

## „ოსმალოს საქართველო“ და „რუსეთის საქართველო“: „ივერიის“ მონაცემები

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ივანე ჯავახიშვილის თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი

სტატიაში განიხილება ომის მნიშვნელობა ეთნიკური ცნობიერების კრისტალიზაციისათვის. ომის დროს ხდება ადამიანური და სხვა რესურსების მობილიზაცია, იბადება სოლიდარობის გრძნობა, იქმნება საომარი პროპაგანდა და პოზიტიური (ჩვენ) და ნეგატიური (მტერი) სტერეოტიპების განვითარებით ძლიერდება ნაციონალიზმის მახასიათებლები. სახელმწიფოებს შორის მიმდინარე ომი ხელს უწყობს ძალის ცენტრალიზაციასა და ინსტიტუციონალიზაციას და საფუძვლად ედება ისტორიული იდენტობის განცდას.

რუსეთ-ოსმალეთის ომმა მოსახლეობის ერთ ნაწილში რუსულ-ქართული ერთობის განცდა გაამძაფრა მუსლიმანური ოსმალეთის წინააღმდეგ, რომელსაც მიტაცებული ჰქონდა საქართველოს მიწები. სწორედ აქ ისახებოდა „ივერიის“ მიზნები: თუ რუსეთი ოსმალეთთან ომს მოიგებდა, საქართველოს უერთდებოდა ოსმალეთის მიერ წართმეული ტერიტორია თავისი მოსახლეობით, რომელსაც შეცვლილი ჰქონდა რელიგია და ნაწილობრივ ენობრივი ცნობიერება, მაგრამ სწორედ ისტორიული ერთობის საფუძველზე ფიქრობდა ილია ჭავჭავაძე საქართველოს პოლიტიკური მიზეზებით დაშორებული ნაწილების შეერთებას. „ივერია“ ფართოდ მიმოიხილავდა რუსეთ-ოსმალეთის 1877-1878 წლების ომის ფაქტობრივად ყველა დეტალს. ორგენდო ბუნების იყო ეს ომი საქართველოსთვის. „აჭარის, ბათუმისა და ქობულეთის“ შემოერთებით რუსეთი ძლიერდებოდა კავკასიასა და ბალკანეთში, თან აცხადებდა თავის შორს მიმავალ გეგმებს, რომლებშიც კონსტანტინეპოლში შესვლაც იგულისხმებოდა. ხოლო რუსეთის პოლიტიკური ნაწილი – საქართველო, იბრუნებდა ისტორიულ მიწებს უკეთესი ცვლილებების იმედით.

1877 წლის „ივერიის“ რამოდენიმე ნომერში სათაურით „ოსმალოს საქართველო“ დაიბეჭდა ცხრა წერილი, რომელთაგან ექვსს ხელს აწერს პეტრე უმიკაშვილი, ხოლო ორი ხელმოუწერლად გამოაქვეყნა ილია ჭავჭავაძემ. პ. უმიკაშვილი იყენებს ტერმინებს „რუსეთის საქართველო“ და „ოსმალოს საქართველო“. „ოსმალოს საქართველო“ არ არის სიახლე, რადგან ეს იყო წერილების სერიის სათაურად გატანილი. ამავე შინაარსით ილია ჭავჭავაძე მოგვიანებით იყენებს „ახლადშემოერთებულ საქართველოს“. სიახლეა „რუსეთის საქართველო“, რომელიც ბოლო წერილამდე პეტრე უმიკაშვილს არ გამოუყენებია. „ოსმალოს საქართველოს“ რუბრიკით დაბეჭდილი წერილების მიზანია, მკითხველებს გააცნოს ეს მხარე და ხელი შეუწყოს ამ ტერიტორიაზე მცხოვრებთა ცნობადობის გაზრდას დანარჩენ საქართველოში. „ოსმალოს საქართველოს“ მოსახლეობა დახასიათებულია ეთნიკური შედგენილობის, ენობრივი მდგომარეობისა და წეს-ჩვეულებების მიხედვით და ქართველ მკითხველებს არწმუნებს, რომ ოსმალოს საქართველოს

მოსახლეობასთან მათ აერთებს ყველაზე მნიშვნელოვანი თვისებები, რომელთა წყალობით სხვაობის გადალახვა ადვილი იქნებოდა.

ილია ჭავჭავაძე სპეციალურად წერდა ამ მხარის როლზე საქართველოს გაქრისტიანებისა და გაერთიანების საქმეში, აგრეთვე ოსმალეთის მიერ მიტაცებულ ქართულ მიწებზე მოსახლეთა განსაკუთრებულ როლზე საქართველოს კულტურულ ცხოვრებაში. ქედან გამომდინარე, ბუნებრივია რატომ მიიჩნევა ნაციის ერთობის განმაპირობებელი ფაქტორებიდან განსაკუთრებული მნიშვნელობის მქონედ: მიჯაჭვულობა საკრალურ ტერიტორიასთან, წმინდანთა, გმირთა და ბრძენთა, წინაპართა საფლავებითა და ძეგლებით კურთხეულ წინაპართა სამშობლო მიწასთან; „ოქროს ხანათა“ საზიარო მახსოვრობანი, როგორც ნაციის ეთნოისტორიის მწვერვალები, მატერიალური და/ან სულიერი და მხატვრული სიმდიდრის ეპოქები; „სახელოვან მიცვალებულთა“ და ნაციისა და მისი ხვედრისათვის გმირული თავდადების კულტი.

