

Velichko V.L.

**CAUCASUS
RUSSIAN AFFAIRS
AND
INTERTRIBAL PROBLEMS**

Бакu - «Ватан» - 2007

Velichko V.L. “Caucasus. Russian affairs and intertribal problems”. – Baku: “Batah”, 2007-154 p.

The book “Caucasus” written by the prominent russian scientist, journalist and historian V.Л.Velichko is one of the most valuable reliquiaie of Russian culture. It is of great scientific interest. “Elm” publishing house realizes issuing of historical books on “The history and culture of the peoples of the USSR”. The book “Caucasus” is the first edition of this series.

Although there existed a number of uncomplimentary reports about the native inhabitants of the Caucasus including azerbaijanians, the publishing house took an opportunity of presenting the book “Caucasus” to the wide circle of readers from its original version.

The first pages of this book were printed in V.L.Velichko's life-time; the death prevented him from completing a deed which he considered to be one of his major and fundamental tasks and the thought that the labour endured for many years wouldn't be completed agitated him till the end of his life.

Granting his last will, we completed publishing the book with participation of the person who collaborated with Vasiliy Lvovich Velichko on the problems of Caucasus and was well informed of his views and plans.

A number of articles, published in "Russkiy Vestnik" served as a basis of the book; first four chapters were carefully worked out by the author, the rest were enriched as far as possible and annotated from V.L.Velichko's scientific works.

A part of the last materials is given in the "Supplement" of the book.

Unfortunately, we had no chance to enrich the book with materials as the author could do it; we set the task not to use any thought which differs from his views.

Publisher

1. Introduction.

What a still magic word – Caucasus! How it breathes with memories indelible for the entire Russian people; how bright is the dream flashing up in mind hearing this name, the dream invincible for neither everyday banality, nor strict thrift! Is there anybody in Russia, whose family several decades ago had not sacrificed its blood and tears to this mysterious land, raised ardent prayers to heaven anxiously listening to threatening echoes of the exuberant struggle boiling far away?! Snow crowned giants and burning rays of the midday sun, and legends of old imbued with the deepest tragedy, and spontaneous heroism of sons of Caucasus – all that is sung by the people and prophetic mouthpieces of its world outlook, inspired by torches of the Russian idea – our great poets.

The Caucasus cannot be alien to us: it has taken too many of various efforts, is too far organically connected with the great Russian world vocation, with the Russian cause.

With regard to numerous attempts (mostly not disinterested) to disorient the Russian society in the intertribal issues it is necessary to establish once and forever the life and correct point of view on the Russian cause in general. Equally sincere people may have different points of view. Some people consider serving to the Russian cause the struggle for existence and prosperity of people-statehood, the struggle unrestrained by any precepts of history, norms of morality or humanity; they think that everything foreign, although valuable, must be wiped out from the earth since it doesn't merge quick

enough and without leaving a trace with our people-statehood element. I would call that cruel approach the German rather than the Russian. It contradicts to the Russian world ideal and undermines one of the most firm bases of its spiritual and hence political might.

The other people go to the opposite extreme: they are ready to give up everything Russian in favour of something breaking our unity, eroding our state power and being negative phenomenon itself. This is an approach of the “school” of non-resistant with pseudo-national programme, real leaders or shadowed instigators of which of course are the *Russian* people. Such a non-resistance to the isolating evil forces, even in those rare cases when it is disinterested, is only possible with detriment to the vitality of the Russian patriotism and not justified at all by speculations, which are usual in such occasions, on topic that we are – great and powerful people. Great people – is this a reason to allow anyone to encroach on bread of our children, vital force of junior brothers, subject our sanctuaries to profanation and allow isolated foreigners to override weak and compliant bearers of the Russian cause?! How long the definition of great will be equalized with definition of stupid, weak and unprincipled?!

Only the following third point of view is correct, just and at the same time practical. The great and powerful doesn't look at life with somnolent eyes, *but in due time establishes a truth of life*, develops its collective or unique identity being equipped with inherited legends of the past, “cold notices of mind and sad marks of heart”. The great and powerful is not satisfied with patterns and nicknames covering untrue, blurred or parti-coloured concepts. He must press up lazy blur by effort of mind, has to distinguish colours and tints of the parti-coloured picture.

If the multicoloured Caucasus still remains the torturing puzzle for our educated classes, then it means that they are neither great, nor powerful, and not absolutely free from slavery of strangers' words and concepts, from the yoke of the abovementioned and alas, typically-Russian lazy blurriness. Recent spring up of the Russian Convention and what's more important its development independent from external fake and arch influences confirm correctness of my words, and along with that shines as bright ray of hope for better days, rise of the Russian farsightedness, Russian thoughtfulness and spiritual power.

Our soldiers and people after them called the Caucasus "deathful", because its conquest was accompanied by incredible strain of heroism and heavy losses. But our nation doesn't spare sacrifices: the dead do not have shame, and exploits are crowned with glory. "Deathful" nature of the Caucasus took different shape, perhaps disastrous, and maybe useful at the end, discovering internal pests of our life, feebleness of our spirit, omissions and errors of our provincial policy, even blurriness and instability of the state-national attitude to world of most of the Russian people, including those serving, as well as those undertaking courage to influence society through press.

The Caucasus is the large academy with various natural laboratories opening to observer and explorer wide open space for independent conclusions. It has special importance for sociologist and particularly for the representative of the state science, which is spread so little, - alas! – even among our ruling classes, who should more *consciously* treat their duties before motherland and Emperor instead of regarding life from the point of view of the 20th day of month. The phenomena of life and human characters in the Caucasus are very bold even

when they are simultaneously complicate. Combination and sometimes complete coincidence of the racial issues with socio-economic ones is of special importance. This feature of the Caucasian life predetermines that considerable difficulty of administration in the region and supervision over activity of local authorities, which sometimes truly and sometimes pretended to misunderstand practical meaning of the peculiar basis of local social establishment and everyday life.

To look to the roots of main issues and phenomena one has to study the past at least in general terms.

2. The character of the past.

The past of the Caucasian region represents the picture, which is as multi-coloured as its natural conditions and multi-tribal combination of population. Generalizations of positive character are quite difficult under such circumstances, some bright colours may mark only some most obvious contours of that past, which are, in addition, negative from the cultural point of view.

First, the Caucasus *had never had peace*, neither internal, nor external. For centuries it was one of the routes for aggressive invasions of Asia into Europe; passing through its mountains and valleys every tribe washing away the seeds of local culture by its wave left its own trace instead, mostly ill-natured, because invading tribes are impudent about everything and everybody. On the other hand, this highly crossed landscape, which is rich for impassable gorges and unattainable heights, given significant climatic, soil and tribal complexity could not become the territory of tightly joint and culturally developed country. The mountainous thickets used to be and still inhabited by many small tribes different for origin and rudiments of racial cultures, engaged themselves in permanent fight with each other, but nevertheless united, in biologic sense, by similar conditions of nature, industry, way of life and religious substrata, which regardless of differences of formal worship consists of total adoration to the terrible forces of nature, subjugating the human, his thoughts, character and belief. These people *could not create a state*, because they are unskilled for statehood at all, which, by the way, hardly can strongly develop at the crossed heights since some gorges become isolated from the rest of the world for seven or eight months a year by snow or waters.

To the south of the main range, in the western Transcaucasia since prehistoric times settled the Kartvelian tribe (Georgians, Imeretians, Gurians, Mingrels, Lazis, Ajaris, Kobulets and others); this tribe united for short periods in the Middle Ages, but was dispersed for the rest of the time. In the eastern Transcaucasia – there are tribes of Turk-Mongolian-Iranian blood and Armenians, the people of unidentified origin with undoubtedly significant addition of Jewish, Syria-Chaldea and Gipsy blood.

Only the Georgians among all those tribes have demonstrated the utmost ability for statehood, but even they had failed to establish a state in true meaning of this word. It was hindered, first of all, by geography of country opening wide space for the feudal isolation; second, chronic alien anarchy was serious obstacle: the wild hordes used to raid unexpectedly and so great in number that sometimes resistance was not successful; invasions left their sorrowful imprint and all country's life was subjected to endless accidents. Hence – *absence of thrifty households and comfort* being fruits of lasting peace, sharply offending one's eyes nearly everywhere in the Caucasus. Even huge proprietors set up their well-furnished country-seats only in recent times. Life in general still bears traces of bivouac character: such strong is the habit to expect an armed raid, to conceal or remove property; that centuries old habit already became a feature of character and still hinders blossoming of peaceful culture and development of the so-called bourgeois virtues.

The climatic conditions and particularly malaria various for symptoms, but almost omnipresent in the Transcaucasia has been in the past and is still the huge obstacle for the cultural development of the region. The nomadic way of life practiced by the most part of the Cauca-

sian population, usually attributed by unperceptive observers to inherent instinct of nomads, can be explained and justified more rationally only through climatic conditions: the nomads save their lives and health in summer climbing to the heights from valleys and steppes beset by malaria and where their flocks would stay without food. Whatever the reason for migration is its evident result would be again absence of household and lack of culture.

Influence of the climatic and general natural conditions on public-state life is extremely serious: malaria, and mountainous rivers, first drying up and then flooding beyond measure, and storms, and downpours, and hail, and scorching heat – all that maliciously affecting the agriculture leaves deep negative imprint on the moral stance of population, smoothing over tribal differences by common troubles; mind loses consistency, will – its endurance, morality – its catechism, labour – its system, life in general – its rational foundations.

Quite notorious that in different ages of old some of the most cultured tribes – the Greeks, the Romans, the Persians (at the time of blossoming of the Persian civilization), and then the Genoese and others – tried to establish colonies in the Caucasus – but none of them and never succeeded. The Transcaucasia is full of traces of different styled architecture, names, titles and legends of clearly extraneous origin; faces of different nationalities bear the mark of cross-breeding of many races; but in general there is little of something large, solid, and not erased by extraneous influence or time.

With a view to that fact it should be mentioned that *before the beginning of the XIX century none of the states neighbouring with the Transcaucasia had an opportunity to establish itself firmly in this land.* In fact, explanation for that should be sought not only in local reasons, but in cha-

racter and political defects of states and tribes claiming that region as well; nevertheless local particularities had an overriding importance, and that can be seen even from history of this land since the time of its unification with Russia and extremely slow assimilation of local tribes with the state ethnoses.

The most evident and deep enough of all traces left in the Transcaucasia by its neighbours is the *imprint of the Persian administration*, or better say misadministration. The khanates of the eastern Transcaucasia formed by treason of local rulers committed against their duties before the remote central Persian authorities, they were legally considered to be Persian provinces, but in fact they were independent despotic possessions, smaller copies of the Persian specimens. Reasons for that were partially racial because majority of rulers of those domains were to the greater or lesser extent Persians by origin; on the other hand, the shortcomings of the Persian state structure and, by the way, widely practiced family succession of administrative positions played role as well.

It's clear that in the mountainous areas blessed with all natural conditions for military isolation that custom could not fail to empower feudal structure of life, anyway evoked by local conditions; the racial difference between the rulers and their subjects is undoubtedly one of the factors of feudalism – and that factor used to be implanted periodically during the rise of the Persian influence on the Transcaucasia. For instance, mainland Georgia (Provinces of Tiflis and part of Elisabethpol) has been subjected to strong Persian influence, and Imeretia and other western-Kartvelian possessions – to the Turkish, although less intensive, but equal for its consequences. Political shortcomings, administrative, spiritual and communal structures of both neighbours, being im-

planted in different local conditions, have affected the multi-coloured Transcaucasia and reflected in shape of, undoubtedly, uniting, but devaluing features of mostly negative character.

The dynasties in both of the Oriental despotic states, Turkey and Persia, do not last long, and their power is subject to sharp changes like mountainous rivers; the bureaucratic system providing stability of political trends, interests of popular welfare, rights and safety is not available at all; everything is based upon graft, flattery, force and harem intrigues, i.e. foul accidents. Fluctuation of uncontrolled state income influenced political instability and people's spirit.

Yesterday's insurgent feudal, predating administrator, plunderer or traitor instead of the deserved punishment could in one moment gain respect and power, satisfying the Asian ruler by beautiful woman, horse, jewels or just brilliant flattery.

The deepest and all-inclusive materialism was the driving force excluding any adherence to principle in the European sense of this word; *the harem intrigues and sensitively-oriental psychology in general* played an overriding role even in areas illuminated by the light of Christianity. Even in Georgia for many centuries fighting for its faith and tribal originality, the Christianity in a view of the abovementioned mighty reasons had accepted special local colour instead of lighting up world outlook of people and bringing in various fruits of its main constructive ideas.

Since the simple groupings of people are the only possible combinations under such anarchical disorder of things, besides, evoked by instinct of self-preservation, so *kinship* with its narrow morality and weak adherence to principle became such a grouping. Tight borders of the

latter are confined between the following formulas: “my relative was assaulted or killed, therefore I’ve to become defender or avenger” and “my relative committed a crime, but since he’s my relative he is right, and I will take all actions to protect him from punishment”.

Deep traces of that psychology remained there till now. It is clear that noble and pride families building up reserves for struggle for their supremacy by military heroism, skilled policy, gain of treasury and harem success were in turns the masters and offenders of any independent truth. It took them nothing to betray unexpectedly their tsars or other masters, to suppress interests and sacred feelings of the slaved people, and even to put on the mask of a convert or to deny completely the faith of their fathers in case of emergency.

The people’s mass, settled on the land and cultivating it, is always oppressed by such anarchy – this is why the Georgian people still venerates the memory of the king David the Reviver and “queen of queens” the great Tamara, whose reign established more decent order, illuminated by glory of triumph over the alien enemies; this is why overwhelming majority of plain people of the Transcaucasia blindly believes in power and justice of the White Tsar, despite many negative aspects of administration in the province.

Although the spotty mass of the Caucasian population (except for mountainous patriarchal republics) has for many centuries been predominantly passive and suffering element of the local history and could not specially love its fickle rulers or consciously share their views – the latter left their special mark; *oriental despotic rules and definitions deducted from that have infiltrated legal mentality of people down to the lowest strata*. Western-Georgian peasant, and Kakhetian, and subject of the

khan of Shirvan or Ganja equally knew that gold, flattery, woman, boys may be paid to indemnify from unjust oppression, or fulfilment of state requirements, rationality of which was unclear for everybody, and from deserved punishment for crime.

Arrival of the official person itself used to serve a signal for graft, and nearly legal, since there was no financial system the positions in accordance with the oriental tradition were unpaid and relied solely on bribes from population and gifts to different authorities.

Absence of wide adherence to principle constitutes the core line of local psychology, environment and a kind of law of local life. A man entering this environment must extremely brace himself for not to be exposed to corroding influence.

Since several millions of people for many centuries got used to regard things with vain practicality, representatives of differing views get infertile soil for their realization; one can assert in advance that if they are not executors of the thoroughly thought rational system, but in addition are being put in difficult living conditions – then they, as well as the entrusted tasks will inevitably give way to the established local traditions, the Russian decency and service honour will succumb to assault of communal Asian conditions, undermining state prestige and future destiny of the province.

Obviously transfer from one type of establishment and way of life to another must comply with popular psychology, and change of nature of relations must be accompanied with possibly less alteration and complication of their forms. Even with this condition in mind the work directed to the *cultural unification* of any land, remarkable for alien communal rules, *requires guidance of leaders extremely wise, steadfast and having comprehensive*

knowledge of local conditions. Not only servants of law and order must be so, but also *creators* by vocation, *zealots of the widely understood national-state cause.*

It was realized even before unification of Georgia by outstanding Russian people like Potemkin and Burnashev, representative of Russia at the court of tsar Heracly II. The recently published book dedicated to the latter person contains a lot of interesting elements describing the epoch. Burnashev and his immediate leader count Pavel Potemkin, commander of the Northern-Caucasus troops, - were truly Russian men confident in the Russian truth and benevolent to population of the Caucasus, unlike their contemporary foreign adventurer Totleben.

“Your labour does honour to you, its fruits – fame to the name and gratitude of the Georgian people”, wrote Potemkin to Burnashev. He interferes even into smallest details; for instance, once having heard about the quarrel between two princes because of some princess, he recommended Burnashev “to take trouble to explain them that there’s no such maiden in the world which could be worth of quarrel between brothers”. Potemkin remarks even slightest mistakes. “I have received a complaint from knyaz Erast Amilakhvarov, claiming that doctor at your service took away his wife and broke his head. Study this case, *do not allow self-will to start in a land where one has to catch hearts and tie to himself.*” Advice is as simple, as great.

But the first place among the Russian governors of this land undoubtedly belongs to Yermolov as a man who didn’t give way to self-will. He was threat for disobedient, strict, but just protector of peaceful interests of all people, which he had been nursing in spirit of law and order, and he was the first person to realize the importance of the Russian national element as a tool consolidating aliens

with Russia and seriously strengthening Russian authority in the province.

Yermolov invented and started realization of the most practical of all previously applied methods of the Russian colonization: he had established a settled way of life for the married soldiers of the Caucasian troops at the military settlements under head-quarters; there were formed 9 of so-called married companies by 1826; the process was followed by land disputes with local population; the lands comfortable from military, climatic and agricultural perspective were selected.

At that time the administration clearly realized that after having people resettled at the strange land one can't leave them for their own fortune; assistance was given not only on paper, but in deed.

Fruits of that action still remain on and if there is anything to be sorry about, that would be less wide and confident continuation of that activity after Yermolov. No matter how jealous was Paskevich about Yermolov's fame, how tried to demonstrate supremacy over him – in this issue he had to follow prescriptions of his predecessor; but that service to the Russian popular cause was counterbalanced by Armenian colonization of some parts of Transcaucasia, which had actively started under Paskevich and taken clearly dangerous scale, specifically *now*, right after the sublime Throne just recently recognized that as undesirable.

The same mistake, by the way, was made earlier by Yermolov himself, asking for establishment in Georgia of colony of the "industrious Germans, whose good example and obvious benefit to economy would implant a desire with the local people to imitate them". The further events broke that hope, since those German colonies once having established their welfare at the expense of

the treasury and local neighbours, didn't implant anything good to the latter, but sometimes turned them into subjugated servants.

The Russian settlements founded by farsighted Yermolov reached their absolute blooming under governor knyaz Vorontsov, whose instinct to creation had manifested itself more successfully in this case, than in many other spheres.

Although knyaz Vorontsov followed on Yermolov's path in taking care about Russian popular interests, but anyway with less consistency and persistence. For instance, he realized the state interest in engagement of Russian tradesmen and capitalists to the Transcaucasia, but after the first unsuccessful attempt in Tiflis he abandoned that idea and gave his support to the Armenian tradesmen and manufacturers, opening them wide opportunities for enrichment and inciting them to entrepreneurship. He used to give them contracts, places for shops and caravansaries, and sometimes almost violently involved them to the profitable business activity.

He did much for the "Europeanization", but as much for the *cultural isolation* of the local society: he used to invite local representatives to the shining balls and evenings, support literal development of local languages; for example, the first Georgian theatre was established during his term. In general terms, the period of the Russian reign from Yermolov to Vorontsov inclusively was extremely happy time for the spiritual bloom of population of the province and strengthening of the Russian cause as well... By the way, the Georgian poetry being remarkable for such an exhausted and small people had blossomed. The names of Baratov, Vakhtang Orbeliany, and later on – princes Ilya Chavchavadze, Akaky Ceretely and others are quite popular across the Caucasus and

their works have been translated into many European languages.

Being the Russian patriot for his feelings and intentions knyaz Vorontsov for his mindset and political programme was rather western-European, Anglo man with aristocratic tendencies. It's not only he attached extensive interpretation to the Georgian feudal views and rules, but introduced excessively aristocratic and absolutely alien elements into the life of the Muslim population, which was democratic by nature of its religion and racial traditions.

Enormous emergence of knyaz, beks, agalars and others was harming not only interests of popular life and rational Russianization, but representatives of the higher class themselves, and consequently has created such order of things, where one could hardly miss political and social danger. Once having multiplied the higher class artificially knyaz Vorontsov paved the way to its devastation because life became more complicated and dearer. Thereafter that class absolutely lost its prestige, although that state official pinned exaggerated hopes on its unifying role. There is a conjecture that it was not a mistake by Vorontsov, quite to the contrary, it was farsighted policy aimed to weaken the strongest local elements.

Nevertheless, his name is extremely popular across the Transcaucasia mainly because he had acknowledged legality and usefulness of original cultural development of local tribes under the Russian rule and spiritual influence. Besides, he didn't spare efforts and money for the economic progress of the country; closely studied all needs of population and sought possibly more frequent immediate communication with it. There are still many simple people can be found in the Caucasus recalling with admiration that knyaz Mikhail Semenovitch in person had a talk with them about their life.

The schools blossoming under military regiments in time of knyaz Vorontsov had a huge importance for state; their curricula was narrow, but taught well and there on top of all and most important were *elements of breeding and discipline*, almost unavailable now at the Russian school at all from top to bottom. A real plethora of outstanding commanders, administrators and public actors was brought up by the military schools of the Vorontsov period.

The epoch of reforms of the sixties had complicating and nearly fatal outcomes for the Russian cause in the province and the way of life of local population. The so-called “civil administration” introduced before the 60’s in some places of the region also heavily damaged the Russian cause, because people without school and institutions without traditions have emerged on the scene. Old fundamentals were being destroyed and there was no appropriate material for new creative work. *Absolutely alien laws and cabinet utopias* were called to rule life instead of customs and views naturally grown on the original local ground, although the rest of Russia, which is relatively closer to the western-European order, still did not digest them itself.

Liberation of peasants in accordance with the premature and quickly drafted plan turned the social order established in the regions of Transcaucasia since prehistoric times upside down. In addition, that thrust was unskilled and incomplete: despite legal abolition of serfdom, it still exists in practice in many places of the Tiflis and Kutaisi provinces where temporarily-commissioned peasants find burden of dependence on the landlords heavier than if they were their slaves legally.

Simultaneously wide opportunities became open for development and progress of that element, which itself doesn’t make a positive influence on the life anywhere,

and especially in the Caucasus, since negative professional characteristics are aggravated there by racial faults and tendencies. We refer to those Armenian exploiters, who since the sixties with special diligence and freely started sucking all waters out of the local population. I do not speak here indiscriminately *about all Armenian people, but about the class of kulaks*, usurers and shadow businessmen representing strongly coloured element characteristic for this tribe. Both the nobles and peasants were trapped in the web of those predators,

The sharper socio-economic reform, the more diligent must be service for its realization discharged by stable, but flexible state and public institutions: administration, courts, educational centres, press etc. Meanwhile everything of that was subjected to reforms simultaneously and from the point of view of interests of the Russian cause in the Caucasus everything changed to worse. Legal formalism for people historically taught to quick decision on nature of the case; competitive court process for people who have *athletics* developed in their blood for centuries; transfer of life important issues from authority of military class, regarded by local population as having prestige of recent victories, to hands of poor-spirited Caucasian bureaucracy still including great percentage of offal; classical system with refuse from breeding tasks for children of martial, vivid tribes, who historically had no inclination to large portions of dreary book knowledge, obviously crippled by its inapplicability in life; and finally, Greek gifts of the Russian public opinion and press of the period of self-nihilism and loss of national sense – undoubtedly all that was *poisonous spiritual food from prospective of the Russian interests*. The Caucasian press since the sixties is full of highly insolent mockery over those interests. Even that what was in the

mainland Russia tough, but reasonable and benevolent for consequences criticism of defects of our life, in the Caucasian province used to be and still is a pretext for gloating ridicule, *indiscriminate denial of everything Russian* in creative sense of this word.

Much has been done in that direction by personal staff of that former Russian element, considered by local residents as Russian actors. Besides, people used to come to the Caucasus unwillingly, politically unreliable, not sparing expressions of their hatred to the whole Russian order; the local population was eagerly listening to tales and sharp speeches distributed by such people, whose mood was supporting or even evoking centre running aspirations among the newly born native intelligentsia.

For instance, in different times quite a huge number of the Polish has been exiled or recruited to the Caucasus, who didn't accept the Russian statehood and refrain from the Jesuitical methods to harm the Russian cause. The fruits of the destructive work still can be traced in some areas. Being strange Russian officials by their uniform and language they exploited, oppressed and mocked the popular masses lowering and discrediting the Russian name in its eyes, and along with that they were getting closer with the most disturbed circles of the multi-tribal native intelligentsia, implanting and intensifying its negative attitude to the Russian statehood.

There are many signs *giving serious grounds to assert that some local disturbances broke out with the Polish interference and that the Armenian insurrectional programme, which will be spoken about later, is nothing, but the variety of the similar programme of the Polish jond developed in the thirties and improved in the sixties.*

The influx of *Germans* into the staff of the Caucasian bureaucracy had a negative impact as well, because even the best and most loyal men of them could not have that tension of national sense and self-awareness necessary at the outskirts to be subjected to cultural amalgamation.

