
History and Historians in the Context of the Time



Has been issued since 2003.
E-ISSN 2310-6239
2020. 18(1). Issued once a year

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Postal Address: 1367/4, Stara Vajnorska str., Bratislava – Nove Mesto, Slovakia, 831 04
Release date 25.06.20
Format 21 × 29,7/4.

Website: <http://ejournal3.com/>
E-mail: aphr.sro@gmail.com
Headset Georgia.

Founder and Editor: Academic Publishing House Researcher s.r.o.
Order № 21.

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History and Historians in the Context of the Time

2020

Is. 1

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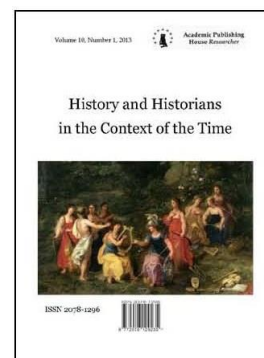
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Published in the Slovak Republic
History and Historians in the Context of the Time
Has been issued since 2003.
E-ISSN: 2310-6239
2020, 18(1): 3-11

DOI: 10.13187/hhct.2020.1.3
www.ejournal3.com



Articles

Georgia at Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920)

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Abstract

After the First World War in order to regulate the situation and establish a new world order, according to the Allied Powers (the Great Britain, the USA, France and Italy) decision in January 1919 the Peace Conference was held in Paris. The results of WWI assured the formation of new states. Among those new emerged states was Georgia that restored the independence lost at the beginning of XIX century. Although the obtained independence needed maintaining and strengthening. At the same time the recognition of a new state on the international arena was essential. Georgia tried to solve these important issues at the Paris Peace Conference. The Georgian delegation had to face a lot of difficulties at the conference. In fact only “Big Four” (the Great Britain, the USA, France and Italy) was the main decision-maker at the conference. Because of the close relations with Germany, the Allied Powers had some doubts about Georgia and Armenia was the country in the Transcaucasia they regarded more. In general they saw the future of Georgia within the restored Russian State or the Transcaucasian federation with dominant Armenia. Denikin’s obvious and Armenia’s concealed anti-Georgian activities worsened the situation. At the beginning of 1920 the White Movement was defeated in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. Now Bolshevik Russia threatened the independence of Georgia. Although, by that time the European Great Powers recognized the independence of Georgia, but nobody wished to oppose Russia. So they rejected Georgia’s request to enter the League of Nations. Such policy toward the new state finally helped Russia to occupy Georgia.

Keywords: Georgia, Independence, Peace Conference, “Big Four”, Russia, Armenia, League of Nations, Batumi, k. Chkheidze, Denikin.

1. Introduction

It has been a century since the process in which the results of the First World War were outlined and the New World Order emerged. According to the decision of five Major Powers (France, the Great Britain, the USS, Italy and Japan), in January, 1919 in Paris the Peace Conference took place. The aim of the conference was to create peace treaties with defeated countries (German, Austria-Hungary, Turkey...) in the Great War. By the proposal of the Prime Minister of France George Clemenceau, Paris – the most damaged European Capital in the war was

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chosen to hold the conference. The representatives of about thirty countries were summoned to take part in the conference. In fact only “Big Four”: the Prime Minister of France George Clemenceau, the President of the United States Woodrow Wilson and the Prime Minister of Italy Vittorio Emanuele Orlando dominated the conference.

After the First World War the number of new states was shaped. Among them was Georgia that lost her independence at the beginning of XIX century. In spite of the fact that regained independence needed maintenance and support, normalization of the relations of Georgia with the Great Powers and settlement of the border disputes with the immediate neighbors were no less important tasks to adjust. The recognition process of independence of the recently emerged country as it turned out was not easy. Except for some countries (Germany and Turkey) the Great Powers were not ready to recognize Georgia. Firstly, it was due to the fact that the war still continued and a separation and definition of the respective spheres of influence among the Great Powers were not provided yet. Secondly one opinion among the Great Powers in West Europe and the United States of America as well regarding the future of new Russia had not been formed yet; to be more accurate, in a short period of time Russia experienced two revolutions – February Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution of 1917 and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution which caused significant changes in the former Russian Empire that had a profound impact on the international relations too.

2. Materials and methods

The paper is mainly based on sources from the time of the study period. In particular, a corpus of documents published in the Paris Archives ([Topchibashi, 2016](#)) is used, which contains interesting materials on research topics. An important source is also the memoirs or scientific works of state and public figures of that time. We are referring to Z. Avalishvili and I. Javakhishvili, who were directly involved on the Georgian side in the battles of the Paris Peace Conference and, consequently, possessed interesting information. The press materials of that time also have a proper place in the work. In the press, on a particular issue, there are really important nuances that contribute to a deeper understanding of events.

The study, of course, takes into account and uses the data of special scientific literature (works of Abulashvili, Kobakhidze, Menteshashvili, Janelidze, etc.). The paper was written on the basis of reconciling data from historical sources and scientific literature.

There are used critical analysis, historical-comparative, descriptive and synthesis methods of sources in the work, as well as methods of induction and deduction. Their combination allowed us to understand historical facts in the general context of the epoch and to evaluate events based on in-depth analysis.