### **“Ottoman Georgia” and “Russia's Georgia”: Data of “Iveria”**

*Bolkvadze Tinatin*

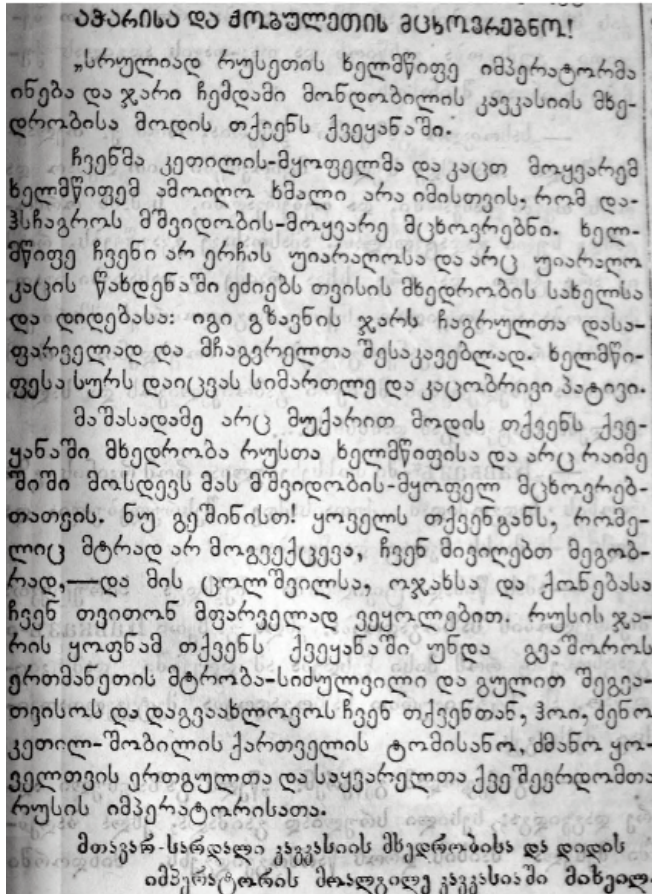
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

Wars have always been of great significance for the crystallization of ethnic consciousness. During a war, human and other resources are mobilized, the sense of solidarity emerges, military propaganda is created, and, by way of developing of the positive (us) and negative (enemy) stereotypes, features of nationalism are enhanced. An inter-state war facilitates to the centralization and institutionalization of power and becomes a foundation for the sense of historical identity (Smith, 1981, p. 78).

“For a certain part of the population, the Russian-Ottoman war made the sense for the Russian-Georgian unity more acute against Muslim Ottoman, having had occupied Georgian lands. The goals of “Iveria”, the journal which was founded by the Greatest person of Georgia of 19th century, were reflected in this way: if Russia managed to win the war against the Ottomans, Georgia would regain the territory, conquered by Ottomans; Georgia would regain its population who had changed the religion and partially linguistic consciousness; however, based on the historical unity, Ilia Chavchavadze considered the unification of the parts of Georgia, having been separated wrong to political reasons.

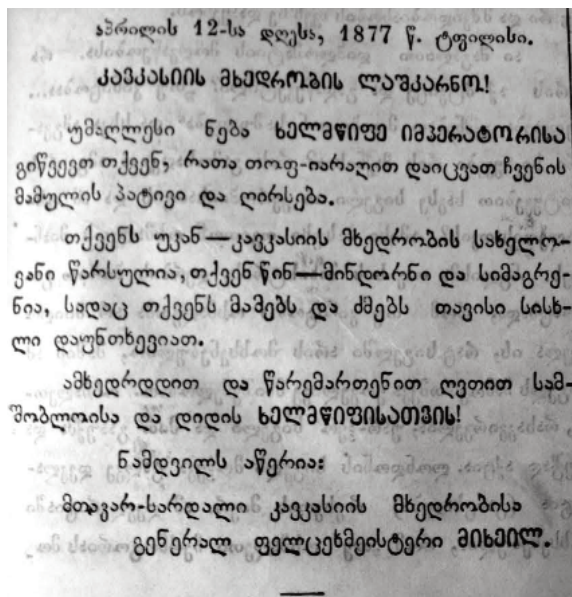
“Iveria” widely discussed virtually all the details of the 1877-1878 Russia-Ottoman war (see picture 3). It published the appeal of General Felzechmeister to the military of the Caucasus, in which he called for “defending the honor and glory of the homeland,” the lands “where their fathers and brothers had shed their blood”. It also published the appeal by Mikheil, the viceroy of the Russian

emperor in the Caucasus; the appeal was addressed to the inhabitants “of Achara and Kobuleti,” in which they were referred to as always loyal and favorite subordinates of the Russian emperor, “as brothers of the noble Georgian tribe,” in order to stop the oppression of whom “the emperor wished to move his army” (see pictures 1,2).



Picture 1

A significant question evolves in this case: what did General Felzechmeister mean in the word “homeland” in his appeal? With what implication did the newspaper “Iveria” want to deliver to Georgian readers? What was a homeland for Viceroy Mikheil – the Russian empire at large, the widening of its remote part and its establishment on the Black Sea would become as a result of the victory against Ottomans, or the homeland “of the noble Georgian tribe,” in which a reader would mean Georgia who would regain the earlier lost historical territories “where their fathers and brothers had shed their blood”? Both the general and the viceroy meant Russia, within the confines of which, together with other peoples, “the noble Georgian tribe” lived and it would be fair if brothers of noble Georgians would join them. For “Iveria,” it was crucial to emphasize that the homeland, mentioned in those appeals, was Georgia who had an opportunity to regain once lost territories.



Picture 2

Earlier, Ilia Chavchvadze had dwelt upon the conceptual aspect of the issue, criticizing the 19th century Georgian self-consciousness in which the sense of homeland was deemed to the meaning of one's estate. Ilia made the word mean the place of Georgians' sacred, earthly and heavenly habitation (for more details, see Kiknadze, 2005, pp. 28-47). Ilia and the whole team of "Iveria" saw the hope of regaining the territories and the population for their homeland. Russia too wanted to justify the hope because that sense would make ethnic Georgians fight selflessly.

Beside the appeals, issue 8, 1877 publishes the editorial which, irrespective of bloodshed and casualties, views the war as an uprising of a nation wanting to defend its dignity and identity. However, there is some ambiguity – it is not ultimately clear which nation is meant.

On the one hand, the editorial refers to a nation, defending its own identity, and uprisen "to save another nation." This is ambiguity. In the nation, defending its own identity, one can easily detect Georgians who fight hoping to regain their part, however, on the other hand, in the nation, having uprisen for the sake of another nation; it is difficult to view Georgians as far as "dwellers of Achara and Kobuleti" could not be another nation for Georgians. The nation, meant here, is the one "who cares not only for themselves but also for the whole mankind." Such global goals cannot be ascribed to Georgians; the author of the article applies them as a feature of the Russian army, and this can be considered as an acknowledgment to Russia. The Russian emperor issued a slogan of "saving the oppressed and stopping the oppressors" to soldiers. It was the slogan under which it was easy to unite soldier from the Caucasus. For Georgia the war of such a double nature.