It's obvious that the colouring environment especially in terms of absence of majority in number must be *rich for colouring elements*. The Germans with their cosmopolitan mindset were incapable to undertake such a Russian task. If the above expressed conclusion is not clear to many representatives of the Russian ruling class, then the reason is our little acquaintance with science of statehood accompanying the weakness of national self-awareness and dignity. The nature of this issue is perfectly understood in Germany, where they very skilfully distribute the *Prussians* as representatives of the state concrete to all necessary places.

Everything that was created in the Caucasus in the sixties – new governmental institutions, class changes, tribal relations, political tendencies, economic and communal changes – all that came too dear for the interests of the Russian cause, and majority of the local population as well. *Of course this damage is temporary*, at least as far as the main issue is concerned, i.e. *liberation of peasants*. From the prospective of wide lines of history and prospective of the *originally-democratic vocation of Russia* that act was *necessary*, because it has evoked formerly oppressed and faceless popular masses to an independent life and art in different spheres; this is itself a seed capable to bring rich cultural shoots.

To preserve these shoots from destruction and transformation into something ugly, antisocial and anti-government the *deliberate measures for protection of liberated slaves from new forms of exploitation* and gen-

eral rapprochement of the new order of the Caucasian life with the creative fundamentals of the leading Russian centre should have been taken timely. Meanwhile, that was the exact thing undone. Nevertheless the main deal of responsibility mostly falls not onto the then supreme representatives of the Caucasian authority, but onto the ruling ideas of the centre, low level of the public and state science in Russia – and as whole on the spirit of that time, when even governmental institutions were under pressure of different utopias.

The individual leading actors understood unsuitability and even the danger of application of many Petersburg's cabinet tendencies to the historically alien material; K.P. Yanovsky, supervisor of the Caucasian educational district, was an outstanding statesman courageously fighting the excesses of the pseudo-classical system and smoothing its application. But the general flow was too wide and strong, and its devastating consequences would keep showing up in the local life for long time.

The *reign of bourgeoisie* over all remaining popular classes and circles is one of the largest outcomes of establishment of legal order *everywhere around*. One German scientist once said that *the legal liberalism is the worship of the bourgeoisie*. At the same time this is its most reliable weapon, quite dangerous for any state and social organism.

Once the obstacles blocking the *supremacy of the unprincipled money* are abolished by “legal” way, then principles lying in foundation of the state power and of the customs, ruling the popular life more deeply than the easily deviated law, become shaky; *even freedom itself is reduced to zero*, because for real existence, not only on paper, it needs ideological support of people independent from the power of money.

For instance, when striving for the real truth the government allows the press great deal of license, then representatives of the ruling bourgeoisie opposing dissemination of some ideas do the following, first, *they take almost all of the influential press bodies in their hands*, second, using other sometimes incomprehensible methods they *practically always can block publications they find unpleasant*. In the republican France the will of baron Rothschild deprived the play “Degeneracy” of stage, although derision over the Christian religion is permitted and encouraged in any form.

Perhaps the inevitable has happened: the serving class fulfils the will of bourgeoisie there.

The danger becomes complicated when that bourgeoisie mainly belongs to the tribe, which is not interested in the welfare of the state or, moreover, wishing good to that state. Then what received is *parasitism* in the most disgusting and dangerous forms.

The *oriental* parasitism is aggravated because it doesn't have any limits, since it is deprived of any restraining moral or socially-ennobling bases.

In the Caucasus the socio-economic issue coincides with the tribal one: *the bourgeoisie almost exclusively consists of Armenians*, forming an interlocking mob on the top of that class and representing major social threat for local population, as for the state affairs – *there is a political threat as follows from example of some oriental powers, whose slackness and slovenliness had opened space for the Armenian parasitism.*

The legal order and all other steps in this direction in the Caucasus *are useful only for Armenians*, because for many centuries numerous Armenian businessmen had a practice on deviation of any laws and power decrees, as well as on subjugation of other people's will,

free or powerful by appearance, but *not prepared to neither freedom, nor power*. Everybody became in bondage to them, including local institutions from top to bottom. Other natives strongly criticize Russia for upgrade of the Armenian might saying that it could not be even spoken about under the Georgian tsars, because things used to be resolved not theoretically in cabinets, but on bases of strict requirements of life.

Nevertheless local population recalls the sixties with love and gratitude and moreover both feelings are evoked by not only the rise of cultural hopes and political aspirations appeared that time, but sympathy to personality of the grand duke Mikhail Nikolayevich as well, who was Royal governor at that time.

The moment of victory of legal formalism over the custom, idea over faith and feelings, and everything abstractly formal over the life-established things, costs too much for environment, where such change is little compatible with its spiritual structure. That environment feels something like moral cold – at this point lovely and cordial attitude to that from supreme master of local destinies has special price.

Paternal care of the Royal governor about needs of the Caucasian population, especially native, is still highly appreciated by the Caucasians never missing a chance to express him their gratitude and loyalty close to the mystical feelings of faithful loyalty.

That brought some benefits to the Russian cause, smoothing damage caused by tendencies and system of the sixties. But damage was enormous, even in political sense immediately because the isolating aliens, confused by “movements” and political dreams of that period, used to be imbued with the so-called “*Austrian state ideal*”, dreamed about “federation” and regarded central

figure of the empowered governor as symbol and support of their separatism. Meanwhile, in the communal sense the Russian popular cause suffered losses because of the transfer of the Russian military settlements from military ministry to the indifferent civilian authorities – and since then had grown faint.

The sixties and seventies in the Caucasus are marked by beginning of the more active implantation of civilization and economic growth; but both in fact served *mainly to isolation of that province, rather than to tight rapprochement with centre*. Partially that can be explained by the spirit of that time, partially by little significance of the Russian *national* idea in the views of local and metropolitan governmental circles of that time.

For instance, *integration of the Transcaucasia with the rest of Russia by the shortest railroad was under different pretexts postponed for years*, meanwhile there was established a *Transcaucasian railroad that formed, so to speak, economic blood circulation of the province completely separated from the rest of Russia*.

And because of that the Russian capitals, which could have the province connected with centre economically, now have difficulties in getting access to the local industrial world. The native and foreign industry of Baku was granted an opportunity to develop itself to such a grandiose scale that from prospective of national consolidation the current road from Beslan to Baladjary is *more than a delayed act*, and it would finally serve rather to increase of local isolation through influence of Baku millions on the Petersburg circles and press, than expansion of the Russian cultural influence in the Transcaucasia.

It is extremely interesting to remark how construction of the Transcaucasian railroad influenced situation of the individual areas and tribes. Armenians were the only

victors, who economically caught Baku and Tiflis in their hands.

Since they have relatively small population and minimal economic influence in Kutaisi, another Kartvelian capital, *the Transcaucasian highway deviated Kutaisi under the pretext of facilitation of the Persian transit* – hence once blossoming city is gradually losing its previous economic importance, despite the undisputable talent of its citizens for industry and trade.

The Armenian industrial companies and banks seized the predominant positions in Poty and Batumi – Black Sea destination points of the road, which has completely got in their hands this way.

On the other hand, the railroad has connected previously separated from each other branches of the Kartvelian tribe and greater spiritual isolation, sometimes taking nervous political forms, can be observed there since then.

If the road to Tiflis crossing the main range was constructed instead of or at least simultaneously with the Transcaucasian road, then picture of local life would be different, far less desperate from the prospective of the Russian national-state interests. It seems that the supreme Caucasian administration at all times treated an idea of establishment of comfortable and fast communication between Tiflis and Petersburg without special warmth. This is the matter of ... provincial psychology, particularly Caucasian, grounded on the Persian administrative traditions. The further from the controlling central government, the deeper is breathing. But even true proponents of consolidation of the outskirts with centre could not see the nature of the matter.

Unfortunately, not only then, but until now *the national character of capitals is underestimated, and often deliberately ignored by the relevant spheres*. He, who

has money, is the real master of situation, particularly where class of officials has poor material maintenance, and public opinion doesn't have national stability. Clear examples of the malicious reign of native capitals can be seen even in such countries like France and Austria, where independent economic activity of local population is ten times more than with us. That lesson possibly is not learnt or deliberately masked by people stating that capitals have no nationality by their nature and everywhere have objectively-positive influence. By the way such statement is not always disinterested...

From the objective, not national civilian, point of view the development of the Caucasian province since the sixties was abnormal, inharmonious – and occasional in some places external city improvement is accompanied from one side by rudiments of deep-rooted savagery, and from the other one by symptoms of such a sharp social corruption, which is only possible on the ground of the Asian corroded unscrupulousness stock-piled for many centuries of darkness and bigotry. To comprehend that chaos one necessarily has to cast a closer and separate look at the life and characteristic features of at least the main tribes inhabiting the Caucasus.

Undertaking that task one has to pay special attention to terminology and refuse some of the names and generalizations that only appropriate for common talk. For instance, the word *native* doesn't fit any more if we want to find the essence of subject. It is invented by lazy, straight or negligent Caucasian officials to have a formal character meeting number of various, unequal and often contradicting definitions, and which could justify actions – either unreal or sluggish, but anyway harmful.

If to divide the population of the Caucasus into larger groups, to some extent solid and coloured by the leading idea, then such groups would be: the Georgians as

the main, stated nation in the province, close to us for spirit and origin of culture; the Armenians as the element far more alien to us, and on behalf of its aggressive bourgeoisie hostile to peoples of the Caucasus; the Muslims, mostly of two categories: Aderbeidjani Tatars being under strong influence of Persia, and highlander Muslims, whose spiritual environment is formed under harsh natural conditions and strict requirements of the Islam. The Muslim Georgians and Turkish are not considered here because of their small number.

All this native peoples of the province are not dispersed, but strongly interrelated with each other, partially organically, like Armenians with Georgians and Muslims through mixed marriages and violent crossing for many centuries, and partially through communal occasions, like highlander Georgians with other highlanders on the ground of paganism, or Armenian tradesmen with different neighbours through exploitation of the latter. And finally there are Russians constituting over 2% of population in the Transcaucasia and divided into several different categories: there are people of higher stand with protection, influencing destinies of the province without any business related acquaintance with that; there are valiant, straightforward Russian warriors, and bunch of honest, educated people, and sectarians stubbornly keeping national particularities, and long-suffering settlers. And finally, people of different kind and status, who became so much Caucasusionated in the bad sense of word as they lost the national feeling and understanding of the Russian cause.

3. Brotherly Georgians.

The beautiful Georgia, country of ancient temples, towers, flowers, songs and legends is not sung by our poets occasionally! The Iberian land is a corner of Madonna, land of the Saint George, - "Gurjistan" in Persian – much spoken about with distant love by our blessed ancestors many centuries ago as an ancient seat of the Orthodoxy. The sufferings of the little heroic people for faith and originality had echoed by brotherly compassion in hearts of the northern co-religious brothers. Consolidation was steadily growing, - especially since Russia has undertaken the mission of the Third Rome, - and completed by benevolent unification of the Kartvelo-Kakhetian kingdom to Russia hundred years ago. It was *benevolent* unification, not in quotes, and unlike small states of the Middle Asia unwittingly flirting with us, but *serious*. By the end of the XVIII century Georgia several times was "submitted" to Russia, but the Georgian tsars had remained enthroned and the internal order of Georgia had not been altered; it means that interpretation of definition of "subject" was at least incorrect: that status authorized Georgia to have protection of the Russian arms against the predating Asian neighbours and imposed the only duty on Georgians...to protect their motherland against the same enemies and arrange provision for the Russian troops. Strictly speaking such "dependence" even was not typical vassalage and more looked like a union of the weak with the strong for the purposes of self-defence. It should be also noted that numerous representatives of the Georgian royal house didn't compassion to the *radical* resolution in the beginning of the XIX century of the issue of formerly fictitious subjection, and some of the Georgian feudal lords sup-

posed that Georgia should have joined Russia not by manifest, but by *bilateral agreement*, i.e. on the ground of special autonomy or semi-independence at least. That view still remains; it is being stronger, but quite unsuccessfully propagated by some Georgians infected by Armenian separatism and fulfilling, - not always disinterestedly, - its Caucasian anti-Russian programme. During unification of Georgia and on the later stages there were insurgencies on the ground of political enthusiasm and misunderstandings and their repetition in future is possible under influence of foreign interference and sometimes of incorrect administration of the province. But all of that, in final count, is infinitesimal and unable to *decline broad lines of history*. Because the Georgian people headed by the overwhelming majority of its leaders had joined *willingly, unconditionally and forever*. It has completed its historical mission and yielded to the spontaneous will of its own suffering soul by joining Russia on the basis of common religion.

As long as we cherish our faith, Georgia is spiritually close to us. That link is also fixed by the flows of the Georgian knights' blood shed under the Russian banner on the field of battle for our common cause, for the universal mission of the Third Rome, task of the *Orthodox culture*. As long as we believe in that mission and value our banners, we have to regard the Georgians as brothers and view the Georgian people as *one of the natural additional leverages of the mentioned task in the Asia Minor*.

Let's admit that for the past century and under pressure of numerous circumstances situation of those brothers became worse, their character became less pleasant and everyday communications with them don't pass without slight misunderstandings. Nevertheless it is necessary to study all that in order not to let trifles of life

to cover and erase by their garbage the *broad lines* of our cultural history, not to let the infinitesimal to destroy the great, like mice nibble pictures of the immortal artists.

Georgians or more precisely Kartvelians live in the provinces of Tiflis and Kutaisi. There are Georgians and Kakhetians in Tiflis province; Imeretians, Rachinians, Mingrels, Gurians, Ajarians and others – in Kutaisi province, beyond the pass of Suram. The Kartvelians of the Transuram are so much different from Georgians for their type, temperament and character that some connoisseurs of the region consider them as completely separate tribe. The Georgians are more solid and stable; Kartvelians of the Transuram are less reliable in all issues, but more vivid, brisk and enterprising. They constitute the main contingent of the dawning bourgeoisie, Georgian for their language.

The origin of the Georgians is not established, what testifies about extreme antiquity of this tribe. Apparently and in addition this tribe is not absolutely homogenous, judging for names, historic-geographical data and variety of physical types of the Georgians. The ancient queen of the Massagets was called Tamarissa, i.e. Tamara, Georgia was referred to as Iveria or *Iberia* like part of the Pyrenean peninsula; and even now should one takes a closer look into the spiritual and physical image of the Georgian, then he can be easily taken for the Spaniard, Romanced descent of the Celts-Iberians. By the way there is knowledge about the Georgian settlements in the Northern Africa and Abyssinia. Besides that the Georgian language contains some hints testifying that people bearing this language used to live in very hot country, *where water was the dearest value*; hence, almost all of the *main* life definitions – blessing, mercy, and misery – are connected with the word “*tskaly*” – water. Mercy in the

Georgian is “tskaloba”, miserable – “satskaly”, literal translation for that is “belonging to water”, “taken by water”... Usually such metaphors do not lie. In later periods the Georgians of course had crossed with Jews, who had come to that area in times of Nebuchadnezzar. There are still a lot of Jews in Imeretia, whom nearly impossible to distinguish from the local Kartvelians by their appearance. Story of the Saint Nina enlightener of Georgia testifies about presence of many Jews in Mtskheta, ancient capital of that country. Still present numerous biblical names of local settlements prove that.

The northern limit of Georgia lies near Kazbek station: that is a kind of Zaporozhe of the ancient Iberian kingdom. The monastery on the mountain over the Terek River, names of villages like *Stepantsminda*, or Saint Stephan, *Sion* etc. – everything indicates the light of the Saint Nina had shined around these gloomy mountains. But from ethnographic communal point of view real Georgia starts from the point closer to south, and its first breathe and premonition starts from the Gudaur river.

Having a closer look at the image of nature and people in Georgia it would be impossible for one not to feel deep traces of *suffering, centuries old and modern*. There is some bad luck hanging over the country at first sight created for bliss.

History of Georgia is one solid martyrs' log. Even Shakespeare could gain there some scenes invaluable for their tragedy. As it was already mentioned, there hadn't been a state in literal meaning of the word. The power of tsars used to be challenged by the self-willed, terrible feudal lords ruling the people. Monasteries were more like forts, and religion – a treasury, which people could not use fully, because all of their efforts were directed to its preservation from external enemies. Be-

sides, feudal-bishop quite frequently was rather more feudal lord, than servant of the altar. If one can express it so, *the broad lines of soul* under pressure of struggle for faith were absolutely imbued with Christianity, but small features of character and communal conditions had mostly remained *pagan*, and the Church had to stand it: for example, family blood vengeance still exists in some areas, animals are sacrificed to God. There was no external security and tsars and lords often had to pay off the fruits of earth, slaves, flattery, and even convergence in favour of predating Turkish and Persian masters, first acknowledging their power and then betraying it for the sake of national originality or their personal interests.

Feudalism and kinship had established firmly. This is the main line of the Georgian chronicle – *Kartlis-tskhovreba* – and *there is nearly no mention about people as an active force*. Nevertheless this is brisk and intelligent power, as it can be seen from beautiful folklore – songs, tales, noble and wise proverbs and colourful legends.

The Georgian popular pipers “mestvire” – are brilliant poets-improvisers. People’s language is a treasury of poetry. The Georgian peasants conceive images, converse the philosophic aphorisms. Half of the flock belonging to one khizan – landless renting-peasant – has plagued. He accepted that misfortune and said: “Thanks God! He made me his brother by taking half of my property!” the following are some characteristic proverbs: “Conscience is mediator between honest enemies”; “lie has short legs”. There is a high concept of truth and pessimistic sayings along with that, not without humour: “When you are about to tell the truth, hold your saddled horse ready”...

As one young Georgian writer knyaz Avalov correctly noted that *the feudalism saved Georgian nation*. When tsar submitted himself to some foreign rulers, then

it didn't mean subjugation of Georgia in whole, because it was too far difficult to seize all castles of feudal lords and pull up tribal originality. But feudal anarchy hindered development of the state-popular culture. The latter used to bloom only in times of short flashes of strong monarchic power. Such flashes, and quite bright ones, are related to the names of tsar David the Reviver, Queen of queens (shakh-in-shakh, or in the Georgian – mepis-mepe) Tamara the Great, and later George the Brilliant and finally Heracly II, who became the subject of Russia on the basis of vassalage in time of Catherine The Great. During their reign the cultural seeds concealed in the nation started bringing three hundredfold harvest, the country was built-up with magnificent temples, the holy artefacts and books with miniatures of unparalleled beauty had appeared in churches. The immortal verses of inspired poets were sounded across the place, like poem of Shota Rustaveli "The Man in Tiger's Skin", notorious for its undying beauty of expression and sympathetic wisdom; it is translated into main European languages (the German translation by Arthur Leist – "Der Mann im Tigerfelle" is extremely good), but there is no full poetic translation in Russian.

The people appreciated its tsars, who gave them truth and peace. Everything catching one's eye – temples, ruins of towers, mysteriously beautiful places – is connected with name of the Great Tamara; people unceremoniously call tsar Heracly II, who was a terror to Persians and Turks, "patara kakhi" – the small Kakhetian. These examples show how deeply democratic is the basis of any powerful monarchy.

There was serious flaw in the original social structure of the Georgians, what they had suffered from and maybe even would cost them, if not existence itself, at

least welfare of the whole tribe: *they had no bourgeoisie of their own*. In all of the numbered Georgian towns entrepreneurs, tradesmen and craftsmen mostly were foreign and infidel Armenians, hiding underneath the Georgian sword from the Muslim chase. Apparently they played the same role for the Georgians as aphids for the ants: made good use of the peace under protection of the Georgian sword, gained wealth and from time to time unwillingly shared that profit with their masters, whom they were trembling of servile fear before. Zealous Armenian patriot the late Caucasian general Kishmishev angrily told the story in some brochure that when rich Armenians refused to pay money required by feudal lords, the lords used to put them in sacks and soak in the fast-running Kura river threatening to drown in case of disobedience; they say, ancestors of that author were among those who suffered that. Although the method of extortion itself was naturally unprepossessing, but tightly connected in logical and communal sense with the equally unattractive method once used to be and still employed by the Armenian bourgeoisie for multiplication of its wealth, a fruit of obviously wayward grubbing.

The Georgian tsars and lords were not abstract supporters of the legal order doctrine: they instinctively realized that the monetary feudalism, i.e. *capitalism – is the enemy of statehood*, when bursts over the reasonable limits. Regular feudal lord is not that terrible, because it's always known where he can be found and how he can be dealt with; the "capitalist lord" is more fearful, because it's unknown which of the royal servants he can bribe, what kind of armed people may hire, which interests of people, especially of the alien one, he is ready to betray for his own benefit. Such issues used to be resolved simply at that time, and it should be pointed out

that under condition of observation of humanity and modesty that order was more reasonable, than the socio-economic chaos reigning in most of the modern countries blessed by the European civilization.

Anyway, in the independent Georgia Armenians didn't produce such fatal threat for the Georgians that they do now, in terms of the current administration in the province, which is distractively principled in theory, but frequently unprincipled in practice. Nevertheless, absence of the native Georgian bourgeoisie then, that role was played by Armenians parasitically, *was basically as abnormal, as if one person would have in his body the implanted stomach of another man, secretly working for the sake of the latter*. That example is an incredible in the everyday life, but quite ordinary in states; that anomaly was one of the reasons for collapse of Poland where economic field has been seized by the Jews.

The same anomaly should be fought more vigorously by our state too, particularly as the current times became far more sharp and less rich for the instinctive state sense: heterogeneous bourgeoisie – means *supremacy of the anti-Russian putrefying ideas in the press, and in school, and in public institutions, and even among the class of officials, who are always poorly maintained*; the individuals standing on top of some business channels may succumb to songs of such sirens like some Jewish banker or Armenian oilman... That can be seen now.

Part of the Georgian Armenians, whose tribal talent is not only economic pushing, but bureaucratic worming brought up by the amoral Persian-Turkish administration school as well, has infiltrated into the Georgian class of officials and even aristocracy. Except for two or three cases, that was inexcusable mistake of the Georgian tsars, a sign

of their weakness, and frequently of corruption of many powerful persons, not excluding crowned ones.

In this regard, expressions of one the latest Georgian tsars about the Armenian family of the Korganovs¹ are quite characteristic. Once upon a time somebody brought a complaint to tsar, who acknowledged truthfulness of the complaint and established the guilt of Korganov, but replied that he was unable to do anything about it: *"They are poisonous people; there is a dead Korganov lying on the Solak Mountain. Wolves are circling round and smell him, but afraid to touch! What is you expect me to do about the living ones?!"*

The history has shown Georgians that one should not trust people having natural inclination to espionage and treason: the Armenian meliks Abo and Majnun by names, blessed by the Heracly II, who sheltered them from the Persian chase, went over to the Persians in time of extreme and guided hordes of Agha Muhammad Khan, which had plundered and flooded Tiflis with blood in 1795. It's useful to remind that fact when Armenian publicists too strongly insist on the Armenians' being zealous *Christians*...

The absence of own bourgeoisie is extremely dangerous for any people in our days, when economic issues have an overriding importance; it's vitally important to have such class of people with industrial energy, which could be filled not only from bottom, but top as well, i.e. with representatives of nobility accommodating to new circumstances; otherwise the bankrupted nobles would fall right into the "gutter", and the popular mass would be enslaved by alien exploiters. The level of all cultural institutions and forms of life will depend on that:

¹ That branch of the Korganovs family ceased existence. *Author*

Church, and school, and the press, and charity – all that becomes weaker without material and ideological support from the energetic industrial class. Literacy falls – it's not occasional: educational institutions are located in cities – and it's difficult for provincial village inhabitant, even possessing large but less profitable estate, to maintain two houses while educating one's son in gymnasium, or preparing him to enter there; it's expensive to pay for full board and child will be parted from family; instead, any tiny manager, manufacturer, pigsty keeper of the Armenians living in the city can bring his son up to university nearly free of charge. When such a difference of situation manifests itself through sufficient number of occasions, then, in final account, *the whole nation lags behind* in cultural sense and loses huge chances in struggle for survival. In this case, from the point of view of the Russian statehood, it is extremely disadvantageous, since the Georgian people is the closest to us across the Transcaucasia for spirit and basis of culture, has high moral traditions, and besides, is distinguished from all other local tribes for greater talent to the scientific and spiritual development, as it can be seen from the bunch of reports of the supervisor for the Caucasian educational district.

From the beginning of the XIX century the Russian power has established firmly in Georgia, bringing benefits of peace and opening space for comprehensive development of the province. Meanwhile for original Georgia the peace has occurred to be not absolute, but relative benefit. It is undoubted that peace has brought some negative results too. First, in days of permanent threat the Georgians used to spend most of their time in the mountains, but after establishment of peace they have settled themselves in sultry valleys, where fatally affect-

ing health *malaria* became their cunning foe; the inherited traces of malaria still can be seen on faces of newborn children.