3. Discussion

It is known that the declaration of the independence of Georgia on May 26 1918 was greatly supported by Germany. At that moment the backing of Germany – the member of the Triple Alliance – was vital to retain the territorial integrity of the country. But after a few months the situation changed momentarily and the alliance with Germany turned into the drawback. Thus at the end of 1918 France urged the allies not to recognize the independence of Georgia because it was not in accordance with the requirements of the ongoing situation. Although in March of 1919, when Nikoloz (Karlo) Chkheidze, the head of the official delegation of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, introduced the petition* of the Georgian Government to the Minister for the Foreign Affairs of France Stephen Jean-Marie Pichon, the Minister said to Chkheidze that “the Georgian Question is quite obvious and he does not see any difficulty to solve this question constructively” ([Chkheidze., 1919](#)). In our opinion the French Minister’s statement was just a gesture of diplomatic etiquette. How about England and especially the United States of America, the two Great Powers preferred Armenia to Georgia in Transcaucasia; furthermore they considered the independence of Georgia as a temporary event ([Kobakhidze, 2015: 14-16](#)). No wonder, Armenia had been lobbied by the powerful Armenian diaspora in America. Besides, from the very beginning the Armenians had

* On the 14th of March 1919 the Georgian delegation submitted the memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference. In the memorandum the Government of the Democratic Republic of Georgia argued for her request to recognize Georgia as the international legal entity ([Murghulia, 2017](#)).

been pro-English. In view of all of this the preparation for the conference in our country had been considered as the first-rate question. The future of Georgia alongside the other important issues was critically depended on the decisions of the First World War Winners.

Before the start of the conference the foreign policy advisor of Georgia Zurab Avalishvili (1876–1944), one of the founders of the National Democratic Party, visited London on the issue of the recognition of the independence of Georgia. During his visit to the Capital of the Great Britain, Zurab Avalishvili got the feeling that England would more welcome the restoration of Russia. Though the sympathies of London to the newly emerged republics could not be denied. On the 13th of December 1918 the Foreign Office informed Mr. Avalishvili that His Majesty's Government compassionately accepted the declaration of the independence of Georgia and was ready to support her recognition at the Peace Conference (Avalishvili, 1929: 132).

The Government of Georgia had devised the action principles for the Georgian delegation at the conference in November 1918. Those principles implied the following: 1. To refuse to return to Russia; 2. To admit the possibility of the Transcaucasian Confederation on the condition that the independence of Georgia would be recognized; 3. To support the Armenians' claims toward Turkey in order to reduce the Armenians' pretensions to Georgia (in December 1918 after the Georgian-Armenian War this article was revised); 4. To be prudent regarding Azerbaijan – the ally of Turkey (during the conference this attitude was also revised and Azerbaijan became the closest partner of Georgia. In our opinion the danger from Denikin's Volunteer Army played its role)*; 5. To struggle for the reunification of the Batumi District with the motherland; 6. To achieve the recognition of the independence of Georgia or become a European protectorate at least (Menteshashvili, 1992: 161-162; Kobakhidze, 2015: 17:18).

The speech made at the International Socialist Conference in Bern (February 3-10, 1919) by a famous Georgian politician Akaki Chkhenkeli[†] regarding the 6th article is remarkable. 96 delegates from 26 countries attended the conference (Badak, 2002: 242). In his speech Mr. Chkhenkeli complained about the Great Powers that had been hesitating to recognize the independence of Georgia and expressed his hope that the Bern Conference would do it. "This moral recognition is very important for us. Then we will request earnestly of the Great Powers (at the Paris Peace Conference) to recognize our independence" – said he. After that Mr. Chkhenkeli made a very sharp statement: "you know from the newspapers that the Great Powers intend to install the protectors for the recently emerged new states. Those protectors will be supreme in those areas. In the name of my party and my hardworking people I categorically protest against this intention. If we were able to fight against Tsarist Russia we will fight against the whole world and Imperialism

* In the second half of May Denikin's Volunteer Army that invaded Dagestan occupied Temir-Khan-Shura. Taking advantage of the favorable situation, General Michael Khalilov dismissed the Government of the Mountainous Republic of the Northern Caucasus and the power was given to the Denikians (Mountainous Republic, 2005). Azerbaijan was put in imminent danger. Just on the 26th of May 1918 the head of the Azerbaijan National Council Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh addressed to the Parliament. In his speech he noted that "Dagestan is a gateway of Azerbaijan and the enemies sitting there are our enemies." (Alieva, 2014). Georgia also fought against the Denikians – there had already been clashes in the sector of Sochi and Gagra. The invasion of the White Army into Azerbaijan increased the danger coming from them. In the 1st June session of the Constituent Assembly the Foreign Minister of Georgia Evgeni Gegechkori covered those threats sufficiently. Gegechkori noted that they (the Denikians) were trying to cause trouble in Batumi too. The leitmotif of the session was the appeal to fight against the mutual enemy (Foreign..., 1919). Azerbaijan evaluated this demarche properly. On the 5th of June when the head of the Government of Azerbaijan Nasib Yusif oglu Yusifbeyli urged the Parliament to gather and react strongly for the violation of the independence of Azerbaijan and Transcaucasian Republics as well, the whole Parliament and the Government greeted Mr. Kartsivadze, the representative of Georgia with double standing ovations (About., 1919). In the same month (June) a military agreement between Georgia and Azerbaijani was signed.

[†] Akaki Chkhenkeli – a Georgian statesman, member of the Social Democratic Party, lawyer and publicist, one of the Menshevik leaders in Georgia was distinguished for his political boldness and daring decisions. In a very difficult period for Georgia he supported the independence of it and on May 22, 1918 from Batumi sent the letter to Noe Ramishvili encouraging him to be bold in his actions. These are well-known words of Akaki Chkhenkeli: "Nothing is done without a risk; who has ever established the country without a risk! Then the bravery and more bravery is needed" (The first Foreign..., 2019).

only with the help of the International Socialist Conference and International Proletariat” (Akaki Chkhenkeli’s., 1919).