რუსთაჲსი. რუსთაჲსი, რუსთაჲსი ეტყობა იმედს  
მანც არ ჰკარგავს და თუმც ასეთი საგომნობელი მარ-  
ცხი მოუვიდა მტირე აზიასი, თუ ევროპაში, მაგრამ  
მანც დაუძინებულს მეცადინეობაშია იმოდენა ძალი შეი-  
რიფოს, რომ რამის ბედი თავისაკენ მოატრიალოს და  
თუ ეს არ მოხდა, რამი გაუსწოროს მანცა რუსეთსა.  
დაჭსდგომიან ხონთქარს გაშალოს წმინდა დროშა მანჭა-  
დისა, მაგრამ ხონთქარი ჯერ ამასევე უარს ამბობს და  
რჩეობს თვით ჩაჭსდგეს რაზმში და ლაშქარს უწინამძღვ-  
როს. თუმც ესეა, მაგრამ შიგ სტამბოლში კი დიდი  
ჩინიქლია თურმე და დიდი უკმაყოფილებაა საქმეთა  
მიმდინარეობის გამო. აი რას იწერება ინგლისის გაზე-  
თის „Times“-ის კორესპონდენტი სტამბოლიდან  
სტამბოლის აწინთელს მდგომარობაზედ: „მხელაა ვაჭმა  
გამოიწინოს მიზეზი მისი თუ რისგან არის ასე დაფეთ-  
ბული სტამბოლი და რომ დაფეთებულა, — ეს კი  
უეჭველია. წარსულს კვირას სტამბოლის ქუჩებზედ  
გაკრული იყო პრეკლამანია, რომელიც იწვევდა ეო-  
კელს მამულის მოყვარეს მთავრობის წინააღმდეგ სე-  
ლის გამოღებისათვის; ბრალსა ჰსდებდა მთავრობას ვი-  
თამც მან ბძინება მიჭსტაო დენერლებს რუსეთს ძალიან  
ნუ გამოიქცებთო, რუსეთთან იღუმელი ლაპარაკი აქვსო,  
რომ ჩვენთვის საუბედურო შეჩივება ჩამოაგდოსო; ამა-  
სევე თავის დღეში თანახმა არ გახდება რუსთაჲსი სე-  
ლ-

Picture 3

By means of regaining “Achara, Batumi and Kobuleti,” Russia was going to become more powerful in the Caucasus and the Balkans; they also declared their long-term aims associated with invading Constantinople. Meanwhile, Georgia, as a political part of Russia, was going to regain its historical lands hoping for better in the future.

It is interesting that, against that background, in 1877, among other historical documents, “Iveria” published the 1827 appeal to the Georgian population by General Adjunct Paskevich: He gratefully acknowledges Georgians’

efforts who joined their force with that of Russia: everybody contributed who could, who could hold a gun; they made up an army like their ancestors who were adopted by Russia. The Georgians' choice was due to the fact that Russia, who is always led by God, became a savior to Georgia's religion and justice. The rhetoric is very close to the pathos of the text of the 1877 appeal by Viceroy Mikheil. While General Paskevich promised Georgians that they would receive the right to elect government and court officials, the victory in the Russia-Ottoman war, having started in 1877, promised more – re-unification of historical territories and return of ethnic Georgians, suppressed by Ottomans.

It took Russia a long period of time to prepare for the war against Ottomans and it waited for a right moment. In 1877, London hosted the international political conference in which six countries took part – England, France, Austria-Hungary, Prussia, Italy, and Russia. The London conference resolved that the Sultan should have improved the conditions of the Christians living in his empire. Ottomans did not pay attention to the resolution as far as they hoped that the participant countries would not be able to unite to fight against them. Russia established covert and open links with individual participant countries; strengthened by means of various promises and secret treaties, in 1877, Russia declared war on Ottomans. Russia made use of the fact that the France-Prussia war was under way, that Europe was engaged in revolutionary movement, and it had no obstacles to fight in the east when, in 1875, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the rebellion erupted and later Bulgaria was involved in it. Georgians assisted the rebels both materially and with people. Against that background, Georgians, of course, welcomed the declaration of the war on the part of Russia. Success of the Russian army was also due to the fact that units of Georgian volunteers fought together with them in the hostilities in the Balkans and the Caucasus, specifically, at the Achara and Abkhazia fronts. Russia won in the 1877-1878 war, which was reflected in the resolutions of the San Stefano Peace Treaty and Berlin Congress. The Russian empire regained south-western Georgia: Achara, Kobuleti, Shavsheti, Klarjeti, Kola, Artani, northern part of Tao – Oltisi, and Batumi was declared *portu franco* (Svanidze, 2002, pp. 216-220). It was Russia's success at the front in Abkhazia that gave hope of the increase of the Georgian population to Georgian intellectuals.

After the Russia-Turkey war, Russia tried to populate the unsettled territories around the Black Sea. Georgian intelligentsia complemented the attempts with their desires and advised the Russian government to give the lands to the Georgian peasantry. Irrespective of that, in 1902, the newspaper "Tsnobis purtseli" criticized Georgian public figures of the 1860s that "Russia's government wanted to settle the raged territory. Had our peasantry supporter in that period, that beautiful province would be populated by Georgians. However, unfortunately, almost no one has cared for that crucial problem."

Iakob Gogebashvili published a reply in "Iveria," entitled "Wrongly accused (a reply to "Tsnobis purtseli")" ("Iveria," №108, 1902), arguing why

he wanted Georgians to settle there: "If the country belong to anyone, it was Georgians as far as, in past centuries, Abkhazia has frequently been part of Georgia, and Georgians have shed blood in order to defend the province from enemies. Meanwhile, western Georgia suffered and still suffers from the lack of lands." The Georgian intellectuals of the time were well aware of the importance of the settlement of Georgians along the Black Sea coast. A number of articles addressed the issue; among them, Iakob Gogebashvili's article, published in 1878 in "Tiflisski vestnik," is particularly interesting; in it, the author stated that "the best contingent for emptied Abkhazia can be Megrelians, lowland Imeterians and lowland Gurians." In the beginning, Vedensky, head of Sokhumi district, opposed the idea; however, after Iakob Gogebashvili wrote a larger article, published in twelve consecutive issues of "Tiflisski vestnik," Vedensky supported Gogebashvili. It was also supported by Staroselsky, deputy viceroy; its project was sent to Saint Petersburg but influential Katkov "started roaring in his newspaper "Moskovskie vedomosti"." He considered Staroselky's opinion as harmful, compared it to betrayal, and demanded that peasants from inner Russia be settled in Abkhazia. Katkov succeeded and spoiled everything. "Tsnobis prtseli" accuses the then Georgian public figures for that. This unfairness is characteristic for young authors who do not care to know what was done by those who had lived and acted earlier" (Gogebashvili, 1902).