Second, although winery used to blossom in Georgia since ancient times, the chronic absence of security was blocking abuse of its fruits. Feasts of that time were rare and solemn like celebrations of victory or salvation. The traditional song “mravaljamier” (longevity) used to be finished (the mountainous Georgians still do) with the word *amen* and crossing. At present, when people hold feasts differently and at loaf, too often, that song became trivial table song, and its solemn Church tune is frequently substituted with recklessly funny one. Abuse of feasts – is not a joke: in some areas one can see many children *begotten by fathers in state of intoxication*. That, at least, has negative influence upon volitional centres of many people, especially *in such an historical time when serious systematic labour, intelligent self-activity is required*.

One characteristic and cheering symptom more and more frequently seen in Georgia should be mentioned: the youth often feels *disgust to wine*; one may think that the racial instinct of self-preservation dictates that. Hopefully it will bring good fruits.

Unfortunately, the psycho-physical state of population in different areas of the Empire is relatively little studied now; such studies would be extremely important at the outskirts with mixed population, where conclusions made on the basis of precise empiric data could have not only practical state, but general scientific meaning as well. In particular, such task, although in limited scales but with availability of sufficiently full characterizing data, could be undertaken by administrations of educational institutions, especially of the closed ones. The local cadets' corps in Tiflis in the late 90's was headed by I.D.

Smirnov, who had held very important records rich for valuable data of that kind and sharp witted conclusions, which unfortunately still remain unpublished. For instance, he paid compassionate attention to the studying Georgian youth and noted the following sequence of changes frequently occurring to the young generation: little Georgian under 14 or 15 is distinguished for extraordinary comprehension of lively or scientific impressions, ingenious, brisk, accessible for pedagogical influence; then about indicated age, coinciding in the south with early puberty, he fades away, becomes stupid, loses interest to science and sometimes demonstrates some sinful inclinations; two or three years later he relieves from that state that can be called disease, but resources of former spiritual forces do not revive again and there comes quite trite young man, bearing traces of some sickness. Obviously that is influenced by nature in general and malaria in particular, as well as results of the inherited alcoholism manifested through weakening of the volitional centres; and significant lack of family control over boys in critical period of initial passions, unrestrained by anybody or anything.

To complete circle of psycho-physical changes one may guess that centuries old wars created such features in the nervous system of Georgians that get perverted because they cannot find application for themselves now; courage and knights' valour found an application in carousing, gamble, bloody quarrels, unaffordable vain luxury etc; the slope becomes more and more steep running from former feats to shameful destruction or the dock; looking at the faces of people sitting there one can't abandon painful feeling: it is so obvious that many of today's criminals under other circumstances could be he-

roes; they are driven not by ill will, but explosion of aimless and locked nervous energy.

In countries where definition of economy of popular life is developed better that spontaneous force could be given better application like army on the other border, or some other spheres as maritime navigation etc, requiring disciplined courage in capacity of creative element. The current Caucasian authorities have lost the momentum to raise an issue of *forming of squad* from bankrupt, landless, carousing contingent of Kutaisi nobles in time of the Chinese war, or *chain of stanitsa on border with Manchuria*.

The state in ancient Greece was developing artificially those features we have gained in the Caucasus for free and now leave to grow shallow and decay with obvious damage to public security, innocent people and the Russian cause of state.

Another characteristic feature should also be mentioned. The Georgians like serving in their motherland, and get strongly disappointed if they fail to do so after completion of education at the higher educational institutions; they tend to regard it as the “policy of Russification”, although it has nothing to do here. Neither native of Poltava or Tambov province does require to be given employment right at the place of his birth: in our times of over production of the absolutely unprepared graduated intelligentsia, he must praise the fortune if he is given any place at all. But the Georgian is certainly willing to get “employed” in Georgia. Meanwhile, there is the place where it is most difficult to do anything sound, become useful to people or promoted in service, because many conditions of the local life are strongly hindering that. The country still lives through *painful-transitional situation*. The old order was destroyed, but population did not accustom to the new one. Former customs and traditions are dying away,

i.e. namely *grow shallow and decay*; only despotic fragments and forms remain in force integrating mostly with negative sides of new definitions. All around one can meet “intelligent” Georgian, whose mind and feelings are confused with mixture of kinship revenge and feudal ambitions with banal formulas of more or less extreme “liberalism”. Under pressure of such internal contradictions it is difficult for the art to emerge and develop on the shaky ground of changing concepts and moods. The Georgian lawyer sticks at indelible tribal origin, supervisor of state-owned land interests – at the organic, spontaneous disrespect to them, zealot of peasants’ welfare – at rudiments of firm feudal instincts, writer – at jealousy requirements of the tribal isolation. Everywhere and in everything – there are obstacles to the broad view on the general state and human interests, although principle-based progressive creation is incomprehensible without it. If that is added by vindictiveness of people considering themselves offended, and importunity of those striving to get something deviating law, one can imagine how complicate is situation of any Caucasian Georgian official, connected with local population by family ties, neighbourhood, friendship or hatred, at least. Denunciations, harassment and threats – complete hell!.. Even when the sphere of his activity doesn’t touch vital interests of his fellow-countrymen he hardly can work systematically, he is *prevented* from peaceful seating at the desk either by guests requiring warm welcome with wine and songs or friends inviting to receptions with wine and songs. The climate is coddling, custom is making slack and distracting from serious work, and myriads of idle people, as if evocated to prevent their neighbours from working.

It is quite remarkable that the Georgians appear to be talented actors in different fields, but under condition

of being parted from their motherland. Many examples could be cited here, but I will dwell upon one very bright and instructive from the beginning to the end. One knyaz, spending his time in carousing, causelessly killed some modest inhabitant, who was unlucky to call at local restaurant and to attract sudden anger of that “knight”; the criminal first was exiled to Siberia and then to one of the southern provinces of the European Russia. In both places of his exile that man gained general respect and compassion for his decency, diligence and useful activity; for instance, in the south of Russia he took trouble to teach population silk culture, gardening and viticulture, and became close councillor of the governor in his endeavours to raise people’s welfare. Suddenly came the news that mother of the exiled knyaz was dying. He was allowed to visit home – on his way he called to the famous war general and administrator knyaz N.Z. Chavchavadze, who happened to be in Vladikavkaz then, to ask his support to the appeal for complete amnesty of the exiled knyaz. Although knyaz Nikolay Zurabovich received the so-called “chapar breeding”, meaning that he didn’t have any diploma, he was self-educated and remarkably wise person. He looked at the applicant with compassion and replied: “What is that dragging you, silly man, back to Georgia?! You should avail of that you can calmly work, get wisdom and study something abroad! Once you get back – you will become a heaven smoker again, and even once again will resort to crime. Anyway you will hardly be able to become a useful person there”. But the exiled person missing for motherland was insisting – and respectful knyaz surrendered: he received complete amnesty for that man. But his provision came true, as if it was prescribed! The pardoned deportee received good governmental appointment in motherland, but lost it too

soon for his own fault and turned to mastering at the piece of inherited land; first came neighbouring feasts, then carousing in towns, and finally some fellow rake disembowelled him with dagger. Although he has survived, he had naturally gone far further from an opportunity to be a “useful person”...

Life of the Georgian society, especially of its higher circles, sharply turns to worse, *and order is decomposing*, especially because of the fatal inconsistency between historically developed character of people and new socio-economic circumstances, not mentioning laws. Loss of the native customs and traditions inevitably leads to decomposition. Change of the way of life doesn't come easy. Not finding the usual forms for their satisfaction, the athletic and organic thirst for strong nervous impressions transform into not only ordinary criminality, but passion for *anarchical utopias*. Trouble-makers can easily drive the Georgian youth, which is loyal-hearted and likeable in general, to commit outrages with sorrowful outcomes: sometimes it's enough to say that some adventure leads to glory or that the Georgians must be “pioneering people” and so on. The popular masses, especially beyond the Suram mountains, i.e. in Imeretia, Mingrelia, Guria, is quite sensitive to the anarchical whispers; the agrarian relation in Guria (uyezd of Ozurgethy) have taken extremely sharp character long ago. The remarkable growth of general crime on one side, socialist nonsense from the other side, and equally illegal colourful forms of former wild instincts and concepts from the third side – all that creates rather dangerous *mass of the inflammable material* for close future in the western Georgia, resembling either Italy with its carbonaries, or Corsica with its bloody anarchy and original wild colours. The small book “Colomba” by Prosper Merimee, describing the Corsican rites, makes one to transfer spiritually to the

Transuram Georgia. By the way, the extraordinary *theatrical talent* of all population from top to bottom is the characteristic Georgian feature. The Georgians, especially western, are born actors, poets and artists. The powerful, beautiful and stern nature, influencing their spirit and history full of adventures speak through them: adventures and inclinations of predecessors *transform* into game of fantasy and namely into *organic artistic character* of descents. When that phenomenon takes importance and scales of the mass occurrence, then it means that nerves of the entire nation are permanently excited, sensibility becomes morbid...

The following fact can be interesting illustration to the abovementioned. In 1895 in Kutaisi somebody Luka Costava by name was brutally killed by the Jewish crowd. Mother and widow of that man showed up in Kutaisi with undone hair, scratched breasts and angry screams. Their appearance disturbed within a moment all population, which had immediately caused gigantic devastation of the Jewish quarter. Entire local intelligentsia supported plunderers; everybody spoke about usurious yoke of major Jewish beachheads over local residents, about reprehensible relations between the rich Jew Tsitsianishvili with local administrator (dismissed soon after), etc; anti-Semitism was general. Several years after; Jews of St. Petersburg and their lackeys have erupted well-known scandal in Maliy Theatre at the performance of "Contrabandists" – the same play has provoked similar scandal at the city theatre of Kutaisi soon after: recent "convinced" anti-Semites became defenders of the malicious instincts of Jews. In both cases the main part was played exactly by nervous sensibility and *artistic character*, connected with inclination to the Frond...

Entering the depth of the purely psychological field, one should have mentioned that the world and new cir-

cumstances of life have made an extremely negative impact on the Georgian Church. For centuries religion was inscribed by blood of martyrs and faith was a feat. Despite the presence of bishops-lords and undeveloped theology, the Georgian Autocephaly Church was highlighted by self-consciousness. With establishment of peace *the faith has lost its tragic character*, attributed to the very nature of the Christianity, *and hence become depleted*. Grounded by the common sense of state the Autocephaly Church was abolished and its extensive land possessions were taken to the treasury. Let's admit that the mentioned act has been carried out by request of the Georgian priesthood realizing its inability to rule it. That shouldn't be a disaster, if the sequestered Georgian church was not neighboured by the impressive building of the *Armenian theocracy* towering in Echmiadzin, rich for lands and money (administration of that was just recently transferred to the treasury), politically organized and frequently engaged *in open fight with the Russian power*. Seeing that picture, able to inspire separatist feeling in any people, and regardless the newly announced reform of administration of the Armenian Church property, the Georgians *are still entitled* to conclude that it is *beneficial to be secessionist* in the Caucasus.

Finally, that idea could go to the background as well, *if the Orthodoxy enjoyed sufficient care and attention of the class of officials and society of the province*. Meanwhile, *religion in the capitals and centre of Russia itself was not in advantage till recent times*, serious turn to better has begun only after the royal-creative initiative of the late Emperor Alexander III, although that saving movement reached Georgia only in limited scales. Several years ago one prominent Caucasian official asked exarch of Georgia whether or not the reverend gentle-

man was planning to go to the station to meet Catholicos of all Armenians. That official was surprised to hear negative response:

- As far as I know, patriarch in religious hierarchy stands above Metropolitan or exarch?
- Yes, - calmly answered the prelate, - but the *Orthodox* patriarch, not heresyarch.

Official just shook his shoulders, but didn't dare to insist. There is another example as much characteristic. Some censored Armenian newspaper, printed in Russian alphabet, has published malicious insinuations against one of the most ancient and noble among the Georgian monasteries – *shrine of John of Zedadzen*. By the way, that clear hint referred to the miracle (the pool waters itself in the day of shrine's holiday), which that shrine of the IV century is famous for, as nothing but fraud. Like a witness, who visited that eagle's nest inhabited by five miserable and hungry hermits, I wrote an answer deserved by the slanderer. *The censor banned me*. When I came to the relevant official for personal explanations and started convincing him that assault against people's sanctuaries through the newspaper was a dirty trick and indignant press word could serve the best antidote to that, - the gentleman I was speaking to, answered with an air of the astonished liberalism:

- What is that passion to religion?! Excuse me, but your point of view is a bit of gendarme-like. Why should you bother to support that obsolete ruin?!

It was at least inappropriate to hear from the official person!..

To illustrate that casus I will add something else. The author of that filthy article was political deportee, nearly of participants of the March 1st conspiracy. Once settled in Tiflis, he systematically served to the Armenian usurer-

separatist intrigue through local press and using the pretext of liberalism misinterpreted many things that dear to real Georgians and Russians. When that rogue died, one of the leaders of the local nobility, a man proud for his title and noble status, honoured the funerals among the rascals and imbeciles of Tiflis. Obviously, he did that *by order of the Armenian bosses*, who he had debts to.

Importance of such fact as decline of the religion is crucial for the people, whose whole culture and spiritual life was based upon that ground. That disaster was aggravated by bunch of the naturally produced phenomena, and reforms of the 60's have become the most fatal among them, especially for the Georgian people; I say *for people*, not only nobility, because immediately after dissolution of the ties between them both nobility and peasantry have fallen into tenacious paws of the Armenian bourgeoisie. Everything that could be restrained by powerful hands of such wise rulers as Yermolov and Vorontsov in terms of the patriarchal order of the pre-reformed administration – now has grown wide under coverage of the abstract legal order giving the pushing swindle and advantage before the patriarchal and not always (only in extraordinary cases) strict traditional arbitrariness. New courts, and moreover, unprincipled attorneys have developed chicanery, muck-rake, perjury, substitution of normal honesty with formal impunity etc. The Imeretians are especially famous for that. They give hundreds of royal stamps to their daughters as dowry. Once upon a time in the city park of Tiflis I was looking after conversation between two Imeretian cooks with watch in my hand; within fifteen minutes their Georgian speech was more than fifty times interrupted by shouting: “cassation appeal”, “referring to articles” and so on.

The urban self-administration of new type with unbelievable speed became accumulated in hands of the

Armenian plutocracy, which was ruling insolently and clearly negligent about interests of the more numerous multinational mass of population. Armenians grabbed all banks, including the state bank, and trade of the agricultural products into their hands. *All the economic life of the region is in the iron jaws of mob.*

The Georgian land proprietorship is melting incredibly quickly. Various Mantashevs, Aramyants, Arafelovs, Makaryants and other Armenian bosses buy Georgian lands for nothing and fill them with settlers from Turkey; *chapels and even churches transfer into hand of Armenians.*

It should be noted that major part of that process is accomplished secretly: Armenians do not dare to present all their documents and terminate all intertribal issues in the land sphere yet. They are afraid of burst of desperation in the Georgian society and suspect that due to the sharp crisis Russian government would take a closer look at the Caucasian affairs.

The modern school entertaining itself with pseudo classicism and almost deprived of good educational significance has heavily damaged the Georgians. The previous battalion and regiment school of times of Yermolov and Vorontsov, as it was said above, had been simple, but well oriented. It used to raise minds and characters preparing them for switch to new order of state. It has brought up a plethora of outstanding Georgian military commanders and administrators. The number of the outstanding persons among students of the new school is small, but number of the disoriented people is countless. In Georgia – where factories are nearly absent, and its ridiculous to speculate about workers proletariat – it's easy to meet the convinced Marxist; in country where wine flows as river and tobacco is smoked even in bed, one can encounter pseudo followers of Tolstoy.

A mass of intelligentsia receiving Russian diplomas cannot find employment, grow shallow and transform into people without any particular colour or with Levantine tinge.

The struggle fought by the late supervisor of the Caucasian educational district K.P. Yanovsky with then ministry of popular educational was for adaptation of the pedagogical practice to the local ground. That notorious teacher did not live the day of triumph of his ideas, and God knows when that day would arrive. The malicious prejudice of the "united school" is still strong; they mix concepts of *aim* and *tools*. Although it seems to be clear that aspiration for similar final goals under different circumstances must reach success only through diversification of tools. Ideal of the school is differentiation, not unification.

Elementary school doesn't comply with its commitment fully, because sometimes it *rushes to push out natural language of the population too fast*. That formal *statistical* or more exactly *career success* is reached at the expense of damage to the spiritual development, because natural language is normal organic instrument of the latter. Of course, people need command of the state language as an access to all benefits and advantages of the plenipotentary Russian citizens. People is thirst for knowledge of the Russian, but representatives of the local intelligentsia, who don't want to allow that, are guided by serfdom feelings and thoughts: they find it beneficial to drive people into the dark corner of ignorance to exploit them as much unimpeded as possible. Similarly wrong those teachers who inflate the simple and clear matter of language into irritating trouble, building career upon nerves of people generally inclined to be our *ally* in the Caucasus. Obviously, official state and native local languages may coexist peacefully, not excluding each other: this is an issue of tact and benevolence to the population.

I didn't deteriorate colours while describing negative sides of the Georgian life. It should be noted, major part of knyaz and nobles, especially those ones living in Tiflis and spending more than they earn, do fall not only financially, but morally, *submitting to influence of rich Armenians, who more and more reasonably consider them as owned political tools*. Level of the female morality and dignity falls remarkably as well under influence of such life and negative sides of the ludicrous European civilization in Tiflis in general.

Was the ancient Georgian lady moral? Travellers like Charden and Dumas deny that. I think they are wrong. Typical Georgian ladies of old breed, whom I met, deserve absolute respect to themselves. Possibly it was nature itself, which prescribed yashmak and original ethics of the past for the southern passionate woman.

Situation is bad, nut not hopeless. First, destruction, nasty destruction awaits the overwhelming majority of the higher class for centuries representing almost all of Georgia. That is bad, because *every people needs the supreme class with noble traditions; there were ones*. Part of the higher class, more modest, will possibly hold in their estates. They are – various retired captains, under-officers of militia with badges of military order in their tab and so on; they are *real native Georgians*, men of honour, loyal to their people, Tsar and fatherland. The Georgian bourgeoisie will gradually grow from both the top and bottom, *if really-progressive Georgians and Russian power would realise that this cause strongly needs help*. Level of the Georgian intelligentsia will improve with salvation of the Russian school and press; finally, the *popular mass* retains a lot of vivid power inside; but *every popular mass needs help* and careful attention of the government.

Nowadays the Georgian peasant is still oppressed, confused and misguided, although freedom was announced to him, but reform has been carried out carelessly; the compulsory land ties are not resolved yet, likewise boundaries and many other things. The economic conditions oppress him; on behalf of the buyers-up and Armenian kulaks he has got more cruel masters than the previous lords, whose tyranny could be mitigated by numerous *good traditions* bringing classes closer to each other. The former strict feudal power had kept peasants in obedience and made them to respect the strangers' property. Now that power is abolished, *but concept of legality has not rooted in the popular conscience* because change was too sharp and people weren't ready to that. The agrarian misunderstandings happen more and more often. Moreover, peasant doesn't comprehend himself as citizen with definite rights and obligations...

Yes, he loves his motherland spontaneously, like any Georgian, because it cannot be unloved. And he regards the Russian Tsar not as ordinary manager, but his legitimate Tsar, natural successor of previous dynasties. That is patriarchal, filial love without any tinge of servitude.

Here is one of the thousands of characteristic stories told by plain people of Tiflis about journey of the Emperor Alexander III to Kakhetia. Once their majesties left Tiflis on the highway they met a simple man, who was squatted down and roasting kebab. Being incredibly delighted he waved his hands and shouted, raising his glass of wine:

- Alexander, Mariamo, gamardjoba! Let God send you victory!

Tsar made that Georgian happy: he took a gulp of wine and drank for his loyal Georgian people.

4. Russian-Georgian relations.

The issue of the Russian-Georgian relations is very interesting. The lower popular classes reproach perfectly like two relative, impulsive origins. Thousands of the Russian pilgrims visit the ancient Mtskheta and Bodbiy monastery and fraternize with Georgians. In the army Russians come more closely with Georgians, unlike Armenians, who are not admitted to club by the officers' families of some regiments, for instance, Nizhegorodsky. The Georgian generals are popular among Russian soldiers as men with appropriate carriage and courage. Even two years after departure of knyaz Amilakhvary from position of corps commander some soldiers continued to believe that he was on "temporary leave" and "in case of combat operations would take command again".

Relations between the class of officials and Georgian nobility – are quite horny – undoubtedly because of the fault of both parties. First, the local higher class has a lot of aggressive ambitions, but frequently lacks civil principles. Should one official reject impossible or illegal request by some feudal offspring, then the latter would acknowledge all officials to be torturers, and Georgia to be offended unfairly. The logic is somewhat female: should one man offend a lady, then she would certainly call all men tyrants!.. Meanwhile those lords themselves arrogantly treat officials promoted from seminary students or plain family, thus creating enemies.

Some representatives of the old famous families distinguished for their psychology of small "rois en exil" are specifically "uncomfortable"; those who can't tolerate their new situation, or engage in any business and do incline only to the "showy" searing of life, have spent money received from the treasury as compensation for the

lost “estates”, and then quickly lost some “allowances” and fees gained from court processes against the same treasury – they are the most furious enemies of everything Russian, *even when they keep receiving benefits*; their complaints are full of the organic sorrow for the lost “tyranny upon chicken paws”, so to speak. Having extensive relations in capital circles these gentlemen sometimes turn into real disaster for the Caucasian Russian authorities; being driven by permanent need for the money to maintain their parasite “shine” they get hobnobbed with rich bosses of the Armenian movement and become guides for their tendencies and intrigues in circles they have an access to. They usually catch the magnanimity of the Russian government, expressed by vague formula “Il faut faire quelque chose pour ces bons Géorgiens”, in their favour. The lion part of that “quelque chose” is immediately caught by people fed to teeth with various blessings, but it’s no good for the Georgians, as *nation*. Arrogance and snobbism of the privileged parasites evokes indignation of the Russian officials’ class, almost turning into hatred. The Russian man is democratic for his nature and doesn’t understand the feudal pride: he acknowledges achievements, not coat of arms.

There should be definite policy in relations between plain people and officials. When the Armenian wishes to get anything he spreads as carpet, crawls as snake at the feet of clerk and reaches his goal by subtle flattery. The Georgian aristocracy and intelligentsia have neither that “convenient” character, nor that higher and more respectful character called *endurance*. This is why their business position is often shaky. They also harm themselves by passion to kinship: even the most benevolent official, naturally, would have less trust to any person

who is reasonably suspected to hide party or family combinations behind the proposals of principle nature.

Mixture of the medieval senses with theoretical definitions of the XX century obviously creates confusion, harmful for its bearer. Being impressed by frequent misunderstandings, both of the interested parties incline to the groundless opinions and easily believe in lie, consequently the relations become tenser. The Georgians incline to consider all of the Caucasian officials as absolutely bad people, what is of course wrong: many of them truly are, but not all! Many Caucasian officials incline to assert that all Georgians are serious separatists, what is absolutely wrong as well.

The Georgians like to emphasize the word *truly-loyal*, what in the symbolic Caucasian language means confession of loyalty to Tsar, but *reluctance to submit to the Caucasian authorities*. The Georgian nobles have an amazing ability to “sulk” at the officials and thus to harm themselves. It’s unspeakable how much suffered and tolerated slight pins on his dignity the late knyaz Dondukov-Korsakov, who had truly wished good to the Georgian people, but finally had been forced out of patience. They say that once upon a time when that person arrived to Kutaisi, he had been welcomed by the following slogan: they reproduced initial letters of his name D.K. and placed above and between them the word “*ura*”². They did that like schoolboys, in vain, just to say! Chain of such actions is grounded by dissatisfaction with abolition of the procuratorship system better suiting the negative sides of the oriental world outlook and way of life, than the cold-strict order and legality.

² Altogether it makes the Russian word “durak” – stupid. *Interpreter*.

The Caucasian environment, corrupted by the Armenian flattery and bribery and intensified by the Georgian nervousness, specifically affects the Russian officials' class, and authoritative representatives feeling to be distant from St. Petersburg, easily succumb to temptations of the oriental bureaucratic customs. The cunning elements of population take that moment into account and benefit, but nervous ones lose on that. One old Georgian once stated with humour that he was unable to distinguish limits between definitions of "government", "patronage" and "supremacy". Generally there is a lot of bitter humour in the Georgian speeches. For instance, one knyaz formulated his situation as following: "Armenians deprived me of my estate, administration deprived of service, the only things left there are my loyalty feelings and good appetite. It's all right, I can live"!