On basis of Chkhenkeli’s speech the Georgian delegation did the resolution and the International Socialist Conference adopted it. The Conference President Branting, the Conference Secretary Huysmans, the delegates from Russia Akselrod and Gavronski and the other participants of the conference signed it. The resolution said that on basis of the right to self-determination that is approved by the International and President Wilson’s program “the Georgian People demonstrated undisputable political awareness creating Democratic and Republican System in spite of the difficulties and have been surviving for eight months. Therefore the International Socialist Conference requires the Peace Conference to recognize the independence of Georgia legitimately that denies any kind of protectorate of one or more than one country and repudiates any monitoring of her democratic system” (The Bern Socialist., 1919). On basis of the adopted resolution, the International Commission (that was elected at the Bern Conference) presented the special memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference to support the recognition of the independence of Georgia (The International..., 1919).

Clearly, the Georgian delegation at the Bern International Conference was radical enough and succeeded in a certain way. In fact the delegation rejected the 1918 November principle about the mandate system and supported the recognition of the full freedom of Georgia. Unfortunately at the Paris Peace Conference the Georgian delegation had to face different reality and did not have a chance to demonstrate its firmness again.

Unfavorable situation at the Paris Peace Conference for Georgia got worse because of her territorial claims which opposed the Armenian Project. The last one aimed to create Great (Greater) Armenia by unification some historical lands and among them the Georgian historical regions (Akhalkalaqi, Artaani, Oltisi, Lore...). It was a favorable time for Dashnaksutyun: the Great Powers had some doubts about Georgia, how about Armenia she was supported by the Great Britain as in Europe in the Caucasus as well. The situation became truly hopeless when the Caucasus was included into the sphere of influence of the Great Britain. According to the Armistice of Mudros Turkey left the Batumi District and in December 1918 the British troops were set up on the Batumi-Baku highway. Armenia did not want to lose a chance and tried to expand her territory during the process of establishing the boundaries among the Transcaucasian Republics. In May-June 1919 at the Conference of the Transcaucasian Republics the Armenian delegation put ethnicity ahead of the other preferences while discussing the problems of territorial belongings (The Representatives., 1919).

It was not an accidental event. Under the rule of the Russian Empire the Armenians were considered as the most loyal elements. Therefore the Empire encouraged and supported their resettlement in the Transcaucasia. As a result the Armenians took over the vast territories and among them Georgian historical lands (Javakhishvili, 1998). That is why while establishing the boundaries with Georgia Armenia disregarded historical, strategic and economic factors and promoted demographic one. However they did not always behaved that way.

It is known that in the period of the Paris Peace Conference the Armenian political circles had some maps printed in Istanbul as if they were historical. According to those maps about half territory of Georgia and vast territories of other countries (Turkey, Iran, and Azerbaijan) were included in the state of “Great Armenia”. In fact for that time the Armenians did not reside in those territories or were represented by minority groups. But Armenia requested from the Paris Conference to recognize her according to these maps (Javakhishvili, 1998: 16-18).

“Why do not the Armenian politicians always rely on the ethnographical principal when establishing the borders of the Republic of Armenia? Because first of all it hurts them. If they suggest our government and the delegation use this principle, why do they think that this principal is mandatory only for us and they are allowed to use other ones too?” – surprised with this fact the Georgian historian Javakhishvili commented in his book (Javakhishvili, 1919: 50). Among the Transcaucasian delegations the Armenia delegation was the first that arrived in Paris. We were too late and not all the members of our delegation visited France. Unfortunately difficulties arose from the very beginning. As it was said the Great Powers could not forgive us that we had been the Germans’ ally and let them to enter our country. For this reason it was not easy to get the permission from the organizers to attend the conference, but finally the Allies agreed.

On January 18, 1919 after one-week waiting because of an unexplained reason from the Allies the Georgian delegation led by the Parliament Chairman Karlo (Nikolay) Chkheidze (1864–1926) set off for Istanbul from Batumi. The head of the delegation was a well-known person in the political circles in and the outside the country. He had been a key figure in the Russian Revolution and as the Menshevik President of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Petrograd. In the Democratic Republic of Georgia he was the President of the Constituent Assembly. There were also other prominent members of the delegation: the founder of the first Georgian University Ivane Javakhishvili (1876–1940), a pro-Western enlightener and public figure Niko Nikoladze (1843–1928), the former minister of the Provisional Government of Russia, member of Parliament Irakli Tsereteli (1881–1959), Lieutenant General and Commander of the Caucasus Front at the end of the war Ilia Odishelidze and others. Each member of the delegation had to act within his competence. For example Mr. Javakhishvili had to make the historical-geographical review of Georgia and argue the borders of Georgia. His work “the Georgian Borders from the Historical and Modern Points of View” has been published as a book in 1919 ([Javakhishvili, 1919](#)).

In Istanbul the Georgian delegation had to face up to the new problems. After the long discussions the Great Britain allowed only two members – Karlo Chkheidze and Irakli Tsereteli to continue their journey to Paris. The other members of the delegation had to return to Georgia. In our opinion our neighbors – the Armenians played their role in this case. They made the public opinion be on their side. In those days the Armenian newspapers in Istanbul would accuse the Georgians of treason: “the Georgian’s betrayal brought the Germans to the Transcaucasia. If the Georgians had supported the Armenians the Germans would have never dared to come here” ([Abulashvili, 2014](#)). The USA, the Armenian lobbyist, also deprived the Georgians of going to Paris, despite our request to their Embassy in Switzerland ([Janelidze, 2018](#)).