The aim of the present work is not to describe the details of the Russia-Ottoman war; however, it is necessary to demonstrate that the Georgian Militia fought with the sense that historical territories were to be returned to Georgia. The struggle was appreciated by Russia, and, the Georgian militia, which had received the St George Flag in the Caucasus war, was awarded silver trumpets with the inscription "For the Excellence in the 1877-1878 Russia-Ottoman War." "No other regiment was given such an award" (Megreladze, 1974, p.73). It is clear why Russia encouraged so the Georgian militia and why its members were proud of their merit.

During the Russia-Ottoman war, almost all issues of "Iveria" published information about the movement of military forces both in the Caucasus and in the Balkans.

The special article "About the Danube Warriors" ("Iveria", №18, 1877) manifests the connection between the Caucasus and Balkan fronts; it openly states that "the subject-matter of the current war is in the Balkan peninsular, and, hence, the government paid more attention to the Danube hostilities. If it is the truth, those regiments should spread in those territories. This is the circumstance, justifying the attentions directed to the Danube and not to Asia Minor, which is certainly very importance in the war but this importance exists at the extent how much Ottoman forces will be attracted by the military forces in the Caucasus."

The article is also significant in terms of the fact that, like other foreign newspapers, it regards it possible for the Russian army to get to Istanbul, if it goes through Serbia which was not involved in that war. Concerning this, the editorial of "Iveria" refers to one of the Austrian newspapers: "Ottomans

are afraid that Russian may take their army through Serbia because, in that case, they will be obliged to drop weapons and make their fate to be judged by other states. If Russia its army through Serbia, Ottomans will not be able to oppose them and will be exhausted and will not be able to defend Istanbul." However, it was the Russian emperor who excluded the opportunity "stating publicly that the war was not aimed at either occupying new lands or establishment of the great state of Slavs on the Danube. Russia wants to establish peace everywhere and for everyone and it would be impossible if Russia had the above said aim" (Smaller stories, "Iveria," №18, 1877, p. 5).

Despite this statement, both before the war and during the war, based on the internal situation in Ottoman, it was clear that the country was going to be separated into smaller states: "It is easy to expect that various states will divide the Ottoman possessions so as Poland was divided." However, it was not yet determined how the division should happen. It is a fact that the development of the war in Ottoman will influence the future of Europe. Therefore, "England says that, when the war between Russia and Ottoman ends, all states should take part in the negotiations. At the first sight, it is surprising: Russia sheds blood, pays money, is open to problems, and, when she wins, other states, having done nothing, will come and write conditions of peace. However, the matter is that the oriental issue is that of whole Europe and no single state can become an heir to Ottoman. All states are well aware of that" (Chavchavadze, 1877b, p. 3). The passage reveals gratitude to Russia for her efforts in the war with Ottomans for the sake of the re-unification of south-western Georgia.

The publications, published about the Russia-Ottoman war and international sentiments and tendencies published in "Iveria" in 1877-1878, discloses the hope of Georgians, their expectation for the successful end of the war. The similar hopeful sentiments are seen among ethnic Georgians, living in the Georgian historical territories in Ottoman. The examples are the leaders, Begi and Nuri Khimshiashvili and Hasan Beg Abashidze, who led the delegation of ethnic Georgians visiting Tbilisi in November, 1878. In Tbilisi, they were welcomed with celebrations (Svanidze 2002, p. 220).

In issue 48, 1878, "Iveria" published the information, reprinted from "Droeba" about the arrival of the deputation "from Achara, Batumi and Kobuleti." "The delegation consisted of fourteen individuals: Husseyn-Beg Bezhan-ogli (Bezhanishvili), Hassan-Beg Abashidze, Nuri-Beg Khimshiashvili, spiritual judge of Batumi Hassan-Efendi (Surmanidze), Husseyn-Beg Sanjahbeishvili, Osman-Beg Makriali, Hamed-Efendi (Maradidieli), Emin-Efendi (Arданujeli), Catholic priest, Armenian priest, Greek priest and others.

*This is the first visit of our once compatriots in the ancient capital of Georgia Tbilisi. For more than two hundred years, they have been distanced, they changed the religion, subordinated to another king, to distinct rules and laws, but, even at one glance, one can recognize ancient, real Georgians; the same face, the same language, the same customs and traditions, and everything else.*

*Welcome to our capital! The brothers, separated due to historical misfortunes, re-united brotherly, friendly and faithfully!*



*We welcome them cordially...*

“Iveria” tells about other facts as well: “Droeba” has found out that “the delegation from Batumi, Kobuleti and Achara visited the viceroy of the Caucasus on Monday. They were accompanied by Komarov, military governor of Batumi district, and Efimov, head of Artvin province.”

The aspiration towards the historical homeland of the population, inhabiting the Georgian lands occupied by Ottomans, was enhanced the unbearable situation owing to the tax policy imposed by Ottomans. Before the war, in 1876, the Ottoman government made the population of the country pre-pays the taxes for the coming two years; the fact in point intensified dislike towards them.

Ilia Chavchavadze discussed the treatment of the non-Turkish population in his special article “About the Ottoman Constitution” (“Iveria,” № 5, April 2, 1877): “One writer says that” had there been a different government instead of Ottomans, there would be no Slavs on the Balkan peninsular. God knows whether this idea is totally true or not, but it must be admitted that the Ottoman rule had one excellent aspect: a certain official used to come, used to rob people and leave them alone; he said that he did not want either his language or his inner sentiments or his traditions. They do not resemble some of the European educated states, for instance, Germany who treats people tenderly so that they do not notice how it eats them up” (Chavchavadze, 1877).