From time to time officials or the press raise the issue of the Georgian *separatism*. Leaving exaggerations and, maybe, dreams of a bunch of unimportant people aside, that accusation should be infringed in the real limits of the existing fact.

The glorious history cannot be forgotten – and conscious classes of people, absolutely not betraying their loyalty feelings and not objecting to the benevolent unification of Georgia with Russia, would hate to lose their ethnographic originality. They keep dear their national image, language, common and religious ones, songs, literature and symbolism of customs.

That hardly can harm anybody. Moreover: since morality and integrity of human personality is based upon rights and customs, racial fundament, then *from the prospective of the widely-comprehensible state interests the typical Georgian is more preferable than the Georgian torn off the ground and unattached tightly to the*

Russian roots; the latter takes an image of the Levantine, a man with tribal shortcomings and without traditional tribal goods, i.e. a man good for nobody: neither candle to God, nor poker to devil!

The sharpest forms of isolation, as was mentioned above, can be remarked beyond the Suram Mountains, Kutaisi province. Explanations to that must be looked for in history, very anarchical for its nature, and feverish climate, and extreme nervousness of Georgians of that area. Besides, the Imeretian kingdom was rather concurred than benevolently united. At last, under such circumstances the *socio-economic* phenomena take specifically important essence and due to them the most conscious part of population, grounded on shoat, demonstrates symptoms of anxious nature.

There are many internal contradictions between aspirations of the isolated part of the Georgian society. Representatives of these trends, on one hand, look back in the past, have passion for kind of an amateurish archaeology, nervously keep dear their outfit, dagger, architecture and various external forms bearing tribal imprints on, on the other hand – they wish the common Russian institutions like court of jury, municipality, universities and other higher educations establishments to reach out Georgia; from one side they stand for the inviolability of the Georgian language, from the other one – for the Marxist class struggle, denial of importance of language and traditions. These antagonist ideas are supported by different groups of intelligentsia, quarrelling with each other, but joining in the common flow of the centre-running aspirations; sometimes absolutely contradicting tendencies live together in mind of one person, confessing the confusion of definitions.

The Georgians are people simultaneously *apolitical* and having passion for nervous sensitivity, produced by

theatrical sides and sportive forms of the political struggle. At first sight, the abovementioned includes the controversy. But nervous passion for the policy is not a vocation crowned with successes. Strictly speaking, the title of the “political people” is most deserved only by Germans, and especially their Anglo-Saxon branch: popular governance works there *regularly*, reasonably, successfully, besides the society is nearly integrated with government; majority of other peoples needs strong central power and *administrative* order, because their citizens are either unable “to fit in well” or indifferent to policy, or too nervous (practically all southerners). “Political” people can be shallow and bourgeois-banal (for instance the Dutch and others), and “apolitical” people can be the great, like the Russians, for instance. It is not an issue of the spiritual level, but degree of “unification of atoms” of the people, so to speak. From this point of view, the most southerners can be compared to the gaseous bodies...

Unfortunately, not only isolated, but all of the intelligent Georgians strongly *lack the farsighted tribal patriotism*, thought plan of actions to reach a deserved privileged position to that nation in the Russian Empire. That status is usually reached either by weapons in hands, or by *good*; but Georgians incline to the third and quite unproductive way: they often absolutely unreasonably become “sulky”, frond – and spoil their business, thus pleasing other Caucasian competitors. The Georgians have great potential for success: they are *sympathetic to the Russian people*, worship the state religion, easily accustom (when desired) to different conditions. They could have taken prominent positions with us, if they wished, and influence the common Russian affairs. Alas, they lack self-control and far-sight as well...

The Georgians incline to attach the sharp character of politics to any issue, not only related to their ethnographic originality, but even the simplest commodity or economic matter connected with electoral agitation, speeches, ballots and so on.

The recent elections of boards of noble land banks in Tiflis and Kutaisi have demonstrated very colourful characteristic picture. All of the more or less intelligent Georgia participated in that noisy struggle. Speeches accompanied by the unspeakable uproar of claps and protesting screams filled the house of the Georgian noble theatre; flowers and hysteric cries have poured out of boxes occupied by the expansive granddaughters of formerly strict and snobby Georgian matrons. Speakers from time to time squeezed their weapons, but luckily never used them. Meanwhile the irreconcilable hostility spilled over like wide wave far beyond limits of banking sessions and interests. The party of "machabelists", named after knyaz I.G. Machabely, who later became missing, was especially notorious for its hostility. Everything was mixed and involved here: ladies' sins, competition of literary men, and echoes of old feudal animosity between particular "gorges"; possibly the latter was that element specifically intensifying discussions on "loaners", "directors", "revision commission" and other issues. This way or other, both the hostility and forms of struggle have borne truly Corsican character: a kind of a "rabbit", point of madness distorting the whole world outlook, the whole nervous system, and the whole life had emerged and ineradicably established in heads of combatants... Removing or, at least, strongly smoothing the sharp forms of the banking struggle the Russian power did a great favour to the Georgian society desperately longing for tranquil-

lity; it should be noted, that while the Georgians dedicated their time, means and forces to those quarrels, the gangrene of the Armenian exploitation more and more successfully was decomposing their welfare.

One can easily imagine what the land institutions could become! It's not occasional that the Armenianized press insists on their introduction. The Armenians – zealous of the economic and spiritual enslavement of the Caucasus – naturally would very much like to see the land institutions in Georgia turned into arena of contradictions, on one hand, and on the other hand – into the seat of isolation, inclining to transform the business-like *administrative* establishment into small parliament, and finally *to distract attention of the Georgians from cities* being keys to the economic supremacy, because only cities, especially big ones, make prices for the agricultural products, being extensive markets for their trade and centres of credits. It's amazing how sensible are Georgians to the Armenian *prompting*, despite their bitter experience!.. I will never forget one of many sessions of the nobility assembly in Tiflis dedicated to the issue of land institutions. The proponents of the latter were knyaz G.M. Tumanov, “Armenianizing Armenian”, untalented, but stubborn propagator of the “Armenian-Georgian solidarity”, and knyaz D.Z. Melikov, owner of the “Novoye Obozreniye” newspaper and half-Armenian by birth, very popular among Armenian financial circles and then elected leader of the Tiflis nobility. Both of them “softly sang” about land institutions and audience listened to them passionately. The only wise and reasonable word then came from colonel knyaz G.I. Orbeliany demonstrating deep knowledge of local conditions and political mind. He has remarked the sufficient difference between the forms of institutions and their content; if there is no

serious factual ground to hope for establishment of full correspondence between them, then institution works poor, bringing harm to residents and benefits only to those, who can catch fish in stirred up water. "We rejoiced, - continued knyaz, - to introduction of new urban statute in Tiflis, but what it had come to? The city became less comfortable, they forced us, Georgians and Russians, out of the Duma, it is rather more difficult for the Georgian worker to find a piece a bread than to newcomer from Turkey, our ancient capital gradually stops to be the Georgian city; nothing to say, we have reason for joy! No, gentlemen, *we need governor!* It's rather better to confess it sincerely than to follow down the path of adventures!"...

Sensitive and well-grounded speech by knyaz Orbeliani was welcomed by applause, but then... after following sessions the assembly spoke in favour of introduction of the land institutions, it's noteworthy that later some nobles confessed cordially that they voted "pro" exclusively because of the fear to be considered "illiberal". *Luckily for the Georgians* that project didn't encounter compassion in the governmental circles. True (in literal meaning) supporters of the project forgot that the land activity was *administrative* work and one can't do it without appropriate knowledge and practice; if people are unable to organize well the agricultural unions of mutual assistance, consumers' societies and so on, then what kind of land administration they could have, how unproductively and tendentiously would self-taxation grow?! That would be strange for a man having poor knowledge of main rules of arithmetic to deal with logarithms: any charlatan can cheat him on this "cipher"! If in some areas of the mainland Russia the land institutions were liming in the beginning and people got used to them later, then

it is difficult to expect the same at the outskirts with multi-national population, especially where the trade-industrial class is composed of the predating nation enslaving the Georgians more and more. It's obvious that subjugation will grow even stronger if not stopped by adoption of the restraining law, becoming more actual day by day.

The representatives of the isolated part of the Georgian intelligentsia are equally little far-sighted when striving for the establishment of university or polytechnic college in Tiflis: they would get only "residues" of that benefit, which would be grabbed by the Armenian plutocracy to be transformed from the higher educational institution into *academy of the Armenian intrigue*.

The Georgians quite reasonably explain their sensitivity to the Armenian influence saying that Armenians represent the only *real* force in the region and even the Russian power doesn't offer them appropriate counteraction in any field; the Armenian bosses have freely grabbed *all life important sources*: markets, banks, and influence (although secret, and hence more dangerous) of destinies of officials and enjoy impunities in cases, when any other Caucasian resident would be punished in the most cruel way. From the prospective of transient and temporary advantage they are right, but at the same time they confess of serving their personal benefits, not high ideals like their ancestors knights. Let's be hopeful that they will be right not for long, from the practical point of view as well: necessity of counteraction to Armenianization of the Caucasus by radical actions becomes more pressing. From the point of view of the Russian historical mission that would be a *sin* to submit the co-religious and generally loyal to us people to be ate; equally sinful would be a bad policy, because it would be disadvantageous from the prospective of the

Russian state cause to allow Georgians to become the conductors of the Armenian movement!.. Armenians lead there consistently and systematically, but succeed only in respect to the ruined smokers of heaven. The Georgian people don't believe them. During religious-popular holidays in Mtskheta, Alaverdy and Bodby the blind Armenian singers freely sing "Georgian" revolutionary songs, composed specially by the Armenian politicians of bankers. People listen without attention, with scornful smiles as hearing some nonsense. But once somebody starts singing beautiful lyrical song by popular poet, knyaz Tseretely or Chavchavadze – everything wakes up and turns into ear... For the nervous intelligentsia the Armenian bosses publish "La Géorgie" newspaper in Paris in French, but they don't succeed here as well: the newspaper is prepared without talent, deals with shallow gossips and dissemination of libel. At first public has shown slight interest to that, but nobody speaks about it seriously at present...

It is a fatal combination of circumstances that the more or less stubborn, although not very dangerous of course, seat of the Georgian isolation is that field of local life, which serves the strongest chain uniting the small Georgia with the great Russia. I'm referring to the Church. The Georgian priesthood cannot forget the autocephaly of its Church, and there are narrow minded people among the Russian priests in the Caucasus unable to separate religion from politics, as well as the "career-makers in frocks" ready to shake the very fundamentals of the holy Church's cause in Georgia for the sake of career ambitions. It should be also noted that the Georgian priesthood itself is not distinguished for either high cultural level, or useful influence on the popular masses and enjoys nearly no authority among them.

That is not a fruit of the Russian regime; quite to the contrary *it is a result of exhaustion of the spiritual power in Georgia by the end of the XVIII century*. I had a chance to see one recent official correspondence: two prominent priests were accusing each other in criminal offences: A accused B in hiring assassins to make an attempt on his life. B proudly responded that there was no need for assassins since he had many young relatives *ready to kill anybody at his first sign*.

Family vengeance between priests, especially supreme ones, has not turned into legend yet. Under such circumstances it becomes clear that presence of the ethnic Russian and objectively benevolent exarch, not connected with any political unification tasks which can be carried out by thousands of other methods, is extremely useful from the prospective of religion and spiritual interests of the Georgian people. The most thoughtful Georgian patriots understand that. While the Georgian orthodoxy was pressing all its efforts for not to be ruined, the Russian church, protected by strong power and inaccessible for neither external enemies, nor family vengeance, was promoting representatives of the deep and calm spiritual thought, fruits of which are useful for the co-religious suffering people.

Along with that, it is necessary, of course, to safeguard the Georgian church language and traditional songs. I confess they have always made a deep impression on me: they breathe with amazing mystical antiquity; it seems that listening to them one ascends closer to the times of Jesus. Many plain Russian pilgrims I met in the Georgian monasteries share that feeling. By the way, some of the Georgian church songs remind our old song of *sign*.

Here are some more words about Georgian patriotism. When wide lines of history and main fundamentals of life eloquently speak in favour of the tight Russian-Georgian union, then local patriotism may become dangerous only in case of unsuccessful conduct of the provincial policy in general. I will speak about it with more details in of the paragraphs dedicated to the issue of the Armenians. Under normal circumstances the local patriotism will *contribute* to the state cause, *if it would be looking forward, not backward*, and dwelled upon the reasonable ground of the *economic care* about people's welfare.

Of course, one must renounce the fantasies described in the saying composed by people – “inflated like Liakhva”; Liakhva is a river near the city of Gory falling into the Kura River, usually it is very shallow, but in times of flood it overflows and causes great damage. One of such “Liakhvas” is a claim of some particular “cultural-historical” mission of the Georgians in Abkhazia based on the fact that the kingdom of Abkhazia sometimes was vassalage of Georgia (in XII century!) and that lords of this feud Georgianized Persian princes Shevarshidze (transformed from Shirvan-shah, Shirvan-shahidze) bear name ending with “dze” and regarded as the Georgian aristocrats. Some priests speculate the fiction of the “Georgian-Abkhaz church”, although the Abkhazians speak language having nothing in common with the Georgian. As the late Caucasian linguist baron Uslar once jokingly said “the Abkhazians speak such a complicate language that it is astounding how they understand each other at all”. And suddenly the cultural-historical rights over Abkhazia are claimed by the Georgians, whose native land property sleeps through their fingers!..

The Georgians would better strive for not fantastic “grease”, *but own survival!* The *self-activity* is the first thing to be reached for – and many people understand that fine. I heard sincere wishes to have more of the Russian *orthodox tradesmen* in the Georgians centres, because that would have helped the life-important development of the Georgian bourgeoisie and the cause of the church and the *cultural development* in the economic field.

The agricultural syndicates, consumers’ societies, depots and other entities emerge in different places of Georgia. The government should have helped them, and we should have supported the economic revival of the closest to us people of the Transcaucasia.

The late knyaz K.I. Bagration-Mukhransky, *the last of the typically Georgian* leaders of the nobility of the Tiflis province, once said that *all of the Georgians are conservatives*. Only few people understood these words, because too many people certainly want to be regarded as liberals; but basically knyaz Mukhransky was right. I can’t forget how one company of progressive great talkers was openly speculating about constitution and different forms of the provincial isolation with my presence. Suddenly some young knyaz rushed in and brought news about expected visit of their Majesties to the Caucasus. Next moment, without any arrangement, all eyes shined, and wine glittered in the goblets and choir started singing “mravalzhamier” – many years to Tsar.

Knowing the flaws of the Georgian life and shortcomings of their society well, I many times openly told Georgians of them in the Caucasus, I still cannot consider that suffering and nervous people alien to us. Keeping faith in vitality of the uniting us cultural values, covered with trash in minds of the high circles of both peoples, but alive in depth of the nation’s soul – I follow

the path of Slavophil, my views coincide with ones of such people like Ivan Sergeyevich Aksakov and Rostislav Fadeyev, who didn't consider alien the people united with us by historical mission, glorious deeds in the past, and *community of faith, Tsar and fatherland* at present.

5. Armenians

As says Lebon – The century and a half ago the philosophers, quite ignorant about primordial history of human being, modifications of his intellectual organization and laws of heredity – have thrown in the idea of equality of individuals and races. That idea, although it is deeply wrong one, has shaken the bases of old societies and evoked the biggest of revolutions. The modern society regards institutions and breeding as cure – and only few people dare to fight the idea, flimsiness of which is evidently proved by both the modern public psychology and life. The names of things are changed in history of peoples, but old and hardly changeable facts live under new words. *Every nation has the intellectual organism which is as stable as its anatomic features.*

Our cosmopolitan press, pleasing the foreign instigators and provincial politicians remains silent about scientific conclusions, always cries out if somebody utters a word about common, colouring, typically negative features of any nation, beside Russians. One can “analyze” the Russians forth and back! To say truth about other nations – God save! They cry that this is obscurantism, misanthropy and so on. They not only shout, but take actions not restraining themselves in choice of methods. The story with “The Contrabandists” (play) is quite remarkable. Our public and to some extent state life (in provinces) is rich for such instructive examples.

Just like the nature has entire classes of things and creatures different for their distinguishing characteristic features, the human tribes have the same features and receive the appropriate characteristics from history and their contemporary neighbours.

The opinion composed since the ancient times about the Armenians is negative – and naturally that is not groundless, otherwise that could have not emerged at entire nations and in different ages.

But of course one can't overlook injustice contained in the indiscriminate and unqualified opinions, samples of which will follow. First, *one has to distinguish Armenian popular masses from the predating plutocracy, obscurant politicized priesthood and pseudo-intelligent jacket-men*, i.e. from those *ruling Armenian public circles*, oppressing not only their neighbours, but *innocent plain people of their own* as well. Second, undoubtedly there is *sufficient number of people among the ruling class, mostly not bad and mainly guilty of craven obedience to the terror of their leaders and hypnosis of the ill-developed tribal, or how they call it (without any right) national idea*.

The honest man predominantly facing those chiefs and their hirelings easily starts feeling indiscriminate animosity to Armenians; but taking a closer look at that mysterious tribe, its historic destiny and current situation one would definitely become imbued with *compassion to the Armenian popular masses*, which undoubtedly has much good stuff.

The more compassion we give them and the closer look at their situation we take, *the more disgusting would appear to us their heartless tribal chiefs*, politicized oppressors and troublemakers.

They can contradict me saying that the Armenian ruling classes originate *from the same people*, and consequently its sons are embryos of the same predators. But, first of all, *the higher circles are not always monitors of the spiritual level of the people*, and second, *historical and economic conditions* the destiny has put the Armenian people into used to and still *contribute to the raise*

on surface and heights of the local life of the worst, most sinful and cunning representatives of that race.

6. Historical background

Who are the Armenians? Their main genesis is not established well. History tells about their amalgamation with large masses of *Jews*, first during the Babylon captivity, and then after destruction of Jerusalem. From the anthropological point of view most Armenians are *extreme brachycephalic*, i.e. short headed, and in this regard they are very close to the *Mountainous Jews* and Syro-Chaldean, as it can be seen from researches of Shantr, Erkert, Pantyukhov and others. The English scientist Bertine considers them to be the same people as Jews of the pre-Palestine period.

Professor D.N. Anuchin says that Armenians are not the Arian tribe, but rather Arianized (for language). Besides that, *not all of those who identify themselves as Armenians do really belong to the native Armenian tribe*. The Armenian magazine “Murch”³ writing about signifi-

³ The “Murch”, 1897. Article titled “Armenians out of Gypsies”.

“There are only two nations in the world without national language and motherland: Jews and Gypsies. Neither Asian tyranny, nor merciless medieval chases, nor even modern humanist culture could assimilate them with other peoples, and thus all those mighty factors became powerless to strangle material greed of one people and unrestrained unlimited aspiration for roaming of the other one. Everywhere, in Asia or Europe, in the old or new world, the Gypsy remains Gypsy, the Jew – Jew. *Only the Armenian people managed to assimilate Gypsies*, my words are grounded, - adds the author, - by true facts. The Gypsies of Erivan, Shemakha, Yelisavetpol, Tiflis and others, whose existence was reflected in history 50 years ago, *have ceased to be Gypsies and amalgamating with the Armenian element become assimilated with Armenians*, keeping only their surnames, as an old memory about their genesis. No matter how to approach to this issue, conclusion will be the same – no nation managed to accomplish the task of mass assimilation, but Armenians. The assimilated Gypsy-Armenians have even brought up talented people. For instance, professor of the St. Petersburg University Kerobe Patkanyan had a Gypsy origin, so had the

cant ability of the Armenians to assimilate other peoples had indicated existence of large number of the *assimilated Gypsies* among Armenians by the end of the 90's. The familiarity with both tribes gives an observer a sufficient material proving conclusions of the mentioned magazine. The Caucasian anthropologist doctor I.I. Pantukhov has come to even more interesting conclusion about large groups of Armenians. That honourable scientist has taken his chance when Tiflis was flooded with semi-savage refugees from Turkey and subjected many Turkish Armenians to the anthropologic measurement. He figured out that most part of those uninvited guests for their anthropologic parameters were – pure-blooded *Kurds*. That fact opens space for proposition that some episodes of the Armenian massacre in Turkey were results of old family accounts between the Kurdish tribes of different religion.

The issue concerning the Transcaucasian Albania, or *Agvania* in the Armenian language, is highly interesting as well. That country included the present province of Yelisavetpol, part of Tiflis and Dagestan and was populated by peoples of *non-Armenian* origin, who received Christianity from Armenians. Before the XIX century there was separate Catholicos of Agvan or Gyndzasar, competing with Echmiadzin and from time to time becoming absolutely independent. At present the Christians, who were the parish of the Catholicos of Agvan, are considered as Armenians, intermixed with them and accepted their character.

The Armenians also had unwilling, forced crossings with other nations. The Persian hordes, Azerbaijani Ta-

monk-poet Alamdaryan, two of the modern Armenian writers also have Gypsy roots, popular poet Ganes-ogly, who has written many verses, and others...”

tars, Turkish, Georgians and highlanders probably never had ceremonies with women belonging to nation which had lost own statehood and methods of proud, brave self-defence connected with it long ago.

Under such circumstances it becomes evident that the Armenians have *any blood* in their veins. That explains a fact that people, whose cowardice became proverb in the Asia Minor, from time to time gives birth to talented and brave commanders as bright exceptions on the dark background: it is clear that *blood of other martial people* speaks in them, while normal, pure-blooded Armenian is “afraid of rabbits”, as states the common Caucasian proverb available in different languages. That character is undoubtedly Semitic. By the way, there are many Semitic characters in the Armenian people: there is a historical inability to have a little bit stable statehood, and gradual disappearance of the authoritative family aristocracy, and *the long standing transfer to the underground politics of the theocratic regime*, and sharp signs of collectivism in utilisation of the irrigated lands, which still can be found among the peasantry (ampa-charekism), and significant racial talent for trade, usury and unlimited money-grubbing. Their arrogance and cruelty in respect to the weakest and slavish glowering before the powerful, and finally, astounding, phenomenal talent for advertisement and insatiable vanity – all those are the *Jewish* characters, but they become more curse and intensive with Armenians.

The Armenians hate to be compared with the Jews and instruct their defenders not to miss a chance for speaking more vigorously about the Arian origin of the people of haik. Possibly in provision of such facts the Georgian saying wisely states:

"Only slave, when he is ordered, states that apples grow on the oak."

Unfortunately a lot of such slaves can be found among officials, publicists and even scientists in our age of worship to the golden idol...

Besides all that, *ignorance* about the Caucasus and its tribes is widely spread among us – moreover that ignorance is self-confident and irritating the connoisseurs of the issue. By the way, the distinguished professor of Warsaw D.I. Azarevich, unacquainted with me personally, has written to me from village the following text about recent articles by Mr. Syromyatnikov⁴:

"Without a library at hand I only remind you that during the last archaeological conference held in Moscow the anthropologic section under presidency of Mr. Virkhov had heard report by some Frenchman (I think Figuet) about *Semitism of the Armenians*. Papers of that conference can be easily found in the Emperor's public library, and that report can be found there as well."

The respectful scientist, who hopefully wouldn't find my reference to his authority immodest, probably was confused by negligent attitude to science on behalf of the excessively brave defenders of Armenians against suspicion in Semitism. Position of such people can be to some extent justified by direct indication of the thesaurus by *Brockhaus and Efron* stating that Armenians are – *"the branch of the Iranian group of the Indo-European tribe"*. Here one can hardly forget the aphorism: *"calendars always lie"*, that can be successfully applied to the dictionaries published by the Jews...

Here should be noted that the Armenian patrons among oil businessmen take strong care about creation of the completely special history of Armenia, exaltation of

⁴ The "Novoye Vremya" newspaper, 1903, No.9708.

this small people and its heroes, starting with occasional generals deserving respect and ending with ordinary contrabandists of different kinds, deserving... respect, but from the opposite side. In particular they do not miss a chance to highlight their historical “services” and current decency by *parasitic* way, I mean by *flinging ad interim the shadow on the neighbouring peoples, who had more clear, doubtless and decent history*. They shamelessly plunder the Georgians in the historic-archaeological field: *they scratch the Georgian inscriptions off the monuments, invade ancient Orthodox chapels and abandoned churches*⁵, compose historical nonsense and show places where every stone speaks about the past of the Georgian kingdom as the ancient Armenian possessions.

