled independently. During 1843-1846 he went to Turkey, Georgia, Armenia and Persia. Although he was a geographer and natural historian, he had wider interests including the study of the opposite sex. He was interested in women's appearance, dress code and how they decorated themselves. "Despite woman's emancipation in the Caucasus there is still a trace of eastern reticence. In no country has such amount of money been spent on jewellery and decoration as in Georgia... the eastern character is to pay more attention on external luxuries than to the household interior" (Wagner, p.39). He also writes about the existing trade in women "all beautiful women brought by Ponto sailors from Batumi, Sukhumi and Trabzon to Constantinople are sold as Georgians because by word of mouth the beauty of the Georgian women was widely spread throughout the east and west" (Wagner, p.43). This description Wagner personally heard from the Turkish tradesman in women.

As a geographer Wagner paid great attention to Georgian landscapes, especially that of Tbilisi. He fully describes Poti, Kutaisi, Redut-kale, Gori, Samegrelo and "the lowland of Kolkheti". His particular interests represent the Laz people, their houses (at that time many Laz people lived in Batumi) and

their language. The people of Batumi speak Gurian/Lazian dialect and Wagner thinks this was the result of mixing Gurian and Lazian together. The result of this research was printed in a famous book published in 1850 in Leipzig entitled "Travelling in Kolkheti and in German colonies situated beyond the Caucasus". We published Wagner's data about Georgia in "Moritz Wagner about Georgia", Tbilisi, 2002.

Aichwald Wagner represents the second German traveller who describes and publishes information about the German settlements. The third person to join these two was **August von Haxthausen**. All these three German authors describe the history of immigrant Swabs. The reasons of their migration was their social, economic and religious state. They desired to get to the Promised Land and trooped towards the East. Russia also commented on achievements and problems of German immigrants in Katarinenfeld, Marienfeld, Alexandersdorf, Petersdorf, Elizabetal, Helenendorf and Annenfeld.

August von Haxthausen

August von Haxthausen (1792-1866) an agricultural scientist and collector of folk songs and legends went to Russia by the invitation of Tsar **Nikolai the First**, who know about his agricultural reforms. Nikolai the First ordered him study the conditions of peasants in Russia and country society arrangements in the Russian provinces. That is how he came to Georgia in 1843 where he spent two months. In spite of the short visit, he managed to gather a great knowledge about the country. He differs from his predecessors in that he is critical towards the Russian army in Georgia "The Russian army has an occupant role in Georgia for many years running the country entirely by the military force. Under this ruling Georgia groans and is in bad state" (Haxthausen, p.99). It is strange, that he sympathises with **Murids** and **Shamil** although it is understandable because of his political views. The author conclude that "fruitful Georgia in spite of being under Russian protection failed to achieve success in farming and in economical growth; within the country there is corruption and violence" (Haxthausen, p. 21-22). The results of Haxthausen's findings are printed 1856 in Leipzig in two volume work "Transcaucasus. Notes about household and domestic life and social relationship in and between people living between the Black and Caspian seas". We translated Haxthausen's data and published a book "August Haxthausen about Georgia", Tbilisi, 2011.

We would like to mention the word or term "**Georgien**" which was used by all travellers without giving any significance to it. This term carries different meaning and becomes clear according to what has been translated. Some authors use the term for the whole of Georgia (as it is at present), some just for the East Georgia – Kartl-Kakheti and others mean only Kartli.

For example, for Reineggs "Georgien" represents Kartl-Kakheti, whereas

Imereti is Iberia. Aichwald recalls east Georgia as “Georgien” although he mentions Kakheti region as Kakheti.

We think that this terminology comes from Russia... the first site they conquered was the kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti and named it “Gruzia (Georgia)” but the principalities of Guria, Samegrelo, Abkhazia and Imereti kept their names.

We would like also to mention and emphasise the expression “in Ossetia”. Many travellers were using “in Osetia” and meant the country in the Northern Caucasian region. Despite some Ossetians migrated towards the upper banks of the rivers Liakhvi, Ksani and Phrone the expression “South Ossetia” is not found in literature and mentioned only as “Kartli”.

Besides of travellers independent outlook, to the sources belonged the information given by the highest officials, by the representatives of local authorities and clergy, also by learned persons and hither immigrated countrymen. All of them helped the traveller during his journey.

It is evident, that the travellers were in need of interpreters. This mission in varying time fulfilled various persons educated and versed in language.

All highmentioned travellers usually used horses for means of communication. In XIX century they were often hiring Russian or German carriages at the post stations. Sometimes by necessity they used also boats.

All foreign travelling-literature contains numerous novelties, which have importance of original sources. At this price they are always urgent. In the same way the works of German authors are valuable for Georgian historians and ethnographers. These works had also a practical assignment: with their help the information about Georgia were becoming widespread in Europe. As it seems this information had an influence on Germans, making them interested in the Caucasus and Georgia. The information about Georgian culture and state proliferated through the eyewitness accounts.

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19th century French perception of Georgia: from the Treaty of Finkenstein to Trade and Tourism.

Introduction

The 19th century is a turning point in the history of Georgia. After its incorporation into the Russian Empire, radical changes took place in the country. Europeans have taken an ever increasing interest in Georgia, specifically in its capital Tbilisi.

This contribution discusses a change in France's perception of Georgia and its capital during the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century French memoirs and records on Georgia can be divided into three basic groups. These groups reflect changes in the political and economic situation in the East-West relations, and thus a change in motives, which had immediate implications for Georgia. The first period coincides with the "Great Game" during the Napoleonic wars when Georgia inadvertently became part of France's Eastern policy. The French sources on Georgia are comprised of so-called Treaty of Finkenstein between France and Persia, French newspapers (*Le moniteur*, *Journal de l'Empire*, *Nouvelles étrangères...*) reporting, and data on Georgia by French envoys in Persia (General Ange de Gardane (1766–1818), Amadée Jaubert (1779–1847), Joseph Rousseau (1780–1831), Camille Alphonse Trézel (1880–1860).

The second period was a time of taking interest economically in Georgia and its capital Tbilisi, which by then (especially under the so-called preferential tariff policy) had become a transit trade route for European goods going East, Iran in particular. In this regard an invaluable source is the work by the first French consul in Tbilisi Chevalier Jacques François Gamba (1763–1833). Although the economic activity of France in the Caucasus relatively slowed after the preferential tariff was revoked (1831), many French still traveled to Georgia. Descriptions of Georgia's history, everyday life of the country's population, its ethnic and religious composition, and a fusion of elements of eastern and western cultures are the main focus of interest of the French writing of the second half of the nineteenth century: Alexandre Dumas (1802–1870), Le Baron de Baye (1853–1931), Ernest Orsolle, Jane Dieulafoy (1851–1916), also Chevalier Lyclama a Nijeholt (1836–1900), who although he was of Dutch decent - is still included in this group because his work is written in French. Moreover his work does not record any European country's political or economic interest in the region. Finally, the third period is a more general description of the country. It focuses less on carrying out in practice France's political and economic interests partly because by then Russia had consolidated its position in the Caucasus.

Georgia's place in the 'Great Game' during the Napoleonic wars

The incorporation of Georgia into Russia proved especially poignant for Persia. Even prior to the annexation of the Kingdom of east Georgia (1801) at a time when Georgia's Russian orientation was taking shape, the first Qajar monarch Agha Mohammad Khan invaded Georgia in 1795 and destroyed Tbilisi almost totally. This fact is referred to by many French authors³³ and the fact that in 1810s the city still bore the scars of the invasion is emphasised:

"The incorporation of Georgia into Russia was unbearable for Iran whose prestige had been severely damaged; this country had been considered tributary of Iran for centuries and it could not just be allowed to join such an alliance. That is why Iran was extremely frustrated and ready to put up strong resistance." (Najem, 1915: 151).

The address of the Qajar Fath 'Ali shah prior to the outbreak of the Russian-Iranian war (1804-1813) stated "to conquer Georgia's regions and Tbilisi" and "to annihilate the Russian *giaours* [infidels, G.S.]" were primary objectives. (AKAK, II, 1868: 803-805).

At the same time, although "Persia laid claim to Georgia and didn't recognize Russia's expansion into the Caucasus, Fath 'Ali Shah was busy consolidating the eastern part of his country, while khanates of Transcaucasia didn't even recognize him as a ruler." (Berdzenishvili, 1965: 261). Therefore Iran needed a supporter amid rivalry with Russia over Georgia. The first such supporter became England. But in April of 1805 the Anglo-Russian treaty was concluded. A third anti-French coalition was then formed. This marked a change of England's policy toward Iran. After that it was France's turn.

After the failure of the Egyptian campaign Napoleon directed his attention to the Iran route for a potential Indian campaign. Napoleon decided to form an alliance with Persia and Turkey. Meanwhile the issue of Georgia became tied up with the planned Indian campaign in a strange way. Reportedly in 1799 during the Egyptian campaign Napoleon sent his envoy with a letter to King Giorgi XII of Georgia, but he never reached Georgia. He was captured and put to death by the pasha of Akhaltsikhe.³⁴ Little is known about this mission and the letter of Napoleon. However, a letter of Prince David addressed to the archbishop of Armenia dated 15th April of 1799, reads: "The French General Bonaparte sent to father, my King a messenger who was coming through the domains of Turkey. He only reached Akhaltsikhe where a pasha found out about him and his intentions, he was hanged and all his letters burnt." (Tsagareli, 1902: 203-204).

In June 1802 France was granted the right to sail her ships in the Black

³³ Joseph Rousseau – cit. Natchkebia, 2008; Jaubert, 1821: 276; Dieulafoy, 1887/1989: 124.

³⁴ Centre of the South-Eastern Region of today's Georgia. In the 18th c. – part of the Ottoman Empire.

Sea based on the agreement signed with Turkey. From now on France's relations with the Black Sea countries were attached greater significance. In this connection one of the reports of the French embassy in Constantinople says that France "will establish contact with such centers as Tbilisi, will start trade with Circassia, Georgia and her neighbouring countries." (Epremidze, 1963: 136).

Napoleon decided to include Persia in the expedition against India, taking into consideration the territorial proximity of Persia and Afghanistan. With this purpose in mind, in October 1803, he sent the Ambassador of France to Constantinople (Marshal Brune), and the commissars of the commercial relations of France in Baghdad and Aleppo (Jean-François Rousseau, and Allesandro-Louiggi de Coranchez), to collect detailed information about Persia. (Natchkebia, 2008: 230). Shortly Rousseau proposed to the French Foreign Minister Taleyrand to form an anti-English trilateral alliance "between France, Persia and Kandahar. (Afghanistan)" Iran was to act as an intermediary power in order to form an alliance with the latter. Soon Napoleon sent general Romieu on a special mission to Persia accompanied by Amadée Jaubert, a man proficient in Oriental languages (Amini, 1995: 71-82).

In August of 1806 Romieu and Jaubert arrived in Iran. They conveyed Napoleon's request to the shah: the French army had to be allowed to be stationed on the southern Iranian coast. If Fath 'Ali shah granted this request, Napoleon pledged support in conquering Georgia and driving out the Russians (Tabaghua, 1974: 18). The envoys dispatched by Napoleon to Persia pointed out that domination over Georgia was of paramount importance to Persia. The French didn't overlook strong anti-Russian sentiment in Georgia, either: in 1805 Jaubert wrote to Talleyrand from Erzurum regarding the Russian policy in Georgia: "the people of Georgia are disgruntled with the Russians now more than ever. Prince Tsitsianov has imprisoned 60 eminent citizens of Tbilisi; two sons of Prince Erekle have found refuge with the ruler of Persia." (Jaubert, 1997: 95). To this J. Rousseau adds: "Georgians are awakened from their idea about the moderateness of Russian rule. They are already complaining because of the severity of the Russians and are awaiting impatiently the opportunity to take off their heavy yoke, similar to that of the Persians, but that they themselves put on (*AMFAE*, MD/Perse, VI, doc. 19, fol., 167r-168r; Natchkebia, 2008: 237). At the same time however, it should be pointed out that many Georgians entered in the service of the Russian authority. As Alexandre Romieu noted: "Russians have more than ten to twelve thousand soldiers in Georgia. The greater part of them were Georgians disciplined 'à la Moscovite' and the rest – Cossacks". (Cit. Natchkebia, 2009a: 94-95).

Amid rivalry with France, the activity of Catholic missionaries and prospects for the spread of Catholicism in the country³⁵ were causes for

³⁵ See also previous contribution on 17th and 18th centuries.

Russia's concern. On May 20th 1805 the Russian consul Konushenko in Sinop, wrote to the Russian ambassador I. Italinskii in Constantinople: "your suspicions that French agents operate in Georgia and Persia are well founded." The consul adds that Porta's people in Georgia operate in the interests of France; at the same time Catholic missionaries who are in Persia and Georgia report to France on everything that happens in these parts: "the French envoy Dupré in Trabzon keeps abreast of everything because caravans leave Erzurum every day, while ships sail from Anapa, Pazisi (Poti), Sokhumi and Batumi; at the same time they continuously bring from there Georgian captives for sale." (AKAK, II, 1868: 886).

In the same period Georgians living in exile in Iran had extensive communication with the French envoys. In August 1805 Prince Teimuraz met general Romieu. Teimuraz describes the relation with the French in Iran in one of the letters he later wrote to Marie Brosset. (*Teimuraz...*, 1964: 57). Prince Teimuraz is known to have compiled an "Italian-Persian-Turkish dictionary" for General Gardan, the French ambassador to Iran. It is printed as a supplement to a book published in 1809 in Paris and Marseille. (Sharadze, I, 1972: 32; Natchkebia, 2002b). General Gardan also added this dictionary to his book. (Gardane, 1809; Natchkebia, 2009a: 96).

In 1809 Georgian Princes Alexandre and Teimuraz sent letters to Napoleon with general Gardan pleading for assistance in the fight against Russia. (Tabaghua, 1974: 28-31; Natchkebia, 2002a). On his part King Solomon II of Imereti also appealed to Napoleon for help. (Lang, 1957: 263-265; Tabaghua, 1974: 31-34).

The so called Treaty of Finkenstein between Persia and France was concluded in March of 1807. The Treaty of Finkenstein is referred to by every author who deals with Franco-Iranian, Russian-Iranian and Franco-Georgian relations. (Amini, 1995; Atkin, 1980; Ghaffari, 1999; Dumbadze, 1973; Kighuradze, 1971; Lang, 1957; Najem, 1915; Natchkebia, 2005, 2009b; Sharashendze, 1984; Shengelia, 1988; Tabaghua, 1972, 1974). The treaty was directed against Russia and England. Iran had turned away from England and allied itself with France over the central issue of South Caucasus generally, and of Georgia in particular. Articles 3 and 4 of the 16 paragraph treaty applies Georgia (more precisely east Georgia – the former Kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti which was perceived in Europe to be Georgia in general, as opposed to west Georgia (Kingdom of Imereti and several princedoms – since concluding the above mentioned truce of Amasia this part of Georgia became the sphere of influence of the Ottoman Empire and in the nineteenth century was incorporated into the Russian Empire as a result of Russian-Turkish wars). Georgia's inclusion into the "Great Game" between East and West had been institutionalised through the Finkenstein treaty.

According to article 3 of the treaty: [Napoleon] recognizes Georgia to be

a legitimate dominion of his majesty's emperor of Persia and pledges to make every effort to force Russia to leave Georgian and Persian territories. This was the most important part of the treaty as far as Persia was concerned. The rest of the articles applied more to its own obligations. Napoleon pledged his support to Iran, albeit in an ambiguous manner: he would assist the Iranians after they dislodged Russia from Georgia and took over Tbilisi. "The Finkenstein Treaty . . . was prepared in such a way that political interests of France, such as exclusion of England from Iran, were easily traced in it, whereas the paragraphs applying to Iran were ambiguous and vague." (Najem, 1915: 96-97). It also applied to the contribution of Georgian *mamluk* troops for Napoleon's anticipated India campaign.

The mission of French general Gardane in Iran (1807-1809) was aimed at creating conditions for the implementation of the treaty. One of the goals of Gardane's mission was to reform the Iranian army to European standards and act against Russia and England. However, only 65 days later, as a result of the peace treaty of Tilzit, France agreed to give Russia *carte blanche* in the East, which amounted to abrogation of the Treaty of Finkenstein. Under the circumstances, Iran redirected its diplomatic efforts back to England. Georgia still remained a vital issue for the Qajars at the negotiations between Persia and England, although England didn't undertake any effective measures in favour of Iran either. The Gardane mission continued its activity in Iran, but it no longer had a political bearing of the Truce of Finkenstein.

At the end of 1808 general Gardane arrived back in Teheran, where the Iranian side presented their complaints, uppermost among which was the requirement that Napoleon fix the Georgia issue. The Franco-Russian agreement said nothing on this issue. Therefore Iran received no practical gains from the treaty of Finkenstein, except for article 7, according to which the French pledged to send artillery officers and other military specialists to train and reform the Iranian army to European standards.

Nevertheless, Napoleon's envoys tried to persuade Fath 'Ali Shah that Napoleon would presently dispatch his representative to Tbilisi and the issue of truce between Russia and Iran would be arranged favorably for Iran. (Tabaghua, 1974: 18). The French emperor wanted to settle the Russian-Persian relations with the view of dragging Russia into India campaign.

With regard to Napoleon's Georgia policy it should be noted that on the whole this policy was void of any religious factor. While religion had been in the foreground in the past, now no significance was attached to it (a rather vague stereotype of Christian Georgia that existed during Middle Ages and early modern age, a Georgia Europe could rely on in the fight against the Muslim world, had disappeared altogether. The image Georgia acquired was that of a bridge into East, a matter of contention and bargaining chip between East and West, rather than a Christian region.

After signing the Treaty of Finkenstein (May 4, 1807) general Gardane arrived at the royal court of Persia, and was received as an ally. The Tilzit Treaty (4 July, 1807) allowed him to return via Tbilisi. It was this journey of the French mission that first marked Tbilisi as a transit town between Persia and Europe. Tbilisi also became a place of diplomatic encounters. Félix Lajard, First Secretary at general Gardan's mission in Iran arrived here in 1809. (Natchkebia, 2009a: 96). He was to purchase various items for the mission and he met Commander-in-Chief Gudovich (1806-1809). It was the first acknowledgment of Tbilisi as a politically important city.

It is worth noting that "The Report on Georgia" was compiled by Gardan's aide-de-camp Camille Trézel (1780-1860) in 1809. Trézel wrote:

"These people (Georgians) have European morals and manners, our restlessness and our requirement to own much smaller parcel of land, but safe in the knowledge that this places us above the Easterners". (Trézel 1809 Notice sur la Géorgie).

With regard to Tbilisi (which still remained largely destroyed at the time as a result of Agha Mohammad Khan's invasion) Trézel wrote:

"Tbilisi is the first town where after two years spent in silent Asian towns with narrow empty streets and hot sands we rediscovered with great relish the European traits." (*AMFAE*, "Perse", t. IX, 1806-1808, f.150v. Cit.: Tabaghua, 1974: 19-26).

Trézel mentions the markets of Tbilisi which from the point of view of Europeans conferred to the city an oriental aspect. Another traveller stresses: "In the caravan serails retailer Persian, Turkish and Armenians had their deposits of goods." (Freygang, 1816: 114).

France took an interest in Georgia even after concluding the peace treaty of Tilzit. In spring of 1808 on the initiative of Felix Lagorio, Napoleon's royal consul in Feodosia, an expedition was dispatched to Georgia to take stock of the Russian forces stationed in Imereti and Samegrelo. The expedition report was published in Paris in 1809 in the magazine "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages".

The end the historic competition for Iran between England and France was won by England. At the same time, while Russia was still competing with England in Iran, Europe was no longer taking an interest in the Caucasus region. In the treaty concluded between England and Iran in 1812 Georgia is not even mentioned. Therefore Europe had come to regard Georgia as Russia's dominion.

The true state of affairs about the early Russian-Iranian conflict on Georgia is probably best captured by the French diplomat Amadée Jaubert, who quotes the words of a ruler of an Azeri province, Ahmad Khan, regarding the Crown Prince Abbas Mirza: "our current ruler . . . with his mighty hand has united everything, except Georgia, a province that in reality hasn't been part of the empire for a long time now." (Jaubert, 1997: 118) The Persian pretense to

empire proved fallow despite Agha Mohammad Khan's temporary subjugation of the eastern Caucasus. (Kashani-Sabet, p. 21)

This long-lasting war between Russia and Iran ended with the signing of a peace treaty in Gulistan on October 12, 1813. Iran recognized Kartli and Kakheti and Azerbaijan Khanates as the property. The Caspian Sea was under Russian control. After the second war, in 1828 The Nakhichevan and Yeraven Khanates also became Russian possessions.

Overall during the nineteenth century as a result of Russian-Iranian and Russian-Turkish wars the South Caucasus as a whole ended up within the Russian Empire. This fact didn't give rise to any particular opposition from Western Europe.

At the end, it must be stressed that by the beginning of the 19th century Georgia had become part of world geopolitical games. For some time to come Georgia would become a bargaining chip in the "Great Game", but the country retained political significance of this kind for only a short while. Nonetheless, Europe was getting a more clear perception of Georgia from the political and military points of view as a crossroads between Europe and Asia.

Trade and Commercial importance of Georgia for France

Following the incorporation of Georgia and a large part of the Southern Caucasus into the Russian Empire Georgia gained critical importance for Europeans in terms of trade, at a time when the Ottoman Empire was declining. By the beginning of the 19th century French capital had assumed increasingly important role here. However, the freedom of French capital was restricted by Russia, which tried in every way to promote trade relations with the South Caucasus and use this territory for trade expansion in the East. To achieve hegemony in the South Caucasus French capital had to confront trade companies of British India as well.

During the Iran-Russian war the capital of Georgia generally represented the sphere of military interest of Russia and it hadn't yet assumed the significance as a trade and transit route between the East and West. The town continued trading with the North Caucasus, Iran and Turkey. The population was small, while the city itself was in ruins. It was yet to acquire the function of the capital of a Russian Caucasus and its geopolitical role for Russia's entry in the Middle East.

In order to consolidate its position in Georgia and Transcaucasia, Russia was forced to declare a temporary "freedom of trade" here. Russia's understanding of trade with Asia at the time was as follows: Russia was to engage in trade between Europe and Asia. Thanks to its geographic location it was to become an intermediary power that would be impossible to bypass in the trade between Europe and Asia. After the gradual conquest of Transcaucasia the idea of linking up the trade routes of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea

resurfaced again. Transcaucasia represented a kind of bridge between Europe and Asia and was a very convenient route for transit trade.

As mentioned above, after the incorporation into Russia Georgia's trade links initially were limited to the Near East and the North Caucasus, although it should be emphasised that these trade relations were quite extensive. Jaubert wrote: "it should be pointed out that during the last Russian-Persia war trade with Georgia never stopped. Caravans came and went in Tbilisi as they did during the peace time." (Jaubert, 1997: 80-81).

Russia's entry in the region gradually changed the situation. Extending contact with Europe via the north route was made much easier by building the Georgian Military Road.

So called "high preferential tariffs" introduced by the Russian Empire in 1810 represented significant hurdles to European capitals. Despite subsequent amendments customs tariffs remained high and therefore unfavorable for the Europeans. Eventually they managed to have the tariffs reduced. Jacques François Gamba was instrumental in achieving this.

Gamba has a special place among the 19th century authors who wrote on Georgia. He was the first consul of France in Tbilisi. During the Bourbon restoration Gamba prepared and submitted to the French government the *Improving Asia Trade* project. The project envisaged using a transit route that went over Russia (namely the South Caucasus). Minister Richelieu (who previously held office of Governor of Odessa) became interested in the project. The minister considered that the French trade companies must pay particular attention to Georgia. In his view Georgia and its capital Tbilisi could become the hub of transit trade between Europe and Asia. By order of Richelieu Gamba traveled twice in southern parts of the Russian Empire and was eventually appointed consul general of France in Tbilisi in 1821.

The French consulate opened in Tbilisi specifically for the purpose of making use of the Georgian territory for trade with the East. Gamba wrote on the Black Sea, and therefore the significance of the Georgian territory: "an adequate measure to contain England's monopoly and excessive might and free Europe from her influence would be the reunification of Europe and Asia, interconnection of the two by the Black Sea, i.e. closed sea." (Gamba, 1987: 36).

The Transcaucasia was seen as a bridge between Europe and Asia as it was a convenient route for transit trade. Russia wanted to revive this very transit route, and by the decree of October 8, 1821, preferential tariffs were introduced. Customs-duties imposed on goods imported from Europe were set at only five percent of the price of goods, and transit of European goods bound for Iran via the Transcaucasia was made toll-free. Preferential duties would apply for ten years; the decree took effect on July 1, 1822. From that date onward, the European trade with Asia was to be carried out through South Caucasus, i.e. Odessa-Redut- Kale-Tbilisi. Gamba wrote: "Based on the decree of October 8

(20) 1821, all goods imported to Georgia from abroad will be taxed by only 5 percent of the declared price of the goods, in the same way duties are levied on goods imported from Iran on the basis of the Gulestan Treaty." (*Ibid.*, 235).

By such concessions, Russia sought to make way for European goods entering the Central Asia and Iran via the Transcaucasia, as Russia itself was unable to satisfy these countries' needs with its own production. The law was also expected to result in shifting the Trabzon-Erzurum route onto the Transcaucasian territory, and to "strengthen Russia's political influence on the European continent and versus Iran-Turkey as well." (Bodenshtadt, 1965: 170) The significance of the Georgian port of Redut-Kale (Kulevi) on the Black Sea was especially enhanced. "Redut-Kale was the busiest harbour on the east coast of the Black Sea . . . , which for years had been regarded as a linking centre for trade transactions between Persia and Europe." (*Ibid.*) Redut-Kale was destroyed during the Crimean War.³⁶

Although the five-percent tariff concession and toll-free transit meant that European countries and France in particular would secure the markets of South Caucasus and Iran, the Russian government was hoping that a ten-year period of preferential tariffs policy would encourage the markets of South Caucasus and Iran to expand; the demand for European goods would increase, but upon the expiry of this term, Russian bourgeoisie would dominate the emerging markets. This decree gave great impetus to the development of trade in Georgia, and made the country part of the international trade. During this period the transit route of Georgia was used by English as well, despite the fact that preferential tariff was directed against England and served France's interests. (Sanikidze, 2008: 157). In the mid-1820s, Gamba wrote: "Many Englishmen returning to Europe from India have passed through Tiflis lately. They embark from Bombay and in 15-20 days they reach the Bandar-Bushehr harbor in the Persian Gulf. The residence of consulate general of England is in this harbor; Englishmen are heavily involved in trade, and they distribute manufactured goods from India and their own country throughout Persia. From Bandar-Bushehr they easily reach Tiflis within six weeks by caravans". (Gamba, II, 1826: 159).

Gamba's activity in the Caucasus was overly dynamic and he even managed to serve his own economic ends as well. Georgia's Commander-in-Chief General A.P. Ermolov received an order from the emperor of Russia according to which Gamba was entitled to set up trade establishments in Georgia and plots of land would be delivered into his possession for farming. (*AKAK*, VI, I, 1882: 263).³⁷

Preferential transit in Transcaucasia during 1821-31 greatly facilitated

³⁶ For the importance of Redut-Kale for commercial relations between East and West see Pachkoria, 1968; Spaskii-Avtonomov, 1847: 21-33.

³⁷ About Gamba's biography, see Nikoladze, 1962:12; khantadze, 1987: 5-9.

capital accumulation among merchants and increased therefore their subsequent influence. At the same time the preferential tariff had positive impact on living conditions of the local population as a whole. (Mgaloblishvili & Mikiasvili, 2007: 302). Local enterprises started development as well. As early as 1827, the Russian government lent eighty thousand silver rubles to a Frenchman named Castella to build a silk-spinning mill in Georgia. Several skilled workers came from France to work for Castella, but most of the workers – usually fifteen to twenty but sometimes as many as fifty were local. Most of the machinery, of course, was imported. (Antelava et al., 1967: 85; Pintner, 1967: 43n).

When Castella died, the state took over the plant and ran it until the 1840s. But this outlay of government capital was exceptional, and by the end of the 1820s Russian authorities began to see the Asian continent as a source of raw materials for the embryonic industry of Central Asia. As Russia itself began to initiate some industrial development, Russian official visualised Transcaucasia as a supplier of raw materials rather than area to be developed economically. (Sunni, 1994: 91).

Gamba wrote: “the day when Tbilisi becomes a major market where many caravans will arrive from the Indy’s shores which stretch from Panjab to Gujarat, new trade combinations will be developed here, broad intercommunication will be established between manufacturing Europe and Asia, which is rich in all kinds of raw material that our factories need. This new route, this market in the country of civilised people...is a significant development for France and it should be paid due attention; it is also important for Russia, one of the provinces of which is destined to become a large-scale trade hub; finally it is important for all of Europe which is looking for sales markets for its industries.” (Gamba, II, 1826: 161).

Gamba’s work is important also in that it details the ethnic and religious make-up of Tbilisi population, changes in the town’s character and its restoration process. The French consul’s work is an invaluable source not only for studying economic life of Georgia³⁸, but also for studying its natural wealth, everyday life of population and culture. Overall Gamba’s contribution as the first European consul in Tbilisi is invaluable and symbolic. Gamba died in 1833 in Kutaisi. His daughter Charlotte Gamba, his only heir, lived also in Kutaisi. In 1851 his creditors sequestered his property and his whole estate was sold off to pay his creditors.

Gamba protected interests of France’s commercial bourgeoisie and fought against English influence. Interests of Russia and continental Europe had temporarily coincided in confronting England. From the beginning, preferential tariff in Transcaucasia had formidable opponents in Russia, but the fight against

³⁸ For instance Gamba’s data on weights and measures in use in Georgia are very important – local, Oriental, Russian and European units of weights and measures were used simultaneously). (See: Mgaloblishvili & Mikiashvili, 2007: 328-349).

preferential tariff began in earnest after Kankin was appointed minister of finance of Russia. Kankin considered that the law of October 8th 1821 was causing great harm to Russia.

During preferential customs and nearly free trade Tbilisi became filled up with cheap European goods. A transit route going from Europe into Iran was thrown across Redut-Kale-Tbilisi; Russian goods were squeezed out of market even more. A weak Russian industry was losing a lucrative market. Understandably, there were continuous protests by Russian industrialists. Russian bourgeoisie demanded that high excise-duties on European goods be restored.

Shortly before the expiry of the specified term, Russia cancelled preferential customs-tariff set for European goods. In 1832, an extremely high tariff was set for European textile goods. However, this decision did not bring about desired results for the Russian empire. The cancellation of preferential customs-tariffs and toll-free transits on foreign goods led to obvious change. The transit trade route from Europe into Iran that had been revived in the 1820s was now proving inefficient. The main line of Europe's "Asian trade" (Redut-Kale-Tbilisi-Baku) had to rival with the Trabzon route. "A trade company, set up by the British in Trabzon, flooded the eastern markets with own goods." (Dumbadze, 1973: 914). After the cancellation of tariff concessions trade between European countries and Iran shifted toward the Trabzon-Erzrum route. The profit, which had been gained by Tbilisi and Redut-Kale under toll-free transit now went to Trabzon-Erzrum. Many Tbilisi merchants chose to engage in transit trade using the Trabzon-Erzrum route, by which they delivered European goods to Iran.

Getting undesired results prompted the government of Russia to rectify the situation, although the territory of Georgia didn't gain significance it had when preferential tariffs were in force. Despite this Georgia and Tbilisi still remained in France's sphere of interests. The French established various types of enterprises here, and the city too gradually acquired a European appearance.