At the end of February K. Chkheidze and Irakli Tsereteli finally arrived in Paris and got involved in the debates. Because of the circumstances some Georgian diplomats Zurab Avalishvili, Konstantine Gvarjaladze (1883–1969) and David Ghambashidze joined the delegation. They had already been in Europe and presented special memorandums to the Foreign Minister of France in order to explain that the alliance with Germany was due to the hopeless situation and asked for de facto recognition. In March 1919 the Georgian delegation presented the memorandum to the Paris Conference demanding the recognition of the independence of Georgia. The recently elected President of the Constituent Assembly Karlo Chkheidze signed the memorandum.

From Zurab Avalishvili’s memoirs we can conclude that in Europe of that period they knew little about Georgia, her history, borders and relations with neighbors. Of course they had no idea what plans were about the country’s future ([Avalishvili, 1929: 143](#)). At the end of May 1919 three delegations from the Republic of Georgia, the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Mountainous Republic formed the joint commission. The commission discussed the questions related to the regional cooperation, mutual security, and multiparty declarations. The Armenians refrained from participating in the commission for the reason that Armenia was not only the Caucasian Country ([Abulashvili, 2014](#)).

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1919 the Great Powers very actively discussed the question of withdrawing England from the Caucasus and replacing her by Italy. If the English had left the territory of Georgia it would have encouraged the Denikiens to enter our country. So, the Georgian Government had to pay particular attention to this question. The government of Lloyd George had already decided to leave the Caucasus, whereas Italian Prime Minister Orlando was fascinated with the coal and oil extracted there. The Italian Government sent a special mission led by the Colonel Gaba to study the region and situation, but in June Vittorio Emmanuelle Orlando was replaced by Francesco Saverio Nitti, so the issue of entering the Caucasus was annulled. The new Prime Minister of Italy Nitti thought that being in the Caucasus meant to be in conflict with Moscow. Consequently he avoided participating in this venture ([Avalishvili, 1929: 177](#)).

Since the Italian Project failed the Georgian delegation tried to get de facto recognition from Italy. On November 1st the special diplomatic note was sent to the Italian Government, but like England, Italy avoided unnecessary activities expecting General Denikin’s to capture Moscow.

Before the White Army supported by the Allies succeeded in the battles against the Bolsheviks, the Paris Peace Conference organizers considered the future of Georgia within the reestablished Russian Empire. That is why the Georgian delegation had to demonstrate its protest to the conference from time to time. In the note of June 14, 1919 the Georgian delegation informed

the conference that General Denikin who was greatly supported by the Allies instead of fighting against the Bolsheviks invaded the Georgian territory (the Sokhumi district, February-April, 1919) thus threatening the territorial integrity of our Country. Though these demarches did not have any results. Finally the Georgian delegation decided to request the recognition from the Allies and Russia (White) and later sovereign Georgia would probably be able to negotiate her unification with Russia in a federal state in the case Russia would be truly peaceful and democratic.

On June 17, 1919 since the correspondence between Admiral Kolchak and the conference organizers revealed (Kolchak intended to recognize only Finland (*de facto*)), in the mutual declaration the delegations from Azerbaijan, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, the North Caucasus, Ukraine and Belarus accentuated the fundamentals of their independence, listed the actions already taken or to be taken and again requested the recognition of their independence from the Allied Powers (Topchibashi, 2016: 43-44, 238-240). The similar note was sent to the Prime Minister of France George Clemenceau on October 8, 1919 (Ibid, pp. 283-286), but in vain.

On June 23 by the note presented to the Supreme Council of the conference Azerbaijan, Georgia and the Mountainous Republic condemned Denikin's aggression in the North Caucasus and urged its secession. At the same time Tbilisi also discussed Denikin's impending repeated aggression. On June 16, 1919 Georgia and Azerbaijan signed the first defensive treaty against the White troops of General Denikin's Volunteer Army (Topchibashi, 2016: 53, 252-257).

The Supreme Council got the information about the defensive treatment between two states. It must have been the indication for the conference that Georgia had normal relations with the neighbors. Though, there were some obstacles in Europe to understand the Georgian Question completely. For example, France displayed the little interest to the Caucasian region too. Like the USA she also supported the restoration of the Russian Empire. The USA did not conceal their sympathy to the Armenians. According to the USA State Department Armenia must have been granted permanent independence while Georgia and Azerbaijan could have been given only temporary sovereignty. According to this plan in the future Georgia and Azerbaijan would be unified with Armenia in the form of federated states and thus the vast zone with American Mandatory Power would be created among the Caspian, Black and Mediterranean seas (Janelidze, 2018: 245).

During the 1919 the Allied Powers discussed the question of Armenia as an American mandate or mandated territory. In Zurab Avalishvili's opinion if the Armenia had become an American mandated territory the USA would have paid more attention to the Georgian Question (Avalishvili, 1929: 179). President Wilson sent General James Harbord to the region. He during a month studied the situation here, visited the Georgian Government and paid a visit to Mustafa Kemal Ataturk who step by step had been strengthening his power. According to Harbord's report of October 16, 1919 the positive results in the Near East would be possible in the case the whole Caucasus (not only Armenia) was declared as a mandated territory. The relationships among the Transcaucasian republics finally defined the taking out the question of Armenian mandate from the agenda (Ibid, pp. 180-183).