⁵ There are many examples of such outrageous facts and we will cite two of them happened within last two months. The “Caucasus”, June 1897. The parishes of the St. Nicholas church of the city of Dushet have made a verdict instructing two members of their community to appeal to the supreme Caucasian administration to take actions against conquer of the chapel “Bodavis-tsminda Georgis-nishi” and adjacent land site (half a mile from Dushet city) by the Armenian priesthood. Like authors of the verdict said, antique icons of that chapel have been stolen and relocated to the Armenian church of Dushet long ago, and the land site has been joined to that church on 15th of the last May by unknown way, and the chapel itself has been renamed as “Surp-Geurk”, and since then the orthodox priests are not allowed to worship there. The “Iveria”, April 1897. City of Akhaltsykh. Close to the city, on the opposite bank of the Potskhovy River there is a medicinal spring and its water cures from headache. There was long standing Georgian chapel and small cell near the spring. The medical effects of that spring were widely known and suffering people from different parts of Georgia used to come here to get cure. People used water for free and collected great amount of benevolent donations in the chapel. In the beginning of the last March somebody has conceived an idea to display the Armenian icons in the chapel, to install doors, to lock them and take keys away. The right honoured priest D. Khakhutov reported to the exarch of Georgia about that invasion.

The first hireling of the Armenians in the Russian literature was *Senkovsky*, writing in such spirit under pen-name of baron Brambeus. Then Armenian “historians” Emin (History of Moses of Khoren), Khudobashev (Outlook of Armenia), in later times Yeritsov (The Caucasian Antiquity 1872, No.1) have been working in that direction contradicting to such eloquent witnesses of the past like monuments; for instance, they are trying to steal from Georgia the historical rights for the region of Saatabago, i.e. possessions of the atabek Jakely, the present uezd of Akhaltsykh. Any Caucasian knows that the indisputable traces of existence of the queen Tamara the Great still remain in that area, and that the Muslim population of that uezd consists of the Georgian-speaking Turkonized Georgians, while Armenians in large numbers have appeared there in the first part of the XIX century as refugees from Turkey, not *native inhabitants*.

The professor-Armenist Patkanov⁶ is also little restrained with facts, referring to such pseudo-scientists like Senkovsky, roaming botanist Kokh and others. The Georgian writer Bakradze had timely exposed him, but that dispute didn’t reach the most part of the Russian public; Mr. Marr, student of Patkanov, doesn’t miss an opportunity to cut something off the Georgians in favour of Armenians and promises to prove that notorious old Georgian poem “The man in tigers’ skin” was a borrowed piece.

That is desirable to the Armenian politicians because Armenians don’t and never had any significant poetic piece during entire time of their existence, i.e. one of the visible signs of *blossoming of the national spirit*. No matter how hard are trying rather persistent than talented literary

⁶ This is the man whose Gypsy origin was mentioned by the Armenian newspaper “Murch”.

nestlings like Mr. Yuri Veselovsky and others to convince the Russian public in existence of the good Armenian literature they can't go further than prattling, because nothing gets nothing despite all endeavours.

Somebody Mr. Ezov by name has compiled a book phenomenal for its impudence and titled "The relations of the Great Peter with Armenian people", there against the common sense the author had attributed some special diplomatic importance to unknown rascal named Israel Or, or Orius, who had been trying to involve the Great Peter in war with Persia in the hottest time of his struggle with Sweden – that Mr. Ezov extracts from everywhere the quotations disadvantageous for Georgians and for that purpose goes far beyond the limits of his task. Similar quotations are deliberately palmed off to the reader in the philanthropic collection titled "The fraternal help to Armenians suffered in Turkey" with epigraph taken from Gladstone: "kindness, kindness and... kindness"! What came out is quite poisonous kindness, in the Armenian style.

Famous Georgian poet and publicist knyaz Ilya Chavchavadze has dedicated very interesting brochure ("Armenian wizards and flagrant stones") to that lie and all those historical-archaeological attempts and thefts of the Armenians. That brochure is translated into Russian and rich for the characteristic facts.

When they speak in Tiflis about Georgian-Armenian intertribal relations, people recall some Cutuly, the correspondent of the "Temps". Once that man arrived to Tiflis he was captured by the cunning hunchback Artsruni, talented political agitator and chief-editor of the "Mshak" newspaper. The Armenian bosses pleased and fed Cutuly not letting him to step aside from them. He had completely lost ability to regard things around by his own eyes. They even resorted to presenting all beautiful

women passing by as Armenians, and all ugly as Georgians. It was so comic that even Georgians, with their extremely sensitive historical-archaeological self-esteem, have been powerless to get angry while reading travelling impressions of the naïve or submissive Frenchman.

It was extremely interesting to watch not long ago how the Armenian politicians and “history makers” have been trying to seduce the French scientist baron de Bay, who was writing much about Russia, and how they have been disappointed by setback. By the way, he visited Echmiadzin, the capital of the Armenian Catholicos, where has been demonstrated some extremely ancient things, some crowns, cups, embroidered covers and so on. The experienced archaeologist noticed full discrepancy of the chronologic data mentioned by Armenians at once and has expressed his view with humour in press. Moreover, he found that some of the pseudo-ancient ornaments belong to the late *rococo*. Fury of the local Armenian papers published in the Russian script reached the point of indecency.

The painful pride and vanity of Armenians and their inclination to advertise their eminence in the past and at present can be to some extent explained and justified by their desire to get rid of that bad reputation they have gained for centuries.

The unbiased, humanist and moral Tacitus, who was able to praise the Germans, enemies of Rome, refers to Armenians in the second book *Ab excessu Augusti*, paragraph 53, as following: *Ambigua* gens ea antiquitus hominum ingeniis et situ terrarium – that is originally ambiguous people for its character and geographic situation as well; *saepius discords sunt, adversus Romanos odio et Pathum invidia*, i.e. always filled with hatred to the Romans and envy to the Parthian. In the book 12, paragraph

46, he refers to the *“known enough treachery of Armenians”*, satis cognitam Armeniorum perfidiam.

“You are coward, you are slave, you are Armenian!” – says Pushkin by lips of the old highlander. The Georgians say: *“movida somekhi – moytana skhva mekhi”* – Armenian came and brought new trouble. Number of the folk sayings refers to the expulsion of the Georgian nobles by Armenian tradesmen and then jacket-men: *“blood-horses died – now donkeys have the space”*, *“the strange hen pushed domestic chicken out of house”* and etc. The Transcaucasian Tatars say: *“even if you light your ten fingers as candles to illuminate the road to the Armenian, he won’t thank you”*. The Russians have an old inclination to call Armenians degrading names, connected with either contempt or mockery.

The progressive and humanist poet Nekrasov says:

Жениху с солидным чином
Отказала, осердясь,
И с каким-то армянином
Обвенчалась, не спросясь.

(She angrily denied the bridegroom with good title and married some Armenian without permission.)

Equally humanist Zhemchuzhnikov (in Kozma Prutkov) sings the following:

На узкой кровати
Лежу я один,
В соседней палате
Кричит армянин.

(On narrow bed I lie alone, Armenian cries in the neighbouring room.)

The word “*cries*” is quite typical here: they incline to cry at every occasion. When they are not allowed in somebody’s house, or their nasty deeds are disclosed, or thieves of their kind are subjected to trial – they not only cry, but force to cry the aliens, stupid or corrupt people.

Our impartial *belle-letter* is not benevolent to Armenians as well. For instance, Leskov in his “Soboryane” has a black-mailer with excessively developed pelvis – Termosesov.

France and Germany are places where the Armenian revolutionary groups function and where the strong agitation in favour of Armenians is conducted at the expense of money from Baku oil manufacturers, but there are unbiased people at least familiar with the issue and raising their voice against them. The French traveller to Armenia, Kurdistan and Mesopotamia count de Chole, describing life of those Turkish provinces with good knowledge and being indignant with merciless attitude of Muslims to the Armenian popular masses, speaks about Armenians: *“nevertheless, despite of that great compassion created with me by their poverty and suffering, I have never been able to become attached to them, that disgusting was their swindling, that shameful was their baseness and outrageous their meanness”*.

The German traveller Alfred Koerte in his “Anatolian sketches” dedicated to the famous German statesman in Turkey Kolmar von der Holz, where the author would hardly dare to speak without reason, says the following: *“almost everyone who touches the nucleus of people in these provinces learns to respect and love the Turks, to put down the Greeks and to hate and contempt the Armenians...The below saying is justified everywhere – Greek can cheat two Jews, but Armenian two Greeks. Should you become cheated somewhere in Anatolia,*

then one can say for sure that you had business with Armenians". The same author quotes the words of one large contractor from Eski-Sheher: "when I negotiate business with the Turk, then I do without written contract – because his word is enough. With the Greek or other Levantine I conclude written agreement, because dealing with them it is necessary and useful; with Armenians I don't have any even written business, because even the written agreement doesn't protect from their deceitfulness and intrigues".

Strictly speaking, the intelligent Armenians long ago understood that their tribal name has had malicious reputation. It is not occasional that until recent times they have been trying to pretend themselves before the people unacquainted with the Caucasus as the Georgians, or for more poetry – as the "Circassian". They and publicists compassioning them still incline to substitute the word "Armenian" wherever possible with words "native", "Caucasian" *and especially "the Christian"*. That emphasis on the "*Christianity*" is very typical, because Armenians would love to gain something at the expense of their Muslim neighbours, and because the name "Christian" gives them a privileged position, *and they feel comfortable in cases when unintentional comparison with the Jews suggests itself*. And they have so many Jewish characters that if all scientists of the world had mistakenly acknowledged them as the Arians, then the life itself would become indignant with such determination...

It doesn't matter how inaccurate is the written history of Armenia, it has many characteristic and instructive things – as in the high impudence of the narration tone, and facts themselves as well. Starting with the Catholikos John VI ("History of Armenia from the beginning of world up to year of 925", French translation by Saint-

Martin) and till the recent times – the Armenian historians *pretend for precision* of data specifically referring to that legendary period. Armenians claim to be descents of Noah; the mythical Haik was grand-son of Japheth and grand-grand-son of Noah. As spoke the Armenian archbishop Joseph who has dedicated his book to the emperor Paul I – “*the most credible* narration of the pedigree of forefathers of the Armenian tribe states this: Noah begat Japheth, Japheth begat Homer, Homer begat Thyrsus, Thyrsus begat Torcomus begat Haik, who was engaged in Babel together with Nimrod. And since Haik didn’t want to acknowledge the supreme power of Nimrod over himself he left that undertaking and returned to his land, therefore Nimrod started war against him, but Haik became victor and killed Nimrod. This is why the peoples submitting to Haik, respecting him as father and king, started calling themselves Haikan”. After that comes the chain of equally trustworthy and proved facts. *Pages are coloured by “great” names, unknown to all histories*, but Armenian, and sometimes figures of less suspicious origin appear in highly exaggerated shape.

If one had to inscribe on the tables of the Armenian history a word, besides “fabrication”, which could precisely characterize the plausible facts, then it would be impossible to evade the word “*treason*”. Suspicious masters of Armenia, a country with permanently changing borders, always depend on the neighbouring powerful monarchies and *always, systematically* betray them. Nobles (nakharchs) betray kings, and people – both of them. The cruelty of customs and unreliability of mutual relations are phenomenal. Once Persians, Romans or Arabs appoint somebody the ruler of Armenia, that person immediately starts preparations for disorder.

In the mainland Armenia, i.e. Armenian plateau, the least independent kingdom was abolished very long time ago, in the fifth century, when Armenia clearly became *the Persian province* and *theocracy headed by the Catholicos* had established itself factually over the Armenian people as the nearest and organized power. Since then the Armenian bosses quite clearly trade through two shops: selling out motherland and people to either the Persians with Muslims in general, or Byzantium, and conduct their undercover struggle for their tribal originality.

Some ghost of the statehood had appeared by the end of the XI century in tiny Cilicia, but absolutely vanished in 1375.

7. Crossing to the theocracy and monophysitism.

The first mention of Christianity (knyaz Abgar of Edessa) among Armenians, because of their tribal proximity with the Jews, belongs to the earliest ages, first century AD, but formal, although very doubtful for essence, introduction of the Christianity dates back to 301: the Saint George Illuminator converted king Trdat, who then baptized all his subjects and after that died suddenly: probably he was poisoned by new Christians. The Bible in the Armenian language appears only by the V century, translated by Mesrop. Life of true Christians and leaders of church was very hard in Armenia; for instance, by the end of the IV century Catholicos Nerses the Great led furious and basically indecent struggle with king, not for the sake of the Christian ideals, but for establishment of the *theocracy*, and as per some information died because of unnatural causes. King Tigran II forced Armenians to worship the idol of Julian Apostate.

The moment of convergence of Armenians from the Orthodoxy is of special interest. That derived from the theocratic aspirations, material and political interests, took long preparations, but formed up and found dogmatic quibbles only by the VI century, when Armenians in order to please the Persian king Khosrov *had absolutely denied the formula of the Chalcedonian convent and joined to the monophysits*. Persians needed that to implant discontent into the Christian world and to weaken Byzantium. The Arabs demonstrated the same aspiration using threats and money – those means the descents of Haik could not resist to. At price of treason to religion the Armenians have stepped into the way of slavish relations with heterodox masters, on one hand, and on the other hand – fixed the special type of the *underground state*

corresponding to their Semitic instincts, namely theocracy, where political and material interests have special importance against religious ones.

Such *extermination of the open statehood* requiring courage, loyalty, and ability to willing, benevolent discipline, sacrifices of material goods and blood – obviously cannot serve a patent of nobility for the race. But it should be recognized, that external conditions were very difficult and open struggle with neighbours would have been too unequal, and hence *transfer to the slavish struggle had been unintended*. On the other hand, the shift to theocracy undoubtedly was *practically-wise* act, because theocracy had preserved originality of the Armenian race and demonstrated extraordinary capacity for revival of that originality in such field, where the latter seemed to have slept away forever.

The whole further history of Armenians, full of humiliation before large and small heterodox masters, is pierced by slightly visible string of never exhaustible *hope for revival of the Armenian people and state*.

Naturally, rather individual patriots than the popular masses dream about that, predominantly *the priests*, rich tradesmen, nakharar and meliks⁷, who had favour of shahs and sultans. It is quite characteristic that this dream is growing by the course of the territorial expansion of Russia and rapprochement of its victorious banner to the Asia Minor.

Relations of Armenians with the Russian government are quite spotty. The Great Peter, who perfectly understood importance of the Russian historical mission in the Middle East, naturally had nothing against people considered Christians and rioting against their Muslims

⁷ Small local rulers. *Interpreter*.

masters, enemies of the Orthodoxy and Russian-Slavic cause. That is why he allowed the abovementioned adventurer Israel Orius to speak out; but nevertheless the tsar didn't bite his hook. The Great Emperor ordered to verbally announce to the Armenian envoys that "he was busy with the Swedish war", and thus didn't let to involve himself into adventure. The emperor also instructed to answer to the request of Israel Orius about accompanying Russian troops at that war saying that "*he had nothing to be there for*".

It is remarkable that among queens of the XVIII century Anna Ioannovna (possibly on the ground of information received from Volynsky, who knew Armenians well) treated them without trust, although she had conducted the Christian policy and her commanders triumphed over the Muslims. Unlike that, Catherine II reached the extreme limits of benevolence to Armenians, what possibly can be explained by decay of morals and outrageous splendour reigning at her court. Naturally there were royal servants receiving "peshkesh"⁸ from the Armenian sellers of precious goods. Besides, the "illustrious knyaz of Taurus" undoubtedly was a man with fantasy, and he was amused with a thought of restoration of the Christian state on the Armenian plateau.

During reign of Catherine II Armenians had a man, remarkable from different angles, with unrestrained energy and great political entrepreneurship, reaching point of importunity. That was Archbishop Joseph, originating from the culturally Geogianized old Armenian family, which had received the knyaz title from the Georgian tsars. His surname was Argutashvili-Mkhagrdzely, literally meaning Ar-

⁸ Presents. *Interpreter*.

*gutov-Plechistiy*⁹, but later it had been translated with “fantasy” and entered in Russian circle as “Argutinsky-Dolgorukiy”¹⁰. That name of course had nothing common with the Rurikovich Dolgorukiy’s. In 1779 the mentioned archbishop established Nakhichevan-on-Don, the Armenian city inhabited by 15000 of settlers from Crimea and Turkey. The settlers were granted fairly well privileges: transportation of all property from Crimea at the state expense, 12000 acres of pasture-ground, indemnification from all duties for 10 years, liberty from soldier quartering and recruitment; every household was given 30 acres of land, free wood and items for construction, and seeds, cattle and inventory under condition of return after 10 years. The complete code of laws contains precise information about all of the abovementioned.

Under the Georgian tsar Heracly II, due to the efforts of Argutinsky *striving to wake up the Armenian self-consciousness*, some Karabakh meliks with their subjugated peasants were settled in Georgia and formed the Shulavery settlement. Two meliks – Majnun and Abo by names – immediately betrayed their new master and *became scouts of the Persian shah Agha-Mukhammed-khan*, who had destroyed Tiflis in 1795. This fact was acknowledged by ethnic Armenian lieutenant-general S.O. Kishmishev. Professor of the St. Petersburg university A.A. Tsagarely reasonably noticed that by the end of the XVIII century Archbishop Joseph demonstrated great energy, *“but in direction dissonant with view and plans of the Russian government”*! That conclusion is supported by academician N.F. Dubrovin, saying that by summer of 1796 the Armenian Archbishop Joseph concocted to in-

⁹ Argutov-wide shouldered. *Interpreter*.

¹⁰ Dolgorukiy is name of an old and famous Russian noble family. *Interpreter*

tervene in affairs of the conquered Derbent khanate, never missed a chance to pick on the Muslim population, tried to humiliate them before Armenians – briefly speaking, during short period of his stay in Derbent *he turned all population against himself*. Count Zubov called Joseph to the headquarters, but even there they had to take steps to restrain wirepulling of the archbishop. Contacting the patriarch of Echmiadzin and without asking anybody's permission, together with him Joseph wrote a "*collective message to Armenians living in Karabakh and other places of the Transcaucasia*"; that manifest declared that the Russian troops had entered Persia with main purpose "*to liberate Armenians from the Muslim yoke and make them independent*". That message has created common disturbance among people of the Transcaucasia; *the Armenians were dreaming about restoration of the Great Armenian kingdom*.

P.G. Butkov, the contemporary of the mentioned archbishop, testifies about unlimited ambition of Joseph, who was planning to make his nephew king of Armenia and even had prepared the royal crown. While being in Russia Argutinsky-Dolgorukiy, planning to ascend to the Echmiadzin throne of patriarch, ordered his engraved portrait in patriarch's closes.

Very interesting moment of *political* history of the Armenian church is described in the brochure titled "Beginning of relations of the Echmiadzin patriarchal throne with the Russian government", product of pen of the abovementioned Mr. Ezov, who can't be suspected in critical or at least unprejudiced attitude to Armenians, considering him one of their main leaders and apologists. By the end of the XVIII century, despite the principle of *all-national* election of the Catholicos of Echmiadzin, that seat was taken by Archbishop Gukas (Lucas), *elected*

exclusively by priesthood of Echmiadzin. The Armenian patriarch of Constantinople Zakharias brought protest. While Gukas was writing tender letters to Zakharias the Armenian community of Constantinople managed to obtain *dismissal of Zakharias* from the Turkish authorities. The haste of Gukas, praised by Ezov to heaven, can be apologized by necessity to evade ascension of Israel, patriarch of Agvan (Gandzasar monastery near city of Shusha), to the throne of Echmiadzin. It was about dealing a blow at the isolating patriarchate of Agvan and establishment of the *theocratic monarchy*. Due to the ignorance or corruption of the involved officials the Russian and Turkish governments have supported his actions with touching unanimity despite of controversy of their interests. Tomara, our envoy to Constantinople, had been passionately reporting to the government in 1801 about plans of Gukas *“to restore his nation with help of Russia”*. *To please the foreign Catholicos* the patriarchate of Agvan at first was extremely squeezed, and then – after unification of Karabakh and Ganja to Russia – imperceptibly abolished, *disintegrated*. It appeared that *our politicians are less farsighted than even Turks*, who guessed to support in their country the independence of patriarchate of Siss and Akhtamar from the “Catholicos of all Armenians”.

At the time of unification of Georgia the Armenian priesthood tried to show that Armenians have been playing some specifically outstanding role and that only Armenians made sense here. Since educated Russian hierarchs were well aware of the monophysitism of Armenians and Russia saved and embraced Georgia as co-religious kingdom, archbishop Joseph had taken trouble to disseminate possibly more benevolent information about Armenian Gregorianism. The book titled *“Worship*

of the Christian religion of the Armenian Church” by Joseph, archbishop of the Armenian people, residing in Russia, was published in St. Petersburg in 1799. Page 14 refers to Christ: “single Face, single shape, and joined in the *single entity*”; on the page 50 Joseph says that here *entity* is equal to definition of *face*. Then why he had to mention two equal definitions? Obviously it was done to *conceal* monophysitism of Armenians. Of course, he had thoroughly silenced about Catholicos John IV of Otsny, called “philosopher” and canonized by the Gregorian church to the rank of saint. To please Muslim Arabs and in exchange for their generous fee, that hierarch convened the council where he had *anathematized the Khalcedonian convent* and announced the following decisions: “Let he, who says that Christ was a man by nature, and mortal creature by flesh, and subject to suffering, be *anathematized*; let he, who doesn’t worship Christ as *unique* immortal entity, be *anathematized*”.

Seeing that all this compromise the Armenian church in eyes of the Orthodox people, the Armenian historian Kirakos in the XIII century, and mentioned Joseph and Catholicos Nerses at later periods, tried to conceal the monophysitism of Armenians. It is interesting how professor Troitsky from the clerical academy of St. Petersburg, “Interpretation of faith of the Armenian church” 1877, and Mr. Anninsky, “History of the Armenian church”, Kishinev, 1900, have unmasked all that machinations.

By the way, Archbishop Joseph worried about that issue in vain. At that time our bureaucracy took little care about the Orthodoxy and comprehended that even lesser. Since then the Armenian cause within the Russian borders continued to grow, sometimes progressing by great thrusts. In accordance with the Turkmenchay trac-

tate Echmiadzin joined to Russia and Catholicos remained the universal patriarch of all Armenians. We have timely abolished the Georgian autocephaly church taking all of its lands to the treasury, and simultaneously admitted into scope of the Russian limits a theocratic *state-in-state*, in fact inaccessible for control and enjoying huge authority in eyes of its “political parish”. In time of Paskevich colonel Lazarev was sent to Persia to invite Armenians and approximately 40000 men had re-settled to the Transcaucasia. The patriarch of Echmiadzin took part in that combination as well: he ordered Armenian priests to move from Persia and the parish had followed them. In accordance with the Adrianople accord we have received more than 100000 of the Turkish Armenians; archbishop of Erzerum Karapet brought up to 70000 men alone. Since then the gradual resettlement of Armenians from the Muslim states was going *uninterruptedly*, sometimes as slightly visible stream, and sometimes as *wide jet*, like it has been in recent years. Today when it has become more or less clear what consequences brought an aspiration of the Caucasian administrators to involve some more Armenians, one can easily remind the Ukrainian saying: “bought a trouble to himself for his own money”.

Naturally Joseph Argutinsky and Catholicos Nerses, who was sitting on the patriarch's throne in 1843-1857, both were *giants of the Armenian idea in comparison with their other co-ethnics*. From Armenian point of view the creative activity of Nerses during his term in position of archbishop in Tiflis and Kishinev is truly terrific.

8. The tribal isolation and economic supremacy.

The mass of the Armenian population, possibly, was thinking about autonomy in Turkey and Persia; after re-settlement inside of the mighty Russia and specifically in the Transcaucasia, which has been reasonably administered at that time, the Armenian people didn't buy absurd speculations at first. It was having rest from heavy ordeals, getting wealth and preparing economic ground for itself imperceptibly. For example, rioting in time of Yermolov would be very inconvenient.

The "Overview of the Russian possessions beyond Caucasus" (St. Petersburg, 1836) published by the Royal decree says the following on pages 197-199: "The Armenians, like people of Moses, had to spread all over the earth, collecting the wealth, which they could not enjoy in their own land under the yoke of their masters. That generated the reason of *flabbiness of Armenian: he became cosmopolitan*; his motherland now is that country where he can use his cunning brain for making profit with maximum advantage and security for himself. But *timidity of his spirit* can be seen to some extent here as well; there must be too obvious, too positive advantages to incite an Armenian to undertake any important trade operation. Even in such cases the fear to lose the gain frequently becomes reason for failure in the started business. All of that could originate partially from the oppressed situation they have been in under the Asian rule, because wealth could put life in danger, and gain at least should be thoroughly concealed. Cunning and slyness – necessary quality of obscurant, and moreover commercial peoples – are attributable to Armenians: *they consider any deceit in purchase and sell permissible, any action for gain – legal. They seized the trade of Tiflis and all of the Tran-*

scaucasia; carry out different missions, hold nearly all buy-outs, accept all contracts, discharge duties of commissioner and supply commissions. They are interpreters, reporters, manufacturers; briefly speaking, wherever is an opportunity to receive income, Armenians are certainly there. The greed is the first driver of all their contemplations and actions”.