The Russian writer P. Zubov wrote in 1833: "being a trade center of Transcaucasia Tbilisi attracts merchants from different countries of Asia and Europe whose clothes and appearance create amazing diversity. Turks, Persians, Indians, Tartars, Germans, English, French, highlanders, Armenians, Georgians, Russians and others in national costumes, tunics and frock coats; European carriages, German buggies, Georgian carts. All of these are passing before our eyes every minute in a continuous panorama and form an original picture." Meanwhile all of this had resulted directly from the application of preferential tariff. (Zubov, 1834: 170; Polievktov, 1930: 87-88; Gugushvili, I, 1949: 214)

Despite the ban, European goods still entered the Transcaucasia market either through smuggling or officially. As preferential tariff applied to trading with Iran and Turkey, European goods disguised as "Asian goods" were still

squeezing out the Russian industrial goods. (Meskhia, 1958: 401). After the cancellation of tariff concessions, trade between European countries and Iran shifted toward the Trabzon-Erzrum route. The profit, which had been gained by Tbilisi and Redut-Kale under toll-free transit now went to Trabzon-Erzrum. Many Tbilisi merchants chose to engage in transit trade using the Trabzon-Erzrum route, by which they delivered European goods to Iran. After the setting up of the British company in Trabzon, goods were smuggled into Georgia in large quantities. Setting up customs by the Russian empire proved ineffective in fighting contraband (Sanikidze, 2008: 158-159). But in general, progress and economic success that had been anticipated under the extended preferential tariff was never realised.

Imagery: French authors about Georgia and Tbilisi during the second half of the 19th c.

During the 19th c. Tbilisi gradually obtained traits of an European city. It concerned many aspects of the city life – social, economic or cultural. This multiethnic and multicultural city with the mix of Eastern, local and Western traditions represented special interest for European travellers.

Gamba as the consul of France was primarily interested in economic aspects. But travellers in the subsequent years paid attention to economic aspects, as well as taking notice of other features, such as multi-ethnicity and multi-confessional character of Tbilisi, everyday life of Tbilisi citizens, change in the city's architecture, the effects of exposure to European culture and at the same time close cultural ties with Persia etc. It should be noted, Persian language even in the late 1820s was popular in Georgia, especially among the nobility, and the knowledge of this language was considered as a 'bon ton', as to imitate the Persian manners. (Bélangier, II, 1836-1846: 31). Simultaneously, a public school of European style for young people started to form Europeanised young Georgians. If the parents spoke Persian, their children began to study European languages. This process continued throughout the first third of the nineteenth century.

Dumas père

In 1858-1859 Alexandre Dumas traveled to Georgia. This journey resulted in his famous book *The Caucasus*. Tbilisi was the destination and the focal point of his journey. That is why the book centers on Georgia's capital. *The Caucasus* by Dumas vividly documents a bygone era and unlike other travellers' notes, which lack Dumas's writing skills and imagination, this book can be read in one sitting. At the same time Dumas imparts some significant facts about the history of Georgia, traditions of the Caucasian peoples, their everyday life, and political and economic situation.

Dumas had prepared well for this journey. He had read almost every

available book on the Caucasus, including ancient Greek authors, eastern chroniclers of the Middle Ages (e.g. a book by Ibn Hawqal, a 10th century Arab geographer and traveller), and European authors Chardin, Tavernié, Dubois de Montpereux, Chevalier Gambat etc. One of his main sources was *The History of Georgia* by Marie Brosset that had been recently published. Dumas recounts historical anecdotes about the Caucasian peoples, above all about Georgians. He describes the activity of viceroys Yermollof, Vorontsov, Paskevich, Niedhart in Tbilisi, which by then had become the residence of general-governors of the Caucasus. He also focuses attention on Georgian and Caucasian princes, Cossacks, Shamil's uprising, etc. Dumas stayed at a house of the French consul Finot. Dumas wrote that the time he spent in Tbilisi was one of the best periods of his life in terms of favorable conditions created for work.

The first thing that caught Dumas' eye in Tbilisi was the change that had taken place both in the city and in the lives of its inhabitants. Dumas's impressions tally with the remarks by Gamba and Klapproth who inferred that thanks to its geographical location this Asian town sitting on the crossroad between the East and the West could gradually become a truly European city. In the first quarter of the 19th century this small Asian town was becoming increasingly attractive to the Europeans. At the time of Dumas's visit there existed a small French-speaking community in Tbilisi comprising 153 people. Dumas wrote: "those who know Tbilisi only by Klapproth and Gamba's accounts would not guess it was the same city, which the two travellers described, should they arrive in the city today" (Dumas, 1965: 334), Dumas adds: "I own up when I was coming to Tbilisi I thought I would see a half savage town. But it seems I was wrong. Thanks to the French colony, which is primarily made up of Parisian tailors and milliners, Georgian ladies are only two weeks late in keeping up with the fashion trends of the Italian theatre and Gandi boulevard". (*Ibid*, 340). What stands out in the book is the description of a Tbilisi theatre: Dumas wrote: "I had not seen anywhere in my life an auditorium of a theatre so ravishing as the one I saw in Tbilisi...I could not wish for anything more for that beautiful auditorium in terms of its architecture and decor". (*Ibid*, 274). Dumas even wrote about a German village in a Tbilisi suburb.

On the other hand, Dumas also detected the Asian side of the city. He wrote about famous Persian baths of Tbilisi with great enthusiasm. During his stay in Tbilisi Dumas went to these baths every day and he even intended to order Tbilisian masseurs from France. (*Ibid*, 298) Dumas also describes a ball at the residence of Governor Bariatnitskii, market places, caravan serails, and types of city dwellers. He wrote about the beauty of Georgian women with great enthusiasm.

In Dumas's work there is no shortage of humor, either. He describes how he was awarded a *best drinker's certificate*. He also devotes attention to the Georgian *supra* (feast). Humor doesn't betray Dumas here either, and he adds

that "During a Georgian feast moderate drinkers at the table would drink five or six bottles of wine, and sometimes ten or 12. It isn't rare for a man at a *supra* to drink up to 15 bottles of wine. God has bestowed on Georgians a wine that won't make you lose your mind". (*Ibid*, 344)

Orsolle

During the 1880s another French traveller E. Orsolle, visited Georgia. His work centers on a description of ethnic and confessional composition of the Tbilisi population. Orsolle provides valuable information on Persian nationals of the Russian empire: "as for the Persians of the Yerevan province, who have been the Tsar's subjects since 1828, they have joined the Russian army and administration voluntarily; knowledge of eastern languages makes them very needful in the Asian provinces; being adroit and intelligent the majority of them have become completely European in their habits and ideas, and have sometimes achieved high posts; above all they are remarkable gentlemen; many of them speak French fluently." (Orsolle, 1885: 43). From the social point of view the most advanced stratum among the subjects of Iran were merchants, followed by those of artisans, other workers and hired man-power. Orsolle writes on the Iranians of Tbilisi: "the majority of these Iranians are businessmen and they are distinguished by their intelligence. We should trust the saying: "it takes two Jews to rob one Armenian, and it takes two Armenians to rob one Persian." (*Ibid*.)

Le Baron de Baye

Information on Georgia by Le Baron de Baye is particularly important. This includes a work dedicated specifically to Tbilisi in which the author displays a profound knowledge of the city's history. He emphasises ethno-confessional composition of Tbilisi population. He provides many interesting details about the districts and architectural monuments of Tbilisi. The author also notes that valuable material of natural history; archeology and ethnography of the Caucasus are kept at a Tbilisi museum. It is interesting that Le Bai expresses regret that Georgians are gradually neglecting their traditional and unique national costume and changing over to European clothes.

Le Baron de Baye's records regarding Islam and Muslims of Tbilisi are especially interesting and valuable. According to this French traveller the elder of Tbilisi Sunnites at the time bore a title of the mufti of the Transcaucasus. Le Baron de Baye's information on Shiites' leader Akhund-Zadeh is also worthy of note as it attests to his great authority with the city population, on the one hand, and to a strong Persian influence, on the other: "a visit to the Shiite spiritual leader of the Transcaucasia Sheikh ol-Eslam was very interesting. His name is Akhund-Zadeh. He is from the Tartar Azerbaijan and about 60 years old. He was born in Elizabetpol which adopted the Persian language and he comes from the mullah family. He must be grateful to the Caucasus administrators for his

appointment; therefore he can be regarded as a functionary, although he makes use of his strong influence over his coreligionists. The average income from furnished houses is twelve thousand Rubles and spent on his church and charity. Guided by the Shiites' leader and Mr. Velichko, who had introduced me to him I visited a Muslim cemetery (Gabristan). After showing me a house in which the dead are embalmed, I was shown some of the oldest graves. Over one of these is placed a dome inlaid with enamel. Under the dome rests Seyed, Mohamed's descendant. In front of the mausoleum earth was red with blood. Sheep had been sacrificed in memory of the holy man. This custom is wide-spread, as much as lighting candles over the graves." (de Baye, 1990: 9).

Other Travellers

The work of Dutch traveller Chevalier Lyclama A Nijeholt, published in French, devotes attention to describing Tbilisi neighbourhoods. "The Sololaki district is almost entirely Russian and most houses here are private. There is also a palace of a prince, descendant of the last king of Georgia. Here are the residences of the French and Persian consuls." (Lyclama a Nijeholt, 1872: 358). It is worth noting that the French and the Persian consulates are located side by side. His description of a religious holiday at Svetitskhoveli Cathedral located in the ancient capital of Georgia is extremely interesting.

Some French travellers (Stanislas Menié, Charles-Lefèvre Pontal, Jane Dieulafoy etc.) presented also an overall picture of Tbilisi and Tbilisian life of the end of the 19th century as seen from the European perspective. During evaluation of works by the French authors of the second half of the nineteenth century the exceptional benevolence they displayed toward Georgia and people living in this country should be emphasised. It should be noted that unlike the previous periods they didn't come to the country on specific missions and did not seek ways of carrying out in practice the political and economic interests of France. In evaluating the Russian rule they often noted that this development had facilitated the process of Europeanisation of the country and strengthening connections with Europe. Each and every one of them notes that the country was a kind of bridge and crossroads between East and West, Asia and Europe which added unique fascination and attraction to the city.

Georgia also attracted attention of foreign photographers. French photographer Jean Rault created ethnographic photographic studies in many areas of the Russian Empire. Only few copies were printed of his album "Collection des types des peuples de Russie, Roumanie et Bulgarie". I got hold of this album at the archive of the Golestan Palace Museum in Tehran. The album was a gift of the Russian emperor to the shah of Iran. It is interesting that apart from the French and Russian inscriptions each picture also has an inscription made by Naser od-Din, Shah of Persia. Several photos (including those taken in Georgia) have been awarded a prize at the Paris exhibition of

1878. The album contained 28 photos of Georgians and most of these photos previously were unknown in Georgia. Rault's photographs are important as photos of Georgians taken in natural environment of the 19th century are extremely rare. The photos are also noteworthy for studying Georgian character types, their mode of dress, weapons, social and regional diversity, etc.

Conclusion

In conclusion it is worth noting that in the beginning of the 19th century a considerable part of France's East policy was centered on Georgia. This is evidenced by a special place of Georgia in the treaty of Finkenstein. After Russia consolidated its position in the region Georgia drew France's attention as a transit trade route. During confrontation between Britain and Russia over Iran and Central Asia (so called "The Great Game") France wasn't an active actor, therefore political interest in Georgia was put on a back burner. Despite this during the 19th century Georgia and its capital Tbilisi still attracted the French economically. French travellers' records regarding multi-ethnic and multi-confessional population of Tbilisi, as well as demonstrating its transformation from an Asian to a European city are particularly important.

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Alexander Chavchavadze and the Europeanisation of his wine

Introduction

Alexander Chavchavadze, a Georgian noble was born in St. Petersburg in 1786. He was a son of the first Georgian ambassador in the Russian empire. He was educated in St. Petersburg and he knew six languages (French, German, Russian, Armenian, Persian and Georgian). In order to see how Alexander's life developed at the first half of nineteenth century we need to keep in mind that the kingdom of Georgia was abolished and occupied by Russian Empire from the very beginning of nineteenth century. In 1801 Kartli-Kakheti Kingdom, (Eastern Georgia) got incorporated into a Russian Empire and the latter one became the provider of every novelty in different Georgian regions. (<http://chavchavadze.si.edu/>, accessed: 10.01.2014)

The early 19th Century is a very special period for Georgian history. While France, Italy and other western European countries were exploring new lands and fighting for hegemony in the world, Georgia was struggling with its independence and identity vis a vis the Russian Empire and finally lost its independence. The Bagration family that had ruled the Georgian kingdom for over a thousand years was exiled to St. Petersburg, Emperor's Russia. The Georgian nobility was subjugated to the Russian nobility system and it fought for justice in new places.

"Everything has finished in these times in Georgia: Tbilisi was burnt down, Irakli died (*king Irakli II of Kakheti-IP*), George died (*George the XII, son of Irakli II-IP*), the King's Family was sent to Russia, Georgia went under Russian government and Alexander was observing the development of the story of his patrimony from far away."³⁹ writes the 19th Century historian Jona Meunargia about Alexander Chavchavadze (Tsaishvili S. ed., 1936).

This small excerpt shows how difficult it was for locals to build up life in this environment, struggles caused by political and economic insecurity only doubled because of lack in business management. By that time Tbilisi market was occupied by travellers of caravans and everything had this oriental twist. After the subordination of the Georgian kingdoms to the Russian Empire, the European window was opened to locals. And Alexander Chavchavadze, together with his family became a person who provided all these novelties to their homeland. Unfortunately, later in 1854, Alexander's palace in Tsinandali was burned down and his patrimony destroyed, which makes it extremely difficult to restore the real lifestyle of this family (<http://chavchavadze.si.edu/>, accessed: 10.01.2014) and it is only memoirs of others that we can lean on. Of

³⁹ Translated by IP

course there are stories of Tsinandali Chavchavadze family preserved in the village, that got mythologised and today it is hard to separate myth from reality.

Encounters with ideas from Europe

In this contribution we'll try to review Alexander Chavchavadze's major gains and examine how his lifestyle turned Tsinandali's and country's vectors towards Europe. What are main links and novelties Chavchavadze's learnt from Europe, and what did they offer to Georgians?

It is important to know two things: a) what was the motive behind bringing European culture to Georgia and b) how can we describe this process of bringing different cultural elements to country?

Alexander Chavchavadze was one of those persons who synthesised lots of novelties to the country. The most important one is reinventing the way wine was produced in country. The oldest wine (Saperavi) bottled in Tsinandali dates back to 1841 and is kept until today in the Tsinandali Museum Winery. Before that Georgian wine was produced in clay vessels (*kvevri*), this method has its advantages and disadvantages. Main plus is the taste and richness of tannin that can be observed in "kvevri" wines. Every Tsinandali dweller and Kakhetian can talk about these advantages in interviews. But there are disadvantages that makes kvevri wine almost impossible for the mass production. The main problem is the one of transportation, as the clay vessels are buried underground with the only open end facing up for access; besides in this kind of vessel, wine cannot be kept for a long time, without losing its taste, finally it was impossible to transport Georgian wine to Europe and make a business out of it.

Alexander Chavchavadze, who was educated in Emperor's Russia, was familiar with European wine bottling techniques. Thus he wanted to create Georgian brand wine that could be exported to Europe. He was familiar with newly emerging marketing system in so called civilised world; he knew how much wine was spent in Emperor's banquets and how big was demand for local wine-production. Thus he took a step forward and begun to build wine factory in his patrimony: Tsinandali. Alexander brought Italian and French wine-makers to Kakheti Region and together with them build up an entirely new, European system of wine-making. In his patrimony he built a huge winery, wine-factory and begun to produce Georgian bottled wines. He was so sure about the future of Georgian wines that he was ready to take a risk and borrow money from the bank for building up an entire new facility and vineyard in Tsinandali. (Khmaladze I. 1975). In 1835 Alexander got a loan for 1 million Russian rubles and the amount of time to pay back the loan was 20 years, thus around 1855 Alexander had to begin to return money back to the bank. Alexander Chavchavadze negotiated with the state owned Alaverdi Copper Factory to buy over 6000 pounds of copper for making water pipes and other facilities. (Abjandadze I. 2010). Alexander was modernizing old Georgian wine

recipes and creating new ones. One of those new recipes is appellation Tsinandali, which consists of two sorts of wine: Rkatsiteli (85%) and Mtsvane from Manavi (15%) this is a white dry wine, 10-12% of alcohol and a distinguished smell of fruit. (<http://www.sakpatenti.org.ge>, accessed: 10.01.2014). The big advantage of this wine is that it can be used with various kinds of food, thus it was good for famous Georgian wine-tables. As we know, instead of bringing already known French grape varieties to Tsinandali, Alexander decided to adapt European wine making techniques to Georgian grapes. Thus we can say that Alexander was adapting Georgian culture to the European one in this encounter.

Alexander Chavchavadze built a big palace in Tsinandali together with the vineyard, thus he could host numerous guests that were visiting him in his own patrimony. Here by the legend it is told that one French traveller Elise Reclou said after visiting Tsinandali: "life is divided into two parts, before tasting Tsinandali and after tasting Tsinandali." (Megutinishvili S., 2006). This is the story that museum guides are retelling even today whenever guests enter the museum. Alexander's palaces in both Tbilisi and in Tsinandali were famous places for meeting the political and cultural elite during 19th century Georgia. Recently revealed new material in the Georgian National Archives shows how big Alexander's palace was in Tbilisi city (National Archive, fund #204). A two story building with a huge cellar; as it seems Alexander was trying to establish a wine store in Tbilisi to organize the further distribution of his wine in different places in Georgia.. So the main motive behind all this actions was to gain an economic profit. We could say he was an entrepreneur, but getting rich was not the final dream for him. As in his early years he lived in St. Petersburg, Alexander had internalised Europeanness.

After returning to Georgia his personal style dissonated with the local one and thus he tried to adapt his direct environment to himself. Alexander's god-mother Catherine the Great sent to her god-son wall-papers with images of cupids, and Alexander had decorated with them his palace in Tbilisi. His passion to modernise everything was contagious and every other noble wanted to have a similar lifestyle. Alexander was the first Georgian who built a European style palace in Georgia. During his life if something was happening in Tbilisi Gubernia, Alexander was involved in it. Probably because Alexander's participation was adding an extra insurance to the project. He tried to promote active cultural life and was organizing literary salons, where nobility was gathering to discuss various novels and poems, different authors were presenting their new works, some were presenting translations. (Tsaishvili S. ed., 1936). Alexander had done numerous translations by himself. He translated Voltaire, Cornelius, and some of the old Greek authors from the French, mostly authors of the Enlightenment.

Alexander built a huge palace in Tsinandali as well to serve his needs,

besides he cultivated huge land around his palace and built big botanical garden with numerous exotic trees from all over the world. He invited a German landscape designer to maintain over these 12 acres of garden: another encounter with Europe.

Today museum guides believe that there was a strong goal behind all this: each family member was trying to bring European cultural life to Georgia and to host not only nobles, but educated people and foreign guests to establish strong social links among those ones who were thinking in a European way. It is known that after visiting Tsinandali, the Russian writer Lermontov said "One loses a lot if he will not visit Kakheti and will not see Tsinandali" (Megutnishvili S. 2014). Due to the historical unrest today we don't have much of his original works, nor do we have his translations. But there is one work, a copy of Voltaires play, - Alzira. Today we know 8 different copies of them, kept in places like, the National Library of France, the Georgian Literature Museum, the Zugdidi Dadiani Place-Museum. It is a 1819 translation to the Georgian language. It is an epic story of love and duty, but at the same time this is a novel which stands for topics such as personal duties to the homeland, the question of how much God and the homeland cost and can these be substituted or not?

As it was impossible for Georgians to write openly about the political struggle of Georgians and problems of independence, everyone was trying to hide personal feelings under indirect phrases. Alzira was one of them. This kind of works was forcing society to think more openly and to see talent in every social layer. As Dr. Tamar Gogoladze claims in her recent work, Alzira's translation had a secret mission as it served as revolutionary textbook during the 1832 year plot against the Russian Empire. Comments on manuscripts foliages were calling people to rebel and to give clues for to whom to contact in cases of interest. (Gogoladze I. 2013). Alexander Chavchavadze was part of this plot as well. The 1832 plot shows that the Georgian noble society was mentally getting ready to enlighten era ideas about freedom and justice (thus Alexander's European literary salons were harvesting its product).

Alexander Chavchavadze was supporting talent in every direction: thus he once noticed that his servant's kid was very good at painting and he paid him to go to St. Petersburg and became a skillful painter in academy of art. This person, Gregory Maisuradze is considered to be the first realist Georgian painter and his works are kept in different museums in Georgia and Russia. After seeing that G. Maisuradze is willing to improve, Alexander freed him from serving Chavchavadze's family. It was long before the announcement of the new law freeing the peasants from nobility in 1864.. (<http://chavchavadze.si.edu/> accessed: 11.01.2014).

Alexander Chavchavadze was general-in-chief but besides of his official duties he managed to translate French, Russian and Persian works of poetry and philosophy; He is the first author to write in romanticism style among

Georgians as well. His works express both difficult socio-political reality in country and philosophical instability of the human-kind (as well as brutality of the historical timeline and fate). His works bring new philosophical dilemmas to the poetic field in Georgia and the author is trying to show the world that poems can be used diversely. As the literary critique Irakli Kenchoshvili writes in the introduction to Alexander Chavchavadze's works, "his pen is rich with angles" (Kenchoshvili I., ed. 1986).

For these reasons Alexander Chavchavadze is considered to be a beloved public figure in Georgia and his museum is one of the most visited historical sightseeing after religious centers of Mtskheta and Gelaty monasteries.

Alexander's Museum was created in 1946 as a 100 year's anniversary from his death. It was during Soviet Stalinist Era and right after WWII thus museum had to have some soviet goal, so officially museum was opened to honor the person who provided friendship between Georgian and Russian people. By that period palace at Tsinandali was used as hotel of wine-factory "Tsinandali". This factory continued to work after Alexander's death as well, almost for entire 20th Century as well. It is interesting how works, which had been started as one man's wishing to modernise and Europeanise his culture of wine production, continues life almost two centuries after.

But what has left after the death of Alexander, what is European and what is Georgian today when producing Tsinandali wine appellation?

Soviet Union affected wine production process in Georgia as well as other fields. After 1886 the Tsinandali factory became owned by government and the wine production process was officialised.(National Archive, fund# 354). Today, probably the taste of wine is slightly different, due to modernization of wine sorts itself. Today, due to phylloxera most of grapes are grafted to new roots and this should have changed the overall taste a little bit (When Alexander Chavchavadze was working in his factory, there was no wine-illnesses in Georgia yet) At the same time the percentage of Rkatsiteli and Mtsvane varies and today we don't know for sure how many percent of Rkatsiteli grapes were used in the first Tsinandali wine. The formula is provided by soviet enologists. It is only true that at the village Tsinandali people from an older generation still remember that there should have been a certain amount of Rkatsiteli and then Mtsvane added to it for balancing wine. In Tsinandali Village one ditty that shows us historical evidence from Alexander's period was kept:

I dreamed I had a wish,
And it became true...
And wine of Chavchavadze's
Was brought to my home by pipes"⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Translated by IP.

(Megutnishvili S. 2014)

It should be mentioned that most village dwellers have information that is learned at some point from soviet textbooks, as a link between Alexander's manufacturing process and the contemporary production broke at the second half of 19th century, when due to financial problems Alexander's son David Chavchavadze had to sell the patrimony. The only thing that remains the same until today is the combination of these two sorts of grapes and an understanding that Tsinandali is the wine that opens the gateway to European viticulture. Today Tsinandali Museum preserves in its winery more than 16.500 bottles of bottled wine beginning from 1839 until the very end of the 20th century.

Tsinandali Alexander Chavchavadze House-Museum tries to rehabilitate the idea that Alexander created here: *bringing the novelty to Georgia*. Museum employees try to show during the guidance and during personal interviews how strongly they want to "bring Alexander's soul back".

As for the villagers, they usually want to underline that they are proud that they are living in Tsinandali village, because they are the ones who produce wine, which is taking the name of Georgia into the entire world. Several Tsinandali villagers also underlined that their village has more general-in-chief's and professors than any other village in Georgia and they add that this is the heritage that has to be maintained, because their ancestors demand them to be better citizens. This feeling of uniqueness is not new: during the Soviet Union in early 50s as the villagers claim, soviet Georgia incorporated the a new law, by which wines had to drop names off and have numbers instead, and Tsinandali was chosen to be the #1 wine; while famous red wine Saperavi was only #5.

As we've seen here Alexander Chavchavadze tried to build a European lifestyle in his patrimony and modernise his own society through literary salons, wine productions and public activities. Today the only thing left are his ideas and wishes of creating a European looking society and Tsinandali villagers try to cherish these ideas to transfer them to the next generation.

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The Wardrops and Georgia: the Oxford-Tbilisi connection

Introduction

Before the first visits of the Wardrops (Oliver in 1887 and Marjory in 1894), little was known in the United Kingdom about Georgia. Oliver and Marjory were responsible in a relatively short time not only for enabling an awareness of the country but also establishing close and lifelong friendships between the two countries.

Although Europeans have been interested in the Georgian culture since ancient times, the first European scholar who, having learnt the Georgian language embarked on exploring Georgian literary heritage was Marie Felicite Brosset (1802-1880), a French philologist, who is now considered to be a founder of Kartvelian studies in Europe. In particular in *The Asian Journal* Brosset published articles on the Georgian language, literature, history and numismatics. In addition to this, Brosset translated the first chapter of *The Man in the Panther Skin*, by Shota Rustaveli and *The Geography of Georgia* by Vakhoushti Bagrationi. Brosset also published a number of monographs about Georgia by his authorship, among them *The Principles of the Georgian language* and *The Georgian History*.

In Britain Kartvelian studies were born in the 1880s when Solomon Caesar Malan (1812 – 1894), a British orientalist, translated and published *The History of the Georgian Church* by Platon Ioseliani into English adding his own valuable comments to the edition. In addition to this, Malan translated *The Preachers* by Gabriel Episkopos. It is worth noting that Malan was so interested in this exotic country unknown to both himself and Europe generally that he travelled to Georgia to get acquainted with the country. The love towards Georgia and Georgian culture must have deepened in Malan during this visit as, on returning to his motherland, he compiled a large library of Georgian books comprising almost all the editions published in Georgian at that time. According to David Lang, Malan could speak Georgian so well that whilst in Tbilisi in 1872, he was even able to preach in Georgian (Lang, 1962).

Another scholar who contributed to the development of Kartvelian studies was William Richard Morfill (1834 –1909), Professor of Russian at the University of Oxford, England, by writing an article “The Georgian language and literature” in which he analysed prominent works of literary thought existing in the country (Stone, 2009; Odzeli, 1998). Morfill personally knew several Georgian Statesmen of the period. For instance, he was friends with Ilia Chavchavadze (1837–1907), a well-known writer and statesman, classed as “the Father of the Nation”, Iakob.Gogebashvili (1840 – 1912) a much-loved children’s writer and creator of the first ABC book for young learners in

Georgian, Ivane Machabeli (1854 – 1898), a prominent translator who, together with Ilia Chavchavadze, translated works by Shakespeare into Georgian. Morfill published reviews on the translations made by Oliver and Marjory Wardrop and Arthur Leist as well as on scholarly works by Georgian writers and scholars Khakhanasvili and Tsagareli. (Sharadze, 1984:53) David Lang refers to these reviews as independent articles containing a scholarly, sophisticated analysis of the subject (Lang, 1962:143).

Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (1856 –1924) was also interested in Georgian ecclesiastical literature. As well as this, his close friendship with the Wardrops and travels to Georgia made him fluent in the Georgian language. Conybeare's works touched upon the "provenance of the first redaction of the Georgian New Testament and the Georgian redaction of the "Balavariani". This was followed by his study of the MSS of Mount Athos and publication of English translations of the Georgian redactions of individual works of Byzantine literature" (Chelidze, 2012).

Clearly, the increasing interest towards Georgia in England fitted very well into the spirit of the Victorian society of empire and adventure. The scholars mentioned above must have been interested in this exotic, Christian country which, situated on the verge of Christian and Muslim worlds had incorporated and manifested features of both of them in its culture, literature, lifestyle and world view.

As well as the scholars who either wrote about Georgian culture and literature or translated the Georgian literary legacy of the period, Georgia attracted the attention of some prominent explorers and mountaineers among whom was Douglas Freshfield who wrote three large illustrated volumes on the region, which, among other works of a similar type, were read avidly by Oliver and Marjory (Nasmyth, 1998).

It can be argued that the British and other European authors who explored and wrote about Georgia paved the way to the Wardrops' period in terms of Georgian-British relationships which not only developed a genuine and strong love between Oliver and Marjory Wardrop on the one hand and the Georgian society of that period on the other, but also served as a solid platform for the ensuing political and economic relationships and a focus of trust for the Georgian people (Nasmyth, 1998).

The Wardrops and Georgia: motives and relations

Besides being the personal friends of many Georgians of the XIX century, Sir Oliver Wardrop (1864 –1948) and his sister, Marjory (1869–1909) are considered to be the founders and benefactors of Kartvelian studies at Oxford University. However, Oliver was primarily known to his countrymen as the United Kingdom's first Chief Commissioner of Transcaucasia in Georgia between 1919 and 1921.

Oliver Wardrop first came to Georgia (then part of the Russian Empire) as an explorer and traveller in 1887 and visited Batumi, Kutaisi, Tbilisi, Kaheti and even Khevi (a mountainous part of Georgia) which was relatively hard to travel to in that period. During this visit he was hosted by Ivane Machabeli and Ilia Chavchavadze. As is obvious from the later correspondence between Machabeli and Oliver Wardrop, the former provided the author with some of the updated information about the history and literature of Georgia for the book Oliver was writing at that moment *The Kingdom of Georgia*. The book, which was published in 1888 in London, described Oliver Wardrop's first visit to Georgia and included fundamental details and facts from the history of Georgia, the Georgian language and a review of prominent literary works as well as the updated data about the social and political situation in Georgia and its population. The book also included rich illustrative materials showing the major cities of Georgia which the author had visited, its countryside along with the photos of the people who hosted Oliver Wardrop during his visit including those of Chavchavadze and Machabeli, the drawing of the route Oliver Wardrop followed and Georgia's map of the period.

Clearly, the book was destined for the adventurous reader as, by describing Georgia of the XIX century, it made an attempt to awaken the interest of the British Victorian Society towards Georgia and to encourage the people to visit it by mentioning several alluring factors which, according to the author, could make Georgia as popular a resort as those situated in Norway or Switzerland. Firstly, Wardrop argued that Georgia is not so far away as people might imagine, it is at least as beautiful as either of the countries named above and it is almost unknown to tourists. Moreover, although Wardrop believed that the possible attractions to people would be Georgia's nature, flora and fauna, he also claimed that: "Georgia's chief attraction lies in its people: the Georgians are not only fair to look upon, but they are essentially lovable people. To live among such cheerful, open-hearted, open-handed, honest, innocent folk is the best cure for melancholy and misanthropy that could well be imagined". (Wardrop, 1887: 7). To prove his viewpoint, Wardrop included interesting, memorable narrative passages describing Batumi, Tbilisi (Tiflis), Kutaisi and other major cities that he visited and their possible attraction to the tourists as well as enchanting illustrations, portraits and photos of the Georgian alphabet letters specially moulded in London by Wardrop's commission. Not surprisingly, the book enjoyed a warm welcome and the approval of the Georgian public and it was reviewed in *Droeba*, one of the most popular newspapers published in the period whose editor-in-chief was Chavchavadze. The book was re-published in 1977 with a foreword by Andrew (Andro) Wardrop (Oliver's son).

In spite of the impressive material included in the book Oliver Wardrop considered that simply reading a book was hardly enough to present Georgia

properly and he encouraged the reader to come to this exotic country and write more comprehensive works about it.

Having read this book about Georgia, one of the first people who expressed the wish to visit it after becoming interested in Georgian culture was Oliver Wardrop's younger sister, Marjory, who followed her brother's explorations with huge interest and equal frustration as, being a woman of the Victorian society, she was not allowed to travel independently and be as active as the male members of society. As is known, Oliver and Marjory came from a friendly, close-knit family and were immensely fond of each other. In addition to this, both siblings liked writing letters to each other as well as to friends and, while doing so, they shared their impressions and feelings with their friends and each other. Not surprisingly Oliver wrote to Marjory about his travels, including his first trip to Georgia which was met with admiration by Marjory, who replied in a following letter to Oliver "I do not know why I can think of nothing to speak about but Georgia! I am happy for you to be there, but lo! To be with you" (Sharadze, 1984).