The loyalty towards Russia, expressed by the population, inhabiting the historical Georgian territories in south-western Georgia, was also due to the fact that Ottomans imposed an enormous burden of taxes on ethnic Georgians. One of the articles of “Ottoman Georgia” tells in detail about the issue: “So far, their government viewed the Georgian part as a place paying taxes; the local officials did not care for anything except taxes. People viewed them only as tax-collectors and as those who took those money for themselves... People only want the taxes not to be increased. However, that does not happen and the burden of taxes becomes more and more heavy” (Ottoman Georgia, “Iveria,” № 12, 1877, pp. 1 1-12; the article has no signature; according to P. Ingorokva, it may have been written by P. Umikashvili. See above about him).

As it was stated, Ottomans made people pay the taxes for the coming two years in advance, while, Russia, thanks to its agents, did its best appease the Muslim population in order to settle them in Christian provinces and to inhabit deserted lands of Asia Minor. Besides, they were necessary to recruit the army contingent, the more so that the Sultan promised some benefits, and it influenced people’s minds.

During the Russia-Ottoman war, “Iveria” mostly published about the historical Georgian lands and their population. it was in that period, namely in 1877, when several consecutive issues of “Iveria” published the nine articles, entitled Ottoman Georgia.’ Six of them have been signed by Petre Umikashvili (initials P. U. and P. Um.). In P. Ingorokva’s opinion, two unsigned articles, published in issues 8 and 12, also belong to Petre Umikashvili. researchers

consider that this can be claimed based on the style and content. The unsigned article with the same title, published in issue 9, should have been written by Ilia Chavchavadze, as concluded by P. Ingorokva. On the one hand, it is attested by Gr. Kipshidze, Ilia's biographer, and a small collection of his writings, published in 1909, and, on the other, its style. The article was published in 1915 in a small anthology called "Muslim Georgia," published by Georgian students of Tbilisi (P. Ingorokva).

In order to explain the antinomy *us* and *them*, characteristic of wars, we should see how Petre Umikashvili conceives of that opposition who, following Pavle Ingorokva, wrote eight articles about Ottoman Georgia. In the final article, in which P. Umikashvili discusses Georgian surnames, he uses the terms "Russia's Georgia" and "Ottoman Georgia." "Ottoman Georgia" is no novelty as far as it was a title of the series of articles. With the same meaning, Ilia Chavchavadze uses the term "re-gained Georgia." "Russia's Georgia" is a novelty, and it was used by Umikashvili in the final article. The following belong to "Russia's Georgia": "Kartli and Kakheti, Imereti, Guria, Samegrelo," while to "Ottoman Georgia" – "Achara, Shavsheti, Kobuleti (Including Batumi – T. B.), Livana, Klarjeti, Tao, Kola, and Chaneti."

By means of the names – "Russia's Georgia" and "Ottoman Georgia," Petre Umikashvili correctly characterizes the political situation of Georgia. The country is divided and it strives for unification under Russia. Russia's Georgia was eager to be united with their blood brothers, inhabiting the territories captured by Ottomans. In Umikashvili's opinion, one of the factors to facilitate the re-unification of those two parts was the restoration of relationships between the surnames of Russia's Georgia and Ottoman Georgia; many surnames, found in Russia's Georgia, occur in Ottoman Georgia as well. "Like here, in Russia's Georgia, ancient surnames remember their histories, in Ottoman Georgia; it is remembered in the same way. This is the factor that can rapproach both parties and re-unites them spiritually. Nowadays, the old Georgian respect and love to the familial blood and kin have been retained more in Ottoman Georgia than here, either in Imereti or Kartli and Kakheti. Family surnames in Ottoman Georgia are more mutually respectful and more connected" (Umikashvili, Surnames, Ottoman Georgia, 1877, p. 6).

The author calls for the readers that people of one and the same surnames in Russia's Georgia and Ottoman Georgia to establish links with each other. "Mutual visits of relatives will be beneficial. Their rapprochement will be beneficial for Georgians at large and for neighboring peoples. Their mutual visits will facilitate the development of trade; this will make people richer, roads will be constructed, they will learn from each other, it will improve their lives and draw Georgians closer to each other... Georgians, living on the other side of the border, are willing to see their kinds. They have not seen them; they have just heard that they have had common forefathers and that they have common surnames. Georgians, living on this side of the border, fight each other so as if we are going to be enemies forever. What a difference! The other Georgians keep old traditions. In ancient Georgia, people with common surnames were not hostile to each other. They kept family tra-

ditions. Therefore, their respect to Georgian surnames is a role model and acceptable for us" (Umikashvili, Surnames, 1877, p. 7).

As already noted, the articles, published under the heading "Ottoman Georgia," were aimed at acquainting readers with the province and facilitate to the increase of consciousness towards inhabitants of those territories in the rest of Georgia. Inhabitants of "Ottoman Georgia" were characterized according to their ethnic composition, language situation and customs and traditions: "The whole of Ottoman Georgia has been inhabited mostly by Georgians and Chans. There are few and scattered Armenians, Greeks, Ottomans, Circassians. Georgians speak Georgian and Chans speak Megrelian; however, Georgian is spread as far as Chans travel both to Achara and to Guria, Kartli and Tbilisi. They still remember the unity by blood. They are aware that they are ethnic Georgians, that once they were part of the Georgian kingdom, and remember Vakhtang Gorgasali, David the Builder, Queen Tamar, and even King Erekle though, under the latter king, they were separated from us.

Customs and traditions, popular beliefs, way of life are the same as in Kartli and Kakheti. They still respect old churches, celebrate holidays as in our part. By religion, they are Muslims but, by their traditions and language, they still are Georgians almost in everything. Their Georgian is almost unchanged; at home, all of them speak only Georgian; they use Georgian when they write to each other." (Umikashvili, 1877, pp. 10-11).

What features did Petre Umikashvili pay attention when he presented various parts of Ottoman Georgia to readers of "Iveria"? He wrote the special articles about Achara, Shavsheti, Kobuleti, Livana and Klarjeti, Tao, Kola and Chaneti.