Those characteristics are still true, except for reference to cosmopolitanism. Long time has passed since the 30's and the Armenian tribal isolation has developed with extraordinary speed supported by clerical and secular patriots, fast enrichment and unrestrained use of wealth, as well as absence of foresight at many Russian rulers, whom Armenian bosses using substantial and even material arguments, as per Caucasian customs, managed to convince in their unbreakable loyalty to Russia. By the way, as they say, that loyalty was confirmed in time of every war, when Armenians served as spies against Turks and Persians; that proof is less reliable, because craft of espionage itself contains reason for distrust to its bearer.

The remark of the author of the “Obozreniye” about timidity of spirit of Armenians, even in the sphere of industry, is quite characteristic. Knyaz Vorontsov nearly forced them to engage in profitable enterprises laying foundation of huge fortunes. The parasite origin, not creative one, was and still remains the main driver in their enrichment since first days. The German economic literature calls that Conjuncturgewinn, i.e. gain produced from specific combination of conditions, accidental or artificial. All forces of the Armenian bourgeoisie in the first half of the XIX century were directed at refinement of such cream-taking, ensnaring of local authorities and alien population.

What author of the “Obozreniye” calls “*flabbiness*” of Armenians should rather be called an *ability to be assimilated by appearance*, to take alien names, clothes and customs. Many Armenians in Georgia received names ending with “shvili”, in Muslim provinces appeared Yusuf-beks, Kara-beks, Ibragim-khans and other covered Armenians; not only names with Armenian root and Russian endings, but also Krasilnikovs, Sapozhnikovs, Lisitsins, Sergeyevs and Popovs appeared in Russia. There was an arrant Armenian usurer with typically Russian name in Astrakhan, called the “red sash”. His descents managed to penetrate into nobility and such high circles, where nobody had expected them...

As it became clear later, assimilation was *quite superficial and temporary*. Armenians held stone of isolation into their bosom, that stone was growing, at first inconspicuously, but during the second half of the XIX century – at visible, dizzy speed.

Idea of isolation was prompted to Armenians also by *Englishmen*, who from the beginning of our Caucasian war were striving to incite all local tribes to riot against Russia, and *Polish*, in two influxes in 30's and 60's, *Germans* in recent times, and finally Armenians themselves, migrating from foreign countries. Two especially “poisonous” families have distinguished among those Armenians. The first one followed by *clerical-separatist* way, and the second one has set separatism on the *bourgeois-liberal* ground, sometimes with radical colours. Every war between Russia and neighbouring Oriental states on one hand increased number of Armenians, including elements imbued with instinctive inclination to unreliability in the chaotic Asian despotisms; on the other hand – war has extremely enriched their industrial class. Contractors, spies and looters made a fortune, while prices of all ne-

cessary stuff have grown fast under pretext of war and then *remained on that abnormal level*. Pogodin visited the Transcaucasia during knyaz Baryatinsky and remarked *extreme dearness of life*, obviously artificial.

Governance has served much to the raise of the economic might and tribal isolation of Armenians. That form of administration is undoubtedly obsolete for the Caucasus now, but in the referred historical period it had its reasonable ground, while having then its *dark sides* as well. For example, governor knyaz Vorontsov pursuing goal of “Europeanization” of the Caucasian nations had led them by the path of sharp increase of demands, increase of splendour and noisy publicity. Economically unprepared elements became ruined, while predating ones, i.e. representatives of the Armenian bourgeoisie – became rich on the bones of the conceited nobility flying to the light of new baits. A kind of a court was formed in time of the first governor, and although it mainly consisted of representatives of well-born nobility, *their financial dependence on the Armenian rich men has turned the latter into the actually influential people*, not always with permission of provincial administrators.

The provincial isolation could be counteracted much earlier by skilled implantation of the *Russian economic force* and, what is important, *by connection of the Transcaucasia with the rest of Russia by maximum short railroad*. But that thing remained undone, as I had a chance to notice in previous chapters. The Transcaucasian railroad was established instead of that, thus *the isolated economic circulation of the vast region has been organized*. It is common with us to regard railroads as factor of progress and enrichment in general. That view is absolutely wrong and possibly invented by the interested persons and repeated by narrow-minded people without

proper understanding. The railroad is a *tool completely serving those, who are economically stronger than the others, intensifying and facilitating final of struggle between the strong and the weak*, between mob and separated common people. The Transcaucasian railroad mainly became a tool for fast predating exploitation of all population of the country by the Armenian bourgeoisie, just like banks and many other things...

Under such conditions, the masters of economic influence on such a vast region desirably start *regarding that area as their future political territory*, taking in account that all history of the Asia Minor is rich for facts urging to similar “dreaming”. How can not dream people, who quickly became rich by nasty ways, without creative labour, and seeing that *they’ve been allowed everything* for several decades, they can get away with everything? Bribery system is organized, local and capital press is at service, Petersburg, on behalf of the honest representatives of authority, is not informed... That would be strange not to “dream”? Muslim residents of the conquered regions ask with bitter irony – “Where are the Russians? Who did they invade us for? Anyway, not for themselves. We saw brave Russian soldiers, and now see only weak or corrupt Russian officials, frequently not Russian by origin. Neither your merchants, nor farmers can be seen here! *Only Armenians, our former slaves!* There’s nothing to say! Was it worth of fighting to give supremacy to such bad people?!...”

Two facts had *decisive economic and then political meaning* for the Transcaucasian Armenians and, so to speak, *broke the dam* somehow stopping their fast advancing movement. The first are *the flaws of reforms of 60’s*, and the second is *development of the oil business in region of Baku*.

The first fact was followed by bankruptcy of nobility and fall of its authority, influx to the Transcaucasia of many Russians hostile to the Russian order and captured by new trends from liberalism up to anarchy. That people was unable to create the Russian cause or stop isolation of the aliens. *The legal order, appropriate where citizenship and self-activity of all categories and classes of people is strongly developed, became a flagrant nonsense in the Transcaucasia*, and submitted everybody and everything in hands of Armenians, because they were the only ones enjoying features of character necessary for victory under bourgeois-legal order. It wouldn't be exaggeration to say that those features have developed in them *up to ugliness*. Due to the historical habit to the underground organizations they can, nearly without discussions, join in groups, discipline, organize mobs and small economic and other plots against all other people. *In this talent they surpass Jews*, who have much more creative fantasy than Armenians.

The pioneers of the oil business in the area *at first were Russians*, but soon their footprints were erased, because they have been unable to resort either to the Armenian methods of enrichment or the Armenian methods of forcing competitors out – through criminal acts, plots and intrigues in public halls of different offices. Fortunes amounting to several millions started appearing at dizzy speed. Yesterday's servant, porter, loader from wharf, small manager, more or less known smuggler receiving from "fellow men" a stripe of oil-rich land stolen from treasury sometimes after several dozens months could become able to buy conscience of dozens of officials, not maintained, isolated and deprived of moral and material support. The real *Bacchanalia* has risen up and *continues till present* with growing power.

Part of the local Russian officials' class has become dependent on the Armenian bosses long time ago. *There is literally no establishment in the region, affairs or projects of which could constitute absolute secret from Armenians.* Higher circles of all local tribes on behalf of overwhelming majority of their representatives are hanging on a hook of promissory notes and from moral point of view *already standing on back steps* of new masters of the region. Banks, not excluding the state bank, also submit to them: Armenians have the overwhelming majority at the accounting committee of the state bank's local branch and widely use that opportunity. The mutual credit society, main capital of which is composed of relatively small old savings of officials, systematically serve to maintenance of countryside and city usurers ensnaring all local population with strong net. All, *now without exceptions*, of the Caucasian press now is at hands or under influence of Armenians.

Several Russian papers, which are published by Armenians and touchingly *united with our Jewish press*, of course *just printed in Russian script* and imbued with animosity to the creative Russian fundamentals.

In accordance with the law the censorship has to be objective in the tribal issue, but it frequently was clearly more than benevolent to Armenians!

In order not to be groundless in making that reference, I will give several examples. As I said above, the article full of mockery over one of the ancient Orthodox sanctuaries was allowed by censorship and I wasn't allowed to answer to that abomination in the "Caucasus" newspaper. I have a copy of an article where Russian woman was calling her female compatriots in Tiflis to economy, refuse from excessive splendour and doubtful credit and advised to save officers' honour and dignity of

husbands, fathers and brothers. The article was banned because it *could infuriate local bosses, who would be displeased by success of such sermon*. The pretext to censoring that and many other articles was to block the so called racial intolerance, although there was not a single word about Armenians.¹¹ Meanwhile the racial “tolerance” of the censorship didn’t hinder it to allow the street leaf of Tiflis to publish a shallow *lampoon against Islam*. Some local hired pen-gangster wrote that *Muhammad was pushed down to hell*. That was not written for fun, but with purpose to provoke disorder. On the day of issue of that number at squares and bazaars representatives of the Armenian plain people were *mocking local Muslims with that article*. Excitement of the latter reached the point when people started grabbing their daggers, chief of the region was away and supreme leaders of the Muslim priesthood have informed his assistant that they hadn’t been responsible for tranquillity of their parish.

Only due to the latter circumstance the censorship allowed me to give very sharp rebuke to that scoundrel, who senselessly threw rude mockery over somebody’s faith into the crowd.

To characterize general situation I add that the author of that article was Georgian noble demoralized by poverty, who later interrupted his “pen” career *killing a man from the ambush because of some disputed pig*. Armenian-plutocrats feed such people, since their intelligentsia has no talent for writing; they widely use services of the venal aliens, including local and metropolitan Russians. The mentioned hero has been under trial for long

¹¹ The full text of the mentioned article is placed in the Annex to this book as an example.

time, while being between the instances he has written a touching article in the “St. Petersburg Vedomosti”, exiled and later pardoned because of somebody’s merciful intercession, and now he again teaches moral principles to the Tiflis public.

I’m afraid to distract myself and fall into personal memories, but I can’t stop and not to tell small fact testifying about cultural level of local, if permissible to call so, writers eating from the Armenian trough. Once before Christmas a group of city schoolmistresses decided to organize a Christmas celebration for poor children and addressed through press for donations. Obviously that move of nice and dedicated workers should be supported. But to please the caravansary tradesmen unwilling to donate for that initiative, the abovementioned hero stepped forward with the following killing objection: “A kind Christian feeling lies in foundation of proposal to arrange a Christmas tree for poor people, but energy and money is spent, pardon for rudeness, on rubbish. What that waste of the myrrh is for: wouldn’t it be better to sell and distribute among the poor? These *words of the Lord* are quite appropriate in this case”.

The satirist of the Armenian paper *ascribed the words of Judas to Christ*. After that the expression “moral of Judas” became the saying across Tiflis.

Something incredible happened to the Armenian press. For example, the “Ardzagank” newspaper was systematically mocking Russians and I received only fragmented information. *The honest interpreter in Tiflis could not be found even at the expense of gold*. Finally, I occasionally found such gentleman, not Armenian of course, who provided me with translation of the highly sensitive sermon of his holiness Catholicos Mkrtych I and some other immodest confessions of the Armenian “pa-

triotism”¹². As soon as I published these things not only Armenianized press, but even censorship screamed out. The papers printed in the Russian script called me traditore – traitor, as if I had sworn to anybody not to translate sensitive things published in the Armenian papers, which, consequently, consider themselves *underground?! Censorship insisted on the inaccuracy of the translation I had and generally defended the “Ardzagank” newspaper.*

Later on the accuracy of translation was confirmed by an authorized person holding official position; the “Ardzagank” newspaper was completely closed the following year, because its clerical-revolutionary orientation had reached the extreme. The abovementioned interpreter has absolutely disappeared from my sight... He was afraid, and reasonably, to be fired from job, although he had served at the Russian governmental establishment...

It is really strange to say such things, but nevertheless there is no exaggeration in what I will say. Promi-

¹² In the mentioned sermon, published in the “Ardzagank” No.37, 1897, in form of introduction Catholicos warned the parish about coming, although delayed, of “*spring*” for the Armenian people and benefits it is expected to bring to it: “So came the spring, the nature has revived; but after *long* and *harsh winter* the spring we desire has not arrived yet. I don’t know why it delays, but no matter what it takes *it must come at last*. Let’s patiently wait for it, fully relying on God”.

What “Hairic” had in mind under “spring” can be seen from the final words of sermon: “Have faith and rely on God, *hope on your liberation*, love each other as appropriate for true Christian... Follow my example. In my all lifetime I stood different tricks of fortune and now reached this old age and still believe and hope with full reliance. Don’t be desperate, be brave! There is nothing eternal, everything is relative and temporary. Only truth and justice triumph always. And what I’ve told you thousand times I will repeat to you today again: *every time I pray God I ask Him to prolong my existence until that day, when I will greet the purple dawn with freedom of my poor and longsuffering Armenian people*”.

nent official person perhaps is still able to defend Russian interests from attempts of Armenians, but it is not safe for junior official to be not only active enemy of the Armenian intrigue, but just strictly-honest officer not giving way to disorder and abuses with participation of Armenian bosses. He certainly will be slandered, his dossier marked black, this way or other he will be forced out, unless he has strong support; they will try to influence his wife and children, buy his promissory notes, if there any, deprive him credit, if that is needed. There is a quasi-cultural establishment in Tiflis equipped with screaming splendour and bearing appropriate name, but *specially created* to involve Russian officials in the course of life crossing limits of financial capacity, seduce wives of officials and generally ensnare local society under pretext of pleasant biding of time. That is described in my satire on morals of Tiflis “Nor-Cagac” (New City). Banality of mind, decay of moral fundamentals, dandyism, greed and “strawberry”¹³ – are allies of the Armenian policy. This is a big system, complicated one and connected with blackmail, shameful for the Russian name.

In serious issues the masters of region do not stop before extreme measures. For instance, death of *Strelbitsky*, honest judicial actor, member of the court chamber of Tiflis, still remains *unclear* (although “clearable”) sad puzzle. He died suddenly, a man full of strength and in the middle of important investigation. To the contrary, the submissive people “prosper”; for instance, There are officials with good position, who afford themselves acting in capacity of arbiter to discharge division of large Armenian property and taking “fruits of oil production” in return.

¹³ Intimate or sexual services – *Interpreter*.

I don't mention direct abuses at all: their name is legion. Tens of thousands acres of treasury lands are plundered; hundreds of outrageous crimes spoken about by the whole region are covered. People, known to be dealing with smuggling, looting of lands, forfeit and other crimes and who made millions, have reached titles and honours highest for their reputation and moral wilderness; obscurants and lechers became patrons of educational institutions; thieves and supervised people – influential members of the Armenian religious patronages, bosses of banks, leaders of charity societies.

There's nothing to say about that terrible picture used to be and still represented by urban commodities of Tiflis, for example. Although Armenians make only 40% there – *duma*¹⁴ is absolutely in their hands. Georgians, Russians and Muslims don't have access there. There are no good roads, good illumination, nor quality water supply. For many years the left bank of the Kura River inhabited by Russians is subjected to floods, children die like flies, houses rot. Administration writes, requests, prescribes, but load is still there. The Armenian bosses openly brag that they will force Russians out of these lands. Speaking about plain man Armenians usually add the word "dog" to the word "Russian"; they snub intelligent, but not influential people; and keep their servants on the roles of heilots¹⁵ either comic, or shameful.

Here's the fact describing the full picture of relations. The provincial doctor of Tiflis Mr. Kikodze, Georgian, impeccable and brave local actor, discovered that at the city butcher's yard veterinary surgeon Ispandaryan didn't burn, but sold a large stock of pork carcasses in-

¹⁴ City council – *Interpreter*.

¹⁵ Slaves in the ancient Sparta – *Interpreter*.

fectured with trichinosis. At risk to his life, despite the daggers of threatening interested persons, the young doctor managed to catch the buying-butcher red-handed, discovered *city stock of the known infected carcasses* and produced protocol. In the course of investigation became clear that this *system* has been functioning for some time; beside the immediate culprit, the acting medical-sanitary inspector and colleagues of Ispandaryan supervising the butcher's yard were indirectly involved as well. Ispandaryan killed himself, delegates of *duma* have been excited and under different quasi-excusable pretexts and formalities had postponed (almost a year!) discussion of this issue in *duma*. At the same time, as papers reported, many poor woodcutters were dying from unknown disease in forests of Kakhetia. Finally, at the long delayed session of *duma* dedicated to trichinosis the news about disease has been directly connected with sale of the infected carcasses to the side. The news was met with objection that city of Tiflis had nothing to worry about. Finally Mr. Opochinin, the Russian gentleman, son of the merited general, jury and delegate of *duma*, said that since the main culprit had punished himself the case *should be forgotten*. I don't find it immodest to name that gentleman here because right then in Tiflis I had expressed my indignation through press. Alas, words are helpless where "one should have applied power"!... Acting medical-sanitary inspector was confirmed at that position – that was an end of the case.

Difficulty of the Armenian question is that *tasks of parasitism and wirepulling are tightly linked with each other, have an organic connection...* That can be clearly seen during city elections. Such order has developed strongly in terms of two "patriotic" Armenian city mayors – Matinov, and especially the late Izmaylov, when the

Armenian policy became main driver of the urban life. Many Russians and Georgians are artificially deprived of an opportunity to participate in elections, partially because of deficiency in tax payment, in some cases such last minute obstacles were in shape of debts amounting *several kopecks* suddenly presented by uprava¹⁶, and partially because banks threaten non-Armenian voters to demand payment by promissory notes.

The latter can be reasonably remarked that people can be allowed to misguide themselves. But issue is that it is difficult for all sons of the Transcaucasia not misguide themselves. Mobsters hold market in their hands, life important goods are extremely expensive, and credit, which could be normal in other regions, is always dangerous here. In fact, referring to the unenviable situation of the Russian people, their weakness and pliancy in some cases, I have to make a proviso that even sins can be imputed to them only to the least degree. Neither individuals, who *normally can not be demanded heroism from*, nor even, strictly speaking, individual administrators of the region, who can be full of best intentions, but don't have universal knowledge and can't find *sufficient contingent of honest and loyal clerks*, are guilty here. That is *history of the region* guilty here, which had created special system, special way of life where best initiatives of the disinterested representatives of the Russian power bring only smallest results. There is a real Gordian knot here. Work of many minds, work of *the special institution* is required to establish *real*, not only formal-report, *status of things* in the Caucasus and its historical reasons: such institution should not be distracted by heavy troubles of everyday life, like local authority. There are robberies,

¹⁶ Local administration – *Interpreter*.

earthquakes and other natural disasters in this colourful area, and necessity to defend this or that project prompted by life in low-principled or uninformed metropolitan circles: time flies, time is short and there's little of peace for labour having its *scientific* sides.

Simply speaking, there must be *senatorial revision*, it is important for such senator to be *truly Russian* person, free from strong influences, as well as prejudices and falsity of the bourgeois liberalism; *deep honesty of not only heart, but mind as well* is required.

If there is a God will, that poor land shall see that day. Until that time it must be appreciated that cynicism of looting became moderate and vigour of men daring to pronounce the word "Russian" with sardonic smile became some less – vigour intolerable for its insolence.

One can easily imagine how carelessly Armenian wirepullers treat other nations. Several years ago in Kakhetian city of Sygnakh the Orthodoxies were celebrating the holiday of Jordan. Especially with the purpose to outrage the Orthodoxy the Armenian jacket-intelligentsia hired intolerably screaming zurna and drum, had them climbed on the nearest bell tower closest to the Orthodox Jordan and sounded such unspeakable noise, that words of worshipping could not be heard. Zurna is a pipe that can be heard at distance of nearly five miles. The police gave those people an opportunity to scandal to their hearts' content, because at that time chief of the uezd administration in Sygnakh and his deputy were Armenians. Later on the trouble-makers were tried and as usually sentenced to some insufficient punishment, and those were not instigators, but hired musicians.

I absolutely objectively made reference to the wirepulling of the Armenian bourgeoisie and didn't want to exaggerate the phenomenon, which can seriously grow

or be deducted to more miserable forms. That is an issue of future, *issue of the Russian self-conscience*.

Political dreams of some Armenian bosses and quasi-intelligent people have taken more or less definite formula, probably, after the Polish riot of 1863, and then found support of the following antigovernment movements in Russia and bunches of revolutionaries abroad.

The former editor-publisher of the “Mshak” newspaper Artsruny, deceased now, pursuing the aim to unite Caucasian natives under the Armenian leadership, played special role inventing the following formulas for them, introduced in more or less Aesopian language even in the Russian-Armenian publications: “*let’s unite against the common enemy*”, i.e. Russia, and “*Caucasus for the Caucasians*”. The Russian self-nihilists, as usual, have been carelessly supporting that. The Georgians, meanwhile, caught the point and talented humorist-poet knyaz Akakiy Ceretely responded to the call of Artsruny with the verse “Mosquito and Flight” published in the “Droeba” newspaper, now cancelled, *because that could not appear in the “Caucasus” newspaper*, although other papers have been openly propagating “*the Georgian-Armenian solidarity*” ... against common enemy.

Such healthy understanding of the situation, of course, is a good sign, but living conditions could and do bring discrepancy between common sense and absurd, even fatal actions.

In Caucasus the Georgians and debtor Muslims of Karabakh sometimes say, smiling insincerely, *if Russian government withdraws troops from the Transcaucasia, then no bone of Armenians would be left here*. It’s already about thirty years as such words are ridiculously far from the truth. First, Armenians not just invaded all others economically, but partially acquired *political* tendencies of other isolating peoples; finally, *now they have*

their own “army” – rabble from Turkey. In particular, the ethnographic picture of Tiflis has strongly changed in last years. For instance, it is difficult to meet there mushu (porter) from Georgians of Rachy – previously very interesting and likeable type of plain worker: now there are only some pirate faces in Turkish turbans and bashliks (hats)¹⁷. The urban self-administration and mob of plutocrats continuously drive plain Russian and Georgian people out.

¹⁷ The Georgian newspaper “Iveria” in September 1897 underscored the fact that plain workers, who previously used to flow to Tiflis from all of Georgia because of unemployment at their native villages caused by land shortage, climatic or other conditions, now have been forced out of Tiflis by Armenians from the Erivan province and especially by refugees from Turkey. That had happened not because of any competition or other political-economic collision, since the salary didn’t fall in these years, as it happens during natural competition, but to the contrary *has significantly grown*. For instance, to saw one cubic sazhen (7 feet – *Interpreter*) of thin wood three Armenian “ambals” (plain workers – *Interpreter*) take from 4 up to 5,5 rubles and work is done within 4-5 hours and very negligently.

The same paper has published a reference showing that the number of the urban plain workers had reached 300 or 400 men, whereas 93% of them *had been Armenians*. Street sweepers and irrigators, guards at the water supply of Avchal, up to 200 men, all – Armenians. Several years ago most of those positions have been filled by Rachies and Aysors, wake and good workers, who have now been substituted by lazy and rude natives of Turkey with significantly increased salaries. The following fact highlighted by the “Tsnobis-Purcely” newspaper the same year of 1897 can brightly illustrate sad results of abnormal conditions at the labour market of Tiflis.

On December 12th, at the post highway of Tionety, near Sabadury, the coachman noticed a half-naked, exhausted walker, who happened to be Simon Sisaury, inhabitant of Sakdriony village. The poor man was taken to Sabadury where he had died of starvation of exhausting. It was found that the deceased had been in the great need and departed to Tiflis for employment. After biding some time and not finding any job Sisaury had spent his last money there and headed back to his village, where he had never reached.

9. Truth of the Turkish atrocities.

The last Russian-Turkish war and its political results, fixed in paragraph of the Berlin tractate concerning the Turkish "Christians", had strong aggravating influence upon all of the Transcaucasia, and Armenians in particular. That was *not occasional*. Long before that war Germany had set its eyes at the Middle East, and where Moltke had done good work, as young officer. The article of the Berlin tractate about the Turkish Christians was *the first step of Germany in the path to the Bagdad railroad*, on the other hand – it was the bursting volcano, eruptions of which threaten the European peace, and in particular, the Russian cause in the Middle East. It should be noted that for the last thirty years *Germany has been systematically working on the development of the Armenian separatism in the Transcaucasia*. A lot of Armenian groups are concentrated specifically in Germany. Most vivid relations are maintained between Tiflis, Berlin, Munich and our Baltic pan-Germans, with active participation of *the Finnish demagogues*. Large groups of the German officers of the general staff visit the Transcaucasia as archaeologists, hunting fans and tourists. It is characteristic that intelligent Armenians graduated from former university of Derpt demonstrate systematic animosity to Russia and that *Germans serving in the Caucasus specifically patronize Armenians*.