Marjory must have felt very rebellious as a woman in the Victorian era as in one of her letters written to Oliver she said: "If I had been a man I should have run away long ago and seen the world. You cannot think how rebellious against my situation I often feel... Nobody seems to understand that the soul strives and longs for something more than a well-built house and good things to eat". (Taktakishvili-Urushadze, 1965).

Realising that she would not have the opportunity to travel to Georgia on her own, Marjory independently started to learn the Georgian language using the book by Brosset, the manual for the self-study of the Georgian language "Elements de la langue Georgienne (published in Paris, 1834), and the Georgian translation of the Bible. This impossible task must have seemed feasible for her as she was known to be particularly talented at languages. For instance, Marjory was fluent in French, German, Russian, Romanian and Italian as well as her native English (Taktakishvili-Urushadze, 1965:24). Varlam Cherkeshishvili, a prominent journalist of the period, known by his pseudonym "Vaziani", visited Marjory at her family home in England and described her as a "slim, exquisite and shy young lady" who had accumulated a great knowledge relying on her great desire to be successful and also her hard working nature (Vaziani, 1894 a). It is also known that it was Marjory's intention always to be updated on the events happening in Georgia and for this she had subscribed to Georgian newspapers and magazines of the period *Iveria* and *Moambe* and read them avidly (Sharadze, 1984). As well as this, she translated newspaper articles from Georgian into English and summed them up in personal comments and notes about her views [(Donkin, (2004); Nasmyth (1998); Odzeli *et al.* (2001)].

After learning Georgian, Marjory translated "Georgian folk tales" which she dedicated to Eduard Taylor, the founder of the Anthropological School, and

sent them to him for his appraisal. Taylor liked both the tales and their translations (Sharadze, 1984: 123). This publication was preceded by the translator's foreword, in which Marjory Wardrop thanked the people who had helped her with the translation, among them Prince Ivane Machabeli and Oliver Wardrop. It is also worth noting that, like Oliver Wardrop in the book discussed above, Marjory also argued that located in the region where Europe and Asia (West and Orient) fuse, Georgia could become extremely interesting for historians and literary critics to explore (Marjory Wardrop, 1894). This was an appeal for evoking further interest about Georgia in Western Europe. What is even more important is that in this foreword Marjory first expressed her intentions to translate the 12th century epic "The Man in the Panther's Skin" by Shota Rustaveli.

In 1894 Marjory translated the poem "The Hermit" by Ilia Chavchavadze and wrote a letter to the author in almost perfect Georgian requesting permission to publish her translation in England. In the letter she also expressed her long-term desire to visit Georgia and to get acquainted with this beautiful country and its people.

Marjory's letter to Chavchavadze was published on the cover of the newspaper "Iveria" by the addressee and was received with great warmth and admiration in Georgia for several reasons. Firstly, it was both surprising and pleasant for the Georgian educated society that living as far away as England, a young lady from a high society was so interested in Georgian culture and literature that she had learnt the Georgian language, which is generally considered to be one of the most difficult languages to learn independently. As well as this, as revealed by other articles published at that time, the fact that Marjory had written the letter in Georgian was a good example for certain modern young ladies of the period who chose not to speak Georgian under the influence of "modern times". (Vaziani 1894 a; Mevele, 1894; Chiora, 1894). The stir created by Marjory's letter to Chavchavadze was described by Oliver in a letter written to Marjory: "It seems my only *raison d'être* here is that I am related to you. Your popularity is enormous and I profit by the reflection from its brightness....The reading of your letter to Chavchavadze, which everybody here knows by heart...caused applause which must have been heard on the other side of the river". (Nasmyth, 1998).

Not surprisingly Ilia Chavchavadze responded to Marjory Wardrop with a very warm letter in which, besides expressing great admiration for the author's almost perfect Georgian and giving Marjory the permission to publish "The Hermit" in England, he invited her to visit Georgia.

Marjory used this opportunity and on December 3, 1894 "Iveria" informed the readers that Marjory Wardrop, who "loves Georgia, intends visiting Georgia to deepen her knowledge of Georgia and the Georgian language." (Iveria, 3. XII, 1894, N256). The news also informed the reader that

Marjory was accompanied by her mother, Mrs. Wardrop. Sharadze argues that Oliver Wardrop must have met his mother and sister in Istanbul and accompanied them to Georgia. (Sharadze, 1984). Not surprisingly, this visit of the Wardrop family was thoroughly followed and covered by the Georgian press. (Vaziani 2001; Vaziani, 1894, b).

The Wardrops spent two months in Georgia and, besides Tbilisi, they visited Western Georgia. Marjory's impressions of Georgia are held in her memoirs translated into Georgian by Taktakishvili-Urushadze (Wardrop, Marjory 1965: 35-49;). In her notes about her travels in Georgia, Marjory described the places she had visited and gave the portraits of the well-known statesmen (among them Ilia Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli and Ivane Machabelli) as well as church figures of the period. It can be argued that Marjory Wardrop's notes about her visit to Georgia are still a matter of importance because, as well as describing the picturesque nature and customs of Georgians, the author provided the reader with interesting and significant details about the lifestyle of the high society of the period and their world view. Interestingly, she was surprised at the number of Georgian woman writers and, generally, at the active lifestyle Georgian women followed, which, according to her, was not common in the East. (Wardrop, Marjory, 1965: 47).

During her first visit to Georgia, Marjory developed a friendship with a number of Georgian people, including the wives of Ilia Chavchavadze and Ivane Machabelli and continued writing to them until the end of her life, sharing with them with her problems, plans and desires. For example, in one of her letters to Olga Chavchavadze sent from Kerch, where Oliver worked as the Consul for Great Britain, she wrote that she still lived with her memories of Georgia and felt bored in Kerch where "everything was dead". According to her letters written to Olga Chavchavadze and to Taso Machabelli, Marjory planned to visit Georgia for the second time in 1896 but she was not able to pursue this plan immediately due to Oliver's busy schedule. However, in one of her letters to Taso Machabelli, she still hoped to visit Georgia in June, 1896.

Venera Beridze –Tsereteli must have been Marjory's special friend in Georgia. They met during Marjory's first visit to Georgia and after Marjory's death this friendship was continued by Oliver and Venera. Sharadze, relying on Papuna Tsereteli's words, believed that Oliver Wardrop might have proposed to Venera but her family was against this marriage as they did not want to be parted from their daughter. Sharadze argued that Marjory had asked Oliver to go back to Georgia and present her things to Venera. However, upon his arrival in Georgia, Oliver found out that Venera had become engaged to Prince Rostom Tsereteli. However, it is presumed that Oliver still presented Venera with Marjory's possessions. (Sharadze: 1984, 446-448).

The Wardrops finally arrived in Georgia on June 16, 1896. This time Marjory was accompanied by her parents and younger brother, Thomas. Oliver,

being very busy, was not able to join them. The whole family was received with great love and admiration. Once again, the press notified Society about their visit and poems dedicated to Marjory were published in various newspapers (Khananashvili, 1930). One of the poems was written by Akaki Tsereteli (*Droeba*, 9.XII, 1909, N18).

Tedo Sakhokia, a compiler of the Georgian Idiomatic Dictionary, expressed the admiration of Georgian Society towards the Wardrops' visit in his memoirs in which he referred to Marjory as "an innocent daughter of a great country radiating ethereal kindness and warmth". Such people, according to the author, make life worthwhile (Sakhokia, 1912).

This visit to Georgia organised by Ilia Chavchavadze included East Georgia and part of West Georgia. Everywhere the Wardrops were met with great love and admiration. Marjory and her family members were impressed and, on leaving Georgia, Marjory expressed the desire to come back again to the country she now considered her second motherland. She repeated this many times in the letters to Olga Chavchavadze and Taso Machabeli, written from Kerch. In these letters she also referred to her parents and Thomas' long lasting impressions of Georgia. When Oliver and Marjory Wardrop moved to live in Petersburg, where Oliver was appointed as the Consul of Great Britain in Russia, the Wardrops hosted their Georgian friends visiting Russia, among them Ilia Chavchavadze and Machabeli's sister-in-law, Babo Bagrationi-Davitashvili (Sharadze, 1984). Later, when Oliver was moved to Bucharest, Marjory accompanied him and wrote to her Georgian friends from Bucharest, expressing her desire to visit Georgia again. However, unfortunately, this was not destined to happen as Marjory died in Bucharest on November, 24, 1909. Her death was mourned in Georgia as a national disaster. A number of articles about Marjory and poems dedicated to her were published in many newspapers and magazines of the period. They all emphasised that Marjory lived for Georgia, never lost touch with her Georgian friends and did her best to popularise Georgian culture in Europe. Varlam Cherkezishvili summed up Marjory's contribution to Georgian literature in his obituary, published in *Droeba* (Vaziani, 1909). He enumerated the works Marjory translated either on her own or together with Oliver Wardrop: "The life of St. Nino" (published in Oxford, 1900); "The Hermit" by Chavchavadze (published in London, 1895); Georgian fairy tales (published in London, 1894); "The book of wisdom and lies" by Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani (translated together with Oliver and published in London, 1894).

Cherkezishvili also mentioned that the last ten years of Marjory's life were dedicated to the translation of "The Man in the Panther's Skin" by Rustaveli. However, due to her modesty, Marjory thought that her translation did not meet the standard of the original and did not dare to publish it in her lifetime. In the end, when the translation was published it was one of the best of the four translations known in English.

The English word to word translation of "The Man in the Panther's Skin" by Marjory Wardrop was published in English after her death in 1912. The foreword written by Oliver Wardrop is extremely important for a number of reasons. (Wardrop, Oliver 1912) First, it is interesting because Wardrop describes the significance of the epic for the Georgian nation and the place it occupied in the life of ordinary Georgian people. For instance, he mentions that people would learn the epic by heart and it was a respected part of a bride's dowry. Secondly, the foreword describes the mission of Georgia historically as well as in the context of the contemporary world. For instance, Wardrop argued that Georgia, surrounded by Muslim countries for centuries, remained Christian and, in spite of being under the mental influence of Asia, it always longed for closer contacts with Western Europe until it became a part of Russia.

More specifically, Oliver Wardrop argued that Georgia's mission was to bridge Asia and Europe which resulted in the flourish of Georgian culture, specifically of literature and philosophy. The author believed that as early as the 12 century, Georgian philosophers managed to find relevant answers to the questions still unsolved by the European philosophers. In addition to this, the foreword gives a summary of the poem and talks about the values the epic preaches to us: devoted friendship, true and pure love and respect toward the woman as such.

Finally, Wardrop wrote about the translation of the poem. He mentioned that Marjory (he referred to her as "the translator") had made an attempt to transfer the language and meaning as precisely as possible. To reach this goal took the translator nine years to finish translating the story but ten more years would be required to bring it to its final shape. Oliver Wardrop discussed the translations of the epic known to him. Specifically, he mentioned two word-for word translations of "The Man in the Panther's skin", one into Russian, the other into French, although he, following the reviews about them, advised the reader to read the translation into German made by another friend of Georgia, Arthur Leist.

Finally, he thanked the people who advised the translator and himself while working on the text of the epic. For instance, he mentioned both Mikhako Tsereteli who, according to Wardrop, had read the manuscript of the translation and also Niko Marr who provided the scholarly article about ambiguous lines in the prologue and epilogue of the epic.

As is known, the translation of "The Man in the Panther's Skin" into English by Marjory Wardrop is considered to be one of the best translations of the epic known to the world. As early as 1909, Mikhako Tsereteli mentioned in his obituary to Marjory "Miss Wardrop tried to transfer the language, originality and special spirit into English. It was her intention not only to translate Georgian words and phrases into English but also to re-create "The Man in the Panther's skin" in English like Machabeli re-created Shakespeare in Georgian. (Tsereteli, 1909: 10).

Besides the above-mentioned works, Marjory had started translating poems by Akaki Tsereteli, another prominent poet of the period. However, as it emerges from the correspondence between Oliver and Akaki Tsereteli, Marjory was not happy with the quality of her translations and thus did not publish them. Being in Oxford, Sharadze found the translation of Tsereteli's popular poem "Suliko", as well as those of "The Trumpet" and "Imeretian Lullaby" (Sharadze, 1984: 334). In addition to this, Marjory made a number of translations which have never been published such as the translations of stories by Chavchavadze as well as an extract from *The History of the Georgian Nation* by Ivane Javakhishvili.

In 1894, during his second journey to Georgia, Oliver Wardrop mastered the Georgian language and after leaving Georgia, published a series of books about Georgia, including his translation of Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani's *The Book of Wisdom and Lies* which was published in London in 1894. Later, he translated and published *Visramiani* in English in 1914.

Besides being a traveller and a translator, Oliver was a prominent British diplomat. As was mentioned above, he worked as a Consul in Russia, Romania and Tahiti. In July 1919 the British Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon offered Wardrop the post of the first British Chief Commissioner of the Transcaucasia in Tbilisi - a post he held until 1920, before the Bolshevik invasion of 1921.

It turned out that this was a sensible decision as, along with growing British and European interest in the Caucasus by the end of the XIX century, the complexity of the political atmosphere in Trans-Caucasia increased. More specifically, the influence of two important political players in the region decreased: after the 1917 Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, Russian domination in the region declined together with any German influence after Germany's defeat in the First World War. This situation left the Trans-Caucasia practically in a power vacuum. The region was most alluring to many countries because of its large oil supplies in Baku and Batumi. The situation encouraged the British to intervene, after which Ajara (part of Georgia, with the capital Batumi) became a British Protectorate. However, the British military found themselves increasingly unpopular which encouraged Lord Curzon and Winston Churchill to start looking for a man capable of restoring British popularity in the region. Finally, in July 1919 Oliver Wardrop was installed in Tbilisi as British Chief Commissioner of Trans-Caucasia.

Lord Kurzon and Winston Churchil correctly considered that the new Menshevik Government of independent Georgia, having been aware of Oliver Wardrop's attitude towards the country's culture and history, would welcome Oliver's return to Tbilisi. Being a talented diplomat and a devoted friend of Georgia, Oliver worked hard to promote Georgian culture and encourage the west to support the newly born democratic country which was soon under the threat of Bolshevik aggression. However, in spite of Oliver Wardrop's capable

diplomatic experience and his endeavours, the Bolsheviks invaded Georgia in February 1921 which, unfortunately, brought the country under Russian influence and thus took it away from Western Europe, to which it had been longing for centuries, for, at least, 70 years.

Not many people knew about the fact that Marjory Wardrop supported the Georgian people's great desire to be free and openly criticised the politics of the Russian empire in the territories and cultures they invaded and annexed. In addition to this, she translated a number of articles published in Georgian magazines and dedicated to the political situation of Georgia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. (Stoyer, 2011:6).

Oliver and Machabeli continued to correspond after Oliver's first visit to Georgia. Besides upgrading on personal or country news, they also consulted each other on literary matters. For instance, Machabeli sent his translations of "Hamlet" and "Othello" to Oliver to read, informing him that Shakespeare was becoming more and more popular in Georgia, whereas Oliver Wardrop sent Machabeli Marjory's first attempts at translating Georgian fairy tales and the first chapter of "The Man in the Panther's skin". As well as this, Machabeli provided Oliver with magazines and books in Georgian.

Oliver was impressed by Machabeli's translations so much that he classed the translator as "a genius" (Sharadze, 1984: 310). He also praised highly Machabeli's translation of "Julius Caesar" and believed that it presented a wonderful combination of the genius of the translator and magnificence of the Georgian language. Wardrop argued that among the translations of the play he had read in the Russian, German and Bulgarian languages, the Georgian translation was the best of all. All in all, Machabeli sent Oliver his translations of "Julius Caesar" (1897), "Macbeth" (1892), "Richard III" (1893), "Othello" (1888) and "Hamlet" (1887) as well as two copies of "The Man in the Panther's Skin" in Georgian, one published in 1888 and edited by Kartvelishvili and the other published in 1887, edited by Charkviani. As Marjory had only the above mentioned editions of the epic in her possession, obviously, she must have relied on them while working on translating it into English.

Oliver named his daughter after the major saint of Georgia, St. Nino. Georgian friends were so much impressed by this that they decided to present little Nino with a special gift. A special committee was set up in 1919 which managed to raise enough money for a gold cross with a necklace which belonged to the last king of Georgia, George XII. This cross was in Nino Wardrop's possession when Sharadze visited England in 1981. (Sharadze, 1984: 239-240). However, Nasmyth states that Nino Wardrop had donated the cross and the necklace to the British museum where it can now be found (Nasmyth, 1998: 14).

Impact: The post-Wardrop period in Georgia and further development of Georgian Studies in England

Marjory's great desire and dream was to set up a library to store Georgian books and manuscripts to help the people interested in the Georgian language and Georgian history. After Marjory's death her family (under the initiative of her mother) donated money to create the fund after Marjory, to be called "The fund of Georgian books and manuscripts".

Oliver set up "The Marjory Wardrop Fund" at Oxford University for the encouragement of the study of the language, literature, and history of Georgia, in Trans-Caucasia. Through it, Wardrop was able to enlarge the collection of Georgian books and manuscripts which he bought while travelling. He even travelled to Georgia in order to look for more books and manuscripts. It is known that, amongst others, Oliver Wardrop obtained several Georgian manuscripts unknown to Georgian scholars, such as the book of laws compiled by Prince David in 1800 which was found attached to the manuscript by Vakhtang VI (Sharadze, 1984).

When Oliver Wardrop gave up his diplomatic career and went back to England, he continued the popularisation of Georgian culture. In order to achieve this, he organized the setting up of the Georgian Society and the Georgian Committee in London. In 1930, together with Allen, he formed the Georgian Historical Society which published its own journal "Georgica", dedicated to publishing prominent articles in Georgian and Caucasian studies.

It can be argued that the Wardrops' legacy, their interest in Georgia and their dedication to Georgian culture and literature found a number of followers in England. For instance, "The Man in the Panther's Skin" was translated three more times after Marjory Wardrop, by K. Vivian, R.H. Stevenson and V. Urushadze. It is also worth noting that Vivian translated "A book of wisdom and lies" by Sul Khan-Saba Orbeliani, which was published in London, in 1982 and The Georgian Chronicle, the Period of Giorgi-Lasha, published in Amsterdam, 1991 (Odzeli: 2010).

As well as this, based on the Wardrops' legacy in 2003 the Oxford University Georgian Society was founded, which since then has been organising events to popularise Georgian culture in England.

Besides English authors, Georgian scholars working on British-Georgian literary relationships, refer to Marjory and Oliver Wardrops' contribution and legacy in their works (Khintibidze, 2011).

Thus, Oliver and Marjory Wardrop have laid the foundation for potential long-lived and long-term cultural relations between England and Georgia which are still in the process of enhancement today.

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Georgian student encounters with Russian and European Universities, 1861-1917 – A Generational Approach

Introduction

„Where are the Georgian people now? Now we are under the Russian Tsar. Everything has changed. [...] Whether our past was better or worse, at any rate we belonged to ourselves.” a Georgian mountain dweller told a Georgian traveller in Ilia Chavchavadze’s famous half-documentary „Traveller’s Notes”, published in 1871.⁴² Chavchavadze, being one of the leading persons in the Georgian national movement expressed the feelings and anxieties of a Georgian traveller before his return to Tbilisi in 1861 after studying abroad in St. Petersburg for four years. These „Traveller’s Notes” were some kind of a manifesto of a group of young nobles turning into a national intelligentsia. This group of young Georgian intellectuals was attempting to modernise their fatherland, to lead it to „national rebirth” and to a „new life”. Forming the nucleus of the Georgian nation they were also known as the „tergdaleulebi”, literally „those who have drunk the water from the river Terek”. The crossing of the river Terek, in Georgian Tergi, became a symbol of the geographical and cultural boundary between Russia and Georgia, which also functioned as a mental constituent of a new national identity for those who crossed it.

Identity - defined as a person’s ability to experience and shape his life as

⁴¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the panel: Caucasian Encounters and Border Crossings from the 18th to the 20th Centuries at the ASEES convention in November 16, 2012. I would like to thank the colleagues and audience for their questions and comments.

⁴² All quotes will be given in brackets in the text and are taken from: Ilia Chavchavadze, „Notes of a Journey from Vladikavkaz to Tiflis”, in: Ia Popkhadze (ed.), *Ilia Chavchavadze Works. Translated by Marjory and Oliver Wardrop* (Tbilisi: Ganatleba, 1987), pp. 15-34, here p. 31. The Georgian original was published in: Ilia Tchavtchavadze, „mgzavris tserilebi. Vladikavkasidam tpilisamde”, in: *ibid.*, *T'khzulebata sruli krebuli ots tomad. Tomi 2: mot'khroebi. Piesebi* [Collected works in 20 volumes. Vol. 2: (T'bilisi 1988), pp. 9-32. See in greater detail: O. Reisner, *Die Schule der georgischen Nation. Eine sozialhistorische Untersuchung der nationalen Bewegung in Georgien am Beispiel der „Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Lese- und Schreibkunde unter den Georgiern“ (1850-1917)* [The School of the Georgian Nation. A Socio-Historical Inquiry of the National Movement in Georgia taking the „Society for the Spread of Literacy among Georgians”] (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004). For a linguistic analysis of the text see H. P. Manning, „Languages of Nature, Culture, and Civilization: *Letters of a Traveller*”, in: *ibid.*: *Strangers in a Strange Land. Occidental Publics and Orientalist Geographies in 19th Century Georgian Imaginaries*. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2012, pp. 28-58.

a coherent or meaningful whole - is developed mainly by in-groups in contact and interaction with other people or groups. It will be completed when marked distinctions have arisen between them and will persist even despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories. Ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundation on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence.⁴³ Based on personal experience it never merges totally with that of others, but develops within the framework of a distinct community's patterns of collective behaviour and symbols. The individual moves within these defined structures and its finite limits.⁴⁴

The development of Georgian national identity is a socially constructed and continuous process of defining 'friend' and 'enemy' from a logical extension of maintaining boundaries between 'us' and 'them' within more local communities. Constructed on the basis of such an oppositional structure it does not depend on the existence of any objective linguistic or cultural differentiation but on the subjective experience of difference.⁴⁵ My concern here is how the dominant characteristics of individual and group identity changed within the Georgian students' communities towards the last sixty years of Tsarist Russia.

The organizing principle of this chapter will be that of "generations" as defined by the social scientist Karl Mannheim in the late 1920s. Accordingly a generation is connected by 1) a shared stratification of chronological and geographical traits (*Generationenlagerung*), 2) a coherence of participation in a common fate (*Generationenzusammenhang*) and 3) the uniform perception of their experiences in "generational units" (*Generationseinheit*).⁴⁶

⁴³ Frederik Barth: *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*. Oslo 1969, p. 9.

⁴⁴ Etienne Balibar, „Die Nation-Form: Geschichte und Ideologie“, in: *ibid.*, Im. Wallerstein, *Rasse, Klasse, Nation. Ambivalente Identitäten* (Hamburg 1992; from the French original: *Race, Nation, Classe. Les identités ambiguës*. Paris 1988), p. 116.

⁴⁵ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries. The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley & London, 1989), p. 270f. See also: A. P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London 1985), esp. p. 115.

⁴⁶ K. Mannheim, „Das Problem der Generation“, in: *ibid.: Wissenssoziologie. Auswahl aus dem Werk*. Ed. by K. H. Wolff (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1964), pp. 509-522; originally published in: *Kölner Vierteljahreshefte für Soziologie* 7 (1928), S.157-185, S.309-330; Reprint in M. Kohli (ed.): *Soziologie des Lebenslaufs* (Neuwied 1978), S.38-53. David I. Kertzer: *Generation as a Sociological Problem*,

Before returning to the above mentioned *tergdaleulebi*, I will present the first generation of Georgians born after Tsarist annexation of Eastern Georgia in 1801, who were trying to re-establish the lost Georgian monarchy in 1832. The third generation will represent the political groups developing in the 1880ies original Georgian parties after the turn of the century, the Marxist "third group" and Socialist-Federalist "young Iberians".

Change in the Georgian's world – the Qazarmelesi of the 1830ies

The first generation under consideration was born after 1801, the date when Tsar Paul decided to annex the Eastern Georgian Bagrationi kingdom with its capital Tbilisi. Their noble fathers were told to gather at the Sioni cathedral in Tbilisi to listen to a Tsarist announcement, but then were forced by the surrounding Russian troops to swear their oath of allegiance to the Tsar instead of the deceased Giorgi XII. Their childhood and adolescence was characterised by the experience of rapid change in political, social and cultural settings and deep status insecurity. Almost all of them were of noble origin, from princely dynasties. These princes (*tavadni*) dominated social and political life in different Georgian regions, villages or valleys for centuries. They possessed sovereign power, set and controlled local values. Noble knights (*aznaurni*), peasants, Armenian traders and merchants, and Orthodox clergymen were their subordinated serfs. Since the hereditary nobility formed such a broad and powerful class (in the census of 1897 they accounted for 5.3% of all Georgians), they could withstand the unifying monarchic force of the Bagrationi dynasty in this mountainous region.⁴⁷

The 1801 annexation of Georgia by Tsarist Russia was a turning point in Georgia's social development. The Bagrationi monarchy was abolished, most of its members were exiled to Moscow and Petersburg, where they were compensated with high aristocratic ranks at court and subsidies. The Georgian Orthodox Church has been incorporated into the Russian Orthodox system of church administration, the Holy Synod.⁴⁸ As an absolutist state the Tsarist Empire attempted to introduce an impersonal bureaucratic administration, thus eroding the privileges the leading class of noble princes used to have in their autonomous regions. From now on the state tried to intervene directly into the affairs of its subjects by destroying all

in: *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9 (1983), pp. 125-149. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2946060> (28.06.2014)

⁴⁷ R. G. Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation* (Stanford, Cal. 1988), pp. 3-59; David Marshall Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy 1658-1832* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), esp. pp. 187-204.

⁴⁸ N. K. Gvosdev, *Imperial Policies and Perspectives Towards Georgia, 1760-1819* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 77-140; N. K. Gvosdev, *The Russian Empire and the Georgian Orthodox Church in the first decades of Imperial rule, 1801-1830*, in: *Central Asian Survey* 14 (1995) H.3, S. 407-423.

mediating institutions. Its attempts to replace feudal forms of administration by bureaucratic ones caused frictions between nobles and the Russian civil administrators, the *chinovniki*. Of low status and origin they came from Russia only, to make their fortunes and careers. A vast number of Georgian complaints (*ditirambebi*) are showing this embarrassment against Russian administrators in their attitude towards the Georgian noble elite. The whole of the nobility were obliged to prove their noble origin by written documents, which rarely existed in a society based on oral history and personal honour. For decades they were kept in uncertainty about the acknowledgement of their noble status.⁴⁹ Eventually, some were driven to produce falsified documents. In addition, they lost political control of their territories to Tsarist state officials. However, even this alien state offered the nobility civil and military posts in state service, since loyal personnel possessing authority over the local population and knowledge of the local customs and languages were needed. Their task was to control, administrate and mediate between the autocracy and the regions of the Caucasus. The typical representatives of this younger noble generation were of Eastern Georgian aristocratic origin close to the Bagrationi family. Instead of the Middle Eastern Persian traditions they were exposed to the European Russian culture and grew up in a Russian dominated setting. After finishing the Georgian Nobles or the Russian Artillery School they started their service in the Tsarist army at the age of 18. Participating in military operations against the Lezgins (1822, 1830), Qajar Iran (1826-27) and the Ottoman Empire (1828-29) they were promoted to the officer's ranks. Russian became their main language for conversation in the new noble salons of the upper nobility (like French in the salons of St Petersburg), who moved from the countryside to domiciles in Tbilisi. That was also the place where they came in close contact with romantic ideas of the Russian Decembrists, who were exiled to the "Southern Siberia" after 1825. The Russian playwright Alexander Griboedov married the daughter of a high ranking aristocrat.

Through these developments the social system of Georgian particular feudalism ceased to exist. Not at once, but within the first fifty years of the 19th century it merged with the Russian system. The ambivalence and tensions between the losses of the Georgian nobility's accustomed status and new career opportunities in the new state evoked contradictory reactions among the nobility. In many regions of both newly formed Georgian *gubernias* spontaneous rebellions against mistreatments occurred, led by the gentry.

In December 1832 the ambivalence among the aristocratic youth

⁴⁹ D.I. Ismail-Zade, *Naselenie gorodov Zakavkazskogo kraja v XIX - nachale XX v. Istoriko-demograficheskij analiz* (Moskva: Nauka 1991), pp. 99-104, here p. 101; D. Gogoladze: *sakartvelos socialur-ek'onomiuri ganvitareba gvanpeodatur xanashi (saadgilomamulo urtiertoba) 1800-1864 ts.ts.* [Georgias' socio-economic development in the late feudal epoch. Gentry relationships 1800 - 1864] (Tbilisi, 1971), 71-120; Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy 1658-1832*, pp. 267-284.

culminated in a failed conspiracy against the Russian administration in Tbilisi. Inspired by Freemason secret societies and the Polish insurrection it took a romantic form, but in contents most of the involved conspirators wanted to re-establish the Bagrationi monarchy. Tsarist authorities have been informed about the ill-planned conspiracy and arrested almost 150 persons in the casemates of Tbilisi. That is why this generation was called *qazarmelesi*, who poured old wine in new bottles. Besides overcoming the Bagrationi dynastic order they were lacking any perception of an abstract community. So they did not integrate the peasant majority into their plans. An investigative commission in Tbilisi tried to validate their direct involvement in the events. Because Tsar Nicholas I realised the estrangement of this important group for his power in the Southern Caucasus, the careers of most of the young aristocrats underwent just a short-lived setback. Most of the nobles were convicted and exiled to Russia or the North-Caucasian Line.⁵⁰ In 1837 most of them were allowed to return to Georgia and they became loyal servants to the Tsar fighting against Shamil and the Murids in the Northern Caucasus in the 1840s. In 1845 Tsar Nicholas I returned to a personalised administration and appointed a viceroy to the Caucasus region, Michael Vorontsov. He successfully mediated between Georgian nobility and Tsarist administration and solved the status insecurity by integrating the whole nobility into the Russian *dvorianstvo*. With an increased number of aristocrats with European education, knowledge of Russian and posts in state service they began to prefer urban life and became adherents of the expensive European aristocratic habits. In 1848 the assembly of the nobility declared themselves in the name of the whole nobility to be the Tsar's loyal servants.⁵¹

The Georgian nobility was transformed into a service elite at the expense of the peasantry. The loss of political power was compensated with economic exploitation rights, which survived the abolition of serfdom in Georgia (1865-71) and lasted as heavy 'temporal obligations' on the peasants until the beginning of the 20th century. However, in Eastern Georgia the nobility was poor. Only 10% out of 1.700 princely families owned in 1860 more than 100 serfs. In Western Georgia the nobility outnumbered its Eastern brethren almost three times, but so were the poor.⁵² Most of them suffered the same hardships as

⁵⁰ O. Reisner: "Grigol Orbeliani Discovering Russia: A Travel Account by a Member of the Georgian Upper Class from 1831-1832", in: Beate Eschment, Hans Harder (eds.): *Looking at the Coloniser. Cross-Cultural Perceptions in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Bengal, and Related Areas* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2004), pp. 47-62.

⁵¹ St. F. Jones, "Russian Imperial Administration and the Georgian Nobility: the Georgian Conspiracy of 1832", in: *Slavonic and East European Review*. Vol. 65 (1987), pp. 53-76; A. Kappeler, *Russland als Vielvölker-reich. Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall*. München 1992, pp. 141-149 (in English: *The Russian Empire. A Multi-Ethnic History*. Harlow: Pearson, 2001, pp. 168ff.).