What about Batumi, despite the removal of the British troops from the other parts of Georgia, the town and the district remained under the control of England. The occupation period lasted until the July of 1920. Britain would not to leave the region unless the final decision was made in Paris. At the beginning of 1920 it was said that the English were leaving Batumi, but then they changed their mind. Later there were talks about Batumi as Porto Franco under the European Protectorate but still there was no progress. Finally taking into account historical justice England did not prevent the town and district from the reunification with the motherland – the Democratic Republic of Georgia.

In the August 1919, according to the instruction sent from Georgia, the Georgian delegation with the colleagues from Armenia, Azerbaijan and the North Caucasus began working on the text of the mutual document. They wanted that the British troops were left in the region. At the same time the delegates from the Caucasus wanted to request from the conference to create a separate commission for the Caucasus either. But they failed to achieve any agreement. Meanwhile, England declared about the evacuation of the region and a delayed note was left without reaction (Kobakhidze, 2015: 100-103).

On August 30 on Lord Curzon's initiative the founder and benefactor of Kartvelian (Georgian) studies, diplomat, traveler and translator Sir John Oliver Wardrop was sent as the

United Kingdom's First Commissioner of Transcaucasia to Georgia. His mission was to sustain British political and diplomatic interests (not military) in the region. He had been in connection with Georgia for a long time and supported her independence zealously. On September 19 Wardrop wrote to Lord Curzon confirming that de facto recognition of the Caucasian Governments was essential (Topchibashi, 2016: 66), and this letter was not the only one. But because of Denikin's success on the Moscow Front the British Government preferred united and inseparable Russia, so Lord Curzon had to follow his government.

In December 1919 Irakli Tsereteli went to London to meet the British Foreign Minister. Lord Curzon suggested waiting another few months before the situation around Denikin would clarify. Only after that the Great Powers planned to make a final decision on Russia. Though at the end of December Curzon wrote a special memorandum regarding the recommendations about the recognition of the Caucasian Republics. In his opinion only Georgia was better ready for this. Though the Minister thought that the close relations with Azerbaijan was very important as well. Curzon thought that the temporary recognition of Georgia and Azerbaijan was the way out before the League of Nations made the final decision. And if in the nearest future (about five years) the Bolsheviks were defeated these countries would join the new Russian Federation (Topchibashi, 2016: 74).

At the beginning of 1920 the White Movement against the Bolsheviks failed. The Allied Powers rejected the idea of military campaign to reconquer the Russia from the Bolshevik Government and refused to support the Denikin's White Army. General Denikin had to change his attitude to the neighbors and he recognized the independence of the Caucasian Republics. Though it was too late. On January 10, 1920 the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers decided de facto recognition of Georgia. That was stimulated by the Soviet Russia's appeal to Tbilisi and Baku to fight against Denikin with the united forces. The recognition did not handle the boundary theme. Unfortunately, originally the USA was not among the countries that recognized Georgia de facto.

The reaction to the recognition of Georgia in Europe was great in Tbilisi. On January 13 the United Kingdom's First Commissioner of Transcaucasia in Georgia Oliver Wardrop informed London: "the recognition inspired great patriotic demonstrations in Tbilisi. One hour after the declaration of the news the capital was decorated with flags, the traffic stopped, the stores and factories closed. The all garrison with cavalry and artillery walked past my house to greet me. Then the Prime Minister and I attended the parade at the Palace of the Government. All the citizens joined the parade. The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister addressed the people. The speeches were patriotic, anti-Bolshevik and pro-British. During the day I was greeted with a lot of emotions from the people. They carried me on their shoulders to my car. The city was provided with light. There was a large pro-British demonstration at the Opera house that lasted from 11 pm to 4 am. After the demonstration there was a banquet. A lot of pro-British speeches sounded at the banquet..." (Kobakhidze, 2015: 186).

In a short period of time Britain prepared a memorandum. The Memorandum featured the danger coming from Russia and Turkey's potential coalition. To prevent this from happening the safety of Georgia was declared as the most important thing. The British diplomats offered the proposal that consisted of 5 articles: 1. Recognition of Georgia and Azerbaijan (already done); 2. Redistribution of the provision initially reserved for Denikin among the Caucasian Republics; 3. Additional financial, military and food assistance; 4. Providing the appropriate military support for Batumi and Baku; 5. Destruction of Denikin's Fleet or its transition to the Allies.

On January 15, 1920 the representatives of the Foreign Ministries of England, France and Italy met the delegations from Georgia and Azerbaijan to learn how well they were prepared to meet the Bolshevik aggression. As it turned out Azerbaijan could provide 100 thousand men and Georgia 50 thousand men to defend the Caucasus in the case they were provided with appropriate armaments (Topchibashi, 2016: 322-336).

The allies planned to send some military forces to the region (two British battalions), but finally the decision was changed. They agreed to send only armament. In fact the Caucasian republics got nothing (Kobakhidze, 2015: 216-222). Consequently in April 1920 XI Army of Bolshevik Russia entered Baku. Actually the Government of Azerbaijan did nothing to prevent Russia of entering the country. Minister of Defense S. Mekhmandarov made the officers obey the new government. The most of the Parliament members supported the Bolsheviks. In this situation

Georgia was not able to act according to the defense treatment between two countries ([Janelidze, 2018: 235](#)). In November of the same year the Bolsheviks annexed Armenia.