Ottoman Georgia and the rest of Georgia had all the common features, considered to be a nation's basic characteristics: language, historic memory (respect to kings, memory of Christianity and facts of concealed Christianization) and customs and traditions. The religious difference might have been an obstacle to such a unity but Petre Umikashvili does not see a threat to integration in it as far as Ottoman Georgians did not lose "respect to old churches, celebration of holidays, sacrifice; it is the same as here. By religion, they are Muslims but, by their traditions and language, they still are Georgians almost in everything." The same idea is repeated when he describes Achara, another province of Georgia; "In Achara, everybody knows that they are Georgians by origin and that their forefathers have been Christians; side by side, they have our brothers and kinds; those, living near the border, come to Tbilisi for trade" (Umikashvili, Achara, Ottoman Georgia, "Iveria," №13, 1877, p. 12). Besides, as already noted, Petre Umikashvili paid attention to those Georgian surnames which were spread in both parts, and emphasized the willingness on the part of Ottoman Georgians to come closer with those of the same surnames, living in Russia's Georgia, and he called his compatriots for to respond to their efforts with care and love, to do their best to establish links with the people, living in the territories occupied by Ottomans.

Besides the fact that readers of "Iveria" were informed about the situa-

tion in Ottoman Georgia, there were special publications about its history and its historical significance for Georgia. That was why David Chubinashvili published an article about Cappadocia and its historical links with Georgia, entitled "Ethnographic Discussion of Ancient and Modern Cappadocia or Inhabitants of Chaneti," in which the author claims that the etymologies of toponyms and hydronyms of Cappadocia reveal salient kinship with Georgian; besides, based on "Geographic Description of Asia Minor" by Vivien S. Marten, D. Chubinashvili argues that "Cappadocia's had customs and traditions, way of life, household, and rule, also fire worship, resembling very much to those of ancient Georgians." As far as the Cappadocia people were related to the Georgian people that were why Cappadocia holy fathers wanted to establish Christianity in Georgia." He lists Cappadocia saints, visiting Georgia, and undoubtedly assumed that they spoke Georgian. "If those saints did not speak Georgian, they would not dare to visit Georgia and they would not succeed to make people believe them." Particular love to St. George on the part of Georgians has been explained by Chubinashvili by the fact that he was Cappadocian. "St Nino was kin to St George. She also was Cappadocian and spoke Georgian; without it she was not able to preach Christianity and to convert Georgians." David Chubinashvili regards Svimon Mtsire (Svimon Minor) (521-592) the reason why Ioane Zedazneli and his disciples were sent to Georgia. "The said saints spread and enhanced Christianity in Georgia as far as they were Georgians; they introduced the Julian calendar, following which a new year's day is still celebrated in January" (Chubinashvili, 1877, p. 8-11).

While, in the beginning of the article, D. Chubinashvili developed the idea that "the Georgian nation is divided into two based on language and speech: the first are Georgians, that is, inhabitants of Kartli, Kakheti, Imereti, Guria, Samtskhe-Saatabago; the second is Megrelians and Chans living in Samegrelo and Chaneti, that is, ancient Cappadocia" (Chubinashvili, 1877), in its later part, he goes further and tells the reader about the Kingdom of Ponto and Colchis ("Iveria," №15, 1877). The third part of the article deals with the following issue: "Ancient and new inhabitants of the Kingdom of Ponto, their kinship with the Georgian nation and sameness of their language" (Iveria, №16, 1877). Based on ancient Greek sources, D. Chubinashvili discusses the habitation of ancient Georgian tribes – Phasi, Tao, Khalib, Makron, Tibaren; he pays special attention to the fact that "it was the province where the Bagrationi appeared for the first time. It was their homeland" (Iveria, №16, 1877).

The opinions, stated in the David Chubinashvili article of David Chubinashvili "Ethnographic Discussion of Ancient and Modern Cappadocia or Inhabitants of Chaneti," are interesting and sometimes arguable from the standpoint of present-day scholarship, but it is significant in order to show how the Georgian intellectuals of the time viewed Ottoman Georgia, in what historical and cultural contexts they regarded it. The article highlights soem facts which are unarguable even in our days:



> The territory, occupied by Ottomans, is the place where the Georgian Bagrationi are from;

> The land was inhabited by ancient Georgian tribes.

Links of Chaneti and Cappadocia and Cappadocian saints' knowledge of Georgian can not be proved by means of salient artifacts. This arguable opinion does not derogate the authenticity of the first two opinions.

Popular journalistic, and not scholarly, articles are more significant in newspapers, as far as they are more accessible for readers:

> dealing with a specific actual public and political issue;

> showing an author's standpoint;

> aiming at facilitating of the establishment of public opinion;

> posing a problem;

> drawing the arguments which do not require any specialized knowledge on the part of a reader.

Such article becomes more significant whenever its author is a recognized celebrity like Ilia Chavchavadze. It is true that David Chubinashvili's article is very interesting, but, with its pathos and rhetoric devices, Ilia Chavchavadze's article, included in the series "Ottoman Georgia," is a more effective means to demonstrate the historical significance of south-western Georgia and particular importance of Georgians' participation in the Russia-Ottoman war.

Ilia Chavchavadze pays attention to the following:

a) *The role of this province in Christianization of Georgia;*

b) *The particular role of this province in the unification of Georgia;*

c) *The particular role of this province in Georgia's cultural life.*

The facts, emphasized by Ilia Chavchavadze – Christianization of the country and basic cultural values are the features, which have been of paramount importance for national identity, and one can even shed blood for the sake of them without hesitation. It is proved by inhabitants of various parts of Ottoman Georgia, evidenced by Petre Umikashvili, their attitude to historical heroes, which, together language and customs, can become a basis for the unification of Russia's Georgia and Ottoman Georgia.

It was in "Ottoman Georgia," when Ilia Chavchavadze stated his famous opinion about the fact that, together with language and religion, and blood kinship, historical memory is such an influential unifying factor that it awakes very easily owing to a certain fact or event: "Every nation feeds itself with its history... In our opinion, neither the unity of language nor religion can link people to each other so strongly as the unity of history. A nation is strong whenever they have common deeds, common historical fate, common battles, common fortunes and misfortunes. Even if time separates them, whenever there is linkage, a certain instance is sufficient to make the history wake up and to make unity reign. This is the case with us and Ottoman Georgia" (Chavchavadze, 1877a). "The historical linkage of separated parts of a nation" has been regarded a factor, easily revitalized by a certain event. In this context, the significance of religion has been moved towards the background together with language and origin. It was the factor to ignite the ar-

gument about that, in his article, Iliia Chavchavadze rejected his own opinion, stated in his youth, and it was associated not with political but rather with translation problems.