⁵² A. Surguladze, *Il'ja Čavčavadze. Znamenosec nacional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizenija gruzinskogo naroda*. Tb. 1987, p.22.

their peasants, farming their own small estates. While the poorest members of the nobility stayed in the countryside, wealthier princely families tried to participate in a European way of life. With an expanding grain market they demanded rising monetary obligations from their peasants, who in turn could not produce enough grain on their small land holdings for satisfying their lords' demands. Due to this, the relations of customary mutual obligations with their peasant serfs deteriorated. The nobility and the peasantry were alienated from each other. In addition, many Georgian princes had to mortgage their possessions to urban Armenian traders. Freed from the Georgian kings' and princes' domination these upwardly mobile urban Armenian merchants profited most of all ethnic groups in the Southern Caucasus from Tsarist annexation and became the Georgian nobility's competitors for political power and economic strength in the towns, mainly Tbilisi.⁵³

Studying abroad – the Tergdaleulebi on the move

From the 1850s on many sons of impoverished princely families took the advantage of secular education offered by the Tsarist state. For that purpose, Tsarist Russia established schools for the nobility and awarded scholarships in order to recruit qualified state servants, who became part of the Russian *dvorianstvo*. Viceroy M. S. Vorontsov undertook especially successful measures in this direction while he governed the country from 1845 to 1854.⁵⁴ Brought up on their gentry estates these young men were socialised within the traditional image and ethics of the gentry and its whole network of social relations which revolved around traditional convictions and values. Then they started migrating in order to receive secular education. They started attending primary schools in the district town next to their homes, changed to a grammar school in Tbilisi or Kutaisi and had to move from there to a university in Russia. All of the students shared the experiences of travelling and schooling. In this way these mobile 'migrants of secular education' met each other and formed their own small groups among the primarily Russian pupils at boarding schools or priests' seminaries. Also the approximately 30 Georgians who studied in St. Petersburg, in the early 1860s formed a Georgian Students' organisation.⁵⁵

⁵³ B. Ischchanjan, *Nationaler Bestand, berufsmäßige Gruppierung und soziale Gliederung der kaukasischen Völker* (Berlin & Leipzig 1914), p. 61.

⁵⁴ L. H. Rhinelander, *The Incorporation of the Caucasus into the Russian Empire. The Case of Georgia 1801-1854*. Columbia, unpublished Ph.D., 1972 or in short *ibid.*, "Russia's Imperial Policy: The Administration of the Caucasus in the First Half of the 19th Century", in: *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 17 (1975), No. 2-3, pp. 218-235.

⁵⁵ A. Tsereteli, *Perezhitoe* (Moskva 1950, 2nd edition), p. 102. The Georgian poet's memoirs were written in 1899. Its first part is a very good illustration of that primary socialization. Cf. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London 1983, especially Chapter 3.

Separated from home for several years, they received a second socialization by secular higher education at Russian universities, which provided a "fateful bridge between darkness and light" for them. The scientific benefits of this 'Enlightenment' impressed them and questioned their traditional beliefs. Georgian Orthodox religion, which provided the basic assumptions upon which their social and political institutions had been founded for centuries, now ceased to play its legitimising role. The students became aware of the differences between the more effectively run Tsarist state and the traditionalism prevailing among the Georgian nobility. They were caught between two different sources of meaning, faced with a "dual legitimation".⁵⁶ A comparatively well-run imperial state challenged the traditional religiously based Georgian feudal culture. After encountering Russia and having passed its higher education a return to the traditional way of life was no longer possible.

Following the defeat in the Crimean war the new Tsar Alexander II was urged to modernise his empire to maintain its status as a European power. The necessity for reform brought into being a public in the Tsarist Empire that debated projects of reform for the first time.⁵⁷ In the early 1860's the Georgian students' participation in these debates exposed them to 'Western ideas' of national and social liberation. For instance, they were fascinated by Italy's national movement leaders Garibaldi and Mazzini. At the same time, many of them read Chernyshevsky and Hertsen, wrote patriotic poems about their distant homes in addition to critical articles for Russian journals. In 1861 they also demonstrated against autocracy.⁵⁸ They were caught in an ambivalent relationship to Russia. On the one hand they were impressed by the effectiveness of the autocratic state and on the other they demanded the extension of participation rights. Niko Nikoladze, one of the radical democratic Georgian students, confessed 1865 in Hertsen's *Kolokol*: „The ideal of the best organization of state and society will, in my opinion, be reached by us faster and earlier than anybody else on Russia's side (...) Connecting our fate with today's Russia, Georgia will attain the best conditions for its future organization here than (...) under the protection of any other European country (not to mention its government), or even Turkey or Persia, something nobody in his right mind would ever have dreamt of.“⁵⁹

⁵⁶ A.D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (London 1971), Chapter 10: 'Dual Legitimation': The Matrix of Ethnic Nationalism, pp. 230-254.

⁵⁷ D. Geyer, *Der russische Imperialismus. Studien über den Zusammenhang von innerer und auswärtiger Politik, 1860-1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), pp. 43-55.

⁵⁸ P. K. Ratiani, *Gruzinskie shestidesiatniki v russkom osvoboditel'nom dvizhenii* (Tbilisi 1967).

⁵⁹ Cited in G.A. Galoian, *Rossia i narody Zakavkaz'ia. Ocherki politicheskoi istorii ikh vzaimootnoshenii s drevnikh vremen do pobedy Velikoi Oktjabrskoi sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii* (Moskva 1976), p. 292.

The Boundary between Russia and Georgia - onto the crossroads

During their studies most of the Georgians tried to adopt the new Imperial culture, which provided a career for them in Russia's military or civil administration of Caucasia, while poverty was rising at home. Furthermore, the conflict between a religious world view, which did not correspond to their actual situation, and a more effective and scientific outlook, they opted for the latter, modern approach. Service to the autocratic state, chosen by most young Georgian princes, diverted them from their loyalty to ancient norms and beliefs.

Consequently all Georgian students in Russia, named 'Tergdaleulebi', had a reputation among the old nobility of being "two-faced" "good-for-nothings", who had turned away from Georgian soil and traditional customs. The older generation of princes disliked those young followers of Russia, even if they could not name any plausible causes why it was bad 'to drink water from the Terek' as Ilia Chavchavadze commented ironically. But a small group among those students did not want to be totally assimilated to Russia, maintaining the supremacy of their own culture. The experience and impressions of Russia intermingled with the memories of their fatherland. "How do I meet my fatherland and how does it meet me?" Chavchavadze is asking in his "Traveller's notes" in a state of uncertainty like most of the returning young Georgians.

Returning to the Caucasus all of the graduates had to experience a condescending and ignorant behaviour by Russian officials serving their civilizing mission in the Caucasian periphery. This very common feeling among the Russians, which served to justify the incorporation of Georgia and the whole Caucasus, constituted for many well educated Georgians a humiliating experience. During the years to come all the Georgian students had to realise that their assimilation was limited, because they could not cast their origins off. As historian Zurab Avalishvili [Avalov] described it in 1908: "*By skinning himself a Georgian doesn't become a Russian, but simply remains a skinned Georgian.*"⁶⁰

"Where is the other Georgia?"

This marginal position made them aware of the necessity to modernise their own society. The young student generation elevated the river Terek to a symbol for a newly risen movement of national enlightenment, which testifies to the active desire to alter Georgia's development by changing their people's thinking. It represented the only chance left to escape from their individual

⁶⁰ Z. AVALOV Gruziny, in: A. J. Kasteljanskij (ed.): *Formy nacional'nogo dvizheniia v sovremennykh gosudarstvakh. Avstro-Vengrija. Rossija. Germanija*. St. Peterburg 1910, pp. 469-493, quote p. 482. O. Reisner, "Zwischen Zarentreue und ethnischer Selbstvergewisserung: der 'Fall' Dimit'ri Qipiani und die Georgier (1885 - 1887) [Between Loyalty to the Tsar and Ethnic Self-Assertion: Dimitri Qipianis' Case and the Georgians]", in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 47 (1999), pp. 512-524.

identity crisis. Consequently, they adopted the term “Tergdaleulebi” as a positive label for their reformers’ group, whose project they called „Georgia’s national rebirth“. They justified their quest for status as guiding force by stressing their membership in a modernised Georgian elite. In contrast to their „fathers“, the dynastic princes, who still thought in noble rank patterns, they wanted to speak for their people. Writers like Ilia Chavchavadze invoked a modern myth of a non-existent former national unity within a feudal society. However, it was not national unity that vanished, but the previous local village networks and the princes’ unquestioned leadership. The abstract laws of a nascent market economy urged people to migrate for a job elsewhere. The small self-sufficient village community was swallowed up by larger entities, a Caucasian market and bureaucratic Tsarist state. Neither could be controlled by individuals any more. What was presumed to be the Georgian nation restored the previous local unity on a wider geographical range. Akaki Tsereteli, another poet and Tergdaleuli, expressed it thus: “a nation is the power, that lively bond between people.” If this bond is missing, “everything human” would turn into “a fruitless abstraction”. The Tergdaleulebi “were taking the first steps into a new life”, which meant for them “to unify the Georgian people in a homogeneous, monolithic organism; their self-awareness has to be awakened and strengthened to get them closer to national and social freedom”.⁶¹

Without any hope and belief in the national idea there would hardly be a new Georgia, no change of mentality. Attempting to fill the minds with a sense of Georgian national identity also means Europeanisation with its promise of common welfare and equal citizenship. The Tergdaleulebi aimed at a culturally based renovation of the former noble identity, known as *kartveloba*. As a modern national culture, this was to integrate the different regions and social classes into a standardised culture to provide a basis for a united Georgian nation. The Tergdaleulebi discarded secession from Tsarist Russia, which protected Georgia against Persia and Turkey. However, they were asking for cultural autonomy as regards the use of their language.⁶²

They were convinced that a moral revolution had to precede social and political changes. The purity of the past was held up as a mirror to their fellow men to make them see their “glorious” future and as an indictment of their

⁶¹ Cited in Galoian, *Rossia i narody Zakavkaz'ia*, p. 292. Georgian: Ak'ak'i Tsereteli: publitsisturi tserilebi 1901-1915, inL. ibid.: *t'khulebata sruli krebuli t'khumet' tomad. Tomi XIV*. T'bilisi 1961, p. 523. The quote was taken from his address to Georgian students in Moscow on 13 January 1913. Their literary circle organised a dinner to honour on of the leading terdaleuli writers. It was reprinted in the Georgian journal “Temi” (Community), No. 109, 4 February 1913.

⁶² More details: G.S. Mamulia, “O politicheskome ideale Il'i Chavchavadze. Po neopublikovannym materialam iz arkhiva pisatelja”, in: *Literaturnaia Gruzia* 1987, No. 10, pp. 55-87.

“shameful” present. The faults of the present time had to be overcome by self-reliance by applying scientific thought to every sector of life and the collective self. Religiously based culture and tradition were to be totally reformed as a preparation for the “urge” of continuous change in a “new life”. This implied a gradual, often unperceived and accidental secularisation of a “reformist” position in contrast to “traditionalist” or “assimilationist” positions. Their own community changed from being a carrier of religious tradition to a value per se, and was thus transformed into the subject of history. Georgian Orthodox belief became only one of the essential ingredients next to fatherland and language intended to distinguish their culture from the dominant Russian one. A cultural boundary with Russia already existed in their minds when they returned home. In Georgia they actively started to implement this idea by signifying that boundary as meaningful in the Georgian media.

This demarcation process was accelerated by the growing contradictions in the development of late Imperial Russia. Social as well as ethnic inequalities undermined the pre-modern legitimacy of Tsarism. Particularly strong administrative centralizing measures from the 1880's onwards alienated the young Georgian intelligentsia from Tsarist authority. A rising awareness of nationhood turned Tsarist officials into Russians as well.

The *tergdaleulebi* formed the national movement's period of national agitation (Phase B in Hroch's model), which followed a period of scholarly interest (Phase A).⁶³ Its beginning can be dated back to 1861, when the *tergdaleulebi* publicly spoke of themselves by that name in the aristocratic Georgian journal *Tsiskari*. At first they relied on literary and journalistic work for their own newly-founded journals and newspapers. In 1875 a land bank was founded for the nobility to improve agricultural facilities, to prevent nobles from selling land to foreigners and to finance cultural activities. Four years later Ilia Chavchavadze and others formed a “Society for the spreading of literacy among Georgians”, which was to promote private school teaching in Georgian. The Society published Georgian textbooks, bought old Georgian manuscripts and produced programs for a Georgian secular education. The growth of their membership gives some idea of the spread of national activists in Georgia. From 126 members in 1879 the numbers rose to 518 in 1896, and finally to 2.883 members in 1913. In late Imperial Russia the Georgian national movement remained small, limited to mostly urban, educated people of noble origin.⁶⁴

⁶³ Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*. Columbia University Press, 2000 (in German: 1968)

⁶⁴ O. Reisner, *Die Schule der georgischen Nation*, pp. 121-143; Lamara Goderidze: kulturul-saganamant'leblo modzraoba sak'art'veloshi me-19 saukunis meore nakhevarsa da me-20 saukunis dasatsqishshi (k'art'uli t'vit'mok'medi

Politicization of the social or ethnic culture? – Marxist and Federalist Groups

Russian universities were important for the formation of generations. While the *tergdaleulebi* in the early 1860s were studying law at St. Petersburg University, the next generation was just born in this decade. For the first time there was a significant group stemming from the impoverished Western Georgian nobility, especially from the rebellious province Guria. They started to study in the period of reaction under Alexander III at different Russian universities. They were socialised into the debates of Russian populism, socialism and the upcoming Marxism, which also made this generation more heterogeneous in its political outlook. As educated people with a secondary or university degree they mainly depended on state jobs, which were very rare in the Caucasus and in most cases reserved for Russians. A limited number of jobs in the restricted public self-administration of city councils or private run enterprises were dominated by Armenians, who controlled the economic life and the city Duma of Tbilisi. This all led to a deep discontent about the political perspectives among most of them and radicalised their political world views. Self-reliance in cultural affairs against forced and voluntary Russification, as proposed by the *tergdaleulebi*, filled them with growing discontent. While studying in Russia the politically most active established in 1891 a Georgian student association, the "Liberty League". Even in its short existence the debates about their political objectives divided this young generation of intellectuals and professionals in two camps. On the one hand there was the camp of the "young Iberians", coming from the politically more integrated, but ethnic diverse Eastern Georgia. Influenced by Russian populist ideas they convinced the majority of the young Georgian intelligentsia that nationalism must become the "common ground" for their political actions. National affairs should not be restricted to self-reliance in cultural affairs. Democratization and federalization of the Russian empire should help to overcome the deep social cleavage among peasants and nobles and to compete with Armenian merchants and Russian administrators for power in Tbilisi. In the beginning of the 20th century they formed the Socialist-Federalist party, which were dominating the views of the Georgian intelligentsia.

The smaller camp was build up by the Georgian Marxists, calling themselves "Third Group" (*mesame daselebi*, following the *tergdaleulebi* and Georgian populists). For political reasons they had to study medicine and veterinary sciences in Warsaw in the 1890s, where the young Georgian nobles

sazogadoebebi) [The cultural and educational movement in Georgia in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Georgian self-organised associations]. Tbilisi: Tbilisi State University Publisher, 2005; on the development of the Georgian literary language: T'inat'in Bolk'vadze: K'art'uli nacionaluri identobis tsrt'oba: ilias „iveria“ [Forging of Georgian National Identity: Ilia's „Iveria“]. Tbilisi: Universali, 2010.

met Polish Marxists. The addressees of their politics were the peasant communities suffering a lot from land scarcity. In the early 20th century they won the peasant mass of the Georgian agrarian society for a Georgian Mensheviks' version of social-democracy. At the turn of the century reform-minded Georgian students had a political choice among three different "generations" – the cultural nationalism of the *tergdaleulebi*, populism and Marxism.⁶⁵ All of them were linked to general trends in political thought, but always were 'nationalised' and differentiated from the dominant Russian trends. While for Russian students the object of the state was the Tsarist Empire, for non-Russians like the Georgians already very early their "own" nation became the focus of their activities.

Leaving Russia for studying in Europe

From the beginning of the 20th century onwards with the rising number of students enrolling at universities in the Tsarist Empire (academic year 1897/98: 28,708 students; 1907/08: 61,174, 1913/14: 70,197; 1917 Feb. – September: 63,464) an increasing significant number of students left the Tsarist Empire to study at European universities, mainly to prepare for a PhD and a professorship in the Tsarist Empire. There were only 64 Georgian students identified studying in Germany between 1900 and 1914 (333 Armenians and 8 Muslims in total 405 Caucasian students) out of a total of 13,577 students from the Russian Empire. They were more numerous studying in Switzerland, mainly in Zurich and Geneva. Only a minority opted for France.⁶⁶ Those students were directly exposed with European nationalism(s). As an example: To prepare for his thesis the historian Ivane Javakhishvili left the famous Faculty for Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg for Berlin to study for one year at the Wilhelm University (Münster) with Professor Adolf von Harnack, a well-known specialist

⁶⁵ Susan K. Morrison: *Heralds of Revolution. Russian Students and the Mythologies of Radicalism*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. Anatolij Evg. Ivanov: *Studenchestvo Rossii kontsa XIX – nachala XX veka. Sotsial'no-istoricheskaya sud'ba*. Moskva : ROSSPĖN, 1999.

⁶⁶ Claudie Weill: *Etudiants Russes en Allemagne 1900-1914. Quand la Russie frappait aux portes de l'Europe*. Paris : L'Harmattan, 1996, p. 95-98, 100, 225. Germany was a very popular destination for the future Georgian academic elite. Following Ivane Javakhishvili, the founder of modern Georgian historiography, the philosopher and psychologist Dimitri Uznadze (1886-1950), founder of scientific psychology in Georgia and co-founder of Tbilisi University in 1918, studied in Germany with professor W. Wundt as well as the philosopher, translator and cultural scientist Shalva Nutsubidze (1888-1969), who established the history of philosophy in Georgia, with W. Wundt, J. Volkelt and P. Barth; philosopher Mose Gogiberidze (1897-1951) received his PhD from N. Hartmann in 1922; philosopher Konstantin Bakradze (1898-1970), late professor in the history of philosophy and logics, studied with E. Husserl, H. Rickert and M. Heidegger.

in religious history and then rector of the university.⁶⁷ However, Javakhishvili refused Harnack's offer to continue his research in Berlin and returned to St. Petersburg after one year. He already had his own national agenda.

As on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the incorporation (Russian interpretation) or annexation (Georgian interpretation) of Eastern Georgia into the Tsarist Empire in 1901 Ivane Javakhishvili "of course, stood on the national ground" and together with other Georgian students sent a protest note to the Georgian Noble Assembly.⁶⁸ Since then Javakhishvili pushed forward not only to adapt Georgian and Caucasian historiography to international standards, but also to overcome them. Already in his introductory lecture on the "History of Georgia" as private docent on 18th November 1902, he stated that the main questions of the discipline like the definition of ethnicity, differentiation of racial and national markers or the state could only be tackled in line with international "philosophy of history".⁶⁹ He complained that Western historians of the Orient did not provide a new approach to the history and are just repeating the dominant public opinion about Western superiority towards the East and Euro-centrism (an early critique of what Edward Said later labelled "Orientalism").⁷⁰

Javakhishvili also started to prepare and to establish a Georgian 'scientific community' first as a student circle in Petersburg and later in his endeavour for the establishment of a National University in Tbilisi. After his Master dissertation on "Ancient Georgia's and Armenia's state structure" in May 1907 he initiated a scientific circle for Georgian students in St. Petersburg, to gather potential Georgian candidates as early as possible. Under his guidance

⁶⁷ He received written support from Baron Rozen, who was a leading specialist in Arab-language, Byzantine and Islam studies as well as from his direct supervisor, Nikolai Ja. Marr. See his correspondence with Niko Marr on this in: Dali Gersamia (ed.): *nik'o marisa da ivane javakhishvili mimotsera* [The correspondence between Niko Marr and Ivane Javakhishvili]. Tbilisi 1996, p.8-9. Vera TOLZ *European, National, and (Anti-) Imperial: The Formation of Academic Oriental Studies in Late Tsarist and Early Soviet Russia*, in: *Kritika. Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9 (2008), 1, pp. 53-83.

⁶⁸ This was at least his student's, Grigol Natadzes, assessment. Guram Qoranashvili: *Ivane Javakhishvili (akhlebrad tsakut' khvisi cda)* [Ivane Javakhishvili. An Attempt of a New Reading] Tbilisi: TSU Press, 1999, p. 28.

⁶⁹ Ivane JAVAKHISHVILI "Istoriia narodov Vostoka i dannye istorii Gruzii i Armenii" [The History of the Oriental peoples and data from the history of Georgia and Armenia], first published in Georgian "aghmosavletis khalkht'a istoria da sak'art'velos da somkhet'is istoriis monac'emebi" in *ibid.*: *k'art'veli eris ist'oria. cigni pirveli. mekhut'e gamoc'ema* [History of the Georgian Nation. Book 1. 5th ed.]. Tbilisi 1960, pp. 389-400. See also QORANASHVILI *ivane javakhishvili* (1999), p.159f.

⁷⁰ Vera Tolz: *Russia's Own Orient: The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods*. Oxford 2011, pp. 23-68.

presentations and research were conducted in Georgian language to elaborate a scholarly terminology in their mother tongue and to deal with Georgian culture in a 'scientific' manner.⁷¹ This kind of activities also widened the academic readership among young students and raised their national awareness. To assess the scientific potential among students Javakhishvili in 1910 initiated a survey among Georgians at Russian and foreign universities.⁷² 1,500 questionnaires were printed which contained 15 questions on geographic and social origins, educational background, interests, knowledge of Georgian language, literature and history, as well as participation in circles, journals or parties. More than 750 bulletins were returned to Javakhishvili and his "Georgian Scientific Circle". They clearly show that those 22 students from the Switzerland, 16 from France and 12 from Belgium were much more nationalistic or separatist minded than those Georgian students in the Tsarist Empire following stronger socialist and populist orientations like their Russia fellows. This survey was meant to prepare the ground for a future establishment of a Georgian University in Tbilisi, what happened only after his return to Tbilisi in January 1918.

Conclusion

The still decisive patriarchal mentality, lack of funds and activists as well as the low educational level prevented the Georgian intelligentsia that was socialised in Russia and Europe by higher education from mobilizing the population for their cultural agenda. The activists found themselves estranged from and in marginal positions between the nobility and the peasantry. There they managed to develop a sense of ethnic affiliation as a cultural community freed from estate or locality, accessible to all of its potential members as the models they acquired in Europe. With its cultural activities the *tergdaleulebi* developed an institution of public socialization instead of a traditional one. But the social cleavage between nobility and peasantry and the domination of the Tsarist state hampered the rise of political loyalty on national grounds. The ethnic-cultural community could not assume nationwide authority to counterbalance the power of rural communities integrated and led by Georgian Social Democracy on non-national grounds. The "national affair" did not achieve the self-organisation of the whole society for regaining lost independence as a "common ground" (*saerto niadagi*). The

⁷¹ JAVAXISHVILI *t'xzulebani t'ormet tomad*, vol. 1 (1979), p. 15. In 1915 this circle managed to publish its first volume in Georgian.

⁷² Eduard K'ODUA *soc'iologiuri da soc'ialur-p'ilosopiuri naazrevi meoc'e saukunis pirveli naxevis sak'art'veloshi* [Sociological and social-philosophical thinking in the first half of the 20th century in Georgia]. Tb. 2001, p. 416-424. This survey was unfortunately never analysed; the author of this article already processed the data from the more than 700 respondents into an electronic database to prepare for a study of the social background and state of mind among young Georgian students before World War I.

ambivalence towards Russia let them long for equality as Tsarist subjects recognizing their own culture and granting some degree of internal self-determination. Tsarist military as a protective force against Muslim neighbours was widely accepted among Georgians that is why their elite did not develop a broad demand for secession from Tsarist Empire. As an exception the few radical minded young intellectuals had to turn to foreign powers like Germany to assist them in gaining independence.

After three generations a nonexistent political nation was substituted by a new ethnic sensitive community with cultural associations as its main organisational backbone. In this concrete and lasting "moral community" (Mark Steinberg) the growing layer of marginalised educated white-collar-workers with the same state of mind could meet each other and coordinate its efforts between Tsar and 'people'. Enabling a combination of emotional impulses and rational control for their actions, it became an important school of nation-building.⁷³

After independence in 1918, Georgian Mensheviks attempted to solve the acute social problems by a land reform in a "democratic" Georgian republic.⁷⁴ Only the permanent control of state and administrative bodies in a Soviet republic allowed the Georgian peasant mass to abandon their local identity as peasants in favour of national citizenship and replace their sense of locality by a love of national territory. The *tergdaleulebi* failed to convince their compatriots' majority of the new national identity, but for the first time they shaped the modern Georgian nation's image. This image grew stronger in Soviet times until Georgia's independence in 1991.⁷⁵

⁷³ In greater detail elaborated in: Oliver REISNER *Die Schule der georgischen Nation. Eine sozialhistorische Untersuchung der nationalen Bewegung in Georgien am Beispiel der 'Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung der Lese- und Schreibkunde unter den Georgiern' (1850-1917)*. Wiesbaden 2004. Mark Steinberg: *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations in the Russian Printing Industry, 1867-1907*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992

⁷⁴ S. F. Jones, *Socialism in Georgian Colors. The European Road to Social Democracy 1883-1911* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2005); Lela Gaprindashvili (ed.): *Demokratiuli ghrebulebebis nakvalevze sak'art'veloshi* [On the Track of Democratic Values in Georgia]. Tbilisi: Dobera, 2011.

⁷⁵ R.G. Suny, *The Revenge of the Past. Nationalism, Revolution and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford Cal.: Stanford UP, 1993).

Odette Keun. A critical Socialist in Menshevik Georgia.⁷⁶

Introduction

Odette Keun, a young Dutch woman in her early thirties, was arrested by the British Military police in Istanbul (then Constantinople) in the early morning of June 29, 1921. In *Sous Lénine* (1922: 7-13), Odette explains her plight graphically. She had briefly visited Georgia, and was staying with friends in Constantinople while she made plans to return for an extensive tour of the country. She had already been granted the necessary visa. Without bothering to produce a warrant or even giving her a reason for this behaviour, her private letters, as well as other people's letters for their relatives, some filled with substantial amounts of money, were confiscated by the police, who also seized her books. All protests fell on deaf ears. It struck her that the chief policeman never searched the house, he did not even take the trouble to open a cupboard. Without further ado, the police escorted her to a ship bound for Russia. Once in Russia, Odette Keun was imprisoned and interrogated by the Cheka. A tribute to her own persistence and to the help of some Georgians, after three months she was finally released and able to travel on to Georgia.

This contribution covers the time she spent travelling through Menshevik Georgia contextualised in the geo-political relations of the aftermath of World War I. After a brief introduction to her life, the historical setting of Turkey between 1918-1921 is outlined before moving on to the actual descriptions of Georgia *In the Land of the Golden Fleece* (1924).⁷⁷ In keeping with the theme, her motives for travelling, her stereotypes, her relations with the 'other' and any possible effect of Odette's encounter with Georgia will be examined.

Short biography of Odette Keun

Although she held a Dutch passport, besides her Dutch ancestry, French, Italian and Greek blood flowed through Odette's veins. Her ancestors had spent the past 200 years in the Ottoman Empire, principally in Smyrna and Constantinople, where they had mixed with the local population through marriage. Some of her relatives spoke both Greek and Turkish fluently. Her father was an interpreter for the Dutch consulate in Istanbul and, from the way she writes about her father, she was attached to him. She had three sisters and she attended the English High School for Girls in Istanbul. The building is still there in a side street off the Istiklal cadessi.

⁷⁶ Dedicated to Prof dr Donna Winslow, anthropologist and an engaged and committed traveller herself!

⁷⁷ First published in French in 1923 as *Au Pays de la Toison d'Or*.

As an adolescent she ran away from home, became lost in the woods of Asia Minor but was brought safely back to her family. She had crossed the Bosphorus and had explored the woods on the other side on horseback, 'in the company of some small peasant boys who were supposed to guide her, but invariably lost their way'. (Reintjes: 9). They ran into a military detachment which sent Odette back home. This incident shows that the sense of adventure and this burning desire to explore were there from the outset! The consequence of her urge to discover new things was that she was sent to the Netherlands to attend a strict boarding school run by the Ursuline sisters, where it was hoped she would learn some discipline. She would spend three years at the boarding school of these sisters in Grubbenvorst, a tiny Dutch village on the Meuse, not far from the German border. The structured, regular routine offered by the sisters appealed to her. The curriculum stimulated her 'intelligent and studious mind' (Reintjes: 9). Since all the teachers were nuns, naturally in her impressionable adolescence, she hero-worshipped some of them. Her greatest wish was to become like them: gentle, tolerant, gracious. She turned to her study of the Gospels with renewed ardor. Like many girls before and after her, her great desire was to become a nun. In 1909 this ambition took her to Tours in France where she spent two more years as a novice in a Dominican convent. For almost two years she devoted herself to trying to prepare herself to take orders, but after her mother died in July 1911, she left the convent and went home to Constantinople to look after her two younger sisters. For some time, they were all forced to live in circumstances which, not to put too fine a point on it, were extremely unpleasant.

Writing was one way she could make a living. Reading *In the Land of the Golden Fleece* immediately gives one a sense of her critical mind, her great sense of humor and sense of social justice. She wrote most of her books in French, the common language of the local elite before World War I. Later in life she moved to the USA and later began a relationship with H.G. Wells with whom she initially engineered a meeting in Geneva. She admired his writings on the future of the Western world (he was an active socialist and had joined the Fabian Society) and went to live with him on the French Riviera. Finally, she moved to England where, apparently forgiving her nasty experience in 1922, she died at the ripe old age of ninety.

The Disintegration of the Ottoman Empire

At the time she returned there, Constantinople had been thrown into an enormous turmoil. The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire had begun before the outbreak of the Great War: Salonika, Thrace and Albania had been lost and the progressive Young Turk movement was gaining momentum in the empire. In 1909, the sultan had had to accede to the pressure from this group and had announced elections for a new parliament. In the aftermath of World War I in which the Ottoman Empire had been defeated, just as Odette happened to be

visiting friends in Constantinople, the tension and desperate fights between the ever-more-powerful Young Turks and the Greeks who were clinging on to their several thousand of years of residence, were reaching their climax: The latter were aided by the British in their struggle for what they claimed was their homeland.

When World War I broke out in August 1914, Turkey had not yet decided whose side it would be on. Certainly, the decision facing it was a complicated one. There was palpable sympathy for France and Britain, but they had unfortunately allied themselves with Russia, the hereditary enemy of the Ottoman Empire. Even as war was breaking out, business negotiations were being held with the British, German, Dutch Shell Petroleum Company, a consortium formed to gain access to oil in Iraq. Ironically, the Turks (Constantinople was a financial center for various foreign banks) wanted to borrow money from the German Deutsche Bank to set up a second front against the Russians. The Young Turks, who were in favor of Ottoman reforms, had been influenced by the Bolsheviks and hence opposed Tsarist Russia.

Constantinople had always been a multiethnic city. It was home to large numbers of Armenians, Jews and Greeks. The Armenians living in Constantinople were pro-Russian, hoping that it would give them protection. In a nutshell, the dynamics going on 'in the city'⁷⁸ were extraordinarily complex: the empire of the Ottoman Pashas was crumbling, the influence of the Young Turks was steadily gaining ground; conflicting British, French, Russian and German interests were vying with each other to win Turkish sympathy; and some of the minorities, above all the Christians, in the city were in real danger.

In first instance, the *Sublime Porte*⁷⁹ sought a solution by testing the water of what would happen if it were to join the Triple Alliance. Such a commitment would have involved asking Britain and France for a guarantee that they would temper Russian ambitions in Ottoman Empire. This proposal was submitted to the London cabinet which rejected it out-of-hand. Disappointed, the Turks were left to fend for themselves against the Russians and, on October 25, 1914, having chosen to make a pre-emptive strike, Enver Pasha, the Ottoman general and commander-in-chief, a hero of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, ordered the Turkish fleet to attack the Russians. The ports of Odessa and Sebastopol were bombarded and Russian ships went up in flames or were sunk.⁸⁰ Crucially the Bosphorus was closed. By this cutting of the

⁷⁸ In Greek this phrase 'in the city' forms the basis for the name Istanbul *stan bulin* or *eist enpolin* (to the city). The large foreign expat community in the city took to calling the old city *Stamboul*. Kemal Atatürk officially renamed the city Istanbul in the 20ties.