4. Results

The study revealed the difficult international situation in which the newly formed Republic of Georgia was striving to achieve international recognition of its statehood and ensure its sovereignty. According to Georgian diplomacy, leading European states had a vague idea of Georgia, its history and borders, relations with neighbors and plans for the future. They discussed the future of Georgia in accordance with their plans. This was accompanied by the obvious incompatibility of Russia (both White and Red) with the independence of Georgia, to which the Entente countries took into account.

The incompatibility of the plans of the Transcaucasian countries itself also appeared. It is true that in the face of a common threat, Georgia and Azerbaijan made serious attempts to unite, but in the end no substantial results were achieved. As for Armenia, it was more aggressive towards Georgia and tried to satisfy its territorial claims at its expense. He also used the political resources of the strong Armenian diaspora in this case.

The leading European states were unable to provide adequate support to the young Georgian republic in a timely manner, and by the end of January 1921 the recognition of Georgia's independence de jure ([Document of de jure...](#)) was already a belated step.

5. Conclusion

Thus, during the years of independence, the most difficult military-political situation was created around the young Republic of Georgia. On the one hand, both white and Bolshevik Russia considered it part of themselves and were ready to conquer it; On the other hand, the Entente countries, despite some facts of sympathy, viewed the issue of Georgia with political pragmatism and assessed its future in terms of their own interests. Added to this was the confrontation between the Transcaucasian republics over borders. In this regard, the Republic of Armenia was especially active in relation to Georgia. Turkey also had territorial claims against the Transcaucasian countries (Georgia, Armenia).

In such a difficult situation, despite numerous attempts by the Georgian government and its representatives in Paris, the leading European states did not support its admission to the League of Nations, given the threat posed by Soviet Russia. After the Sovietization of Azerbaijan-Armenia, Georgia was, in fact, doomed. Unfortunately Paris did not provide a long-term peaceful and independent development for Georgia. In February-March 1921 Soviet Russia invaded the Georgian territory. It was factual annexation of the country.

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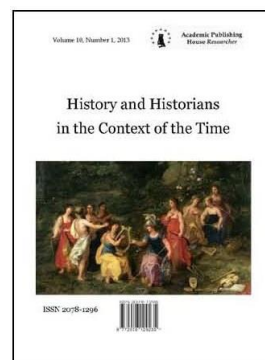
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Published in the Slovak Republic
History and Historians in the Context of the Time
Has been issued since 2003.
E-ISSN: 2310-6239
2020, 18(1): 12-16

DOI: 10.13187/hhct.2020.1.12
www.ejournal3.com



The Role of the Tushi People in the Socio-Political Relations of Georgia (XVI–XIX centuries)

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Abstract

The paper presents one of the parts of Georgia, Kakheti and its mountainous region. Kakheti is located in the Eastern Georgia. It is bordered on the West by Kartli, on the North by the Russian Federation (Dagestan), from which it is separated by the Caucasus Mountains, and on the South by Azerbaijan. Kakheti region includes the inner and lower reaches of the river Iori and the Alazani river basin. Some parts of Kakheti are called Garekakheta (middle of the river Iori), Kiziki (between the lower reaches of the river Iori and Alazani), Shida Kakheti (right bank of the river Alazani) and Gaghmakhari (left bank of the river Alazani). The Caucasus of Kakheti, which runs steeply on the Alazani plain, is amazingly beautiful. Kakheti is connected to Tusheti by the pass of the bath on the Caucasus ridge. Therefore, Kakheti is bordered by Mtianeti-Pshavi, Khevsureti and Tusheti to the North.

Our research topic concerns the attitude of the kings of united Georgia or Kartli-Kakheti towards the Kakheti mountains. Specifically, the role of Tusheti in the XVI-XVII centuries.

Keywords: Levan, Teimuraz II, Erekle II, King of Moscow Alex son of Mikheil, Tusheti, Khevsuri people, Pshavlebi.

1. Введение

До XV века в летописях нет никаких справок о Тушетии. Во время царствования царя Кахетии Георгия I (1471–1492) тушинцы уже не повиновались царю, что не продолжалось долго и Леван I (1520–1574) вновь укрепил связь с ними. Для получения их дружелюбия царь пожаловал им в виде пастбища Алванские поля. Взамен на это тушинцы должны были платить кахетинскому царю пошлину и при необходимости помогать своим войском. Эти пастбища имели большое значение для тушинских овцеводов. В 1658 году шах Персии управляющим Кахетии назначил Селим-Хана. Это оказалось опасным для овцеводов Тушетии, т.к. Алванские поля, которые были пожалованы царём Леваном, находились в пределах Бахтриони и Алвани, а там Селим Хан поселил татар. Когда Эрцо-тианетские, Арагвские и Кванские эристави (главы народа) пошли в поход против Селим Хана, к ним присоединились и тушинцы. В итоге грузины завоевали Бахтриони и выгнали Селим Хана, а тушинцы вернули себе зимние пастбища. Несмотря на подчинённость, которая всегда была номинальной, Тушетия не выходила из общинного строя. Даже в те времена, когда Тушетия была в составе какого-либо сариставо или княжества, внутренние вопросы общины полностью решались хевисберами, а общие вопросы решались на собрании общины. Подобное собрание всегда проводилось в селе Чигоши, здесь находится общая

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молельня тушинцев – Лашарис Джвари (иконы под этим же названием имеются и в Пшави и Мтиулет). Тушинцы вместе с пшав-хевсурами принимали участие и в дипломатических взаимоотношениях между Теймуразом I и царём Московии Алексеем Михайловичем, а в 1657 году они послали в Москву своих представителей хевисберов. В XVII–XVIII веках тушинцы очень страдали как от лезгинцев, так и от персов. Во времена царя Давида III (в этот период лезгинцами руководил Имам-Кули-Хан 1703–1722 гг.) был мир между кахетинцами и лезгинцами, но тушинцы нарушили его и напали на лезгинцев, вернувшись домой с большой добычей. Из-за этого восстал Имам-Кули-Хан и захотел взять тушинцев в плен, но в итоге Давид III заставил тушинцев вернуть им добычу.