In a view of the abovementioned conditions, after the Berlin tractate, Armenians conceived definite political dreams about *autonomy*. Any not parasite, but at least reliable autonomy requires more or less solid *territory*. As it can be seen from documents of the French foreign ministry published in 1897 no condition *was and is* there

in Turkey for such autonomy. Page 2 runs: "Thorough study of dislocation of different tribes allows asserting *that Armenians do not constitute majority of population at any province of the Turkish Empire*". General Zelenoy and colonel Kartsev, Caucasian officers of the general staff, clearly confirm that by statistical data gathered in the field. Page 12 of the mentioned book reproduces letter of the French ambassador at the Turkish court Mr. Cambone to minister Hanotoe saying that, *it wasn't worth of even thinking about independent Armenia*, and if, due to some incredible circumstances, Europe would have offered to create Armenia – that would be nearly impossible to determine limits of that new state.

Same Mr. Cambone reports that *strong propaganda of the Armenian riot, artificially prepared by Britain*, is going on in Turkey, and partially *Tiflis became involved in that affair*, as it can be seen from report of the French vice-consul in Diyarbekir of October 5, 1894. This is what Mr. Meriet wrote to his chief: "They say the movement has been prepared long ago by the "Hnchak" society, headquarters of which is located in Tiflis at present, and before that was in London and Athens. Insurgents follow orders of that society".

It can be added here that another group of the Armenian revolutionaries called "Droshak", i.e. "Banner", has concentrated around the newspaper with the same title, which still exists. It is published abroad, but there a lot "droshakists" in the Caucasus.

Mr. Cambone, in a number of reports of the French ambassador full of sympathy to Armenians as the Christians and an aspiration to serious reforms, sincerely shared by the Russian diplomacy, counts a row of *cruel political murders committed by members of the Armenian revolutionary committee* and their hirelings, and also

states very notorious fact, later checked by me to some extent, *main masses of Armenians do not compassion to revolution and only small groups of the Turkish Armenians gradually surrender to threats and terror of their leaders and unwillingly enter in the struggle.* Many of the Turkish refugee Armenians my friends and I had chance to speak to had sincerely confessed *of running to Russia not from the Turkish, but their own terrorists.*

The mentioned books informs about mass disorders caused by Armenians, *who launched attacks against Turks and Kurds in order to provoke massacre.* Before start of disorder and outrageous atrocities in Constantinople, where, as known, an Armenian gang broke in the “Ottoman Bank” with dynamite bombs, the Armenian revolutionary committee addressed to Mr. Cambone with a kind of note saying that Armenians decided to hold a “*peaceful demonstration*” and committee would not be responsible for consequences if police interfered. During the followed manifestation *Armenians started killing policemen and even gendarmerie officers.* That was an impetus to the outrageous massacre of Armenians, one thought of which makes one’s hair to stand on end. It can be seen from the mentioned book that *reason to the Armenian massacre mainly was given by revolutionaries themselves through their provocative actions deliberately headed to that goal,* and that the English ambassador and consuls paid every effort to inflate and complicate the issue, while the Russian and French ambassadors have demonstrated great political tact, despite their sympathy to the innocent victims of intriguers and infuriated Muslims.

The genius provision of the never-to-be-forgotten knyaz Lobanov-Rostovsky, our minister of foreign affairs, was especially notorious as well as his iron will, which had prevented involvement of Russia into the absurd

war. By the way, he was the first person who *shook*, but unfortunately didn't eradicate the roots of the *groundless view of our diplomacy at the Armenians as elements friendly and useful to us in the neighbouring Persia and especially in Turkey*. He realised that the Russian-Turkish relations had to step into new phase, when we should have protected Turkey from foreign exploitation and interference, and in return could peacefully reach the improvement of situation of the Christians in the East and strengthen our stance on the straights. Supporters of the opposite view were flirting with Armenians in Turkey, supported anger in Hildioz-Kioske against us and all the Slavonic and at the same time *they were indirectly supporting hegemony of the Armenian tribe in the Caucasus*.

But let's return to the Armenian disorders and massacres in Turkey. The Ottoman Empire conducted indecently: the government obviously was kindly disposed to the participants of massacre – the Muslims – partially sharing their irritation and partially, as it became clear later, creating *rational from the Turkish point of view plan of exchange of substances*, i.e. concentration of the maximum possible number of the solid Muslim population in the Asia Minor and extermination or expulsion to Russia of Armenians, who caught that hard political disease. *That plan* (excluding the massacre stopped long ago) *is carried out with extraordinary, phenomenal success at present*.

Every phenomenon, especially the one turned into the property of history, requires exact definition. Undoubtedly the Turkish atrocities were terrible for their nature and scales as well. But it is equally undoubted that the Anglo-Armenian press on behalf of various Dillons and with support of the cosmopolitan press of different states has strongly exaggerated scales of that heavy popular

disaster adding zeros to numbers reflecting tens and hundreds of real victims.

The Russians and Armenians in the Transcaucasia were evenly shuddered and indignant hearing echoes of death moaning of thousand victims. It is also obvious that the expression “Muslim religious fanaticism” was used too groundlessly. The Greeks, Catholics and even Armenian Catholics have suffered much less than the Gregorians. On January 25th, 1896, the French consul reported the following remarkable fact about massacre in the Trabzon vilayet: *“Before starting the massacre in Gumish-Khane village the Muslims gathered at the square. They separated Armenians from other Christians and have taken the latter away in order not to mix them with the beforehand marked victims”*. It is clear that the Turkish fanatics were fighting against the Armenian-Gregorian and Armenian-revolutionary organization threatening order and maybe even integrity of their state. Anyone who travelled to the Asia Minor or knows local socio-political conditions, clearly realizes that economic-communal factor of disorders had played part there, similar to that one encountered in areas of the Jewish settlements; but unfortunately Turks and especially Kurds can't be restrained if they infuriated – the most grave charge against them is they have reached such point of massacre, indiscriminating age or gender, rather than limiting themselves to extermination of the revolutionary gangs.

The appearance of people, who *really* suffered from that rabble and found shelter under the Russian banner, represented a soul-tearing picture. The deepest tragedy is *to great extent the Armenian rich men, priests and other wire-pullers themselves have subjected the part of junior brethren of their people to death and plunder.*

10. Political role of the church and Armenian programme.

The Shrine of God didn't betray hopes of the long-suffering beggar-woman; undoubtedly shortcomings of the Armenian religious organization and fatal mistakes, which can't be justified, of the Armenian church-theocratic policy had and still have extremely harmful influence for not only the Russian state-popular cause in the province, but the Armenian people as well.

It should be noted that escalation of the Armenian manifestations and disorders in Turkey and general nervousness of the Armenian tribe within the Russian limits had *coincided with accession of his holiness Catholicos Mkrtych I to the patriarch's throne in Echmiadzin*. Before his arrival to Russia this venerable hierarch was a *political actor* in Turkey, passionate Armenian patriot chased by the Turkish authorities for his activities.

It is hardly surprising that in the declining years of his life and hard work the patriarch transferred his world outlook, aspirations and instinctive feelings to his new motherland.

Part of the Armenian bourgeoisie and class of pseudo-intelligentsia, united by the "Mshak" newspaper established by the famous Artsruni, for the bourgeois-liberal and, maybe, liberal-atheist reasons took the side of opponents to Mkrtych by the time of elections of the patriarch. And even now many upper tradesmen, bankers, oil-manufacturers feeling disgust to clericalism after acquaintance with the European café chant and smoking, treat their spiritual leader without proper respect and, pursuing the common with him goal of the tribal isolation,

suppose that the process would go faster with help of the so called socio-economic evolution.

That discord is rather academic than deeply lively, because *both parties used to and always concord when even the smallest occasion gave them a pretext to "join against the common enemy"*.

Administration in the Armenian church of Echmiadzin is not completely individual, in accordance with the law the Catholicos heads the Synod, while the procurator is appointed by the Russian government. The spiritual academy of Echmiadzin should have been guided by the legal terms of reference because *validity of the provisional rules has expired long ago*¹⁸. Finally, the authority of the Russian government in political or common criminal affairs, of course, encompasses Echmiadzin as well. Nevertheless, the legal demands of the government are not always carried out and even frequently remain unanswered or answered inappropriately. By decree of the Senate the new recruits and participants of the court hearings must oath in Russian, but the wire-pulling priesthood *bans* clerics to obey that. Several years ago the Catholicos sent a cable to the Caucasian administration threatening to close the Synod, unless the governmental Synod official displeasing his holiness is removed. While waiting for the reply the Synod was closed and then, after *yielding to the illegal demand*, it has been reopened by the new kondak.

¹⁸ Those "*provisional rules*", approved in 1874 for the period of nine years by the late Emperor Alexander II, still substitute any terms of reference of the spiritual academy of Echmiadzin. All of the Catholicoses who held the throne of Echmiadzin for the past 30 years had tried by every means to avoid development of the terms of reference and, unfortunately had reached that goal despite the crying abnormality and danger of such situation of things.

The “kondaks” used to be applied very specifically. For instance, the editor of the revolutionary-clerical newspaper “Ardzagank”, banned by the Russian government, was granted the kondak. Title of the patriarch – *vekhapar*, what means majesty; appeal to him is – *tserterutyanut*, what means *your reign*. These epithets are signs of the political theocracy, which is independent from other authorities. Archimandrite Vagan, member of the Synod and former personal assistant to the Catholicos, and Nakhapetyan, rector of the academy, were exiled from the Caucasus by the royal decree for their anti-governmental propaganda and other illegal deeds, but then the Catholicos without asking permission from the Russian authorities had appointed one of them to be vicar of Nakhichevan and the other one to be administrator of the Chisinau estates of the Armenian church.

During the last disorder in Turkey, provoked by activity of the revolutionaries, the Russian power offered patriarch to sound his sobering word, but he instead of that started delivering exciting sermons, initiated “night watch” – sermons of the same kind signed by archimandrite Karapet were published in the “Ararat” newspaper of Echmiadzin.

Echmiadzin possesses huge estates administrated more than secretly. Inventory, property registers and lists are thoroughly hidden at the monasteries. Property is purchased and loaned. For instance, the monastery of Echmiadzin has mortgaged the estate of Mr. Shakh-Azizov-Kamsarakan. On the other hand, the banks freely credit the clerical institutions. In conditions of such economic chaos it is very difficult to determine what is spent for the cause of church *and what is spent less productively from the religious point of view*. The fog of the economic picture of this region will reach its peak if comple-

mented with the story how several years ago the band forfeiting Russian bills was hiding and discovered at one of the temples of Echmiadzin.

The sad story of the Armenian people caused blending religious tasks of the church with various affairs of this world¹⁹. That harms the spiritual development of Armenians and even the moral image of the Catholicos himself and other hierarchs. Neither papers, nor money

¹⁹ Here is translation of the text written after travel to Echmiadzin by French scientist baron de-Bay, who basically made his country acquainted with Russia through number of books and brochures. He has traveled across the Caucasus several times and tone of his stories had always been distinguished for moderation and impartiality.

“We approach to Varshapat settlement. The first thing we see is the ancient abandoned church of saint Rypsimia, being under reconstruction now and encircled by black walls. *For some time this church has been a dean of money falsifiers.* Finally, we arrived at Echmiadzin; every foreigner is welcomed warmly there – I have no words to express how monks (almost all of them in bishop's rank) were kind and attentive to me. But despite all my gratitude I have to be sincere. This monastery has made an impression on me like *rather political than religious centre.* His holiness Catholicos is very honourable old man welcoming foreigners; *he has very delicate, very diplomatic mind; they say he frequently resorts to the allegories in his sermons*”...

Baron de-Bay contradicts the legend attributing the temple of Echmiadzin to the IV century and judging for its architectural features considers it as monument of the XV century and also finds that the murals are reflections of the Persian art. The author is sceptical about the “ancient” artefacts:

“The antiquity of relics stored in cabinets, and mainly of the “saint spear”, was undermined by scientists more competent in this field than me. Since archives of the monastery unfortunately disappeared there is no information about items collected in its treasury. *People inside of these walls are little troubled by archaeology, history or arts work; all thoughts and care are dedicated to the modern times and current issues. I admit that people suspecting this place to be the seat of great sympathy to England are not wrong. Anyway, England uses all means to evoke these sympathies in this place, which is close to the Asian Turkey...*”

was found after the death of Catholicos Macarius. There is a suspicion that his death was violent. The path to the better world of the archbishop Jeremy, sincere friend of the Armenian people and truly loyal to Russia, was nearly the same.

Secularization of possessions of the Armenian church is *strongly necessary* action, which is aimed at not only setting better tranquillity among Armenians, but mainly *at purpose of giving the Armenian church an opportunity to discharge its sacred spiritual mission without being distracted by incidental affairs or dreams*²⁰. As we shall see below, in educational sense the Armenian people is abandoned by its leaders, it is artificially spoiled by tearing from the God's truth and human common sense.

By the way, the supreme Armenian priesthood is much guilty of it. The academy of Echmiadzin, seminary of Nersesyan, and other seminaries are so much crowded by youth that their walls can't stand it – *but the overwhelming majority of the priesthood consists of plain and ignorant peasants*.

I will shortly touch upon the story of transfer of the Armenian religious schools under administration of our ministry of popular education. The bodies of the ministry established that, despite the obvious and widely expressed aspiration of the Armenian popular masses to study state language, the Armenian church schools had been not only blocking this natural way of development of citizenship, but even the seats of the curse and fanatic isolation. I should mention the absurd textbooks speaking about notorious Great Armenia and universal vocation of

²⁰ V.L. Velichko wrote these lines by the very end of May 1903, before the royal approval of the law of June 12th about order of administration of the Armenian-Gregorian church's property.

Armenians to civilize *all* their neighbours – these schools also distributed *maps of the Great Armenia, reaching nearly Voronezh, with capital in Tiflis* ²¹ and various emblems serving the same intrigue, which was supported first by England and now it is one the favourite offspring of the Germanism. I use the word Germanism instead of Germany because across the Caucasus even Germans being Russian subjects, frequently officials become zealous supporters and patrons of the Armenian intrigue.

The late K.P. Yanovsky, remarkable local actor and former supervisor of the Caucasian educational district, through his enormous efforts achieved issuance of order concerning the transfer of mentioned schools under authority of ministry of popular education while retaining courses of the Armenian language and classes on Armenian religion. *The Armenian priesthood didn't agree to that and has closed many schools at once*, preferring rather to keep people in darkness of ignorance than to let them to get rid of the artificial isolation. The Armenian plain people were moaning, while agitators were distributing *deliberate lies* saying that schools were closed not by agents of the Armenian theocracy, but the Russian government. Our quasi-liberal press, through people financed by the oil-barons of Baku, strongly supported that insolent lies among the uninformed Russian reading public. Nevertheless the Caucasian educational district has managed to take some schools under its control and now they successfully work on new basis. The schools' property has been transferred to this entity along with schools, as well as *sources for maintenance of schools*,

²¹ The maps of that fictional country I saw at K.P. Yanovsky, former supervisor of the Caucasian educational district, were distributed in lithographic and even hand sewn shape. The latter belongs to hands of some mazut queens trained in foreign style

and *that inventory*, which the Armenian priesthood failed to conceal or spend; it should be mentioned here that operations of this kind were conducted insolently before the eyes of all Tiflis, where the educational board didn't have enough support in endeavours for location and withdrawal of the concealed property.

As it comes to assets (immovable property and capitals) for maintenance of the Armenian schools, then resourcefulness and chicanery of local business men put the educational district in complicated situation – so many surprises have come up to light, but they should be expected in the Caucasus when it comes to the issue of any Armenian property. *Obviously school* property has been to the great extent labelled as monastery's or church's possession. The claims led by the Armenian tertiaries with communal resourcefulness of the Jewish barristers and insolence fitting sons of the "Great Armenia" followed one another. The forensic practice in the Caucasus is frequently benevolent to Armenians: possibly they are really always clean and right, and maybe there are some other reasons, close study of which could discover many interesting facts. One arbiter (temir-khan-shurinsky if correct) even tried to call the honourable supervisor of the educational district to his camera by notification. The Caucasian court institutions, which have sanctioned many seizures by the Armenian predators of the treasury lands through their decisions, have resolved high number of cases in this process not in favour of the educational board. Meanwhile, several cases were suspended because one big case about the schools property has led to Senate. The main question was whether such cases have been subject to administrative or court solution. The Senate inclined to the second option – and now the real

mess is stirred up, which is very harmful for the Russian cause and prestige at the Caucasus²².

Such confusion demonstrates the absence of the coordinated service of different institutions at the Caucasus to the unique national policy. Otherwise the dominating approach would be that the issue of popular school is the *state* matter, but not strictly civil one. During determination of belonging of the property to schools or churches the educational institution should have due *support for correct clarification* of all details, while the latter wouldn't be given the exaggerated meaning because of the cunning-formal signs. That resourcefulness would rather motivate the local authorities to move the long waiting and clearly insisting issue – *concerning secularization of the Armenian church's property*. With resolution of that issue many muddy waves of negative occurrence, spilling over the Caucasus without restraint at present, would turn back to their natural bed.

The local Russians, compassionately watching the intensification of work of the ministry of interior, expect the creative initiative of this central body to make positive influence on the shaken fundamentals of the Russian cause, which is not in advantage in this too remote from centre and too deceitful outskirts.

The Armenian popular mass is thirsty for study of the Russian language, which could open it a way to earning and real culture, but their leaders set obstacles because they fear to lose people from the sphere of influence. One can judge about that influence, even in secondary issues, by fact that the “Mshak” newspaper, which took side of Dreyfus along with the entire Armenian bourgeoisie, had a chance to express its exaltation

²² The law of June 12th 1903 has settled this issue as well.

for distribution of that view among semi-savage Armenian peasants of Yelisavetpol. One of those curse-handed brunets even called his buffalos the names of the close accomplices of the Dreyfus case.

By the way, for censorship rules it was very difficult to write against Dreyfus in the province proud for deeds of the Caucasian army being nearly the only unshakeable and impeccable incarnation of the Russian cause in the country; the Armenianized and Armenian press, reaching down the lowest strata of people, was composing the hymns honouring that “perverted patriot”. Significant group of Tiflis wire-pullers, including some half-educated rascals, has sent Emil Zola the following cable in Russian: “From the country where suffered Prometheus we profoundly bow our heads before the crown of thorns laid on you by your motherland to the shame of the entire human kind. The crown of thorns is the best award to the dedicated fighter for justice”.

Possibly the managers of caravansaries considered themselves to be inspired by suffering of Prometheus with rights equal to those ones enjoyed by the “Novosty” newspapers, when it once called the ancient Orthodox Mtskheta and valley of the silver Aragva River the “sultry Armenia”. The Caucasian Armenian supporters of Dreyfus have coincided in their tendencies with some civil officials; when I asked one Russian subject “German”, who was a baptized Jew, why he was “advising” me not to write against Dreyfus, he responded shrugging his shoulders:

- Excuse me, but emperor himself found Dreyfus not guilty!
- Which emperor?
- Wilhelm!

Here I got angry despite all my meekness:

- Pardon! That, maybe, was *your* emperor, but mine by no means.

Some more words about schools. First of all, it is pity that the issue concerning them, or I should say their property, used to be and still resolved in the forensic manner instead of administrative.²³ The judicial power is bound by definite regulations and has no right to deviate from forms and abstract legal fundamentals even for sake of the state cause and noble purposes. Some faults, from the patriotic point of view, the judicial authority in the Caucasus is hastily accused in should be grounded by another category of reasons. *The court charters and many common imperial laws, first of all, do not fit the Caucasian circumstances.* For instance, such issues concern the statute of limitations, competitive process, and in this case, transfer of schools. The victory of Armenians in several court cases about school property has provoked *vivid gossip* across the Transcaucasia and absurd hopes at Armenian wire-pullers.

Let's have a closer look at these wire-pullers and their programme. Naturally, they won't let any Russian-thinking person to read this programme in the precise formulated shape; but living in the province for several years and taking closer look at many occurrences would be enough to clarify the Armenian programme with all its correctness, like a sought quantity of the resolved equation.

The dream of the uninvited patrons of the Armenian people about creation of the *autonomous "kingdom"* and specifically *inside of the Russian borders* doesn't fade away, but *lights brighter*. There was no territory in Turkey – it is artificially created in the Transcaucasia. Tens of

²³ This line is written before the law of June 12th 1903.

thousands of the Turkish emigrants cross in our borders, our soldiers do not dare to shoot these “peaceful” bands because Armenians move women and children to the front. There was no Turkish “atrocities” at all, and Turkish government doesn’t admit the fugitives back. Many of them refuse to accept the Russian citizenship and almost all without exception incline to idleness, contagious diseases and wild criminal offences.

The Transcaucasian plain Armenians, whose morals became relatively soft for several decades of living in Russia, consider arrival of the Turkish co-ethnics the *great disaster*.

People need the land – and everything that is present across the Caucasus and Russian capitals and accessible for the Armenian influence transfers this land to Armenians and *opposes* Russian colonization, disregarding that governor of the province had openly included that into his programme with royal permission.

In our language to oppose means to object; in the Caucasus that word has terrible, wild meaning making one’s hair to stand on end. After several years of thorough thinking about issue of the Dukhobors and collection of facts from the original sources I have sincerely come to conclusion that *the Armenian intrigue*, aimed at relocation of the Turkish Armenians to the lands of the Dukhobors, *had been the origin of their martyrdom, madness and doom*. The offences of some officials and mistakes of the others, sentimental-inhuman nonsense of the Tolstoy-minded etc. – all of them are the accompanying factors, not basic. Fortunately, that aim of the Armenian policy was reached only to the little degree through seizures and other deviating ways.

Inhabitants of the ruined Russian village in Terter of the Elisavetpol province know well what means “to op-

pose” in Armenian. That terrible story will be outlined further in the article dedicated to the Russian settlers. Story told by one of the survived settlers made such an impression on the audience that all atrocities of the Turkish massacre pale before the cold-blooded, evil cruelty of “peaceful” and “cultural” Armenians shown during expulsion of the Russian people from lands conquered by the Russian blood.

The mentioned wire-pullers also want to expulse the Muslim population of the region and *spoil reputation of the Muslims in order to catch their lands in future*. The farsighted inactivity of officials supporting and enslaved by them has blocked determination of the *estate-land rights in the Muslim provinces* and establishment of the noble-peasant banks there. Naturally the estate-land disorder *maintains nervousness* of the passionate local population, causes *discontent* and serves one of the serious reasons of plunders and bloodshed. All that is thoroughly masked before Petersburg; some “Caucasian native” Mr. V.S.K. arguing with editor of the “Novoye Vremya” newspaper’s regional bureau made accent on the passion and nervousness of the Transcaucasian Muslims, carefully omitting the issue of one of the main factors influencing that passion. The fact is obvious: the issues of interests of the whole population group have been shelved for several decades – *there are no rational reasons for that!* But results can be clearly seen! *It is easy to guess who operates here!..* As result the entire Muslim Transcaucasia is already *ensnared by the Armenian nets* just like other remaining parts, except for the part of the Kutaisi province. The Armenian millionaires are the whales lying in the basis of the industrial-political terror of “Armenia” – they buy for nothing *tens of thousands of acres* of lands belonging to the Georgian knyaz,

Tatar agalars and capture improperly lying treasury estates²⁴; *and those estates are still lying very improperly*, partially because of the inapplicability of the common imperial laws to the local ground.

By the way, the corrupt Russian publicists convince Russian people that Armenians are the *only peaceful and cultural element* in the Caucasus. The Armenian rich men and their envoys are able to prove the same to the influential circles in Petersburg, and alas to many representatives of press using oil bonds, delicious lunches and even lips of the specially hired beautiful ladies. I repeat: our ignorance is amazing, nearly criminal. In rare editions of the Russian orientation one has to read that Armenians are “stronghold of the Christianity in the East”, and editions absolutely non-Russian for their orientation (like notorious “St. Petersburg Vedomosti”) reach such heights of bootlicking before Armenians that one feels shame and fear for the human.