⁷⁹ Metonym for the central government of the Ottoman Empire.

⁸⁰ Bareilles, R. (2002: 272-275) chapter "La Grande Guerre" from *Le Crépuscule Ottoman. 1875-1933 Un Français chez le dernier grand sultan*. Toulouse: Privat..

Gordian knot and seizing the initiative to attack Russia, the die was cast and Turkey became the declared enemy of the Triple Alliance. With the ultimate intention of occupying Constantinople and, assuming that Turkey, 'the sick man of Europe', was on its last legs, the British seized this opportunity to attack Gallipoli, which turned into a total disaster. Under these hectic conditions, the persecution of the minorities began. Thousands of Christian Armenians were deported from Constantinople on the grounds of their alleged support of the Russians. They were not the only ones who left the city; to escape the mayhem, the Keun sisters traveled to Paris.

At the end of the war, the Ottoman government collapsed and, stepping into the breach, the Allies occupied Constantinople. Although the Treaty of Sèvres was signed on August 10, 1920, it was never ratified by the sultan. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, a successful Ottoman commander, rejected the terms demanded at Sèvres, which amounted to the dismemberment of the remaining Ottoman territories. He regrouped his remaining forces and fought back, ultimately winning against both the Greeks who were being supported by Britain and against the Armenians on the eastern front. These successes empowered the Turkish nationalists and their army marched on to reclaim the city soon to be known as Istanbul, then still in British hands.⁸¹ After the Turkish resistance had gained control over both Anatolia and Istanbul, the Treaty of Sèvres was abrogated and superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne which formally ended all hostilities and led to the creation of the modern Turkish Republic.

Odette Keun's arrest

This brief historical overview is essential if the reader is to understand the complicated context in which Odette Keun found herself when she was arrested by the British Military police on the eve of her planned journey to Georgia. In June 1921, Britain was still involved in Turkey, fighting on the side of the Greeks against the revolutionary nationalists in what has become known as the Greco-Turkish War. British aspirations were not confined to the western coast of Turkey, at the other end of the country on the Georgian front in Batumi, the capital of the Muslim province of Georgia, the British prime minister was also furthering his expansionist ambitions, which involved oil and new ways to India. The British tried to close a deal with the Kemalists by secretly offering the Muslim province of Georgia to the Kemalists in exchange for organizing, aiding and abetting Muslim uprisings against the Bolsheviks in Azerbaijan, Northern Persia and the North Caucasus (Reintjes: 23). The Conference of London, which culminated in the Treaty of Sèvres in 1920, put an end to British ambitions and Prime Minister David Lloyd George was forced to resign.

⁸¹ In which the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George was forced to resign (the Chanak Crisis). The Conference of London in 1920 made an end to his expansionist aspirations in Turkey both in Istanbul and at Turkey's eastern front.

Odette had already traveled to Georgia and was sympathetic towards its Menshevik government. One possible explanation for her arrest by the British on the charge of breaching international law is that:

Odette was absolutely convinced that the British had intended to stay forever (in Batumi), that the occupation of Batumi had been another step on the way to the oil fields of Baku and a new route to India. The problem was that Odette told everybody who would listen about this conviction and the British did not like that at all (Reintjes: 23).

This public airing of her critical opinion did not escape the British who were alert to any sort of criticism and had also taken note of her socialist sympathies. It goes without saying that neither went down well. As Odette found out later after reading about it in *Le Temps*, the British military police in Constantinople was probably preparing to accuse her and several other people arrested the same day of fomenting a Bolshevik conspiracy and of planning an attempt to take the life of General Harington, commander-in-chief of the Allied Occupation Forces in Turkey still present in Constantinople. Odette considered it bizarre beyond belief that, if the captain of the military police really suspected she was participating in such a conspiracy, her house was not searched, unless, of course, he knew perfectly well she was not really involved and did not want to waste his time on an unproductive search. This astute faculty of observation and her strong desire to be free to think independently is fairly typical of Odette's work. Although relatively young and not a lawyer herself, she had the presence of mind to argue that, even were she to have committed some crime, as a Dutch citizen she should have been taken to the Dutch authorities. Certainly she should not have been sent to Russia and left at the mercy of the Russians. This adventure in Russia resulted in her book *Sous Lénine. Notes d'une femme deportée en Russie par les Anglais*. The dedication of the book⁸² says it all:

Je dédie la première partie de ce livre aux chefs de la police militaire Anglaise de Constantinople, pour les flétrir; et la seconde partie à Lénine, pour qu'il sache se qui se fait en Russie hors de Moscou.

Her experience in Russia was an eye-opener to the reality of the Bolsheviks – their injustice, the utter chaos, the poverty of the people.

Travelling to Menshevik Georgia in 1920

After the war, in winter of 1919-1920 Odette spent some time in Rome. In February 1920 she met the Chief of the Georgian Embassy in Italy, M. Sabakhtarashvili (1924: 4), whom she considered to be the best informed person

⁸² On micro fiche in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Royal Library in The Hague 'I dedicate the first part of this book to sullyng [the reputation of the] chiefs of the British Military Police in Constantinople, and the second part to Lenin so that he might know what goes on in Russia outside of Moscow'.

in the Socialist Menshevik government. Her interest in 'this land of the golden fleece', *Sakartvelo*, was aroused and according to her notes she made her first acquaintance with Georgia in 1919, 'when it was an independent, social-democratic Republic, under a Menshevik government recognized *de facto* by Europe' (1924: ix).

In *The Golden Fleece* the realization gradually dawns that, although she might have had sympathy for the battle for justice being striven for in socialist societies, in her private sphere she was not exactly true to socialist principles. Odette admits it herself in the words, 'How often in my journey have I found that the most elementary principles of my confirmed Socialism disappear, as if by magic, at the touch of Necessity' (1924: 24). For example, when she needed a horse, Dodi, her guide, interpreter, and travelling companion, would simply take one for her from the first passer-by, a high-handed action which was strictly forbidden by the Menshevik government.

After the two Russian revolutions in 1917, a vote was held in the Russian Constituent Assembly, both in Moscow and in the Trans-Caucasian Federation. The results were strikingly different. In Russia the Mensheviks had 3.3 percent of the national vote, but in Georgia they had won a massive 75 percent. In the parliamentary elections held in Georgia on February 14, 1919, they actually won 81.5 percent of the votes. The Menshevik leader, Noe Zhordania, became prime minister and remained so until the Bolshevik occupation in 1921. When this happened, the Georgian Mensheviks, led by Zhordania, fled to Leuville-sur-Orge in France where they set up the headquarters of the government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia in Exile in a small castle.

Motivation behind her journey to Georgia.

After the war, by 1921 Odette was in her early thirties and she herself said that, 'She intended to write articles on what she saw and to send them to European newspapers'. (1924:24). The Georgians welcomed a socialist journalist in their country with open arms. They even took the step of allowing her to join a regiment and assigned Lt Prince David (Dodi) Chavchavadze to her for protection. In Dodi's company, she traveled to the east and northeast of Georgia: Tusheti, Khevsureti, Racha and Kakheti. He was a very young, handsome boy, an excellent dancer and singer but extremely irresponsible. On various occasions she was dissatisfied with him and threatened to replace him (1924:24).

She kept up this pattern of travelling and writing throughout most of her life, the only exception being the first years of her love affair with H.G. Wells. She devoted herself to him almost entirely, her adoration apparently robbed her of her ardor to write!

Images and stereotypes

Odette explicitly warns the reader that the *The Golden Fleece* should not

be used as a travel guide because her itinerary was a purely personal and idiosyncratic odyssey, zigzagging through a particular area, tasting and testing the possibilities it might have to offer. The bulk of her travels on horseback in spring of 1920 in the company of Prince David Chavchavadze, assigned by the Georgian Minister of War (1924: 2) as her escort and protector, led her into the Caucasus Mountains. Her descriptions of Georgia cover the area east and northeast of the capital Tbilisi, (Kakheti, Pchavi, Tusheti, Khevsureti) and Western Georgia (through Imereti towards its northern region: through Racha and on to upper and lower Svaneti). This focus on the Caucasus Mountains is all the more remarkable because she claims that mountains oppress her (1924:32).

She wrote this feeling of oppression in Touchetia, perhaps when she was feeling depressed because there had been a problem obtaining horses and guides to conduct them to Amallo. Despite her trials and tribulations, the chapters, arranged from east to west organized by the provinces she visited and grouped in Parts I to V, still grip the reader, even today, especially if one takes the time to study the images and stereotypes presented.

Her escort Prince David Chavchavadze – Dodi for short – 20 years old, ‘tall, slender and graceful, (...) seemed to have sprung up like a high, straight jet of water’. (1924: 2). “(...) [B]y day Dodi was all laughter and snatches of song, full of daring equestrian feats, braggadocio and irresponsibility – very typical of the Georgian aristocracy⁸³ of to-day, which, though it certainly has the merit of being decorative, has never moved me to admiration’ (1924: 3). These vivid images are transformed into a stereotype when Odette moves in one sweeping statement from a description of Dodi's personal characteristics and quirks to a generalization about the ‘Georgian aristocracy of today’. Perhaps she had a chip on her shoulder. In Istanbul, Odette had had to fend for herself and her sisters where she had to do her best to survive by taking secretarial jobs, and she and her sisters experienced the humiliation of not being invited out in society by the upper class to which they belonged because they did not have the ‘correct status’ (being unmarried). Moreover, she had also just survived the traumatic experience of having been handed over to the Bolsheviks in Russia by the British Military in Istanbul by the skin of her teeth. In Russia she had known the horror of having been imprisoned in appalling conditions and had been subjected to interrogation by the Cheka. Having survived these terrifying ordeals, she observed life and responsibility through different eyes:

There was courtesy and courage in his nature, coupled with a complete inability to recognize the importance of a promise given or an obligation incurred, and an utter ignorance of the meaning of intellectual independence.

⁸³ ‘A descendent of George XIII, the last of the kings of Georgia and great-grandson of that celebrated princess whom Schamyl, the Emir of Circassia, carried into his mountains as a hostage at the time of his epic struggle against the Emperor of Russia...’ (1924:, 2)

Yet with all this there was no fundamental vice or baseness in him; it was merely that his ancestors, loving cards and hunting and wine, had for centuries despised the life of the spirit. (1924: 3)

Another sweeping statement in which she moves from the individual to what I would call a prejudice about his ancestors, whom she obviously never could have met, let alone known if indeed they had 'despised the life of the spirit'. This remark should perhaps be understood in terms of her convent background and the fact that directly after she left high school she had been on the verge of taking her vows as a nun. She remained always grateful⁸⁴ for this religious training.

The rich details and her recordings of conversations noted down in *The Golden Fleece* invite the reader to taste and smell the *couleur locale*. Talking of Dodi she says, 'Like a good Georgian he smoked, I should think, a hundred every day', (1924: 2) and she reports how 'Touchetia is infested with brigands and that it is quite impossible for us to pass through it' (1924: 2). They had to travel across Tusheti if they were to reach Khevsureti higher up in the mountains. As is typical of bureaucracy at all times and in all places, these uncorroborated rumors were denied by the representatives of various ministries, and in her impatience to move on, Odette decided to take the plunge and set off on her journey.

It was early summer when she fell under the spell of Kakheti as she journeyed from Telavi to Tsinandali, 'Through the hundred tiny villages which are strewn about the province—Matani, Akhemtaa, Tshjra-Kara of the Nine Gateways—and while crossing the river Alazani'. (1924: 5). This is the area now known as the 'Wine Highway'. 'Nothing happened; no events except the constant play of colour' (1924: 6) disrupted the untrammelled path of the traveller.

The first impression was one of whiteness—the delicate whiteness of new silver-made by the vast dry beds of the rivers. The rushing water that flowed in narrow threads between the great smooth stones was milk-white, and the orange blouse of a passing peasant would break suddenly into this monochrome paleness like the sound of a horn quickly silenced. (1924: 5)

Her descriptions of nature tend to ramble fairly interminably... only occasionally interrupted by *Kakhetlebi* men crossing her path: 'quick and muscular', 'lean and hardy', 'their wit is sharp and teasing, and the banter they exchange stings'. (1924: 7) Odette writes about the *kvevri* wine amphora used to make wine Georgian style, seizing precisely on the present-day icon used to promote this unique sort wine throughout the world. The traditional technique she saw is still preserved today. The crushed grapes in their entirety are put into

⁸⁴ 'Were it only because of those perfect minutes, the spiritual insight they gave me into love, the glimpse they afforded me of what is absolute, I shall always refrain from cursing the dreadful discipline of my monastic training'. (1924: 14)

the amphora to ferment for about ten days, the time depends on how strong the taste and colour desired. After this, it is filtered and then put in another amphora in the ground to mature for up to a year. Odette continues as follows: Women move about their duties round the doorsteps where the fantastic red jars in which they keep their wine, are half sunk in the earth; beside the *satznakheli*, the grey press hollowed out of a trunk of a great tree, and the *torné*, the round, low field-oven filled with faggot wood; (1924: 7-8).

All these artifacts can still be seen in Kakheti, side by side with modern vineyards and comfortable hotels for tourists. Odette continues her narrative by describing the ancient fortresses and churches 'constellated through the country' (1924: 8) by Queen Tamara. She is also impressed by the Alaverdi cathedral, which can still be admired today. The only difference with 1920 is that Odette had to cross a deep river by horse to reach it. 'After ages of tumult and darkness I was hoisted upon the other bank' (1924: 9). Nowadays, especially after the Rose Revolution, comfortable asphalt roads provide easy access – yet the ancient character of the countryside can still be felt and experienced on the small informal roads between the villages.

In her wanderings she was continuously impressed by the ecclesiastical architecture: '... the churches of Georgia can be called autochthonous, and have the merit of being not copies, but creations' (1924: 13). The three types of church, the icons, and the frescoes she so admired can all still be seen today. 'From Telav to Alvani, in Touchetia, plain succeeds plain; the illuminated tapestry of the prairie is enameled with blue flowers....' (1924: 24). As it turned out, they had to journey through woods in which the brigands, about whom she had been warned in Tbilisi, were supposedly lurking, but they at any rate were able to travel through them without mishap. The brigands had a less happy ending because, 'They [Odette's guides] killed one of the robbers in the wood'. (1924: 25). Apparently Odette had already traveled in the Aurès, the eastern prolongation of the Atlas in Morocco where she stayed with Berbers because she makes comparisons between the flocks kept by the people and the transhumance to the high pastures in the summer and returning to their houses in the winter.

The race, I found, are an extremely fine type. Tall, mostly fair, and always vigorous, white-skinned under the tan, the teeth milk-white, the eye blue and a little prominent, the Touchebi, in their dark *cherkesska*, are calm, slow-moving, without awkwardness of ardour; (1924:29).

Attitudes towards women could vary. In Toucheti, the custom was that 'women ought to serve, and be silent' (1924: 30). In Kakheti, 'The Kakhetian men and women mingled freely, talking and behaving to each other as equals. The women, though they worked hard, on the land and in the houses, were individual and mistress of themselves' (1924: 34).

She also had something to say about horses: 'The Touchebi are very hospitable, but their goodwill stops dead when the question of horses arises.

Dodi quoted a proverb which says that a Touchi soldier would not let the general himself mount his steed' (1924: 32-33).

If I were a symbolist, I should portray Georgia as a race-horse-palpitating, furious, rushing forward blindly it knows not where; rearing at the least check, not having yet learnt what is required of it, or what it can do; falling at the first slackening of the reins into a fantastic, prancing gait; a creature made for parade, and for the pleasure of the eyes rather than for utility. With all my heart, I hope that the charming courser will collect his capricious and fiery energies and, measuring them, apply them to the task of making a sustained progressive effort. But, however that may be, the souls of this people in which there is neither baseness or ill-will, has endeared it to me forever (1924: 180).

Relations

The relationships she addresses take place at various levels. Most prominent among them was that with Prince Dodi her guide, friend and protector: dominant, fickle, impatient yet deeply caring and in hindsight viewed with admiration. Unfortunately, this relationship ended very tragically. Odette Keun recounts:

We reached Telav again one evening. (...) After dusk Dodi asked me if he could absent himself. Telav was not very safe: bandits were always making their appearance and the militia had all they could do to keep order. The little inn where we lodged was quite undefended. Dodi wanted to pay a visit in the suburbs, and I let him go on his explicit promise to return before ten o'clock. At midnight he had not come back. At two o'clock I awakened the manager, certain now that Dodi, who had my portfolio and our fire-arms, must have been attacked on the road, and that he was either wounded or killed. (...) Next day, at ten o'clock, Dodi presented himself in my room; he had not paid his visit but, overtaken by his invincible love for cards, had passed the whole night in play at the local club; more than that, he has lost all the money that the Government had given him for expenses as well as mine which I had confided to him. We were left without resource in a province where we had no credit- and I had spent a night in torture on account of this good-for-nothing little prince, while he was enjoying an idiotic game! I struck Dodi across the face in the reaction of the greatest exasperation I ever felt in my life. He went straight out of the room, and, on the other side of the door, he shot himself above the heart with my revolver. I was so obsessed with the idea of bandits that I did not move, believing that a quarrel had arisen between the soldiers and the robbers; but the Russian servants of the inn burst with wild cries into my room, pulling me by my dressing-gown, and dragging me into the passage where Dodi lay. (...) That was the culmination of my first Georgian journey. My lasting wonder is that it did not drive me mad. (1924:151-152)

Apart from this tragic incident, her relationship with Georgia, is clearly an affectionate one. She compares Georgia favorably to places she has visited on her

other travels. Her work abounds with tributes to the gaiety of the Georgians, praising their courage, and extolling their extraordinary altruism. She is full of admiration for the cheerful patience with which they helped each other (1924: 39). Nonetheless her praise is interspersed with bursts of exasperation, which she also describes with complete honesty. Being honest is a value she cherished above all, "Nothing is worth an untruth, whether in a book or in a life" (1924: 32).

Although Georgia was still independent of the Bolsheviks at the time at which she was travelling, Odette did take the trouble to include some conversations with Bolsheviks she encountered (1924: 36). They made no bones about it, their goal was to overthrow the Georgian government, which, they alleged, was leading the people headlong into a war instead of living 'like brothers'. Zhordania (the president), Gegetchkori (the foreign minister), Ramishvili (minister of the interior)⁸⁵ were in power at the time (1924: 37-38). Odette, who was nothing if not open to logical reasoning, retorts to the allegations:

Like brothers? (...) You have just taken Azerbaijan; were the massacres at Baku and Ganja fraternal acts? There were ten thousand killed at least! And then these arbitrary imprisonments, these executions by the *chresvichaika*, without trial, without appeal! (1924:37)

These kinds of arguments reveal that Odette was acutely aware of the troubled situation in the South Caucasus. However, obviously the Bolsheviks were not interested in a rational discussion: 'When we come, comrade, you will go to prison to meditate upon our methods.' (1924: 38). Odette's reflections continue in a comparison between Bolshevism and Christianity, both fierce doctrines, whereas she was more interested in *justice* and *gentleness* (1924: 39). In her relationship to Georgia and Georgians it is possible to detect empathy, astute observation, a desire to become involved in discussions and self-reflection. In short, one could call this relationship an intercultural encounter free of any desire to dominate or to remain subdued, but managing dexterously to remain somewhere in the middle ground.

Impact

It is difficult to draw any conclusions on the impact Odette Keun's travels through Georgia might have had. She herself writes:

What have my travels brought to me besides, beyond these ineffaceable and splendid visions, this indestructible love for the Georgian race, and a juster more indulgent social sense than before? The pride of my ambitions has given place to a new humility: I no longer believe that I was created to set the mistakes of the whole planet right; at the root of all error, I now recognize that

⁸⁵ The spelling in *The Golden Fleece* (translated from the French), maintains the French spelling of these names, but I use an English transcription here. This also applies to Azerbaijan, Ganja and *chresvichaika*.

fatality lies. I have learnt, too, that nothing is final in life, save death: in the worst disasters of individuals, as of nations, there is always a place for hope. (1924:152)

In the Land of the Golden Fleece offers a rich, descriptions of almost ethnographic quality, of parts of Georgia in 1920 and on this count alone, her touristic visit has left more than a fleeting impression because her book can still be used as part of constituent forces to construct our image of Georgia. Almost inevitably, it appears to have had more impact abroad than in Georgia itself. To track this down, it would be necessary to check the Georgian archives and interview the offspring of Georgians who met her almost a century ago. She was falsely accused of espionage, but this experience of injustice had hardly any impact on her own life or on Georgian society. The only lasting, very tragic impact would seem to be the fact that Dodi took his own life after their quarrel.

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Grigol Peradze (1899-1942) – the scholarly and religious encounters of a Saint. Germany and Poland.

Introduction

In the world of science he was known as “Archimandrite Peradze”. He was born on September 13 (August 31 according to the Old Style calendar), 1899 in the village of Bakurtsikhe (Kakheti province) in Georgia. After the death of his father Romanos, the Orthodox pastor of Grigol’s hometown in 1905, the upbringing of the children was taken care by Grigol’s mother and Romanos’s brother, who was also a priest and pastor of the parish in Qvareli. One of Grigol’s ancestors had entered priesthood and this tradition had been passed down the generations, and Grigol was no exception. Subsequently, Grigol enrolled in the Theological School in Tbilisi, before continuing his studies at the Seminary. He graduated with distinction in 1918. In pre-revolutionary Russia, a diploma with honors gave him the right to enter any theological academy. However, the revolution and creation of the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) changed his plans. Instead of exploring theology, he undertook studies in the Faculty of Philology at the Tbilisi State University. Between 1919-1921, he completed military service and later taught at the school in the village of Manavi. He then returned to Tbilisi State University and with the help of Father Professor Korneli Kekelidze, an eminent specialist in the field of literature and Old Georgian liturgy, Grigol was allowed to pursue his studies further abroad.

Visit to Germany: motive to travel

At the end of October 1921, The Catholicos-at Council of Georgia - chaired by Catholicos-Patriarch Ambrosi I - sent Grigol to Berlin where he was to receive a comprehensive theological education. In his efforts to continue his studies in Germany, he received great support from Dr. Johannes Lepsius - German Orientalist and scholar. Grigol later became a close family friend of Lepsius and many of his relatives.

Whilst in Berlin, his German gradually improved, and after passing relevant entry examinations, he was registered on May 12, 1922 at the Theological Faculty of the University of Berlin. There, under the guidance of professors Adolf von Harnack, Adolf Deissmann, Karl Holla and Bruno Meissner, Grigol concentrated on studying theology and oriental languages, such as Hebrew, Syrian, Arabic, Coptic, Armenian and Greek. At the same time, he also mastered Latin, German, English, French and Danish. (Besides, he knew the following languages: Russian, Georgian and Old Church Slavonic, and after 1933, quickly learnt Polish.) His studies at the University of Berlin

were completed with the title of Candidate of Theology. At the end of 1924 at the instigation of Richard Meckeleina, Georgian language lecturer at the University of Berlin, Peradze turned to Professor Dr. Heinrich Goussen of Bonn – a great German Orientalist - for assistance in arranging for further studies. In addition, during the Christmas holidays of the same year, he spent two busy weeks in the private library of the same professor. When Grigol Peradze returned to Berlin, his friend and patron, Dr. Johannes Lepsius, advised him to transfer to the University of Bonn. Grigol arrived on April 29, 1925.

At the Faculty of Philosophy, under the directions of Prof. Dr. Paul Kahle, Anton Baumstark and foremost professor Goussen, Grigol studied the history of religions and improved knowledge of oriental languages. At that time, he translated his own work on the biography of George the Hagiorite - a Georgian monk of Mount Athos who lived in the eleventh century, into German. Having written the critical introduction and footnotes, Grigol entitled this biography "The Life and Work of St. George Hagiorite". Later, persuaded by Dr. Lepsius, he extended this study (originally a Bachelor's thesis) and ultimately presented it as a topic of his doctorate thesis entitled: *Geschichte des georgischen Mönchtums von ihren Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1064. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der orientalischen Mönchtums*. He received his PhD on February 26, 1926.

Analysis of the lives of the saint Georgian monks in the doctorate thesis allowed Grigol to draw a number of conclusions that would lead to a greater understanding of the history of the Georgian monasticism. For example, Grigol believed that the Georgian monasticism in its eremetical form was founded by the native people soon after the adoption of Christianity by Georgia in the fourth century. Grigol recognized that the foundation of community life came later, around the year 550, with the arrival of the "Thirteen Syrian Fathers" in Georgia. When the Syrians fled to Georgia because of persecution in their homeland, they began to construct new monasteries and the development of monastic life. Asceticism of the immigrants from Syria was characterised by their hostility towards the body: they paid no attention to food (bread and vegetables they ate, water they drank), clothing (they walked barefoot), and shelter (they lived in caves). They reinforced the Georgian orthodoxy and organized the system of monasteries thus: John of Zadazenia founded a monastery in Mtskheta, David - Monastery of Gareja, Szio - Monastery of Szio-Mgwime, Abibos became bishop of Nekresi, and Ize - Bishop of Cirkania.

Further research work: scientific relations

After receiving his doctorate degree, Grigol Peradze studied in Brussels until April 1927 at the Bollandists and at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium. Later he worked for two months at the libraries of the British Museum and at Bodleian - the main library of the University of Oxford. He was then employed by the University of Bonn - first as a teacher of Armenian and

Georgian languages, and after the death of Professor Goussen in 1927, as a Privatdozent. From then on, the name Grigol began to appear more frequently in various scientific journals. However, Grigol continued to research into Georgian monasticism, inter alia, the role of monasteries in the life of the Georgian Church and Eastern Christianity. He also repeatedly championed the hitherto unexplored area of the Coptic influence on the tradition of Christianity in Georgia. His superior knowledge presented in these articles instantly made him one of the most prominent experts on early Christianity in the Middle East. Prof. Julius Assfalg characterised the activities of Grigol in Bonn in an article devoted to Kartvelian studies in Germany:

Georgian Studies gained a new momentum when the Georgian G. Peradze published his findings in his PhD thesis in Bonn on the origins of Georgian monasticism - findings which were mainly edited by A. Baumstark in the journal "Oriens christianus". "Oriens christianus" regularly deals with issues related to Georgia, and this follows in a long tradition that dates back to A. Baumstark, T. Kluge, H. Goussen, G. and M. Peradze Tarchniszwilli (...). Today, after the deaths of Goussen, Peradze, Baumstark and Deeters and after the transition of J. Molitor and K. Schmidt to other universities, the Georgian language in principle is no longer taught at the University of Bonn⁸⁶.

A similar opinion was expressed by Professor Hubert Kaufhold in the preface to the publication of Grigol Peradze's article in *Oriens christianus* about the fate of Georgian culture. Grigol actively participated in the scientific life of Germany. Amongst other things, he gave the speech "Zur vorbyzantinischen Liturgie Georgiens" at the Fifth Conference of the German Oriental in Bonn in 1928, as well as "Die Probleme der georgischen Evangelium überetzung" at the Sixth German Conference Oriental in Vienna two years later. During that time Grigol focused his attention on pre-Byzantine Georgian liturgy, which resulted in several classical works on this subject, such as the translation into French of the Georgian version of the Liturgy of Apostle Peter. The Georgian Church was initially dependent on Antioch, which caused the transfer of the Antiochian and Jerusalem traditions. Adoption of the Byzantine Rite became a result of close relations with Byzantium and this took place in the late tenth century, mainly due to translations done by Euthymius and George the Hagiorites at the Athos. However, traces of the pre-Byzantine tradition have been preserved until the present day in Georgia. For example, the liturgical monuments show that originally the Liturgy of Saint James the Apostle was celebrated. Likewise, the Liturgy of the Apostle Peter at a later date. Troparions and the Georgian idiomele do not correspond to any known Greek text, which indicates that they are of Jerusalem origin. A large number of canons matins has a second song, which disappeared in the Byzantine tradition.

⁸⁶ J. Assfalg, *Über die georgischen Studien in Deutschland (Kurze Übersicht)*, „Bedi Kartlisa“, 19-20(1965), p. 206-207, 209.

Ordination and arrival in Poland

In 1931, Grigol Peradze received monastic vows in the Greek Cathedral in Paris and was ordained as a priest. This came about as the result of a spiritual experience during a severe illness, which he described in the poem "Cherubim Hymn":

Today we understand the past, I felt that I meet, Judgement was announced, I became a slave to death (...). Stay with her people, become a bridge to heaven (...) The seal of silence, you should remove the paragraph, I become the patron saint of children Kartlosa (...). Are you ready to die, to destroy, is the burning of thy fate⁸⁷.

In Paris Peradze made contacts with the Georgian community and settled there permanently. He participated in the organisation of the parish, and was later appointed as its first pastor. It was at that time that he began to issue an academic annual called *Dshvari vathisa*, which literally means "Cross made of the vine sprig." As the editor of this journal, most of the published work were his own writings. However, with an increasing workload in his own parish, he resigned from teaching at the University of Bonn in 1932.

Grigol also harboured ambitions of becoming a lecturer at the theological school. The desire materialised in 1933 when the Metropolitan Dionysius (Waledyński) invited him to Warsaw, and offered him the position of assistant professor and deputy director of the Patrology Seminary at the School of Orthodox Theology at the University of Warsaw.

On December 7, 1933 he gave a lecture on "The concept, objectives and methods of Patrology in Orthodox theology." He highlighted its special place in the practice of theology, postulated that in addition to the Greek and Latin patrology, other East-Christian literature was taught, and that research was conducted in accordance with the methodology of scientific work. In January 1934, in the Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia in London Priest Grigol received the dignity of archimandrite. In the academic year 1934/1935, he delivered a series of lectures called "Introduction to theological science" to all students of Orthodox Theology in Warsaw. Metropolitan Dionysius, who was the director of the study, filed a proposal to grant the title of associate professor to Grigol, and this idea was also supported by the rector of the university. However, the authorities were simply not interested in the development of Orthodox theology. Furthermore, Grigol Peradze did not have a Polish citizenship. But despite these setbacks, Grigol continued to work with full devotion to the good of the Polish Orthodox Church. He had a modest apartment at st. Brukowa 21 m 11 (currently ul. Okrzei) in Warsaw. He also took time to help the less advantaged, in particular poor students.

⁸⁷ G. Peradze, *Hymn Cherubinów*, „Pro Georgia”, przeł. T. Dularidze & H. Paprocki, 17(2008), p. 155-172.

Crossing borders: Research in other countries

During this period, Peradze completed a series of scientific journeys between July 14 and September 22, 1935. He stayed in Romania, Greece (Thessalonica and Mount Athos) and Bulgaria. At Athos he managed to retrieve 50 Georgian books and 13 manuscripts, such as the "Apophtegmata Patrum", the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and apocryphal lives of the saints. In addition, he found the Greek versions of the martyrdom of the martyrs of Vilnius: Anthony, John and Eustace. In the National Library in Sofia, he came across the Georgian text of Typikon by the great Western domesticus, George Bakuriani. Bakuriani, who lived in the eleventh century, founded the monastery of Petriconi only for the Georgians, and the Typikon was written in Georgian, Greek and Armenian. The text of the Typikon that Peradze discovered was a copy of the original, drawn up in 1702.

Between July and September 1936, Peradze travelled to the Holy Land and Syria. He brought with him Georgian palimpsests from between the sixth-seventh century, as well as an impressive collection of photographs and documents. He published his memories of the trip in the journal *Ślowo* in 1938 and in the *Wiadomości Metropolii Prawosławnej w Polsce* in 1939.

During late 1937 and early 1938, Peradze studied the works of Dionysius the Areopagite in Italy (Florence, Naples, Venice and Rome). Later in the National Library in Paris, he worked on "Apology" of Tatian. Whilst there and subsequently in another Austrian library, he came across the Georgian version of the hearing St. George the Theologian "A Dialogue with St. Basil." It should be noted that his first scientific discovery was that of the Georgian apocryphic text, in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, "Letter to Dionysius the Areopagite Timothy to the Bishop of Ephesus on the Martyrdom of the Apostles Peter and Paul." Further, he also found the Georgian translation of the "Didache" in Paris, and the text dates back to the VIII - X century.