Методы исследования: Во время работы над данной темой мы использовали фонды Института рукописей Корнелия Кекелидзе, фонды Национального архива Грузии и работы грузинских историков и учёных.

2. Обсуждение и результаты

К XVI–XVII векам политическая ценность Тушетии для Кахетинского и Картл-Кахетинского царств постоянно росла, но кроме политической ценности Тушетия имела для Грузии и большое экономическое значение. Грузинские цари старались предоставить тушинскому народу условия для развития. Цари Кахетии и Картл-Кахетии (Леван, Теймураз II, Ираклий II) тушинцам для пастбища предоставляли и утверждали поля и луга Кахетии специальными грамотами, а именно: большое поле Алони, Панкисское и Лопотское ущелья (Кекелидзе, ф.-Нд №10063). Как видно, цари Кахетии действовали подобным образом ещё в XVI веке.

Интересным является отношение царей Картл-Кахетии к тушинцам. В грузинской историографии указания по поводу тушинцев мы встречаем лишь во II-ой половины XV века. О Тушетии XV–XVI вв. мы имеем весьма скудную информацию. В исторических источниках тушинцы фигурируют уже после выделения Кахетии независимым царством. В частности, они воспротивились тем мероприятиям, которые начал осуществлять Георгий VIII-ой.

После реформ, проведённых в Кахетинском царстве, горцы этого региона отвергли правительство. Со II-ой половины XV-ого века царь Леван сумел помириться с Тушетией, Пшави и Хевсуретией, которые существовали уже независимо от всех. Это примирение произошло не силой оружия, а путём взаимного соглашения. О данном факте Вахушти пишет: «... Пшави и Хевсуры более не покорялись царям Кахетии, и Леван завоевал их не силой, а обещал им, что скот их получит пастбища в Кахетии и отдал им в дар Лашарис Джвари в Тианетии, а взамен получит повинность (Жизнь Картли, 1973).

Со времён разделения Кахетинского царства на мелкие приставства, ещё до присоединения Грузии к России, Тушетия всегда была связана с центральным правительством под видом приставства. В XVI–XVIII веках высший чиновник, связывающий Тушетию с центральным правительством назывался приставом, он считался военным правителем. В его обязанности входило создание ополчения в горах и их участие в том или ином боевом походе. Он же должен был заботиться и о безопасности разных приставств Тушетии. Если опасность была высокой и тушинцы не могли справиться с ней, пристав был обязан сообщить об этом царю и просить о помощи.

Пристав в горах должен был соблюдать строгие законы. Он не имел права вмешиваться во внутренние дела горцев. Со своей стороны и горцы без предварительного сообщения приставу и согласования с ним не могли идти на войну. Если между приставом и горцами возникали серьёзные неприятности, то в дела вмешивался царский двор и дело рассматривалось в присутствии царя. В XV–XVIII веках о Тушетии уже говорится как об отдельном приставстве, иногда она объединена с Пшав-Хевсуретией, а вместе с горцами Кахетии они составляют одно приставство (Эланидзе, 1988).

Для тушинских овцеводов такие зимние пастбища, как Алонская (Алванская) долина в Кахетии, были весьма важными. Тушинцы были вынуждены быть с правителями Кахетии в добрых отношениях. Со своей стороны и цари Кахетии старались присоединить к себе отважных тушинцев, которые были бы очень полезны и при походах и для получения определённой пошлины. Нужно обратить внимание на тот факт, что тушинцы и сегодня помнят как царь Леван даровал им Алванскую долину (Макалатия, 1983: 25).

Среди исторических источников особенное внимание уделено грамоте, которая была опубликована академиком Эвктиме Такаишвили именуемой как «Грамота, написанная на двух камнях». Данным документом становится ясно, что история связи хозяйств Тушетии Алвани и Шираки официально начинается с XVII века, когда ещё царь Кахетии Арчил, даровал тушинцам Алонскую долину и «территорию, находящуюся между Курой и Иори». По данной грамоте: «Пожаловал я царь Горгасал удел со своим входом и выходом между Курой и Иори, там, где встречаются Догузмдара, Хварблиани и Бахтриони до Бабанеурского Пшави, со своими пахотными землями, с горами и долинами для единства с тушинцами и взамен того, что вы сделали для меня. С вас не будет потребовано ничего кроме как одной овцы с отары. Нарушитель сея слова покарается небом и землёй. Распорядителями данного дела являются батонишвили Арчил, посадник Закария, написан Давидом Черемели. Описано. Слава Господу» (Такаишвили, 1901).

Тушинцы охраняли Кахетию с севера, защищая её от нападения племён кочевников. В XVII–XVIII веках тушинцы несли постоянный урон как от лезгинцев, так и от персов.