Young Iliia, concerned with the Georgian translation of Kozlov's "Madman" by Revaz Eristavi, severely criticized the translator for the choice of the text to be translated and for the low quality of the translation. It was the reason of Iliia Chavchavadze's famous words: *"Three divine treasures we have from ancestors: Homeland, Language and Religion. If we do not take care of them, what kind of people are we going to be? What are we going to tell our followers? We would not forgive even our own father if he derogates our native tongue. Language is a divine artifact, it is a common property; man must not touch it with a sinful hand"* (Chavchavadze, 1861, pp. 557-594).

It was the opinion, stated in "Ottoman Georgia," that as though made "the divine treasures" fade, which was recognized as the principal slogan of Iliia Chavchavadze in the 20th century. The two opinions, stated at different periods of time (if we do not refer to them as slogan, we will be able to avoid much awkwardness), do not contradict to each other. It demonstrates the change of a political situation and not the change of the goals of either Iliia Chavchavadze or the Georgian intellectuals of the 19th century.

The opinions, stated concerning that triad, can be divided into two, contradicting groups. In order to illustrate one of them, I will refer to Mariam Ninidze's statement: "In fiction, in idioms and aphorisms, there is a gradation principle: the gradual enhancement of an idea, in accordance with which the most significant message appears at the end; in St. Iliia the Truthful's statement "Homeland, Language, Religion," having become a national slogan, religion is a crown over Homeland and Language. It attaches to them the divine grace — "Religion is the truth of heart and can not be double-faced in one and the same heart. Like the double-faced truth is impossible, it was the same with faith..." "Georgia, Georgian language and Orthodox Christianity" (Ninidze, 2003, pp. 12-13).

The contradicting opinions were often heard on December 17, 2002, at the Caucasus House, at intellectuals' discussion (The discussion "Homeland, Language, Religion" has been reflected in the anthology *Georgia at a Crossroads of Millennia*. Tbilisi: Arete, 2005). "At the discussion, it was repeated stated that that slogan or motto was not very efficient for national identification as far as , on the one hand, there are other religions in Georgia besides Orthodox Christianity (Christian and non-Christian), and, on the other, the population of Georgia is multilingual (nothing to say about multi ethnicity. Special attention was paid to Megrelians as a Georgian tribe with "double identity" in terms of their language" (Marsiani, 2005, p. 23).

On the one hand, the removal of this "not very efficient slogan" is not regarded a difficult job; moreover, Iliia himself changed his idea during the Russia-Ottoman war when there emerged a hope of the return of the occupied lands and distanced brothers, and history substituted both for language and religion. "Iliia Chavchavadze has no more discussed the triad, moreover,

he had never made it the acting slogan of his country and nation” (Gaganidze, 2007).

First of all, we should address the genesis of the triad, that is, “the three divine treasures.” It has emerged within the eastern Christian tradition and best worded in Ioane Merchule’s hagiographic work “Life and Deeds of Saint Father Grigol of Khandzta:”

> *“And Kartli consists of that spacious land in which the liturgy and all prayers are said in the Georgian language.” It was the formula on which the Georgian state was founded:*

> *Homeland (Kartli consists of that spacious land)*

> *Language/Language of Liturgy (in which the liturgy and all prayers are said in the Georgian language)*

> *Religion/Eastern Christianity*

Discussion about the eastern Christian tradition can be found in Chapter 1 “Ilia and Globalization.” despite of the fact that, in the period when Ilia lived, “Life of Grigol of Khamdzta” was not yet discovered, Ilia Chavchavadze got into the basics on which the Georgian state was built. It can hardly be assumed that Ilia Chavchavadze changed his idea about the importance of Christianity for Georgia. At various periods of time, he equally emphasized the great of Christianity for Georgia’s statehood: “Christ was crucified for the world and we were crucified for Christ. We opened the breast of small Georgia and erected a church to Christianity on it as on a rock. We used our bones as stones and our blood as limestone... We were killed, we did not spare our families, we stood unequal wars, we sacrificed flesh for the sake of soul, and one small nation maintained Christianity; we did not let it vanish in this small country whom we proudly refer to as our homeland” (Chavchavadze, 1898).

For us, Christianity meant the land of all Georgia, our Georgians. Even in our days, in the whole Caucasus, Christian and Georgian are synonymic words. Christianization means to become Georgian. Our clergy were well aware that *homeland and nationality, united with faith, is an invincible sword and unbreakable shield.*

*... The teaching, brought by Christ to the world, became a shelter for our homeland, our nationality; Christianity saved our land, our language, our identity, our nationality” (Chavchavadze, 1898).*

When presenting the characteristic features of the population of “Ottoman Georgia,” it was stated that the only likely preventing condition for the integration of Russia’s and Ottoman Georgia could be a religious difference. It was necessary to show the conscious attitude: “The difference in religion does not frighten us. Georgians, having been crucified for their own faith, know well how to respect other’s religion. ..Those, oppressed and chased for their faith, have found shelter and freedom of conscious in our country... *I say that we are not afraid of the fact that our brothers, living in Ottoman Georgia, are Muslims; we wish the happy day came when we re-unite, and Georgians will once again prove that they are not aggressive towards human conscious and they will accept their brothers in a brotherly way; and Georgians are ready to shed their blood for what our glorious forefathers have not spared themselves” (Chavchavadze, 1877).*

For Russia's Georgia, to use Petre Umikashvili's term, this is a necessary condition for the re-unification of long distanced parts. As we saw, Ilia Chavchavadze believed that the religion of the population, living on the re-gained territories, should have been untouched. Sergei Meskhi had the same opinion. In issue 147, 1878, of "Droeba," he published an article "New duty," saying that it was Georgians' duty to compose new textbooks for Acharians and to distribute them among students free of charge. Religion was not to be touched if they did not want it themselves. "The religious difference will not hinder our and their brotherhood and unity!" (Meskhi, 1878).

Now, it is difficult to say whether the intellectuals of "Iveria" and "Droeba" would need much effort in order to spread that idea in public. It might not need special activities. Here, we should pay attention to the issue which had long been an abuse for those, living in the re-gained territories. With the title "Sad custom," in 1913, "Batumis gazeti" published a special article by Heydar Abashidze: "We, the Georgians who are Muslims, are referred to as "Tatars," and we, Georgian Muslims understand that.