Further activities in Poland

In 1937, along with Professor Giorgi Nakashidze, Fr. Peradze actively participated in the preparations for the jubilee celebrations of Shota Rustaveli, the twelfth-century Georgian poet and author of the Georgian national epic *Vepkhistkaosani* ("The Knight in Panther's Skin"). Fr. Grigol not only delivered lectures in Warsaw, Krakow and Lvov, but - according to unconfirmed information - also helped to translate this text together with Józef and Professor Nakashidze.

On the occasion of the jubilee Fr Peradze published the article "Religion of Shota Rustaveli," in which he wrote: "There is an opinion that at the end of his life Rustaveli was a monk. Personally, I think that if he indeed became a monk, it was before writing this piece. A man who wrote this poem, would suffer martyrdom in defence of their beliefs, rather than locking themselves up

in the walls of the monastery." Meanwhile, it was widely believed that Shota Rustaveli joined the monastery at the end of his life. This was backed up by the discovery in 1960 in the Dshvari monastery in Jerusalem of a portrait of the poet which depicts an aged Rustaveli, dressed in typical court costumes of the first half of the thirteenth century. This alone would confirm Fr Peradze's hypothesis that a youthful Rustaveli was probably a pupil at the convent school where he gained his extensive knowledge of the Bible, the Koran, as well as on philosophy and literature, as reflected in the poem *Vepkhistkaosani*.

Scientific achievements

An area that deserves special attention is the scientific work of Fr Peradze and his interest in the publication (for example, chronicles of the monastery of St. John the Baptist), or translations of sources (for example, the apocryphal the Georgian monophysitist Gospel) as – Peradze believed that these texts allow for a better understanding of the history of early Christianity. Fr. Peradze was also interested in publishing directories of Georgian manuscripts in England (this, in turn, allows us to get to understand the history of translations of works of the Fathers of the Church), and the reports of the pilgrims on Georgian monasticism in the Holy Land but also – crucially - a directory of the translations of early Christian literature into Georgian. This directory was a German adaptation of the work of Prof. Kornel Kekelidze, and was published in Georgian that was entitled "Foreign authors in the ancient Georgian literature."

The scientific achievements of Fr. Peradze are therefore very impressive and every item is of value to the community at large. Numerous published reviews in which Peradze often contributed to the contents of the reviewed books or engaged in polemics with the authors, are further evidence of his extraordinary erudition. Also, works that can be defined as dissemination also contain many valuable data, hypotheses and formulations on various aspects of both the Church's life, the history of Georgia and Georgian paganism. For example, when examining the cult of St. George in Georgia and its links with paganism, Fr. Peradze disputes Ivan Dshavakhishvili's (1876-1940) argument that the cult of the saint in Georgia is a continuation of the cult of the moon. Instead, Father Peradze considers that the main deity of Georgia was a pagan sun.

The outbreak of World War II

At the outbreak of the war, Fr Grigol led a variety of scientific activities, belonged to numerous national and international organisations, he served many functions:

- Assistant Professor and Deputy Head of a Seminar in Patrology at the School of Orthodox Theology at the University of Warsaw
- Member of the Oriental Studies Commission at Warsaw Scientific Society,

- Member of the Commission on "Faith and Order" (Geneva);
- Member of the Polish team at the World Association of Friendly Cooperation of the Churches;
- Member of the Polish branch of Practical Christianity ("The Stockholm Movement");
- Member of the „Anglican and Eastern Church Association" (London);
- Parson of a Georgian parish in Paris;
- Editor of the scientific yearbook "Dshvari vathisa" (Paris);
- Chaplain to the Georgian immigration in Poland;
- Member of the committee on translation of liturgical books into Polish;
- Honorary member of the Orthodox Brotherhood of Theologians in Poland;
- Chairman of the Circle of Students of Orthodox Theology, Warsaw University and head of the scientific section;
- Member of the Polish Society of Oriental Studies⁸⁸.

After September 1939 Fr. Peradze remained in Warsaw. He provided shelter for one of the Georgian contract officers, Cpt Kavtaradze in his apartment. Fearful of a detention, Fr. Peradze asked a friend to obtain the necessary documents for the captain.

Arrest

Fr. Grigol Peradze was arrested by the Gestapo in his apartment, probably on May 5, 1942.

The immediate reason for the arrest was provocation and denunciation. Further details came to light during an interview with Giorgi Nakashidze:

Someone denounced him.... I know that his diary was delivered daily to the Gestapo, I know their names. This is our shame... But now you do not need this... (...) Several officers who served in the Polish army - some of whom Georgians by birth - were summoned. And the three officers whom I personally knew, said that everything was so badly-scribbled that much cannot be read, and refused, but after all there will always be enemies and there have been enemies of the unfortunate ...⁸⁹

This is also confirmed by Sewdia Daredshan (Aka)-Ugrekheldidze Lukac: "I find it difficult (...) to add something to what has already been stated several times, and I always heard from my father who is still in Warsaw, namely, that of A. and K. who lay in wait for Peradze and were guilty of causing imprisonment and death. My father was sure that it was not just about personal animosities, as A. went over to the enemy or that Peradze was with us, but that (he) had his eye on the Peradze's precious books and incunabula. Perhaps he also wanted to have all that was kept for those who were on the run or imprisoned, for

⁸⁸ *Sprawozdanie [...] za rok akademicki 1936-1937*, p. VIII.

⁸⁹ Interview with Giorgi Nakaszydze by Rezo Tabukaszwili in 1989.

example, Jews and others prosecuted in mortal danger by the occupation forces, which he clearly (...) knew about."

A similar description can also be found in the 'indictment' drawn up after World War II by the Georgian contract officers:

If A. could easily trade the heads of unarmed prisoners of war and Jews, it was not so easy to accuse and arrest Archimandrite Peradze on the basis of mere denunciation. It was necessary to justify the charges against him, and here's how he deceived Archimandrite Peradze. They photograph documents, sent from the Gestapo, and using Peradze's servant, a man named BM, they hide those photos in a hole made at the back of an icon in Peradze's room. A. then denounces Peradze as an English spy, who photographed the secret documents for the British, and informs the Gestapo of the storage site. (...) The Gestapo conducts a search in the apartment and finds the photographs. Peradze is then imprisoned in the camp, where he died after 18 days of brutal treatment. BM receives good pay from A. and currently lives in Argentina. All this was written based on the testimony of the Georgian soldiers serving in the Polish army who are now staying in London."⁹⁰

After the arrest, Fr. Peradze was imprisoned at the Pawiak Prison in Warsaw. His fate in the Pawiak is revealed in the memoirs of those who were also at the prison. Prison writer Leon Wanat noted down personal details, and sent a prisoner to the cell at the transition division VII, located in the basement. Peradze's stay at ward VII lasted for about 14 days, after that he was transferred to ward V which is called the transport ward, located on the second floor. He was used as a translator. At the beginning of October 1942 Peradze was transferred to the working division of No. 186 (called "arbeitszela") where he was also a translator. Some of these accounts were discovered in 1986 at the Archives of the Orthodox Metropolitan of Warsaw, and these helped to retrace some of the events which occurred during Peradze's incarceration. In addition, a few years ago the archives unveiled an envelope with documents belonging to the Father, amongst which was the original death certificate (Sterbeurkunde) in German, issued by Standestamt Auschwitz.

These documents allow us to reconstruct some details from the last days of Fr Peradze's life. First of all, it is revealed that he was arrested during early May 1942, most likely on the 5th. Following his imprisonment, the dean of the Warsaw district, Fr. Protopriest John Kowalenko, sealed Peradze's apartment. This took place at 4pm on May 5. On May 28, 1942, at the request of German police, Fr. Kowalenko, assisted by Deacon George Berkman-Karenin, removed the seals from the apartment. The police seized some money (in both American and British currencies) which was hidden in a secret closet, however. This

⁹⁰ Obwinitl'nyj akt, b. m. w. r., p. 3; cf. Letter of A. Lukac-Ugrechelidze from 28. X. 2009.

would indirectly confirm the supposition that Fr Peradze kept the money of the Jewish people in his apartment for safekeeping.

Whilst still in Pawiak, Peradze authorised his friend, Deacon George Berkman-Karenin, to go to his apartment in Brukowa Street on June 10, 1942. At his request, some underwear and a summer coat were retrieved from the apartment with the aim of sending them to the imprisoned priest.

Another well-preserved document is a copy of the letter Fr. Peradze sent on June 20, 1942 to the deacon Berkman-Karenin. This letter is actually his last will, and Peradze delivered a number of instructions regarding his personal property. It says, inter alia: "... to please provide furnished apartment to someone from the Consistory. (...) If I am not let free, please give my library to the Metropolia, things should be sold and the proceeds devoted to our parish orphanage in Wola. (...) My Georgian books and documents (including images) after the war, should be sent by the Metropolia to the Georgian Church."⁹¹

Auschwitz

Despite the very difficult situation, the Orthodox Church made numerous efforts to secure the release of Fr Grigol Peradze. It provided him with specific food and material aid, as seen from a letter to the deacon Berkman-Karenin. Professor Giorgi Nakashidze, at the request of the Metropolitan Dionysius, also intervened with the German authorities on the case of Fr. Peradze but to no avail.

It is likely that Grigol was transported to the concentration camp of Auschwitz on November 18, 1942. Further attempts to release the prisoner proved fruitless. On December 11, 1942, the commandant of Auschwitz, Rudolf Höss, sent a telegram message to deacon Berkman-Karenin with the news that Father Grigol Peradze had died in the camp on December 6 at 16.45.

At the request of church authorities, the Camp Registry Office sent out an official death certificate. This was confirmed in the acts of the Government Delegation for Poland: "Auschwitz Camp. Fr. Professor Grigol Peradze was arrested and died after a few weeks' imprisonment shortly. UJP Faculty. Theologian, Law, Georgian, an eminent specialist." (source)

In 1945, two former concentration camp inmates, whose identities have not been established, presented an oral statement to the Orthodox Metropolitan in Warsaw that Father Grigol Peradze volunteered to admit to have stolen some bread for his inmates, thus saving the whole detachment. Unfortunately, this statement was either not recorded or has been lost, or maybe it has yet to be discovered.

In a letter to Patriarch Alexius I of 1 February 1946, Metropolitan

⁹¹ H. Paprocki, *Niektóre okoliczności aresztowania i pobytu w więzieniu Pawiak ks. archimandryty Grzegorza Peradze*, „Wiadomości Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego”, 17(1987), f. 2-3, p. 68-72.

Dionysius wrote: "... Professor of Theology of our Section, Ph.D., Archimandrite Grigol Peradze, Georgian, a graduate of the seminary in Tbilisi, followed by the universities of Bonn and Oxford, a multi-linguist expert in Russian, Georgian, French, German and English, was arrested and deported to Auschwitz and was executed there". This is likely to be attributed to information provided by these two former prisoners of Auschwitz.

Grigol Peradze's death certificate in German.

The death of father Grigol continues to elude hagiographers and historians alike. Did he sacrifice his life for another man, admitting to the uncommitted theft of bread, and was then shot, or sent to the gas chamber?

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

Canonization

Shortly after World War II, the Georgian Orthodox Church began the process of canonising Fr. Grigol Peradze. Much later, preparations for the first scientific session began - dedicated to the memory of Fr Peradze - on the 45th anniversary of his death on 6 December, 1987. Work on the life and legacy of Grigol Peradze began to gather momentum. The documentary director Rezo Tabukashvili also came to Warsaw to make a documentary about Archimandrite, having collected a wealth of material on the life and activities of Father Grigol, inter alia, statements from people who knew him. It was thanks to Tabukashvili that the story of the arrest was largely explained. Professor Giorgi Nakashidze, who was a lecturer at the Warsaw University in the interwar period and a friend of Grigol's father, gave Tabukashvili some important documents from the Second World War and the immediate period that followed. It was through this collection of materials and testimony of witnesses which allowed for the canonization of Grigol Peradze to proceed. The event took place on 19 September, 1995 under the auspices of the local council of the Georgian Church when Fr Peradze was declared a "holy martyr." The Act of the canonization was proclaimed by Catholicos-Patriarch Elijah II in the cathedral of Svetitskhoveli, in Mtskheta: "In the name of the Father, and Son and the

Holy Spirit, and the holy council of the Autocephalous Georgian Orthodox Church I announce Father Archimandrite Grigol Peradzego canonised as a saint and henceforth he will be called addressed a saint priest martyr. Amen.”

The service and the life of St. Grigol was depicted by Fr. Henryk Paprocki, the basic iconographic type has been developed by Michał Pieczonko, other icons were made by: Ludmila Lubach, Michał Bogucki, and Irakli Tsintsadze. The memorial day of Saint Grigol is December 6.

Impact: In memory of St. Priest Martyr Archimandrite Grigol

The University of Warsaw has organised an annual caucalogy sessions of the in name of St. Grigol Peradzego since 2002. In Warsaw, the brotherhood of the Orthodox Church was founded in his honour in 1998 (it organises pilgrimages to holy places in Georgia). A similar fraternity was established in 2002 in Georgia (it recently published a life of St. Grigol Peradze in Georgian and English languages).

In 1999, the Polish Medical Association was founded in Georgia in tribute to Grigol Peradzego. Eight years earlier, the St Grigol Peradzego University was opened in Tbilisi (on 4 Jiqia Street), and one of the streets nearby was renamed in his honour in 2008, and the site was designated for the construction of churches which were to be dedicated to him. In 2005, the International Commission for the Heritage of St. Grigol Peradzego (Polish-Georgian) was founded, and began to issue Archimandrite's works in Polish, Georgian, German and English.

In Poland in 2007, a chapel was founded in honour of martyr Grigol archimandrite (Warsaw, ul. Lelechowska 5), and in 2009, construction began on a church which would be dedicated to him in Białystok. On 18 October 2005, on the memorial day of St. Grigol Chandzteli, a Building Committee of the Georgian Church was constituted in Warsaw.

Martyr. Peradze played an important role not only in the history of Polish science, but also contributed to the world's theological science. This can be confirmed by the numerous references to Peradze's works by scholars from various fields, such as Andre Tarby, Julius Assfalga, Paul Kruger and the Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Peradze's academic work has also received high scores in studies on the status of Kartvelian Studies in Germany.

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(All documents referred to in this chapter come from the archives of the Warsaw Metropolitan Church.)

A Dutch travellers' note's from Vladikavkaz just before the dissolution of the Soviet Union: ethnic deportations and conflicts

"He who thinks of the consequences cannot be brave."
(Ingush proverb)⁹²

Introduction

In 1990, in the golden days of early autumn, together with my travel companion, a journalist, I made a trip to the Northern Caucasus. We had no idea whatsoever that within a year the Soviet Union would be in its death agony. We spent idyllic days in a village in Mid-Dagestan, accommodated in what inside had much of a *serail*, abundantly supplied with tapestry, and were treated to excellent caviar and cognac. On a mountain slope we attended the slaughtering of sheep and ate *shashlik* copiously supplemented with vodka. Then a car brought us northwards, passing Buinaksk, Kiziliurt and Khasaviurt, turning west into Russia's Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic (ASSR) to Gudermes and finally reaching the republic's capital, Grozny.

The place looked like a sleepy, provincial, not very attractive town, and nothing heralded the violence that was going to take place there in the near future – almost completely destroying Grozny's center. If anything threatening was expected, it was not from the Russians or the Chechens but rather from the latter's close relatives, the Ingush. These Ingush were the aim of our visit.

We were welcomed by our host, a tall, strong man in his thirties playing a central role in Ingush cultural life. Giving us plenty of his time, he showed us around in the Ingush parts of the republic. We witnessed how in a religious revival many new mosques were being built. Senior villagers told us about the horrors of the deportation of the complete Ingush people (of almost a hundred thousand then) more than four and a half decades ago. After Stalin's death the survivors had gained the right to return, but this victory had a dirty spot. A large part of the territory inhabited by the Ingush before 1944 was left with their neighbours, the Ossetians, who had their own, North-Ossetian Autonomous Republic within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR).

The autonomous republics inhabited by different nations fitted into the "national-territorial" or "ethno-federalist" system that was introduced by the Soviet Communists after their assumption of power in Russia as a concession to the national minorities in order to keep their loyalty. As Stalin remarked in 1930, the construction of socialism in the USSR had to be "socialist in content

⁹² John le Carré, *Our Game*, New York 1995, preliminary pages.

and national in form".⁹³ The national-territorial structure worked as a sort of time bomb. Not all national minorities lived compactly in the same place, and the union republics, autonomous republics and other national-territorial entities of the Soviet Union had their own minorities. Moreover, their borders often did not correspond with the ethnic dividing lines.

Ethnic Cleansing

In order to solve the new problem, from the 1930s onwards Stalin started massive campaigns of ethnic cleansing, which was also a way of getting rid of part of the border population of the Soviet Union, those who in his eyes were insufficiently reliable. In 1944 it was the turn of the Ingush, Chechens and a number of other complete North-Caucasian mountain peoples to be targeted as "enemy nations". On 29 February (1944 being a leap year) state security chief Lavrenti Beria, personally directing operation *Chechevitsa* ("Lentil") in Grozny, reported to Stalin that during the preceding week 478,479 persons had been expelled from their homes and loaded into trains: 387,229 Chechens and 91,250 Ingush.⁹⁴

They were deported to Central Asia, the great majority to Kazakhstan, a much smaller part to Kirgizia, officially on a charge of collaboration with the German enemy during the Second World War, but the deportation can more convincingly be understood in ethnic cleansing terms. In Norman Naimark's words, Stalin "used the cover of war to take care of unfinished business" with the Chechens, Ingush and others. He wanted them out of the Northern Caucasus, expecting that their cultures – if not the peoples themselves – "would perish in the vastness of their new and alien Central Asian special settlements".⁹⁵ Contrary to the idea, however, it was no final solution. After Stalin's death in 1953 it took only a few years before most deported peoples managed to return to their territory of origin.

In 1991, the national-territorial system finally resulted in the

⁹³ Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, Ithaca, NY, 2001, p. 247.

⁹⁴ N. Bugai (red.), *Iosif Stalin – Lavrentiiu Berii: "Ikh nado deportirovat..."*: *Dokumenty, fakty, kommentarii*, Moscow 1992, pp. 105-106. Bugai dates the telegram on 1 March, but this has been corrected to 29 February by N.L. Pobel', P.M. Polian (red.), *Stalinskie deportatsii 1928-1953*, Moscow 2005, p. 455. In July of the same year, Beria informed Stalin that 496,460 Chechens and Ingush had altogether been deported: Bugai, op. cit., pp. 117-118. According to the 1939 population census, 407,968 Chechens and 92,120 Ingush were living in the Soviet Union, 368,446 and 83,798, respectively, of them in Chechen-Ingushetia: Alexander Statiev, 'The Nature of Anti-Soviet Armed Resistance, 1942-44: The North Caucasus, the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic, and Crimea', *Kritika*, Vol. 6 (2005), No. 2, p. 293.

⁹⁵ Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Cambridge, MA, 2001, pp. 105-106.

disintegration of the Soviet Union into fifteen independent states. But the new independent states struggled with much of the same legacy. This contribution looks at one of these post-Soviet territorial disputes, the conflict between the Ingush and the Ossetians, not the most serious one in terms of the number of casualties, indeed, but typical in many respects.

Ingush-Ossetian Conflict

Our trip of 1990 culminated in a dinner offered us by our Ingush hosts in the high Caucasus mountains. In order to reach the place, we had to pass exactly the territory disputed by the Ingush and the Ossetians: the Prigorodnyi (Russian for “suburban”) district, surrounding the north, east and south of the North-Ossetian capital Vladikavkaz, including the city’s part east of the Terek river. Having been Ingush territory before, in 1944 it was incorporated into North Ossetia. After the reinstatement of the Chechen-Ingush Republic in 1957, to the great dissatisfaction of the Ingush, most of the Prigorodnyi district was left with the Ossetians, who had also occupied their houses – thus turning into a “delayed action mine”.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, many Ingush managed to move in, purchase houses back from the Ossetians and resettle the district in greater numbers. Since the 1970s, various protest meetings were held by the Ingush in Grozny, and during the late 1980s tensions over the district again flared up between the two ethnic groups. So when we drove through Vladikavkaz in a coach with an Ingush license plate, we reckoned with being stopped and bothered by the local police. However, we reached our destination without any hindrance.

The dinner went according to Ingush tradition. Apart from my female companion no women sat at the table, whereas the younger *teip* (clan) members were allowed to attend only as servants and musicians. There was plenty of tasty food with lots of vodka; although as a female guest my companion was spared a bit, I had no choice but to empty my glass with each of the innumerable toasts.

The *tamada* or table president decided the order of the toasts. In his opening speech he dwelled on how as a seven-year old boy he had himself been deported in 1944. Apart from some polite praise directed at Holland, the Dutch people⁹⁷, particularly our women and queen, most speeches touched the grief suffered by the Ingush and their determination to finish the injustice of their lost territory. They announced that if the Prigorodnyi district was not returned to them willingly, they were going to get it unwillingly. The bloody conflict about Nagorny Karabakh between the Armenians and Azeris would be a piece of cake in comparison, they warned.

⁹⁶ C.W. Blandy, “Whither Ingushetia?” Conflict Studies Research Centre, Swindon, England, Caucasus Series 06/03, January 2006, p. 8.

⁹⁷ We were also much complimented with our ability, as Dutch speakers, to approach the Caucasian guttural sounds. By the way, we communicated with the Ingush in Russian.

Of course we had to pronounce a number of toasts from our side, praising the Ingush, their hospitality, etc. Although we largely considered it to be rhetorics at the time, in polite terms we also argued that in our view violence did not solve anything, which was accepted as the opinion of the guests but not as a convincing argument.

At last, we went to sleep. During the night, after eating and drinking so much, we inevitably had to answer nature's call, which was not without danger: the lavatory was located outside, on the edge of an abyss, and apart from cold it was pitch-dark. Next morning, after obligatorily suppressing our hangover with even more vodka, we set out for a superb riding tour through the high mountains, visiting old Ingush villages with their typical, age-old watchtowers. In ancient times the inhabitants used to warn each other for approaching enemies with big fires on top of them. Then we returned the same road to Grozny, and flew back to Moscow.

A few months later we gave a farewell party in our Moscow apartment because our Russian years were over. We invited a number of friends, and as our Ingush host turned out to be in Moscow at the time he was among them. At the party a quarrel developed between him and a Russian Jewish friend of ours. I did not witness it myself, but apparently our Jewish friend was less polite with the Ingush ambitions than we had been, which came to my attention only when the Ingush in an angry mood left the party before it was over, promising to pursue his discussion partner through Moscow all night in order to knife him. A bit alarmed, we relegated his words to the realm of rhetorics again, and in this case we were lucky to have been right.

Another two years later, our Ingush host called us in Amsterdam from Germany, where he had somehow settled down in the meantime. In an agitated manner he told us about the new genocide the Ingush had suffered recently by the hands of the Ossetians and the Russians. I had heard about clashes between Ingush and Ossetians in the Prigorodnyi district indeed, but, not knowing the details, considered his words the usual exaggeration. He wanted us to campaign for the Ingush. At the time I had the feeling that the Ingush had themselves very much contributed to the problems they were in now, problems of the kind we had witnessed all over the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia recently. In the Caucasus as well it is often rather difficult to make a clear distinction between victims and persecutors. This may have made my reaction a little reserved, which was not what was expected of me at all, and from that point on we lost contact.

Learning more about the clashes afterwards, I realised that my reaction might have been a bit too cool. Although the Ingush themselves were not innocent at all, indeed, they were the conflict's victims more than anybody else. And the other side, the Ossetians as well as the Russians, certainly had not behaved very beautifully.

Descendancy

A concise historical summary, to begin with. Like the Chechens, the Ingush descend from the indigenous inhabitants of the Caucasus, speaking the Vainakh branch of the Caucasian language group. Relatively late, they were converted to Islam, a process that was completed only in the 19th century. The Ossetians consider themselves to be descendants of the Alans, prompting them to recently rename their republic into North Ossetia-Alania. At least part of the Alan legacy, however, is also claimed by other Caucasian peoples, including the Ingush.⁹⁸ Apart from a Muslim minority of some twenty percent, the Ossetians are Christians, speaking a language belonging to the Iranic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The Ingush see them as newcomers, their ancestors having arrived in the Caucasus only around the sixth century AD. In 1774, Turkey ceded the territory of present-day North Ossetia to the Russian empire; the Ossetian elders' approval was much mythologised later on.⁹⁹ When during the following decades the Russians conquered the whole Northern Caucasus, as co-Christians, the Ossetians sided with them, or at least resigned themselves to the conquest much easier than their Muslim neighbours, especially the Chechens. In comparison with the latter, the Ingush also fell short in bravery. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the Ingush like to call Stalin, the man blamed for their deportation to Central Asia, an "Ossetian": he was born in the Georgian town of Gori, just south of Southern Ossetia, and rumour had it that he was of partly Ossetian descent, a rumour that was caught by the Ingush with pleasure, of course.¹⁰⁰ "Beria's Whores" is a nickname for Ossetians among Ingush.¹⁰¹

Prigorodnyi district and deportations; encounters with Germans in WW II.

It is questionable, however, whether ancient history gives the Ingush more rights to the Prigorodnyi district than the Ossetians, as the Ingush moved there from the mountains only much later, when the Ossetians had been around

⁹⁸ Victor Shnirelman, 'The Politics of a Name: Between Consolidation and Separation in the Northern Caucasus', *Acta Slavica Iaponica*, Vol. 23 (2006), pp. 37-73.

⁹⁹ John O'Loughlin et al., 'The Localized Geopolitics of Displacement and Return in Eastern Prigorodnyy Rayon, North Ossetia', *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, Vol. 49 (2008), No. 6, p. 638.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Osip Mandel'shtam's poem on Stalin, 'We live, not sensing our own country beneath us', containing the lines: "Wherever an execution's happening though – there's raspberry, and the Ossetian's giant torso." Scott Horton, 'Mandelstam's Stalin Epigram', *Harper's Magazine*, 29 January 2008. According to O'Loughlin et al. (op. cit., p. 644), the Ossetians see Stalin as their benefactor, confirming that his father was Ossetian.

¹⁰¹ *The Ingush-Ossetian Conflict in the Prigorodnyi Region*, Human Rights Watch/Helsinki Human Rights Watch, New York, 1996, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1996/Russia.htm> (accessed 14 October 2010).

already for a long time. The name of the Daryal Gorge to the south of Vladikavkaz, connecting Russia with Georgia and the route of the famous Georgian Military Highway, is said to be a contraction of Dar-y-Alan, or Gate of the Alans, and the place is seen by the Ossetians as the heartland of their medieval kingdom.¹⁰² The Ingush moved in only later.¹⁰³ It is indisputable, however, that when the Ingush were deported in 1944, the Prigorodnyi district (almost 1000 sq. km.) was part of the Chechen-Ingush Republic and the great majority of the population were Ingush: 28.1 thousand out of 33.8 thousand inhabitants, according to the 1939 population census.¹⁰⁴

Without a doubt, the deportation of all Ingush, as well as a number of other complete North-Caucasian peoples, was unjustified. According to a decree by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 7 March 1944, during the Great Fatherland War, "Many Chechens and Ingush were traitors to the homeland, changing over to the side of the fascist occupiers, joining the ranks of diversionaries and spies left behind the lines of the Red Army by the Germans. They formed armed bands at the behest of the Germans fighting against Soviet power."¹⁰⁵ Naimark has established, however, that "they did not collaborate in any significant way".¹⁰⁶ Even supposing that a small number of Chechens and Ingush may have collaborated indeed, this does not make them guilty collectively. The Soviet authorities, on the other hand, argued that the others "took no counteraction against these betrayers of the fatherland".¹⁰⁷ As a matter of fact, only a small piece of territory in the north-west of Chechen-Ingushetia was temporarily occupied by the Germans. It was mainly inhabited by Russians, but the Soviet authorities saw no expediency to accuse the latter of collaboration as well.

Alexander Statiev has sorted out that draft-dodging and desertion was widespread among Chechens and Ingush, resulting in the suspension of mandatory military service in the region in 1942. There was indeed some support for the Germans from local Chechen and Ingush groups, but, on the other hand, many Chechens and Ingush fought against the Germans. Ingushetia,

¹⁰² Michael Pereira, *Across the Caucasus*, London 1973, pp. 112, 117.

¹⁰³ Aleksandr Dzadziev, 'Osetino-Ingushskii konflikt: Sovremennoe sostoianie problemy', *Tsentral'naia Azia i Kavkaz*, No. 6 (30), 2003, p. 96.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. According to another source, before 1944, over 34 thousand people lived in the Prigorodnyi district, 31 thousand of them Ingush: *Cherez dva goda posle voiny: Problema vyzhdeniia pereselentsev v zone osetino-ingushskogo konflikta*, Moscow 1994, p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ Pobol' and Polian, op. cit., p. 458-459; partly transl. by Naimark, op. cit., p. 94.

¹⁰⁶ Naimark, op. cit., p. 95.

¹⁰⁷ Decree of 25 June 1946: Aleksandr Uralov, *Ubiistvo checheno-ingushskogo naroda: Narodubiistvo v SSSR*, Moscow 1991, p. 4, transl. by Aleksandr M. Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples: The Deportation and Fate of Soviet Minorities at the End of the Second World War*, New York 1978, pp. 91-92.

moreover, "remained mostly quiet".¹⁰⁸ The real reason for the deportations may have been rather the rebellious character of the Caucasians, according to the Soviet decree displayed even during the war, although one might add that this counted for the Chechens much more than the Ingush. Apparently, the presence of nations with a questionable loyalty was considered undesirable in the North Caucasus, the borderland with the Muslim world. In this respect, it is striking that the deportations hit originally Muslim nations first of all, whereas nations who were Christian by origin were mainly left in peace. Statiev rightly concludes that "The charge of treason was merely a pretext in fulfilling a grandiose social-engineering project aimed at assimilating blacklisted ethnic groups, and their conduct under occupation was often irrelevant to the top Soviet leaders who determined their fate."¹⁰⁹

The Ingush, no less than the Chechens and others, suffered a great deal under the inhuman conditions of the transport, packed as they were in unsanitary cattle carriages, and during the first years after settlement in Central Asia. Even official estimates come down to almost a quarter of them having died in result. During the second half of the 1950s, they gained the right to return, although this definitely did not correspond to what the Soviet authorities wanted; they simply were unable to stop the return. It was also most unfair that when the Chechen-Ingush Republic was reinstated, one sixth¹¹⁰ to one third¹¹¹ of the former Ingush territory, what's more, its economically most valuable part, was left with North Ossetia. After the deportation, tens of thousands of Ossetians, Dagestani's and Slavs had been brought to the abandoned territories, often involuntarily, in order to fill the jobs and houses. The resettlement with Ossetians continued even during the second half of the 1950s.¹¹² When the deportees returned, they were not at all welcomed by the new inhabitants. Alexander Nekrich has described how in August 1958 in Grozny a demonstration of approximately ten thousand people, demanding the expulsion of the Chechens and Ingush, gained pogrom-like forms; elsewhere, there were smaller clashes of the same kind.¹¹³

Nonetheless, many Ingush gradually settled down also into the Prigorodnyi district, although they were often denied residence permits and

¹⁰⁸ Statiev, op. cit., pp. 292-293, 302.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., op. cit., p. 318.

¹¹⁰ Olga Osipova, 'North Ossetia and Ingushetia: The First Clash', Alexei Arbatov et al. (eds.), *Managing Conflict in the Former Soviet Union: Russian and American Perspectives*, Cambridge, MA, 1997, p. 42.

¹¹¹ Dzadziev, op. cit., p. 97.

¹¹² Pavel Polian, *Ne po svoei vole... Istoriia i geografiia primuditel'nykh migratsii v SSSR*, Moscow 2001, p. 123; Blandy, op. cit., p. 3; O'Loughlin et al., op. cit., p. 644.