При этом мы должны добавить одно, что уже с 10-тых годов XIX века, когда тушинцы начали поселяться в Алвани, для зимовки овец они выбрали богатые Ширакские поля. Как видно, тушинцы ещё с 90-тых годов XVIII века пользовались Шираки. Площадь составляет 107 618 гектаров. С начала XIX века многотысячные отары овец и стада зимовали на Ширакских просторах. За тушинскими овцеводами же вновь оставались пастбища Алвани, Лопоты и Панкиси, а царь Ираклий (в знак признательности) в обмен на саблю пожаловал тушинцами Шираки.

Должность Управляющего и во времена царя Ираклия носила номинальный характер. Данный факт в своём письме к Павлу Цицишвили подтверждает тушинский управляющий дворянин Дурмишхан Чолокашвили. «Я являюсь управляющим тушинцев. С тех времён как царь Грузии держит Тушетию, начиная с моих предков, управляющим являюсь я. Соперников у меня не было, Бахтриони также на Тушетии, и там мы являемся управляющим до сего времени» (Национальный архив Грузии). Он поднимался в Тушетию лишь для сбора налога за листву и траву, что было обусловлено в размере 400 душ овец и 400 душ ягнят. В походы тушинцы выходили 200 воинами. Царь Ираклий именно из тушинцев выбирал гвардию для себя лично и охрану для своего дворца (Лагазидзе, 1982).

Споры были и между тушинцами и пшавами. Например, известна грамота царя Ираклия II от 9 мая 1787 года. Царь Ираклий управляющему Тушетии приказывает следующее: Наш приказ: Управляющему тушинцев и всем, оказывается люди из Калискури и Маграни желают вспахать земли, а тушинцы мешают им в этом. Почему должны мешать? Дешевизна хлеба будет полезна тушинцам, ведь никто не отнимает вам эти земли, почему же вы притивитесь этому? Управляющий тушинцев, это дело я доверяю тебе, а ежели кто будет против, помешай в этом и помоги вспахать поля. Май месяц (Кекелидзе, ф.-Ид №10063а).

Тушинцы в XII–XIII веках начинают активно принимать участие в политике. В формировании русско-грузинских взаимоотношений Тушетия была перекрёстком и поэтому тушинцы выделялись своей активностью. Со времён царя Левана, ещё на первом этапе политических взаимоотношений население Тушетии активно участвовала в делегациях, посланных Московскому царю. В связи с вопросом взаимоотношения Кахетии с Россией цари Теймураз I и Ираклий I связывались с Россией при помощи пути через Тушетию.

Интересным является то, что тушинцы вместе с пшав-хевсурами принимали участие и в дипломатических взаимоотношениях между Теймуразом I и царём Московии Алексеем Михайловичем, а в 1657 году они просили у Алексея Михайловича покровительства. Приводит текст дипломатического письма: «Великий государь владетель всея Руси, укрепляющий христианскую веру. ... Великий царь, господин сын Алексея Михайловича: страна вам доверившаяся Тушетия, Хевсуретия и Пшави склоняем мы головы пред вами и целуем землю под вашими ногами, мы недавно к вам послали послов и доложили вам, что мы знаем единого бога, а вторым является государь Грузии – Теймураз, и мы никогда не были под неверующими людьми ... и нынче нашего государя одолел хан, и ежели наш государь под вашей властью, то и мы будем в вашем подчинении. ...» (Макалатия, 1983: 24).

Естественно, данная переписка между туш-пшав-хевсурами с царём Московии, была подсказана кахетинским царём Теймуразом, который скрывался в Тушетии будучи гонимым иранским шахом, и подобным образом старался связаться с императором России.

3. Заключение

Таким образом, в результате изучения, рассмотренных и добытых нами материалов, мы можем определить роль Тушетии в XVI–XVII веках следующим образом: в XVI–XVII веках в государственной политике Грузии Тушетия имела большое значение. Она, находясь в геостратегическом пространстве, всегда была гарантом независимости государства. Тушетия была в непосредственной близости с Дагестаном и Чечено-Ингушетией и на протяжении многих веков она сама осуществляла не только свою защиту, но и охраняла границы. Об этом ведали цари Карт-Кахетии и, желая сохранить горные регионы, доброжелательным взаимоотношениям людей, населяющих горные регионы и долины, придавали большое государственное значение.

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Роль народа Тушетии в общественно-политических взаимоотношениях Грузии (XVI–XIX вв.)

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Аннотация. В труде представлена одна из прекрасных регионов Грузии – Кахетия со своим горным регионом. Кахетия находится в восточной части Грузии. С западной стороны она граничит с Картли, с севера от неё – Российская Федерация (Дагестан), от которой её отделяет Кавказский хребет, с южной стороны находится Азербайджан. Кахетия охватывает внутреннее и нижнее течения реки Иври и бассейн реки Алазани. Отдельные области Кахетии именуется Внешней Кахетией (средняя часть реки Иври), Кизики (нижневодье рек Иври и Алазани), Внутренняя Кахетия (правое побережье реки Алазани) и заречье (левое побережье реки Алазани). Кавказские горы в Кахетии, крутыми склонами опускающиеся на Алазанскую равнину, прекрасное зрелище. На Кавказском хребте находится перевал под названием Абано, Кахетия соединяется с Тушетией именно данным перевалом. Исходя из этого, Кахетия с севера граничит с Пшави, Хевсуретией и Тушетией.

Тема нашего исследования касается взаимоотношения царей единой Грузии и Картл-Кахетии с нагорьем Кахетии, а в частности роли Тушетии в XVI-XVII веках.

Ключевые слова: Леван, Теймураз II, Ираклий II, московский царь Алексей Михайлович, тушинцы, хевсуры, пшавельцы.

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