Whenever a Georgian Muslim is asked who he is, he will answer "Tatar;" It is very rare when someone answers that he is "Georgian Muslim." Those who say that they are "Tatars," are mistaken. Those, saying that they are "Georgian Muslims" are mistaken too, as far as it is not acceptable to speak about your religion when you are asked about your ethnic origin. For instance, take our kin Georgian Christian. If we ask him "Who you are?" he is sure not to reply "Georgian Christian." When you ask about religion, the answer will be "Christian." If we, Georgian Muslims are asked who we are, we should answer that we are Georgians; whenever we are asked about our religion, we will answer "Muslim." In my opinion, it is a mistake to refer to us, Georgian Muslims as "Tatars." This mistake should not become a habit because it conceals our national face, our Georgians."

It seems that this should have been the principal reason why Ilia Chavchavadze highlighted the role of history, against religion and language, for the sake of rapprochement of the distanced parts of the nation. Language might have been none the less problematic issue at that period of time because, it is true that P. Umikashvili wrote that a greater part of those living in Ottoman Georgia speak Georgian, but it could not be sufficient for actual integration. Besides, Ottomans paid special attention to the issue of religion when they tried to make them return to Turkey.

Ottomans emphasized the issue of religion when, in April, 1917, they occupied Batumi district. In order to illustrate that, I will refer to the story of Hasan Tkhilaishvili, active member of "Committee of the Liberation of Muslim Georgia."

Here, religion has nothing to do. This is a political issue, and we will not be mistaken if we do not vote for Ottomans. Vote for our brothers – Georgians. The governor noticed that and invited him to visit him. He asked him: "Are you Muslim or Christian?" Hasan answered: "I am Georgian Muslim." "Do you want to be Muslim or Christian?" – "I want to be Muslim but I do not want to be a slave to Sultan's people." The governor got angry and ordered



the soldiers to take the man to the chief of gendarmerie. The, he was brought to the booth and he voted for Georgia and very many people watched that (Akhvlediani, 1972).

That happened thirty-five years after the Russia-Ottoman war, demonstrating that, while, during the Russia-Ottoman war, Georgians were tempted by Ottomans regarding religious and economic issues, in the 1910s, only the religious issue was appealed, further clarifying Ilia Chavchavadze's call the religious difference is nothing compared to the historical unity and the desire of common future. "Now, we have one great duty: we must welcome our brothers in a brotherly way everywhere and in everything; we must take care of them in the same way as of ourselves, we must be selfless for them in the same way as for ourselves. If we manage to be brothers in need, our unity will be undestroyed. What opens the way for the establishment of that unity? Akaki Tsereteli said and we will say too: learning, knowledge and science... Learning, knowledge and science – this is the power which cannot be opposed by anything: neither a fist nor a sword nor numerous armies. Knowledge is an invincible shield for existence, a sharp sword to resist." What is the knowledge, dealt with by Ilia Chavchavadze that could be useful for them for their existence and for opposing enemies? It may be assumed that both Ilia and Akaki meant the conscious knowledge of the history of one's country, the conceptualization of which would highlight the role of Orthodox Christianity and of the Georgian language both for the whole history of Georgia and for the 19th century.

After re-unification of Batumi, new frontiers were being established. The Berlin Congress determined the frontiers with a direct line on the map. Now, Russian and Turkish officers were establishing it on the ground. The re-unified territory was 22 330 square kilometers with the population of 250 000. Kars and Batumi districts were created. The established frontiers stayed unchanged in 1880 and in 1881. In 1918, Turks gained a great part of the territories, lost during the 1877-1878 war, and Georgia kept control only over territory comprising the Acharan Soviet Socialist Autonomous republic. The current border with Turkey was established in 1921 (Megreladze, 1974, pp. 90-91).

When the Russia-Ottoman war was over, new problems emerged for the peoples living in the liberated territories – it was adaptation with Russia. "Serbians and Russians could not agree; Bulgarians and Russians did not understand each other. When seeing that Bulgarians were not very much excited by them, Russian correspondents said that Bulgarians were not grateful and that they could not perceive great efforts, taken by Russians, for the sake of their happiness. Say, Bulgarians expressed some doubt and indifference towards the elderly (later, it appeared that Bulgarians had enough arguments for that). It is noteworthy that the elderly seemed to have just recognized their younger brothers. It is true but now go and ask: where is that unity and invisible thrust to each other while they did not even know each other? 'It is true that we are oppressed, it is true that you supported me but you should be generous enough not to remind me about it every time, not to offend my self-respect, not to suppress my soul. It was you who said that ethnicity is

the most essential. I agree, and that is why I want to defend my identity, my ethnicity, my own language, and customs. As a matter of fact, total freedom and unity flourishes on the soil which you have not created, and what can you give me" (Letters from Petersburg, Letter Three, "Iveria", №40, 1877, p. 10).

After joining Russia, the Georgian population could see no good – officials treated them carelessly; they did not care for their fate, thus facilitating to their return to Ottoman. In order to get rid of the in obedient, Russia's government irritated them by means of their activities and new laws, and suppressed them. One of the factors, and not the only one, was religion as far as by means of it they generated confrontation between Christian and Muslim Georgians. All the factors together conditioned that the number of those who left Kars and Batumi districts reached 140 000. This sad fact can not derogate the significance of the 1877-1878 Russia-Ottoman war for the course of national consolidation in Georgia (Megreladze, 1974. pp. 92-96).

Ilia Chavchavadze wrote special articles paying attention to two issues: 1) *Why should a state be generous to its people; and 2) When people are loyal to a state?* He called the Russian empire for supporting the miserable population of "re-unified Georgia" as far as "that support and generosity was more beneficial for the state. Able population means more power for the state than suppressed and downgraded people; only encouraged and enhanced people are an endless source for a state's wealth and power." In its turn, it would enhance the trust to the state on the part of the people: "Only the people, excited with love, can be reliable in every misfortune that can encounter a state in its history; only such people can give their lives and properties for the sake of a state's well-being; only by means of the people, strengthened by love, a state can make miracles, the examples of which abound in human history and which we are still surprised of. Wherever there is such love, a state is a hollow; whenever a wind blows; it breaks into pieces at once..."

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