¹¹³ Nekrich, op. cit., pp. 151-154.

were treated very much like second-class citizens by the Ossetians. Until the mid-1980s, even in Chechen-Ingushetia only a third of the Communist Party top officials were Chechen or Ingush, Russians outnumbering the locals in all key positions.¹¹⁴ Moreover, the Ingush were also put behind the Chechens. At the same time, the locals were growing in numbers very fast. According to the 1989 census figures, 215,000 Ingush lived in the Soviet Union, 164,000 of them in Chechen-Ingushetia, and 33,000 in Northern Ossetia (i.e., some 5 percent of the North-Ossetian population). 17,500 of these 33,000 Ingush were counted in the Prigorodnyi district; as many Ingush had settled there illegally (being denied residence permits), however, the real number was supposed to have been considerably larger. At the same time, there were almost 600,000 Ossetians in the Soviet Union.¹¹⁵

The Ingush held to their claims on the Prigorodnyi district and during the second half of the 1980s, the arrival of *Perestroika* gave them more opportunity to pronounce their demands. In 1988, supported by the Council of Elders (the heads of the clans), the *Niiskho* (Justice) movement convened the First Congress of the Ingush People, appealing to the highest Soviet and Party authorities to restore the autonomy the Ingush had enjoyed during 1924-1934.¹¹⁶ In September 1989, the Second Congress of the Ingush People addressed the same authorities with the request to “restore the Ingush people’s autonomy within their historical borders – the Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic with a capital in the right-bank part of the city of Ordzhonikidze” (the name of Vladikavkaz between 1931 and 1990).¹¹⁷ Their hopes were fueled very much by steps made by Moscow.

In November 1989, the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a declaration “recognizing the illegal and criminal repressive actions taken against forcibly deported peoples and concerning the safeguarding of their rights”.¹¹⁸ Subsequently, in March 1990 the Soviet of Nationalities (one of the Supreme Soviet’s two chambers) instituted a commission under A. Beliaikov in order to investigate the Ingush claims. After nine months, the commission reached the conclusion that the “claims of the Ingush people on the return of the Prigorodnyi district within the borders of 1944 to the Chechen-Ingush ASSR

¹¹⁴ Oliver Bullough, *Let Our Fame Be Great: Journeys among the Defiant People of the Caucasus*, London 2010, p. 239.

¹¹⁵ Valery Tishkov, *The Ingush-Ossetian Conflict*, http://www.valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/publikacii3/knigi/the_mind_al/the... (accessed 21 October 2010); Svante E. Cornell, *Small Nations and Great Powers: A Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict in the Caucasus*, Richmond 2001, p. 253; Blandy, op. cit., p. 2.

¹¹⁶ Osipova, op. cit., p. 44.

¹¹⁷ Shnirelman, op. cit., p. 58; as a matter of fact, between 1944 and 1954 the city’s name was Dzauzhikau.

¹¹⁸ Osipova, op. cit., p. 44.

(...) are legitimate and need to be discussed by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet"¹¹⁹ On 26 April 1991 the RSFSR Supreme Soviet passed a law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples, urging to also rehabilitate them territorially. Article 3 of the law raised expectations about "the restoration of territorial integrity" in the form existing before deportation, whereas Article 6 even envisioned "the implementation of juridical and organisational measures to restore the national-territorial boundaries existing before their unconstitutional and forcible change".¹²⁰ During the election campaign for the Russian presidency in March of the same year, in Nazran' in Ingushetia, Boris Yeltsin spoke in support of a restoration of the Ingush autonomous republic, while in another speech there in September 1991 he hinted at support for the Ingush territorial claims.¹²¹

Subsequently, thousands of Ingush families felt encouraged to return to their homes in the disputed territory. With a concrete mechanism lacking for their realisation, however, the central authorities' steps were ill-considered. While central authority had very much weakened (in 1991 the Soviet Union disintegrated and the Russian Federation became an independent state on its own), the Ossetians no less rightfully stressed that returning the Prigorodnyi district to Ingushetia was unconstitutional, as the Russian Constitution stipulated that border corrections between federal subjects could be made only with the consent of both sides. Ossetian radicals even started to demand the expulsion of the Ingush from Vladikavkaz and from villages shared with Ossetians. Around the same time, North Ossetia was flooded with refugees from South Ossetia, an autonomous province within now independent Georgia having been plunged into civil war after the uttering of separatist demands: the result of another Caucasian ethno-territorial conflict. Approximately 16,000 of the more than 40,000 South-Ossetian refugees were accommodated exactly in the Prigorodnyi district. With their powerful resentments and civil-war experience, these refugees played an important role in stirring up the violence.¹²²

Violent encounters

Meanwhile, both sides had accumulated lots of weapons. In response to the Ingush claims, although unconstitutionally, from 1990 onwards the Ossetians had started forming armed self-defence detachments, and in the spring of 1991 a well-armed North-Ossetian Republican Guard of 5,000 men was created.¹²³ The Ingush set up their own forces. After regular mutual

¹¹⁹ Svetlana Tschervonnaja, 'Der ossetisch-inguschische Konflikt im Nordkaukasus', *Osteuropa*, Vol. 45 (1995), No. 8, p. 743.

¹²⁰ Osipova, op. cit., p. 45; Blandy, op. cit., table 6.

¹²¹ Osipova, op. cit., pp. 45-46; Tschervonnaja, op. cit., p. 743; Julian Birch, 'Ossetia: A Caucasian Bosnia in Microcosm', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 14 (1995), No. 1, p. 55.

¹²² Tishkov, op. cit.; *Cherez dva goda posle voiny*, pp. 30-31.

¹²³ Polian, op. cit., p. 185; Birch, op. cit., p. 55.

skirmishes during the preceding months, sometimes with fatal results. In the night of 30-31 October 1992 Ingush militias came into action in the Prigorodnyi district, with the Ossetians hitting back immediately, thereby turning not only against the Ingush militias. On 31 October, Russian Interior Ministry forces intervened, but apparently not in a very impartial way. According to a 1996 Human Rights Watch report, they "either sat idly by while Ossetian paramilitaries and North Ossetian security forces forced out Ingush civilians along with the fighters, or they assisted those efforts with armor or artillery support".¹²⁴ Russian representatives disbursed weapons to the North-Ossetian authorities, who passed them on to the Ossetian militias. On 2 November, Moscow proclaimed a state of emergency in the whole region, also instituting a Temporary Administration. According to the Ingush, as well as neutral observers, however, it did not seriously contribute to a just solution.

This first post-Soviet violent conflict to flare up on the territory of the Russian Federation lasted five to six days, until 4 or 5 November.¹²⁵ There are different estimates of the casualties. According to the Russian Procuracy, 583 people were killed, 350 of them Ingush and 192 Ossetians; 261 people were reported missing, 208 Ingush and 37 Ossetians; and 1093 people were taken hostage (708 Ingush, 289 Ossetians). According to Human Rights Watch, between 34,500 and 64,000 Ingush were displaced from North Ossetia; over 9,000 Ossetians had also fled their homes, but the great majority were able to return within a few months, which cannot be said of the Ingush at all. Over 2700 Ingush and 800 Ossetian houses were destroyed, most of the Ingush ones only *after* the end of the fighting.¹²⁶ Tiny Ingushetia (approximately 4000 square kilometers), a new subject of the Russian Federation, formed in June 1992 with Nazran' as capital¹²⁷, had to host most Ingush refugees. When in November 1991 the Chechens declared independence from Russia, they also claimed one district inhabited by an Ingush majority, urging the Ingush to compensate for this at the expense of North Ossetia.¹²⁸ Indeed, the Ingush did not join the Chechens in their effort to achieve independence, fearing a second-class role beside them; another argument was that in that case they would lose all chance to regain the Prigorodnyi district. For the time being, their new,

¹²⁴ *The Ingush-Ossetian Conflict*.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* (six days, 31 October-5 November); Dzadziev, *op. cit.* (five days, 31 October-4 November); according to other sources, it even lasted eight days, from 30 October until 6 November.

¹²⁶ *The Ingush-Ossetian Conflict*.

¹²⁷ In 2003, the new-founded city of Magas became the "shining" capital of Ingushetia.

¹²⁸ Valery Tishkov, *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society*, Berkeley 2004, p. 62. The current, pro-Moscow government of Ramzan Kadyrov has not completely given up Chechen claims on Ingush territory, which seems to fit in Moscow's strategy to reduce the number of Russian Federation regions: cf. R. Aushev, *Gazeta.ru*, 20 October 2008.

overwhelmingly rural republic with a very low standard of living, had no central authority and unspecified territorial borders. In March 1993, Ruslan Aushev was elected the first president with 99.9 percent of the votes. Apart from the refugees from North Ossetia, from December 1994 onwards, the Russian invasion in Chechnya sent over 150,000 displaced people to Ingushetia.

Ending of the armed conflict

After the formal end of the armed conflict, violence kept simmering. In early 1993, the two sides started negotiations, and reconciliation commissions were formed, aiming to regulate the return of Ingush fugitives to the Prigorodnyi district. The North-Ossetian authorities did not really want a restoration of the old situation, however, blocking the process in all possible ways. They stipulated that only people with a valid residence permit as of October 1992, who moreover had not taken part in the conflict, could be admitted in principle.¹³⁰ Meanwhile, the Russians did not cut the knot in favour of the Ingush.

Nevertheless, gradually a considerable number of Ingush returned, often on their own, accepting the Ossetian hindrance as something inevitable. Late 1995, over 5 thousand people had returned, and mid-1997 their number had mounted to approximately 11 thousand. In 2003, 21,000 to 22,000 Ingush were living in North Ossetia, including some 6,500 people who had never left.¹³¹ O'Loughlin et al. estimated the number of Ingush in North Ossetia at 24,000-25,000 in 2007.¹³² According to the Federal Migration Service, in early 2008, 7,000-8,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) from North Ossetia still found themselves in Ingushetia, although the local authorities estimated that between 19,000 and 20,000 Ingush forced migrants lived in their republic.¹³³ In 2010, the

¹²⁹ *The Ingush-Ossetian Conflict*. In early 2000, after the start of the second Chechen war, there were even over 260,000 registered refugees in Ingushetia: Florian Hassel (Hg.), *Der Krieg im Schatten: Rußland und Tschetschenien*, Frankfurt am Main 2003, pp. 64, 137. According to C.W. Blandy (op. cit., p. 7) between 1999 and 2001 over 300,000 Chechens at some time or other obtained shelter in Ingushetia; he quotes Sergei Markedonov that "from the 1990s on account of forced migrants the population of the very small republic increased by 41% (an absolute record in Russia)". According to the 2002 population census, Ingushetia had 467 thousand inhabitants, 361 thousand of them Ingush and 95 thousand Chechens.

¹³⁰ Polian, op. cit., p. 186.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187; Dzadziev, op. cit., p. 102; Clemens P. Sidorko, 'Etnische Vielfalt, große Konfliktpotenziale: Die Völker des Kaukasus', Bernhard Chiari (Hg.), *Wegweiser der Geschichte: Kaukasus*, Paderborn 2008, p. 129.

¹³² O'Loughlin et al., op. cit., p. 655.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 657. In early 2006, Blandy (p. 7) estimated that some 10,500 Ingush IDPs had not been resettled in Prigorodnyi district. In late 2010, Ingush president

governments of the two republics embarked on a series of bilateral talks on the return of Ingush and other issues in an attempt to solve their differences, with disagreement centring on villages that had seen the harshest fighting; according to the Ossetians, returnees could provoke a new conflict there.¹³⁴

As a consequence, up to the present moment relations between Ingush and Ossetians remain tense. The Prigorodnyi dispute has assumed the characteristics of an unsolved "frozen conflict".¹³⁵ The Ingush side has proposed the institution of direct presidential rule there, but the Ossetians want the Ingush to give up all claims on the territory (claims included even in Ingushetia's Constitution). Meanwhile, Moscow generally tends to make common cause with the Ossetians.¹³⁶ In 2005, the Ingush parliament turned to president Putin, urging him to defend the law on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples, whereas the North-Ossetian parliament turned to the Russian Constitutional Court, questioning the law's two articles about territorial rehabilitation.¹³⁷

Islamist Fundamentalists

In the meantime, Ingushetia has developed into one of the hotbeds of turmoil in the Northern Caucasus. Subsidies from Moscow comprise over 88 percent of the republic's budget, making it Russia's most subsidised region after Tuva.¹³⁸ Almost half the able-bodied population are unemployed.¹³⁹ The unemployed youth first of all are seen as explosive material. Islamist fundamentalists, competing clans or other discontented groups regularly commit assaults on the life of state functionaries, especially after the replacement in 2002 on Putin's orders of Ingushetia's popular president Ruslan Aushev by the incompetent, corrupt and repressive former state security General Murat Ziazikov. In June 2004, the republic was the target of an attack by a group of local militants allied with the Chechen field-commander Shamil Basaev, killing nearly 90 officials and plundering arms depots. Ziazikov is said to have done nothing whatsoever to support the demands of the thousands of Ingush refugees to be permitted to their abandoned homes in North Ossetia. In the eyes of

Evkurov demanded that, after 18 years, more than 30 thousand refugees should be allowed to return: *Gazeta.ru*, 6 December 2010.

¹³⁴ Tom Parfitt, 'The Secret History of Beslan', *Foreign Policy*, 1 March 2011.

¹³⁵ O'Loughlin et al., op. cit., p. 653.

¹³⁶ Polian, op. cit., p. 186-187. A.G. Zdravomyslov has advocated a form of joint administration as a compromise: *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Kommersant*, 23 September 2005.

¹³⁸ Blandy, op. cit., p. 14; Cameron Ross, 'Reforming the Federation', Stephen White et al. (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics 7*, Basingstoke 2010, p. 161.

¹³⁹ Richard Sakwa, 'The Revenge of the Caucasus: Chechenization and the Dual State in Russia', *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 38 (2010), No. 5, p. 612; *RIA Novosti*, 14 February 2011. *The Moscow Times*, 2 February 2011, even cites an official unemployment figure of 57%.

Matthew Evangelista, this inaction contributed to the violent school hostage-taking in Beslan in North Ossetia in September 2004, which due also to the brutal Russian intervention resulted in the killing of over 330 people, more than half of them children.¹⁴⁰

According to Russian authorities, among the attackers were several residents of Ingushetia, giving rise to a new wave of anti-Ingush feeling throughout North Ossetia, again complicating the return process for the remaining Ingush IDPs.¹⁴¹ According to Gordon Hahn, the Beslan operation precisely aimed at provoking conflict between the Ossetians and the Ingush, and ultimately between Christians and Muslims across the North Caucasus.¹⁴² A number of terrorist attacks in the center of Vladikavkaz (52 people killed in March 1999, 6 in July 2000, 9 in April 2002), in some of which Ingush militants were named as perpetrators, had a similar effect. In the last one of them, as yet, in September 2010, according to the police Magomet Malsagov from Nazran' blew himself up, killing 17 people.¹⁴³ Characteristically, the British journalist Tom Parfitt quotes the chairwoman of the Beslan Mothers Committee, Susanna Dudieva, whose son perished during the Beslan raid: "The Ingush say that not all Ingush are terrorists. But we can't help noticing that all terrorists are Ingush."¹⁴⁴

On top of all that, according to the authorities, the person who on 24 January 2011 blew himself up on Moscow Domodedovo airport, killing 37 people, turned out to be twenty-year old Magomed Evloev from the village Ali-Iurt in Ingushetia, allegedly having committed the act in revenge of the killing of his brother-in-law by Russian state security forces. Subsequently, a number of his relatives and co-villagers were detained on suspicion of involvement.¹⁴⁵ In March 2011, Russian Special Forces destroyed a terrorist camp in the mountains of Ingushetia, killing 17 militants, among them several top lieutenants of the Chechen rebel leader, Doku Umarov, as well as some of those who had planned the Domodedovo attack.

Indeed, quite a few Ingush feel attracted to the rebel movement of their close relatives, the Chechens. After tens of thousands of refugees from Chechnya had sought shelter in Ingushetia, villages were bombed by the Russian army because Chechen rebels might be in hiding there. Many people in

¹⁴⁰ Matthew Evangelista, 'Ingushetia as a Microcosm of Putin's Reforms', *PONARS Policy Memo*, 346, November 2004, pp. 4-5.

¹⁴¹ Jean-Christophe Peuch, 'Beslan Hostage Crisis Rekindles Tensions between Ossetians and Ingush', *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, September 2004; Parfitt, op. cit.; Blandy, op. cit., p. 10.

¹⁴² Gordon M. Hahn, *Russia's Islamic Threat*, New Haven 2007, p. 51.

¹⁴³ Parfitt, op. cit.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ AP, 9 February 2011; *The Moscow Times*, 10 February 2011.

Ingushetia have been abducted and disappeared, again prompting their relatives, especially many young men, to join the ranks of the Chechen resistance or turn to Islamist extremism.¹⁴⁶ In October 2008, the explosive situation resulted in Ziazikov's resignation. Quite differently, his successor Lieutenant-Colonel Iunus-Bek Evkurov, former Deputy Chief of Staff of the Volga-Urals Military District,¹⁴⁷ started a policy of dialogue with Ingush society, declaring war on corruption. He also spoke out against incredible election results, like those of December 2007, when according to the authorities 99 percent of Ingushetia's population had voted for Putin's United Russia party, with a 98 percent turnout.¹⁴⁸ In June 2009, however, he was seriously injured in a car bomb attempt. It was only a link in a chain of unrestrained violence continuing during the succeeding months, killing dozens of functionaries, human rights activists and civilians.

Perceptions of the Ingush-Ossetian conflict

Perceptions of the Ingush-Ossetian conflict are quite diverse. It is difficult to speak of a Western perception, to begin with, as these Caucasian peoples are hardly known in our part of the world. In conflicts like this, in the West there is on the one hand a *realpolitik* view concentrating on central state power, and tending to ignore the interests of minorities. Then there is the human rights position, condemning or at least regretting interethnic clashes with respect to all parties involved. But a strong tendency can also be observed siding with the supposed underdog, suppressed by or rebelling against the "establishment" or the "imperialists", preferring Bosnian Muslims or Kosovars to Serbs in former Yugoslavia, or Chechens to Russians in the Caucasus.

A clear example of the last view with respect to the conflict treated in this contribution, is *Our Game* by the British spy novelist John le Carré (1995). It describes a fictitious Ingush rising against Moscow's rule, together with the cruel Russian reaction. The Ingush are depicted as a freedom loving people, the Ossetians, on the other hand, as Moscow's dependable and bloody henchmen. Le Carré has been criticised for his picture by the Israeli journalist Yo'av Karny, who reproaches him with siding with the party farthest removed from the West by virtue of tradition or religion, just like many Western romanticists

¹⁴⁶ Liz Fuller, 'Ingushetia: Militant Attacks Increase As Cracks Emerge Within Leadership', *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 1 August 2007; Human Rights Watch, 'As if they Fell from the Sky': Counterinsurgency, Rights Violations, and Rampant Impunity in Ingushetia, 24 June 2008.

¹⁴⁷ In June 1999, as commander of the Russian troops in Kosovo, he took control of Prishtina's airport, before advancing NATO troops could reach it (*Reuters*, 31 October 2008). Since the beginning of 2011, his title is "head of the republic" instead of president.

¹⁴⁸ *Gazeta.ru*, 6 December 2010.

used to do with excessive zeal in encountering non-European cultures, quickly assuming that one party is constantly right, and the other constantly wrong.¹⁴⁹ Apparently, Karny forgot to realise that it is problematic to blame a fictional writer for the words or actions of his characters. In an interior monologue, Le Carré himself makes the main character (a retired British secret servant) lump the Ingush case together with “the Hopeless Causes”, mockingly associating the enthusiasm for it of the second main character (a British double agent joining the Ingush rebels) with “his zeal for Byron the saviour of the Greeks”.¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, Le Carré’s novel certainly leaves an impression as described by Karny. Actually, the book much better fits the Chechens’ struggle against the Russians after their military intervention of December 1994; indeed, if Le Carré had not finished the book before that date, he might have given the hero role to the Chechens instead of the Ingush, who, as a matter of fact, maintained peace with Russia.

Very few Ossetians and Ingush are able to look at things in perspective a bit, like the popular Ossetian blogger Alan Tskhurbaev, who told Tom Parfitt: “Many people in Ossetia are ready to put the words Islam, Ingush, and terrorist in a single chain. Equally, I’m sure that in Ingushetia just as many think of Ossetians only as ‘the fighters who murdered us’.”¹⁵¹ A tragic consequence of the conflict is that a stubborn reciprocal “enemy image” has become entrenched among Ingush as well as Ossetians, making them blame each other. Like in other ethnic conflicts in the Northern Caucasus and elsewhere that have been born in the pages of history books, here also both sides mobilise history, as well as archaeology and ethnography, for the achievement of their political goals. They want to demonstrate that they have lived on the disputed territory since old times and consequently have more rights to it than others, or even have a monopoly on living there. In this way, according to the Russian human rights organisation Memorial, contrary to the principles of democracy and human rights the intelligentsia of both sides have often aroused nationalistic passions and strengthened tension.¹⁵²

The Russian point of view usually is closer to the Ossetians, their strongly russified co-Christians who traditionally have always been very much on the Russian side. Ossetia has been characterised as “the most heavily Sovietised and pro-Russian territory in the Caucasus”, even a sort of “Soviet Communist

¹⁴⁹ Yo'av Karny, *Highlanders: A Journey to the Caucasus in Quest of Memory*, New York 2000, p. 222.

¹⁵⁰ Le Carré, op. cit., pp. 241, 174.

¹⁵¹ Parfitt, op. cit.

¹⁵² Yaacov Ro'i, ‘The Transformation of Historiography on the “Punished Peoples”’, *History and Memory*, Vol. 21 (2009), No. 2, p. 151; Tishkov, *The Ingush-Ossetian Conflict; Cherez dva goda*, pp. 8, 17, 77-78.

reserve”.¹⁵³ As for the Ingush, many of them feel to have been led on by Russian promises only to be betrayed in favour of North Ossetia.¹⁵⁴ According to the Ingush author Mar'jam Jandieva, however, Ossetians and Ingush both are objects of the divide and rule policy of the Kremlin, pursuing “an arbitrary political-administrative partition with corresponding borders” in the North Caucasus.¹⁵⁵

Writing in 2010, our Ingush host of 1990 has taken a similar position. In his eyes, the interethnic conflicts in the Caucasus, between the Ingush and the Ossetians as well as between the Azeris and the Armenians, the Ossetians and the Georgians, the Georgians and the Abkhaz, etc., have been “planned” by the imperial, colonial Russians. Therefore, according to him, the peoples of the Caucasus would be better off without them, and could even come to an agreement then.¹⁵⁶ One could, however, question the ability of the Caucasians, if left to their own devices, to live in peace with one another. In this respect, the historical evidence does not look very promising. Nonetheless, if they want to maintain the current multinational state, the Russian leadership should develop a nationality policy without setting nations against each other, or giving preference to one nation over others.

In the opinion of Moscow-born Svetlana Chervonnaia, finally, the Ingush-Ossetian conflict was a “war of post-Communist absurdity”, a conclusion complicating the blaming of one party more than the other one. Essentially, it had its root in the “nationalist madness” brought about almost inevitably by the totalitarian Soviet regime. “In the conflict between peoples who at the end of the 20th century try to reach their ‘own’ national polity according to the Leninist principles of ‘the right of the nation to self-determination’ (meaning the right to land, first of all, on its own ethnic territory), there is no reasonable logic in order to distinguish what is right and what is wrong”.¹⁵⁷

Indeed, it is impossible to blame only one party in the Ingush-Ossetian conflict, excusing the other side. Which leads back to our encounter with the Ingush more than quarter of a century ago. They welcomed us, wanting to divulge their frustrations and ambitions, and we accepted their hospitality eagerly, receptive as we were to what they had to show and say. Although we might be associated with, what Julian Birch calls, “an armchair audience of

¹⁵³ Birch, op. cit., p. 43; Svetlana Tscherwonnaja, ‘Konflikte im Nordkaukasus: Osseten und Inguschen’, *Osteuropa*, Vol. 45 (1995), No. 9, p. 825.

¹⁵⁴ Birch, op. cit., p. 65.

¹⁵⁵ Mar'jam Jandieva, ‘Der ethnoterritoriale Konflikt im Prigorodnyj-Bezirk Nordossetiens’, *Osteuropa*, Vol. 52 (2002), No. 11, pp. 1474, 1489.

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.chechenpress.co.uk/content/2009/09/06/main01.shtml> (accessed 15 October 2010).

¹⁵⁷ Tscherwonnaja, ‘Konflikte...’, p. 829.

well-meaning liberals seeking to resolve contemporary clashes”,¹⁵⁸ we had no illusions that our objection to the use of violence would make them change their mind. With respect to their ambitions, one has to conclude that, in fact, the conflict has only much worsened their position. They have lost most of their foothold in the Prigorodnyi district, at the cost of hundreds of lives, apart from the additional losses. The Ossetians, on the other hand, may not have been the only bad guys, but they certainly were not innocent. Although also at the cost of human lives, they have consolidated their hold on the territory, while maintaining a good relationship with the Russians. (In August 2008, again, the Russians helped the Ossetians, this time rendering “independence” to South Ossetia after a war against the Georgians. For the time being, however, a unification of North and South Ossetia, though much desired by both parts, seems to be diplomatically impossible.)

For our part, acquaintance with the Caucasus is always a rewarding experience, including from the academic point of view, as this contribution may witness hopefully.

¹⁵⁸ Birch, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Georgia 25 years of independence: Encounters with the EU

Introduction

The unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite regimes caught experts by surprise and in the euphoria of the moment liberal democracy was proclaimed the sole successful political system. The double process of moving from a state-led to a market-based economy and from a ruling party dictatorship to a parliamentary democracy was seen as a certitude. The goal was fixed, it was just a matter of how and when this transition would take place. The basic premise was that to encourage this process, international actors should help to implement top-down changes to foster democracy and the free market.

By the turn of the 20th century the enthusiasm for democracy promotion seemed to have reached a low compared to these optimistic accounts of the beginning of the nineties. The collapse of communism did not lead to Western style democracies in all concerned countries. Between the rather successful countries of Central and Eastern Europe that had prospects of joining the EU and the openly authoritarian regimes such as Turkmenistan, a new class of so-called 'illiberal democracies' or 'hybrid regimes' emerged.¹⁵⁹ These regimes adhered to minimum democratic standards such as elections and combined these with authoritarian tracts, making it less obvious to label them as non-democratic. The appearance of these regimes showed that the transition paradigm did not fit real world evolutions and that the ruling dogmas regarding democracy promotion no longer were a cure-all solution.¹⁶⁰ Thomas Carothers openly deemed the transition paradigm as obsolete and called for new modes of democracy assistance.¹⁶¹ Not only was international democracy assistance being attacked on a scholarly level, it was also more and more attacked by politicians on the international scene. Self-assured Russian politicians openly questioned the interests behind international democratisation and developed an own style of sovereign democracy. This message found an eager public among a number of regimes around the world which were contesting democratisation to retain power. It seemed democratisation was no longer the only game in town and that it was pushed into the defensive.

The wave of colour revolutions that swept across Europe and Asia from 2000 onwards – an expression of extensive and intensive communication as part of globalisation – raised new hopes for democratisation and international democracy promotion. Although the eventual results of these revolutions remain

¹⁵⁹ Zakaria, Fareed: *The future of freedom, illiberal democracy at home and abroad*, London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2004, p.17.

¹⁶⁰ Cf Companjen, F. (2004). *Between Tradition and Modernity*. Amsterdam, PhD.

¹⁶¹ Carothers, Thomas: *The end of the transition paradigm*, in *Journal of Democracy*, 2002 (13), No. 1, pp. 5-21.

mixed, they showed that there was still potential for further democratisation. What made them different from earlier waves of democratisation was the nature and organisation of the movements behind the protest. NGOs and student movements played a central role and between them an often informal and flexible network existed. The movements also had good international contacts and they could make use of knowledge and funding of several international organisations. This networked, multi-level nature made them a kind of revolution 2.0 compared to the revolution of the late eighties and early nineties.

Georgia's 2003 Rose Revolution was the second of these colour revolutions. The protestors against the Shevardnadze regime borrowed heavily from their Serbian counterparts – through the Internet and a few personal encounters – and were for their part a good example for the Orange Movement in Ukraine. Supporters described it as the result of the democratic push of the Georgian civil society whereas critics talked of an elitist coup founded by western backers.¹⁶² Although both analyses offer a very restricted one-sided account of what happened, the fact that there is such an extensive discrepancy between them, hints that there will be more needed than a single causal explanation to assess the mechanisms at work. The Rose Revolution and following political events in Georgia raise a number of important questions regarding the role of civil society and its relations with international actors. In this contribution we analyse the intertwining of the domestic and international political spheres and how this has influenced the room for manoeuvre for domestic NGOs. In particular the role of the EU is considered as it has become a more active and assertive actor in Georgia over the last years. In the framework of Europeanisation has this translated in a growing impact of EU policies on domestic NGOs?

The first part deals with Georgian political events before the Rose Revolution with special attention given for the role of civil society. The second part of the paper gives a broad outline of the Rose Revolution and how this event brought together different actors from both the international and the domestic sphere. Then recent domestic events in Georgia are tackled, followed by an analysis of how foreign actors have reacted to them. The main focus of the fifth part is on the origins and development of the EU's policy towards Georgia. The final part tackles the question whether the growing presence of the European Union has led to an actual change in opportunity structures for encounters by domestic actors.

The 'lost years'

During what turned out to be the last years of the Soviet Union, the Georgian national independence movement started to contest the regime more openly as comparable movements did in other Soviet republics. Similar to these

¹⁶² Herd, Graeme: Colorful revolutions and the CIS, in *Problems of Post-Communism*, 2005 (52), No. 2., pp 3-18.

other movements, demands such as fair and free elections and national sovereignty were at the core, but eventually these goals became enmeshed in a more aggressive nationalistic discourse from mainly Georgian and Abkhaz sides. Despite inhibiting circumstances, elections in October 1990 led to a peaceful and legal transfer of power from communist to non-communist rule. This did not lead however to a series of democratising policy changes.¹⁶³ The regime of president Gamsakhurdia became embroiled in a war with South Ossetia and in 1992-1993 the whole country was in a state of civil war. This was a blow to the development of civil society as political life came to a standstill and people had to focus on survival rather than on exercising their political rights. Civil society in this period mainly consisted out of the 'vicious' kind; mafia, paramilitary groups, the black market,... This exacerbated the common weakness of civil society observed throughout post-communist states,¹⁶⁴ making the prospects for civil society development in Georgia rather bleak.

When Gamsakhurdia was ousted in 1992, the former Soviet Union minister of foreign affairs Shevardnadze was invited to govern, later becoming the elected president of Georgia. Internally Shevardnadze managed to put a hold on further fragmentation and to start the restoration of Georgian statehood. The local economy was starting to recover from the almost total collapse during civil war, but most people were still depending on black or grey activities for their income. Shevardnadze was internationally welcomed by Russia as well as western countries because of the significant role he played during the last years of the Soviet Union – i.e. helping re-unite East and West Germany.

Under his tenure, Georgia became member of the Council of Europe, started to voice its aspiration towards NATO-membership and became involved in the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline. The combination of a democratising regime and the increased international attention for the country, made Georgia a prime target for international organisations. In order to remain credible on the international scene, Shevardnadze's regime needed to adhere to democratic standards and NGOs were the first to benefit from this situation.

During the early years of the Shevardnadze regime the first NGOs were set up, mainly with help from foreign donors and organisations. As most Newly Independent States, Georgia missed a locally grown version of these institutions. However, other elements that can be considered part of civil society were relatively flourishing in Georgia. There was a growing elite of business owners, a diversifying media landscape and the significant role of the Georgian Orthodox Church.¹⁶⁵ However, NGOs were the prime target for foreign donors

¹⁶³ Lanskoj, Miriam & Areshidze, Giorgi: Georgia's year of turmoil, in *Journal of Democracy*, 2008 (19), No. 4, pp. 154-168.

¹⁶⁴ Howard, Marc: The weakness of post-communist civil society in *Journal of Democracy*, 2002 (13), No. 1, pp. 157-169.

¹⁶⁵ Lanskoj, Miriam & Areshidze, Giorgi: o.c.

as these organisations were the most familiar for donors and they fitted perfectly in the dominant frameworks explaining democratisation and democracy assistance. Organisations such as Open Society Georgia and the Eurasia Foundation had a pioneering role and paved the way for other NGOs. This led to a quick proliferation of NGOs; estimates vary between the 3000 around 1997 (Companjen 2004) up to 8000 towards 2005 (Nodia 2005) registered NGOs during the 1995-2005 period.¹⁶⁶ However as both authors claim only 10 to 15 % of these were functioning. A new elite of activists from the NGOs emerged that started to counterbalance the traditional intelligentsia and leaders. The elite was concentrated in Tbilisi and mainly consisted out of Anglophone professionals that had enjoyed extensive training in organisational, communicative and managerial skills during educational encounters abroad. This was necessary to comply with the demands of grant distributing donors who wanted their money to be spent efficiently and in a transparent manner.

There was growing resentment against NGOs that had created their own political niche surviving on donor money rather than on mass participation in the late nineties. By travelling abroad and getting management trainings in for example the USA and Germany, these NGO leaders were – through this educational rites of passage – being shaped into a new elite. Critics argued that these organisations did not really stand for what they fought for. Instead of trying to become the voice of society as a whole and get the voice of citizens heard, NGOs had become active players in Georgian politics. They saw themselves as defending the project of democratisation that was prematurely halted because of civil war. It was their task to lead society, rather than to represent it. This view could be compared to the communist idea of a vanguard that had to lead the masses towards an ideal goal.¹⁶⁷ In addition, the regime had grown suspicious of the growing NGO sector and tried to curtail its influence. Increasingly open criticism could be heard in pro-government media, talking about NGOs in terms of ‘grantichamia’ or grant-gobblers and agents of foreign interests.¹⁶⁸ The government’s policy towards NGO shifted from benevolence to specifically NGO targeting jurisprudence. Libel provisions were tightened in the criminal code and proposals for introducing government scrutiny of foreign funding were introduced. There were also several attempts to create so called GONGOs, government owned NGOs, to serve as a democratic front of the regime. All these initiatives only had a minor impact as the regime of Shevardnadze was too weakened from 2000 onwards. The last years of Shevardnadze’s reign were characterised by the inability to govern with tax

¹⁶⁶ Nizharadze George & Companjen Françoise: NGOs in Georgia: before and during the Rose Revolution, in: *Civil society and the Rose Revolution in Georgia*, Khutsishvili, George (Ed.), Tbilisi: ICCN, 2008.

¹⁶⁷ Author’s interview with Marina Muskhelishvili, Tbilisi, November 2007.

¹⁶⁸ Broers, Laurence: o.c.

collection stalled and rampant corruption. This weakness made it unfeasible for Shevardnadze to clamp down on civil society, something which was happening in stronger and more affluent regimes such as Azerbaijan. Civil society, and in particular NGOs had grown stronger during the nineties, whereas state autonomy was becoming weaker. The shifting relationship between the two formed the background of what was to be called the Rose Revolution of 2003.

The Rose Revolution as an opportunity structure

How did this situation evolve into a full blown revolution, with the general public protesting *en masse* against the regime, an united opposition party and NGOs finding each other in their battle against the Shevardnadze regime? The new social movement theory, described in *Power in Movement* by Sidney Tarrow¹⁶⁹ offers a framework to analyse the role of public mobilisation in political change. Its main benefit lies in the stress put on bottom-up mechanisms at work in such circumstances. Traditional models rely on a top-down account, focusing on elites and external pressure of foreign actors. These models fitted the democracy assistance efforts of the nineties well, but seem inadequate to explain the occurrence of the wave of colour revolutions. What is needed is not a framework that analyses political change on one of the two levels, that is domestic or international, but one that tries to merge the two, stressing the interaction and encounter between them. This is a so called coalition approach, where a coalition is created between international and domestic actors, leaving an active role for both.¹⁷⁰ By actively interfering in the domestic political sphere, the external actor can alter time horizons and incentives and thus improve the conditions for changes it favours. Domestic actors from their side can woo international actors by adhering to their rhetoric and aspire to strengthen their own legitimacy through their international contacts. Tarrow's theory offers an explanatory starting point to assess these mechanisms during the course of the Rose Revolution. What was most striking was the convergence of both a movement of civil discontent and an elite contesting power at the same time. The only way to fully understand the Rose Revolution is through combining the top-down with the bottom-up approach. Tarrow discerns four key dimensions in successful social movements. The first one is the presence of a *political opportunity structure*. This is a rather broad term describing the presence of conditions that create a favourable climate for change. The second dimension is *contention* or how the movement reacts and tries to capture the moment of the opportunity structure. Third comes *mobilising structures*, or the vehicle for the action such as media, NGOs or political parties.

¹⁶⁹ Tarrow, Sidney.: *Power in movement*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 272p.

¹⁷⁰ Jacoby, Wade: Inspiration, Coalition, and substitution, external influences on post-communist transformation, in: *World Politics*, 2006, 58 pp. 623-651.

The fourth and last dimension is *framing*, which is the way how the movement interacts and communicates with society at large.¹⁷¹

The political opportunity structure arising in Georgia starting from 2000 was the growing dissatisfaction of the public of both the political and economic situation. The economy never recovered from the civil war, poverty rate hovered around 50% causing large parts of the population to have nothing left to lose. The clout of the government to tackle these problems diminished throughout the years with corruption increasing and tax revenues diminishing. Basic amenities such as electricity were frequently cut off and higher education degrees could be bought rather than earned. This discontent formed a large untapped source for impetus towards political change and Shevardnadze acknowledged this potential danger for his regime. Elections became more and more fraudulent during the last years of his regime, making it difficult to get the voice of discontent citizens heard. This gradual diminishing room for political contestation made it necessary for opponents of the regime to change their tactics if they were to create room for contention. The main question was whether civil society could remain politically neutral during these events. Would it harm civil society more to stand idle and watch how democratisation was rolled back or to act and become a political actor itself? This question is at the core of the debate of the role and nature of civil society.¹⁷² A large part of Georgian civil society made the conscious choice to develop a more assertive policy and to become a political actor, joining the political opposition against the Shevardnadze regime. The main outside driving forces (foreign capital) behind this evolution were Open Society Georgia and the National Democratic Institute, an expression of transnational, global encounters. Locally, certain NGOs such as the Liberty Institute became closely linked with the Kmara! student movement, both of them forming the centre of the civic protests. In the political sphere the dominance of the ruling Citizens' Union of Georgia (CUG) party had come to an end when in 2001 a group of young politicians had left the party. These included the leaders of the Rose Revolution: Saakashvili, Zhvania and Burjanadze. The movement found a friendly media outlet in the privately owned Rustavi 2 television broadcasting company. The message around which the protests galvanised were the parliamentary elections of November 2003. Framing the discontent around this event made it possible to communicate univocally towards the masses and to build up pressure to a well-defined moment. The message itself was brought in an innovative and refreshing way, using humour and nonviolent protest to attract attention. These methods were

¹⁷¹ Laverty, Nicklaus: The problem of lasting change, in *Demokratizatsiya*, 2008 (16), No. 2, pp. 143-162.

¹⁷² White, Gordon, *Civil society, democratization and development: clearing the analytical ground* in Burnell, P. & Calvert, P.: *Civil Society in democratization*, London: Frank Cass, 2004.

clearly based on the Serbian Otpor movement and contacts between activists of both movements were plentiful, showing the transnational nature of this movement.¹⁷³ The civil society involvement culminated in the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy (ISFED) and the Georgian Young Lawyers' Association (GYLA) fielding 2300 and 500 election observers respectively in addition to other international monitoring parties. This was funded through three million dollars from the US and another million from other international donors¹⁷⁴. The results of this mission made it possible for NGOs to judicially fight the election results. The eventual result of this mobilisation of all these political actors was the end of the Shevardnadze regime and the coming to power of Saakashvili.

What is clear from this short outline of the concerned actors and their motives is that this was not a contingency on only one level or only driven by one actor. On the one hand, it does injustice to the people who protested in the streets to portray an image of the Rose Revolution as a foreign choreographed coup. Foreign interference would not be effective without the discontent of large parts of the Georgian population about the political and economic situation of the country. On the other hand, foreign organisational and financial assistance made it possible for NGOs to efficiently canalise popular discontent. In 2003 for example, some 350 Georgians travelled to the US for training and exchange programs bringing the total number of Georgian participants in these programs to over 3800.¹⁷⁵ The same applies to improving TV programmes (60 minutes) informing the public on cases of corruption. This dense network between all actors on different levels and their interdependence are at the core of the nature of the Colour Revolutions. For their opponents this is the main point for criticism whereas their proponents consider it to be their strength.

A democratic hangover?

The regime change brought about by the Rose Revolution did result in many changes in governance, but these were not always of democratising nature. Presidential and parliamentary elections in 2004 led to two major victories for the regime of Saakashvili. There was virtually no opposition as Burjanadze and Zhvania had joined the United National Movement (UNM) of Saakashvili and the CUG of former president Shevardnadze ceased to be a force to be reckoned with. These victories were interpreted by Saakashvili and his allies as a mandate for swift and thorough reform throughout the whole government and political system. The new government unfolded a strongly reform oriented agenda aiming at economic liberalisation, anti-corruption, state

¹⁷³ Lavery, Nicklaus: o.c.

¹⁷⁴ Broers, Laurence: o.c.

¹⁷⁵ US Department of State, Country Assessment and Performance Measures – Georgia, Washington D.C.: Washington, 2004.

building and restoring territorial integrity.¹⁷⁶ Compared to the atrophy of the latter Shevardnadze years, the new government reinvigorated political life. High level corruption was tackled via a controversial 'plea-bargain' system, where the accused could repay the state what they had allegedly stolen from it in the past years. On a lower level the police force was drastically reduced and reformed and the admission system to universities was renewed. The result of these changes were all felt by Georgian citizens, which helped to sustain Saakashvili's popularity together with the bloodless reincorporation of Adjara. Saakashvili simultaneously pushed through with drastic economic liberalisation to try to increase government revenue and to attract foreign direct investment.

To carry out all these changes government needed to dispose of far-reaching competences. The president pushed through a series of constitutional amendments expanding presidential power at the expense of parliament and the judiciary, resulting in a 'super presidential' system¹⁷⁷. This increased the effectiveness of law-making, but heavily impeded its democratic nature. Parliament no longer had the power of the purse nor could it play its intended role in the usual checks and balances of a parliamentary system, instead presidential decrees were issued that parliament only could endorse. Also several changes to electoral laws were introduced making it harder for opposition parties to gain seats in parliament. The three most contentious issues being the height of the threshold to get into parliament, the composition of electoral commissions and the mode of election. The result of this concentration of power in the hands of the president caused increasing reaction among the opposition, who had seen its ranks swell by a number of defectors from the Saakashvili regime. In November 2007 this resulted in mass protests in Tbilisi. Different opposition parties had joined together to form the United National Council (UNC) demanding early parliamentary elections. These demonstrations were put down violently and a state of emergency was declared. Since this moment, the Georgian political landscape has been characterised by a deep cleavage between opposition and government. This polarisation has made actual political dialogue impossible because of a total lack of trust between the two parties.¹⁷⁸ Government interprets oppositional demands as attempts to bring down government, often accusing the opposition of being financed and supported by Russia. The opposition from its part condemns the repressive practices and the lack of democracy of the government.

What place does civil society have against this background? The growing polarisation between government and opposition and the concentration of power

¹⁷⁶ Cornell, Svante & Nilsson, Niklas: Georgian politics since the August 2008 war, in *Demokratizatsiya*, 2008 (16), No. 3, pp. 251-268.

¹⁷⁷ Areshidze, Irakly: Democracy and autocracy in Eurasia: Georgia in transition, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007, p. 197.

¹⁷⁸ Cornell, Svante & Nilsson, Niklas: o.c.

in the presidency have also impacted NGO capacity.¹⁷⁹ After the Revolution the NGOs that formed the core of the political protest were faced with a remarkable problem. They had successfully challenged the regime but ended up sternly weakened themselves. Many high ranking activists had made the jump from these NGOs to government. As described above this did not automatically lead to a democratising government, proving once again that where you stand is where you sit. A number of former activists have held positions in government, parliament or local councils, making open criticism harder for their former colleagues who stayed in NGOs. Furthermore, this has led to a brain drain in a number of NGOs who have lost their most experienced people. In general, civil society and NGOs in particular have lost credibility as an autonomous force. This goes to the core of their *raison d'être*; offering a voice to demands from society at large. To do this civil society does not have to capture the state itself, but assure that certain rights are respected and that political dialogue remains possible.¹⁸⁰ The difficult balance between engaging with political parties, but not to be captured by them seems to be lost in this situation. The NGOs have played only a minor role in the protest against the regime since 2007.¹⁸¹ The protestors have not managed to make use of a political opportunity structure as happened with the 2003 election before the Rose Revolution. Popular discontent led to mass protests, but not supported by a well organised movement such as kmara! The opposition tried to introduce similar modes of framing, trying to set up encampments in the centre of Tbilisi and staging evocative demonstrations. Popular support has remained rather low compared to what happened during 2003. As it seems now, Georgia seems to be stuck in a bipolar political system with NGOs that no longer succeed to channel grassroots' discontent.

International involvement

The Rose Revolution not only toppled the old regime and brought the leader of the protesting movement to power, it also extensively altered Georgian links with international partners. During the years leading to the revolution, ties between Georgian NGOs and opposition politicians and foreign governments and organisations had been close. Several high ranking US officials had played an important role during the November 2007 events and the 2005 visit of George W. Bush affirmed the close ties between the two regimes. Western donor organisations, media and politicians seemed to believe that the change of government signalled the success of democratisation. As a result, its attention shifted from supporting NGOs and potential voices' dissent, towards supporting

¹⁷⁹ Mitchell, Lincoln: Compromising democracy: state building in Saakashvili's Georgia, in *Central Asian Survey*, 2009 (28), No. 2, pp. 171-183.

¹⁸⁰ DeMars, William: *NGOs and transnational networks*, London: Pluto Press, 2005, p. 34.

¹⁸¹ Muskhelishvili, Marina & Jorjoliani, Gia: Georgia's ongoing struggle for a better future continued, in *Democratization*, 2009 (16), No. 4, pp. 682-708.

the state building measures of the regime. Saakashvili's rhetoric on democratisation made them believe that this democratisation could be implemented top-down. The growing concentration of power in the hands of the president and the violent break up of protest in November 2007 came as a shock to foreign supporters of Saakashvili's government.

This close link with western international actors did not mean that Saakashvili was able to act as he pleased. Contrary, his ambitious goals regarding integrating Georgia both in the EU and NATO and their normative expectations and transfer of policy, constrained his room for manoeuvre. If Saakashvili's regime wanted to remain a credible partner for these institutions he had at least to appear to remain true to his promises regarding democratisation. The support from these international partners is crucial to maintain domestic legitimacy. Both the November 2007 crackdown on protest and the August 2008 war with Russia have shattered initial western optimism about the regime of Saakashvili. This has prompted government to implement a number of changes, at least superficially democratising the political system. This international pressure has helped to avoid the recurrence of large scale violence and encouraged government to take into account a number of demands from the opposition.¹⁸² As a result, foreign and domestic issues became strongly interrelated. The deadlock between opposition and government on the domestic level thus could be broken by incorporating the international level.

This idea of the interplay between the domestic and international level is reflected in a growing body of literature. During the last decades the world has witnessed an increasing interaction on the economic, political and cultural level. This process of globalisation has challenged the central role of the state, opening up room for other social institutions to become important international actors. A dense network developed connecting international institutions such as international organisations and regional integration projects with private actors such as NGOs, multinationals and social movements. This multiplication of actors and networks connecting them has led to a multilevel structure of decision making, which has been termed global governance or interdependence by scholars studying the issue.¹⁸³ The main theme running through the works in these schools of thought is a departure from a strict national-global divide. Instead, they focus on the multilevel setting where different types of coalitions are formed between an array of possible actors across different levels of decision making.

This makes it possible to see a more complex picture of transnational politics. In this picture a dense triangular structure among states, non-state actors and international institutions emerges, creating opportunities to engage in

¹⁸² Cornell, Svante & Nilsson, Niklas: o.c.

¹⁸³ Rosenau, James.: *Governance, Order, and Change in World Politics* in James Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel (eds.) *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.4.

collective action at different levels of this system.¹⁸⁴ Nowhere are these conditions more developed than in the context of an integrating Europe, with the EU as its pinnacle. A body of literature on this has been produced over the years, at first focusing on the reasons for integration. As the research agenda broadened, the results of EU policy on the domestic level became to know as Europeanisation. This top-down approach of studying changes induced by the integration process reflect to some extent the dichotomy between the domestic and the global. In order to obtain an accurate overview, the interconnectedness of the different levels in the EU polity that enable political actors at different levels to interact and establish coalitions need to be taken into account.¹⁸⁵ European integration and Europeanisation have an impact on domestic political and social processes. Europeanisation is conceived as an emerging political opportunity structure which offers some actors additional resources to exert influence, while severely constraining the ability of others to pursue their goals.¹⁸⁶ This is a rational institutional point of view where actors use their resources to maximise their utilities. Europeanisation will only lead to this situation when there is a misfit that provides actors with new opportunities and constraints and when domestic actors have the possibility to exploit these. The first condition has been met, as described above with a government that talks about democratisation, but does not pursue this in its policies. The existence of the second condition depends on the credibility and presence of the EU in Georgia and the ability of domestic actors to make use of this EU centred opportunity structure.

The EU as an international opportunity structure

In the beginning of the nineties the EU treated the South Caucasus as a conflict prone region with failed states that needed humanitarian aid. Consequently, first relations in the framework of TACIS between the EU and Georgia were related to conflict resolution and technical issues such as nuclear safety. In 1999, relations became more substantial with the signing of a Partnership and Cooperation Agreement that still serves as the legal basis for relations between Georgian government and the EU.¹⁸⁷ When developing its European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), the EU initially did not include Georgia. Only after the Rose Revolution, with its call for democratisation and

¹⁸⁴ Tarrow, Sidney: *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 25.

¹⁸⁵ Cisar, Ondrej: *Between the National and Supranational? Transnational Political Activism, Conflict, and Cooperation in the Integrated Europe*, in: *Contemporary European Studies*, 2007, no.1, p. 24.

¹⁸⁶ Börzel, Tanja & Risse, Thomas: *When Europe hits home: Europeanization and domestic change*, in *European Integration online Papers*, 2000 (4), No.15.

¹⁸⁷ Mayer, Sebastian: *Die Europäische Union im Südkaukasus. Interessen und Institutionen in der Auswärtigen Politikgestaltung*, Berlin., Nomos Verlag, 2005, p. 107.

turn towards Europe, the EU incorporated Georgia in the policy. The aim of the ENP was to offer possibilities for more far reaching cooperation, reflecting in a way the changing relationship between Georgia and the EU. The EU offers a privileged relationship building upon a mutual commitment to common values such as democracy and human rights depending on the extent to which these values are shared.¹⁸⁸ These high hopes did not fully materialise; the paperwork produced under the form of action plans and policy papers was quite impressive, but results in the field were limited. This was partly because of the internal battle in the EU between member states on preferences regarding Eastern versus Southern neighbours. The ambitious ENP was reinforced with the Eastern Partnership (EaP) initiative in 2009 that tried to reinvigorate the relations between the EU and the six former Soviet Union republics in the East. The principles remained the same; putting democracy and human rights at the core, but the financial backing was increased and a number of demands from the Eastern partners, such as visa regulations and trade integration, were included.

The EU is a fairly latecomer on the scene of democracy promotion in Georgia and only since the beginning of 2008 the EU delegation in Georgia no longer had to double as the delegation for Armenia. The main instrument the EU uses to encourage civil society and democratisation is the EIDHR, which has five general objectives of which the second one is the strengthening of civil society. Through dedicated members of staff at the local delegations, the EU supports a number of projects run by NGOs. In Georgia for example, about 30 projects were going on in 2007 for a total sum of 1 million euro.¹⁸⁹ The total EU budget in Georgia in 2009 was 160 million euro, almost the same amount as the year before, in 2006 it was limited to 35 million, showing that the EU has significantly increased its funding for Georgia since the inception of the ENP. Money for EIDHR has remained quite limited compared to that, varying between 1 and 2 million a year during 2007-2009.¹⁹⁰ The contacts between the EU and civil society have increased since the introduction of the ENP. A first conference on the role of civil society was organised in June 2007 with officials from the EU Commission and the Delegation and members from Georgian NGOs attending. As a result, the EU has managed to increase its visibility on the Georgian civil society scene during the last years.

How has civil society reacted to the introduction of the ENP and later the EaP? After the implementation of the ENP Action Plan in 2006, a consortium was created that brings local civil society organisations and international

¹⁸⁸ European Commission: Communication from the Commission "European Neighbourhood Policy" Strategy Paper, COM(2004) 373 final, 12 May 2004, p. 9.

¹⁸⁹ Author's interview with EU Delegation member, Tbilisi, November 2007.

¹⁹⁰ Delegation of the European Union to Georgia: EU cooperation with Georgia, http://www.delgeo.ec.europa.eu/en/eu_and_georgia/cooperation.html, (accessed 11.03.2010)

organisations together to observe the implementation of the ENP. During the different stages of drafting, signing and implementing the Action Plan a number of reports and recommendations were published. Through regular follow-up of the topic, these organisations try to get the voice of civil society heard. In Georgia some 70 civil society organisations produced a list of recommendation for the Georgian government in 2005 with support from Open Society, Heinrich Böll Stiftung and the Eurasia Foundation.¹⁹¹ Although this list did not directly materialise into formal involvement of civil society in the ENP Action Plan policy drafting, it raised interest and responsibility in the subject. The aims set for the future of the organisation are further cooperation between civil society, the political elite, the media and other interest groups through intensifying debates and discussions about the ENP. Monitoring the implementation of the ENP was hampered by the lack of clear set goals or benchmarks in the Action Plan. The Georgian government from its part had developed a detailed matrix covering all the necessary changes needed in different policies domains, but this was dismissed as being too detailed. Instead, it was replaced with a limited working paper of merely 8 pages.¹⁹² The EU did attempt to tighten direct relations between the EU level and domestic NGOs and in September 2007 a number of Georgian NGOs attended the ENP conference in Brussels. This did not lead to an institutionalised set up that could give Georgian civil society a direct voice inside the EU institutions. Nor did it substantially strengthen the position of civil society in the domestic arena.

The introduction of the EaP also created a new momentum for this initiative. The development and involvement of civil society has been acknowledged to be a key factor for the success of the democratic and market-oriented reforms of the EaP. The Commission proposed to support civil society actors and to engage them in the initiative through the establishment of an Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum. The role of this forum is to promote contacts between civil society actors as well as facilitate their dialogue with public authorities.¹⁹³ The first Civil Society Forum was organised in November 2009 in Brussels. 439 organisations from the EaP partner countries declared their interest in this initiative and 23 representatives of Georgian civil society organisations attended the conference. This conference marked the start of a up a structural inclusion of civil society within the Eastern Partnership, both on the multilateral level through the Civil Society Forum and on the domestic level

¹⁹¹ Open Society Georgia Foundation/For Transparency of Public Finances: Georgia and the European Neighbourhood Policy perspectives and challenges, Tbilisi, 2007.

¹⁹² Author's interview with Georgian government official, Tbilisi, November 2007.

¹⁹³ European Commission, Eastern Partnership, <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/09/217&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>, (accessed 16.03.2010).

through the establishment of a National Platform. Compared to the earlier attempts towards civil society inclusion in the ENP, the more institutionalised setup and the proactive role of the European Commission and certain member states such as the Czech Republic make this initiative more viable. It has opened up an immediate link between the European Commission and the External Action Service on the one hand and Georgian civil society on the other hand, what could prove to be advantageous for the political opportunity structure for the latter. Western support has been crucial in the development of Georgian civil society, and these encounters in the form of this growing incorporation of NGOs into the Eastern Partnership signal an increasing impact of the EU on the international outlook of Georgian NGOs.

Conclusion

Georgian civil society has gone through hard times during the nineties. Besides the weakness of civil society generally acknowledged in post-communist societies, it was further undermined because of aggressive nationalistic rhetoric and civil war. When foreign organisations and donors turned their attention to the country halfway the nineties, civil society, and in particular NGOs, became their prime target to foster democratisation. In the beginning the Shevardnadze government tolerated the growing strength of NGOs, but eventually it sought to limit their power. Combined with the growing corruption within the regime this led to the Rose Revolution where the government and a combination of the opposition and NGOs were diametrically opposed to each other. The change of power, making Saakashvili president, did not lead to further democratisation however. Voices of dissent were severely limited as a large part of the NGOs had become associated with the regime. Foreign democracy assistance had lost importance compared to support to the state building measures of Saakashvili. The result was a bipolar political system without any actual dialogue between government and opposition. International involvement has managed to persuade Saakashvili to go through with a minimum of democratic changes, but only to keep up his reputation.

The growing role of the EU could eventually break this deadlock by opening up the international, in this case European, level for domestic actors and thereby altering their opportunity structures. The Georgian political balance of power has altered significantly since the introduction of the Eastern Partnership: the Georgian Dream party of Ivanishvili won the elections in 2012 and after a year of co-habitation, Georgian Dream won the presidential elections as well. Despite the antagonistic relations between the new leaders and the UNM of Saakashvili, the newly elected administration continued to pursue the same pro-European agenda. This shows in how far pursuing closer links with

¹⁹⁴ Author's interview with European Partnership for Democracy representative, Brussels, March 2010.

the EU has become the undisputed main focus of Georgian foreign policy. Regardless of the change of power, the EU remains an important point of reference, and the increased role for NGOs within the Eastern Partnership has opened up additional opportunities for Georgian NGOs to strengthen their agenda through making use of European norms and values and directly contacting European allies in the guise of NGOs or European institutions. Within the framework of the Eastern Partnership, encounters between European and Western civil society actors have intensified and now that the Association Agreement has been signed, the impact the EU has had on Georgian civil society may spread to the society at large. The aim to increase and simplify people-to-people contacts and the visa facilitation process signal a shift from an elite-level type of encounter on the level of NGO-leaders to a more democratized approach targeting the whole population. It remains to be seen whether these ambitious plans will be fully implemented, but it shows the next step in the increasing transnational relations between the EU and Georgia.

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Short Biographies in Alphabetical order.

Cartledge, Trevor is a native English speaker whose academic career was as a Principal Lecturer and Programmes Manager at Nottingham Trent University, UK. After teaching in England for over 25 years he is now a full Professor at Robakidze University and a visiting Professor at Tbilisi State University teaching a mixture of Speaking Skills, Public Speaking and Business English to a variety of students. In addition he teaches British Society and British culture to undergraduate and Masters students. He is also involved in proof reading of official and other documents.

Companjen, Françoise Senior Lecturer, is affiliated to the VU University Amsterdam, Faculty of Social Sciences; occasionally invited to Tbilisi State University as a Visiting Professor for a Summer School on qualitative research methods. She lectures on Intercultural Communication and publishes on civil society and democracy in the South Caucasus. As managing director of Caucasus Interconnect The Hague, she leads debates on the South Caucasus-Eastern Europe and comments on Dutch Radio and TV. She is guest editor in various journals focusing on the South Caucasus.

Jansen, Marc now retired, was affiliated to the Department of European Studies at the University of Amsterdam. He is a historian, taught Russian and East European studies, and publishes on Russian and Soviet history and politics.

Gelashvili, Gia graduated from the Tbilisi State University in 1959 and began to work at the department of Georgian History. In 1962 he gained a degree of Doctor of History and lectured on the "Georgian History" and "European sources about Georgia" at the history and other humanitarian departments of Tbilisi State University. From 1977 up to now he is a senior scientist-researcher at the Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology. Gelashvili visited the libraries and archives of Germany (1971-72) and of Britain (2006-10). At the present time he studies the German and English sources about Georgia (18-19 cc). He is author of more than 70 scientific works, among them 6 monographs.

Paprocki Henryk, theologian, Orthodox priest; theological studies at KUL, PhD in 1978 at St. Sergius Orthodox Institute in Paris, chairman of the Ecumenical Editorial Board of TVP S.A. Radio 1, lecturer at the University of Białystok, Aleksander Zelwerowicz State Theatre Academy in Warsaw (1990-2011) and the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Warsaw, editor of the theological journal "Elpis," spokesperson for the Orthodox Church, member of the International Society of Patristic Studies, and member of the International

Commission for the heritage of St. George Peradze. In 2009 he received an honorary degree at the University of St. George Peradze in Tbilisi. In 2011 he was given the "Order of Merit for Georgia," and in 2013, the Order of the Rebirth of Poland. Paprocki also prepared materials for the canonization of St. George Peradze; in 2010 he published the first volume of his collected works dedicated to Georgian monasticism and liturgics, followed by volume II (2011) and volume III (2012).

Pipia, Irakli Anthropologist, is a Phd candidate at Tbilisi State University. He works at the Alexander Chavchavadze House-Museum in Tsinandali as a deputy director. He works on issues of identity building in post-soviet Georgia. His last publications are: (2013) Vera Bardavelidze's Writing Style at Vera Bardavelidze- 110: International scientific conference papers. Tbilisi: 2013. pp 297-304. (KA) and (2012) Tsminda Sameba – The Cathedral of Holy Trinity, The Construction of a New National Symbol (a field report) in: Journal of Post-soviet Researches [Die postsowjetische Stadt] Humboldt University, Berlin, Panama Verlag, 2012, SH59. pp 113-128. (ENG)

Reisner, Oliver holds a position as a project manager at the European Union Delegation to Georgia and regularly publishes on Georgia's history and nation building. Before that he worked as a human rights program manager for World Vision in Georgia on a civic integration project and he established an MA program 'Central Asia/Caucasus' at the Department for Central Asian Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Recently he also lectures at Ilia Chavchavadze University in Tbilisi.

Rommens, Thijs is a research fellow at the Research group on Russia and Eurasia of the Leuven International and European Studies Institute at Leuven University, Belgium. He is currently working on his PhD on how Georgian NGOs have made use of the opportunities within the EU's policies towards the region titled "Structuring opportunities for NGOs? The European Union's promotion of democratic governance in Georgia." His research is based on several research stays in Georgia at various NGOs and university departments. His research covers the topics of democratization, Europeanisation, civil society development and democracy assistance. He studied political science and policy economics at Leuven University.

Rusieshvili-Cartledge, Manana is Professor of English and Head of the Department of English Philology at Tbilisi State University. She is also President of English Teachers Association of Georgia (ETAG). Manana teaches courses in Intercultural communication, English and Georgian literary and cultural relations as well as Stylistics and Text linguistics. She is the author

of a monograph, several textbooks and more than 60 publications in Georgia and internationally.

Sanikidze, George is Professor of history at the Ilia State University and Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the same University. He has been working as a visiting scholar at Paris-Sorbonne-III and Paris-Sorbonne-IV Universities, University of California - Berkeley, Universities of Hokkaido and Osaka, Japan. His current research interests are: Problems of East-West relations, Medieval and Modern history of Islam, of the Caucasus and the Middle Eastern countries (especially Iran). His works are published in Georgia, USA, France, Holland, Iran, Turkey, Japan, and Russia.

Taktakishvili, Givi graduated from the Ivane Javakhishvili State University, Faculty of Economics. From 1990-1992 he was a member of the Parliament of Georgia. After the coup in Georgia he emigrated in 1993-1999 to Russia, Ukraine and Estonia and since 1999 he lives in the Netherlands. He was granted a doctoral degree in 2003 by the Information Management Group in Groningen. From 2007-2011 he worked in the Dutch – Russian Centre, Groningen as a regional specialist. Since 2011 he works in Caucasus Interconnect, The Hague as a researcher. He wrote three books and nearly 200 articles about economic and political developments in the Soviet Union and Georgia (into Georgian and Russian). He is now engaged in research on the history of relations between The Netherlands and Georgia.



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ბიბლიოთეკა