The Armenian leaders and their accomplices just like Jews try to convince young and naïve Russians that Russia has already grown for powerful popular representation and that true patriotism has to consist of wide use of that “maturity”, and *of leaving the outskirts and aliens to their own devices*. Different attitude to the issue would be “intolerance” and “obscurantism”. Those who have heard enough of such aphorisms in the Caucasus can understand many Petersburg writings, no matter how they are masked, even by the Russian “nationalism” of the special sort. When Armenians and their hired paperback writers engage formulas of bourgeois liberalism usual for the narrow minded part of the Russian intelligentsia and speak, for instance, about *equality and bro-*

²⁴ These lands are completely inhabited by the Turkish Armenians.

therhood of all peoples, then it is *lie, contemptible* and poorly masked lie, which even a child wouldn't believe in if he's honest and comprehended what is all about. Persons pretending that they believe in Armenian liberal-humanitarian assurances *are liars* just like the authors of such arguments. Attentive reading of texts concerning the Armenian question and thorough look at the Caucasian affairs would be enough to acknowledge the mentioned conclusion as the axiom.

For instance, it seems that liberal-humanitarian idea doesn't forbid taking care about the Russian popular mass, and, to the contrary, demands to render assistance to those groups, which are driven to the outskirts by impoverishment of our centre and lack of lands. *Meanwhile, the fight initiated by Armenian sponsors of press against the filling of free Transcaucasian lands by the Russian settlers prescribed by the Supreme Power is going on for several years.*

Let's take another abnormality, even more screaming from the Caucasian point of view and obviously contradicting the Armenian formula "Caucasus for Caucasians". The Muslims constitute the overwhelming *majority of population* in most cities of the eastern Transcaucasia, but they do not enjoy the similar rights with Armenians in the city administration, under pretext that the latter are "Christians". That pretext can be used to cram only people learning the concept of Caucasus from the calendar data. Limitation of rights of some groups of population is useful and necessary in the multi-tribal state, but they must derive from the *communal conditions*, not formal features. *One has to limit exploiters, mobsters, wire-pullers, people of the shadow conspirative order; not Muslims, but namely Armenians are people of such kind. The Christianity without the Christian morals is forgery –*

it is not occasional that one Orthodox hierarch once told me he considered Muslims for their spirit and moral position more closer to the Orthodoxy rather than monophysite Armenians. But even if one takes the point of view of the mechanically-equalizing justice and denies any limitations, then it would be natural to grant Muslims equal rights with Armenians, especially in the country where Muslims are more native inhabitants.

The Caucasian authority was sincerely striving for that and in short period of time the issue has been considered resolved in a positive way. The Armenian press, worshiping all dogmas of the so called “liberalism” and carelessly treating the Orthodox shrines, suddenly started passionately singing about “Christianity”, all contacts in Petersburg were engaged to keep the limitation of the Muslims’ rights in force. Newspapers accessible to Armenians at once started crying about pan-Islamism. And submissive Petersburg canceled the noble act, which has been under implementation in practice by the Caucasian authority...

Armenians and their supporter obviously hide their liberalism in pocket when it comes to their *tribal interests*. They even have a saying: “If you want – Isaiah Arakelovich, or Arakel Isaiahovich”. They consider all strange property, even the one deserved by blood and valour, as illegal gain. For instance, despite of Armenians being de facto masters of the region for some forty years, the Russian power gives more of the visible respect rather to the merited warriors and representatives of the old Georgian families traditionally loyal to Russia, than to yesterday’s managers, manufacturer or invaders of the treasury lands. That is “harmful” to the zealots of the Armenian hegemony, and they regard it as outrageous injustice!

Not long before the time I started editing the “Caucasus” newspaper the famous “leading” journalist Gregory Avetovich Djanshiyev visited me in the hotel in Tiflis with purpose of acquaintance. He enjoyed reputation of the sincere impeccable liberal. Respecting any sincerity and hearing a lot of good things about him in Petersburg, I was very touched by his attention – he completely amazed me by width of the theoretical views. I frankly told him that I’ve been sharply distinguishing the popular mass from the quasi-intelligent class and especially from the predating plutocracy. He made a slightly wry face and expressed assurance of that people from different camps could join for the sake of people’s good, if they were not enemies of light, transparency and life truth.

I was too naïve to believe it. But after the first serious exposure of the antisocial swindle and tribal intolerance of the city bosses of Tiflis I received very characteristic letter from that pseudo-liberal and zealous Armenian patriot (in parasitical meaning of that word). Below are the lines of that letter where Djanshiyev “opened his cards”:

“I sincerely wish them (Georgian people) every (?) success, but only on the basis of *equality*, not in capacity of the *capricious minion of administration* like they used to be and still remain as such (?!), it is acknowledged by the “Novoye Vremya” itself. The reason why Armenians have future is that *they nowhere and never demanded privileges for themselves (?) at the expense of other peoples*. Your newspaper has a touch of tendency of snubbing them as harmful element. One shouldn’t forget that being a target for prosecution for the last 3 years they are specifically sensitive to any injustice, particularly the one demonstrated by persons in whose impartiality they have believed. In such state of spirit *even the just action may provoke irritation*. What could be more just *than equalizing*

Tatars with Christians in the city administration? But I absolutely understand people considering that action untimely, because it is obviously instilled by rather hatred (!) to Armenians, than love to justice. Of course you wouldn't suspect the late Unkovsky in animosity to people, but he railed (!) at Milyutin for his Polish farming land distribution, because it was inspired by animosity (!) to the Polish people rather than care about it!"

It seems that comments would be unnecessary since *even the just action may provoke the irritation with those sensitive persons*, "not demanding privileges for themselves", but objecting to the equality of the Muslims!

The Russian servants of Armenians have gone much further down that way. For instance, at the institution of knyaz Ukhtomsky the suggestion to settle the Armenian migrants on island of Crete was once acknowledged as undesirable action, since Armenians were people specifically talented in the economic sphere they would turn dissatisfaction of other Christians in a new place against themselves.

Nothing to say, that is really good "talent" accompanied by inevitable discontent of the neighbouring people! Obviously the best place for such "talented" people is in the long-tolerant Russia: there is no need for ceremonies with this mother!

Article of the French writer-Armenophile Mr. Pierre Moran ("Correspondant" magazine, April 10th, 1897) is of special interest, as he was beforehand "prepared" by the Caucasian wire-pullers and also opened their cards.

According to this writer, Russia in moral sense *didn't firm its supremacy between the Black and Caspian Seas* – what is absolutely true. He says, - Idea of originality and thirst for isolation is deep and active mostly with Armenians. They complain of indifference of France

to their situation, which upon entering the humiliating it (!) Franco-Russian union *has forgotten own principles and betrayed its traditions*; meanwhile the Russian government, failing to carry out its obligation for protection of the foreign Armenians, is oppressing the Russian Armenians through irritating actions, *par des procédés véxatoires*. He pretends that Armenians were prosecuted (!) in Russia for their creative energy, wealth, strong intellectual culture (!) and finally “just for being Armenians”. G. Moran finds that they are people with iron will, stable, captious and industrious – shortly speaking, people with great internal strength, *á la séve vigoureuse*. He acknowledges that everywhere in the Transcaucasia “they have captured places designed, seemingly, rather for Russians” and they *have been creating a new motherland for them within the Russian limits*, acquiring all big enterprises through not completely conscientious methods, so to speak, from the bottom (*par le dessous*), like merciless usurers, shadow businessmen, “*Christian Jews*”, and Russians envy them because of impossibility to compete.

Moran is deeply-correct in determination of role of the Echmiadzin patriarchate saying that even those “who have lost their faith in supernatural” (i.e. *all Armenian intelligentsia*), honour their church since it is *national institution and saves their national identity*. Armenians attach the feeling called a love to motherland by other peoples onto the church.

Information on geography, history and literature, Mr. Moran has adopted from the Armenian wire-pullers, is subsequently inaccurate. For instance, he says that, *Batumi, Kars and Ardagan with their territories represent the originally Armenian possessions and Georgians in fact have been sitting on the Armenians lands for long time*.

He slanders the emperor Nicolas I, who ostensibly promised to grant Armenians an *autonomy*, saying that in times of Alexander II (period of might of count Loris-Melikov?) Armenians were strongly counting at revival of their “kingdom”, and draws deceitful, coarsely inaccurate picture of reign of emperor Alexander III, but expresses true idea that *Armenians are very frightened and hate the Autocracy*, the centralizing and levelling all parts and all isolating elements of the empire.

He finds that Armenians may pin their patriotic hopes only on the “liberal government”. This idea is true and explains why Armenians, beginning with famous Karakozov, just like Jews, so much incline to participation in every intrigue aimed at shaking of alteration of our state order.

Moran states that in terms of the unlimited monarchy Armenians are *unable not to be oppositional elements* and even *dangerous subjects, des sujets redoutables*, from the political point of view and in the economic field as well, like the “Christian Israel”, - un Israël Chrétien.

The mentioned writer does contradict himself strongly: in one place he says that Armenians only want “the civil equality and religious freedom” (although, as it can be seen in the Caucasus, they not only widely enjoy, but even abuse both of them with impunity), in another passage he acknowledges that “success gave Armenians pride, energy, passion and strength; they were bent before their masters, while they have been poor and weak, *getting richer they think of resistance*; many are dissatisfied with their situation”. The psychology of oil barons and bankers is described correctly here.

Speaking further about radical contradictions between the Armenian tendencies and the Russian state order, calling Armenians dangerous subjects and Arme-

nian church – national institution and even “Vatican”, Moran concludes with passionate apology to Armenians and *strongly advises the Russian government to yield to their demands*, drop “dishonest” (déloyale) policy and trust to the “Novoye Vremya” and “Moskovskiye Vedomosti” initiating some fairy tales about Armenian “plots”.

Hence, Russia *has to refuse the basic principles of its statehood* in order to give way to the autonomous “Christian Israel” reaching Voronezh, maybe even further?! Well, thanks for that good advice, which, possibly, will be supported by some zealots of the “philosophic renovation of the Russian order”!

Until that advice is not accepted, realization of the Armenian program consistently continues.

Leading the rest of the Caucasian population to impoverishment and, so to speak, *zoological discontent* the Armenian bosses hope to turn the remaining natives into their *conductors*, who could be useful in case of the unlucky for Russia war. It is characteristic that the Armenian wire-pullers specially hate any action, any kind word in favour or protection of other natives. They don’t get angry with those Russians, who indiscriminately scold “*all Caucasians*”, Armenians are ready to pay such Russian patriots, because indiscriminate statements are always unjust and fit well the Armenians formula “Caucasus for the Caucasians”. Their main feature is – *photophobia*, a fear before the incorruptible voice – this is what they have in common with unreliable officials standing for conditional “report” truth, instead of life truth. The Armenian wire-pullers are especially outraged by indications that the Armenian hegemony ruins other Caucasian tribes: then they start crying *about inflaming of the intertribal* hatred; their objections take shape of the “double-sided denunciation”, so much liked by Armenians and

Jews – and everything in the provincial service, which is decayed, corrupt and interested in continuation of the Armenian supremacy, raises from the “censorship” point a view its voice against exposure of outrages and honest description of reality.

The huge capitals *in hands of the politically over-dreaming people* may represent serious threat not only in case of some complications, but ordinary time as well. Being a fruit of rather silly-occasional or dishonest gain than diligent labour and inspired knowledge, these capitals in hands of obscurant or uncultured people represent *a social threat as factor of corruption and lechery*.

Since in the modern state these treasuries can not be retrieved, except for the cases of legal confiscation for the proved riot or plot, then there *should be a thought economical policy*, there should be cultural struggle. It is time for the Russian entrepreneurship to apply its material and spiritual forces to our southern outskirts. It is time for our creative thought to lay in fundament of our provincial *state* programme. Strengthening of the police guard and improvement of the professional level of the Russian Caucasians are equally important, but all that are patches, which cannot fix the main issue.

Absurd of the Armenian wire-pullers, probably, will remain absurd, because no revolutionary adventures can stand against the bayonet of the Russian soldier. But Armenian bosses in the Caucasus cause *enormous economic and spiritual damage* to both the Russian popular-state cause and *the Armenian population itself*. These bosses are terrible as lechers, as microbes of social decay, as parasites.

11. Azerbaijani Tatars.

The Caucasian Muslims can be divided into two strict categories for difference on their characters: first category would consist of Muslims lived in Turkey and especially Persia with its vassal khanates; the second one – of residents of Dagestan and other highlanders worshipping Islam. There are little of Turkish and Kurds within our borders and they represent a small dim spot on the colourful Caucasian carpet. Azerbaijani Tatars are different story: there are many of them and they constitute significant and valuable, in many respects, element which should be looked closer.

For centuries the eastern Transcaucasia was considered the Persian possession, but in fact it used to be such in some discrete cases; usually it was divided into small khanates (Ganja, Erivan, Talish, Sheki etc.) and initially their lords were officials appointed by the Persian government, who then managed to achieve transfer of their administrative rights by heritage and, finally, to peel off from Persia and reach independence becoming small tyrants of the oriental style. The beks, especially when they had kinship relations with the khan families, used to reach the same succession of power over smaller parts of territory. The mass of the Muslim population obeyed these rulers on the oriental-state basis, not the serfdom. Azerbaijanis were engaged in cultivation of land, gardening and cattle breeding, hunting, war and ... *raids, their principal difference from war is still unclear to the local population because of the indistinct land borders and legal definitions.* When residents of one khanate or bek domain attacked villages belonging to the other one with purpose of plunder, blood vengeance or demonstration

of courage, then it used to be called war. Now it's plunder, and by opinion of the modern Russian court, principles of that plunder are unclear to the population, and forms are sources for temptations generating hatred and new crimes. Armenians were engaged in trade, trembling before the khans' whips, crawling before the beks, and paled in a view of a man armed with dagger. They often unwillingly had to share their gain with Muslim rulers.

The Azerbaijanis are called Tatars, but that is completely wrong if we attribute Tatars to the Mongolian tribe. Even if the Azerbaijanis have a Tatar blood in their veins, then it is only result of the Mongolian raids of the times of Batuy, Mangu and Khulagu-khan (to the Transcaucasia); similar results have left after the Arabs: in the eastern Transcaucasia one still can meet people of the Arabic type and even reminding mulattos, with very dark skin and curly hair. For their main genesis Azerbaijanis are Turks, Turanys, and blood relatives of ancient Og-huz, Seldjuks, and modern Turkish. Azerbaijan gave Persia one of its greatest dynasties and during its reign sciences, culture, agriculture and military had blossomed. The name of Alp-Arslan is not forgotten in this part of Asia.

Unlike Petersburg where a tendentious requirement is established in the halls and meeting rooms, filled with cosmopolitanism, not to raise an issue of anybody's tribal origin, there is a custom in the Caucasus, and generally in all countries where people are close to nature, to pay attention to *blood*: they know that human being is psycho-physical entity, not just an abstract mathematical calculation; spiritual organization has close connection with shape of skull and other body parts, actions of the person are guided by not only present, but the past as well; *blood of ancestors speaks* through them.

Azerbaijanis undoubtedly have noble blood; for their nature they are kind, courageous, gracious, talented for intellectual and moral development. Despite of their apparent anarchism, predetermined by history, geographic situation of the province and communal conditions deriving from that, they undoubtedly have a concept of the statehood, and especially of the strong one, inspiring respect to the power, traditions and order. The Azerbaijani man basically is spontaneous supporter of the unlimited power, strong and patriarchal-just. It is almost the same psychologically racial character available with the Russian people, loyalty to the Autocracy by not only mind and heart, but, so to say, by very nature. The more Armenians and Jews, for their racial instinct, are hostile by nature to any statehood and particularly idea of the absolute monarchy, the more Azerbaijanis spontaneously, organically compassion to it – even rebels and robbers. Of course there is no psychological equality with Russians in this issue, since the Russian people had accepted the more advanced Byzantine religious-political culture and hadn't been subjected in mass scale to such anarchical influences, which had imprinted on the character of the Azerbaijanis; but surely there is an *analogy* in fundament.

The Islam, being one of the cultural basics of this people, could only develop the mentioned character and give it ideological substantiation: one Allah, one prophet, one representative of the prophet, bearer of the secular power. Everything is filled with idea of the *autocracy*, this idea is so strong that crosses borders of the confessional differences – and any king, although the alien one, is saint as representative of the unlimited autocracy. The Transcaucasian Muslims have repeatedly fought against their co-religious Turkish under banners of the White

Tsar, bending before the grandeur of the enlightened *cultural* autocracy.

The people of the West, and particularly the most energetic part of the German tribe – Anglo-Saxons – is *organically* inclined to politics with its details, intrigues and everyday routine taking a bulk of the time and efforts in struggle for the decisive role in the power relations. The people of the East, and particularly Azerbaijanis, prefer entrusting politics with the powerful person enjoying respect and gratitude for *paternal* care about needs of the people, for peace, might and glory attained under his banner. This is exactly the organic difference in the world outlooks pregnant with political and communal consequences.

There is hardly any need to prove that people with *oriental* view on the state represent valuable creative element for such absolute monarchy like Russia; that is a construction material, which can be used by the state power, having enough of sensitivity, for self-development and successful realization of its historical mission.

It is our custom to link the concept of Islam exclusively and indiscriminately with definition of fanaticism. Once somebody speaks about Muslims the word of “*ga-zavat*”, i.e. holy war, is mentioned right away, they threaten with pan-Islamism, Turkish atrocities and so on, especially now under impression of the unspeakable sufferings brought down on the poor population of Macedonia and Old Serbia oppressed by the savage Balkan Muslims; and here it is usual to forget about cruelty of the Americans towards niggers and people of Philippine, of the Germans towards the Chinese, of the British towards the Boers, hireling banker Jews towards congregations. *Our people don't know Islam*: they know only two or three belligerent verses from Koran, written for some

purposes and taking provisional-dogmatic importance only in cases, when the Muslim population of any country is either outraged by the abnormal life conditions, or inspired by some energetic leader drawing a picture of bright perspectives.

We still treat the issue of Islam in *uncultured way*. The Muslims take the *first position for their number in our country after Russians*, but we don't have the translation of book "Le Coran analysé", which is the table book for every French official in the Northern Africa; there is not a sign of at least serious and impartial independent researches which could help our officials dealing with Muslims to comprehend the main source of their world outlook. Truly speaking there is nobody to write such books for, because officials at our Asian outskirts are captured by other interests.

Loyalty to faith, the man considered the right one, should coincide with denial of truth of other confessions in full scale: as an Orthodox I can consider the *Orthodoxy the only* true faith with detriment to other religions. Nevertheless, it would be strange to deny that they contain parts of that unique eternal truth, which *completely* constitutes the nature of the Orthodoxy; that would be even stranger to deny not only beneficence of influence of the alien religions on the people enlightened by them, but in some cases even the practically-subjective advantage of those religions for human races standing on the appropriate spiritual stage and beset by special conditions. For instance, that concerns Islam. From our point of view, it doesn't have absolute truth, but gives elements of that truth to the people accepting faith in brief, comprehensible formulas and digestible doses. Practically speaking we may conclude that the same person truly accepting imperatives of Islam, containing big portion of

the Christian morality, and subsequently leading the decent patriarchal life, could become much worse person if taught although more sublime, but less comprehensible and compatible with his mental organization basics of the Christianity; misunderstanding would be accompanied by inactivity. The mental context would evaporate leaving only a dead ritual, *another form of the same paganism, fighting which Muhammad came as real enlightener*, real creator of the moral progress among his co-ethnics.

Taking a closer look at the dogmas and history of Islam one can easily acknowledge that this religion, professing mercy to the neighbour, care of about the weak and glooming, enlightening the human several times in a day (strictly required namaz) with reminder of the Only God, for its ethical sides interrelated with the military intolerance and sensible materialism is *a spiritual branch of the Christianity*, which has sprung away from that great stream and which certainly would come back to it. If for example one compares an Islamized Georgian-Adjarian with an Orthodox Gurian (almost brothers for their tribal origin), then the advantage would be given to the *first one* because he is more honest, gracious and generally higher morally. If one compares a Muslim Azerbaijani, even robber, but *faithful* Muslim with a “Christian” Armenian, “respectable” and endeared by the Caucasian authorities, having diploma of Philosophy Doctor in his pocket and honourable title on the visit card, then all moral advantages would fall to the side of the first one; although he is a sinner, he *sincerely believes in God* and hence his soul is basically Christian; the second one is just a cunning *beast* dressed in the English frock-coat, the Christianity for him is dead, moreover, perverted letter.

The great cultural credit of Islam before the people accepting it was simplicity and clarity of its requirements and dogmas. That doesn't exclude the presence of deep theosophical basics, logical development of which visually and immediately brings Islam closer to the Christianity. Sufi sects serve the obvious prove to that, and verses by Omar Khayyam describing the "invigorating breathe of Christ" are the artificial evidences of the Christian moods of Islam. The complicate dogmatic work of Islam brought very original fruit in time of blossoming of the Arabic civilization, and namely *an aspiration to reconcile a faith with mind*. Several theological schools have dedicated themselves to that task not without success. The idea that a real wisdom coincides with virtues and Divine truth, can often be seen in very unique forms among the Caucasian Muslims. For instance, the Azerbaijani man, condemning some cunning and far-sighted rascal, will certainly say shaking his bold head: "What an *irrational* man!"...

Of course, there is a significant difference between the supreme origins of the religion and forms of its practical implementation. Speaking about Islam in the Transcaucasia one should also take into account the obscurantist attitude of the ignorant mass to the letter of religion (for instance, "shakhsey-vakhsey" with Shiites), and roaming dervishes exciting people by their fantasies, dimmed sermons and tricks, and emissaries from the neighbouring countries – political actors on the religious ground. In practice Islam frequently takes rude, coarse forms and superstitions described by knyaz Dmitry Kantemir in his notorious "Book of Systime", a pamphlet against the "Muhamaddan religion", and they still are not and, probably, won't be consigned to legend soon. All that exists and must be taken into consideration, one can't ignore those sides of Islam, although rarely implemented, which have

to be acknowledged as positive from point of view of the universal human truth and our state interests.

It is even less affordable to ignore those natural features of the population, which, if developed, might and must bring positive results from the state point of view. The cultural development of the Azerbaijanis this way or other can lead them to acquisition of *the exclusively Russian origins, instead of western-European*; the Azerbaijanis like Tatars of all Povolzhye and population of the Central Asian khanates in cultural meaning gravitate towards the Russian order, which is the natural stage of development for them. The Russian-Tatar schools perfectly accommodate and enjoy compassion of all population, from top to bottom, striving to learn the Russian language and reproach with Russians. Such phenomenon like the insolent fight of the Armenian priesthood and plutocracy against the Russian power about the old-fashioned schools, where the Russian was taught only fictitiously, has not been encountered among the Tatars so far. Nothing demonstrates that *prejudiced* hatred against the Russians, which is sometimes shown by the Armenian population instigated by its self-styled leaders. Naturally first colonizers of this province, our sectarians, initially had to taste the Tatar daggers. The ancestors of the modern sentimentally-crazy Dukhobors, driven to hysteria by count Tolstoy, regarded that issue quite really and had offered bloody repulse to the Tatar raiders; the issue reached such point that none of the armed Tatars dared to show at a distance of several rifle shots near the sectarian settlements, this is how the Dukhobors have attained complete security.

The Tatars understand and value the force guided by the mind. Due to the energy of the sectarians the Russian name was set high among the Tatar population,

and for the current Russians settlers in the Transcaucasia it is much easier to deal with Tatars than with any other neighbours. Even the co-religious Georgians frequently become less comfortable than Muslims, because the latter are benevolent to Russians for their nature and lessons of history.

The Azerbaijanis have good historical memory and great successive respect to the feats. The name of Kotlyarevsky, hero of Lankoran, who with a bunch of fighters kept all the Muslim Transcaucasia in obedience and fear, still shines in rays of glory. Of course, the chancelleries with their routine and dead attitude to life, poor bureaucracy and courts, alien for local understanding, have strongly damaged the Russian prestige for the past 50 years, so the current situation of the Muslims and their mood can not be called normal. A sort of the present order is still based upon the historical memory and deep faith in justice of the White Tsar. This way or other, today we *spend* in this province the dear heritage of our clever ancestors, while the post-reforms conditions of the provincial life, as if deliberately, have formed in a combination supporting isolation among the alien elements, artificially pushing away everybody who believed in our force and truth, and finally bringing the bloody conflicts.

The Azerbaijani Tatars were not lucky under our reign. Even knyaz Vorontsov, creative-governor, because of his personal views had made a mistake setting a serfdom right in place where it had never existed, and trying to promote the Tatar family nobility. But even that mistake was not finished, and the Muslim population of the Transcaucasia is still doomed to the chaos in the title-land sphere because of the unjustifiable reasons.

A lot of things have been and are being done, as if deliberately, to complicate the normal life of this population and its transfer to more cultural forms of life. The

title-land commission, which had existed for several decades, was doing nothing and then abolished, its files were transferred to the chancellery of the supreme director of the civil part in the Caucasus for the military-popular administration. But nobody heard about progress in this direction. Meanwhile the confusion of relations is unspeakable: the serfdom right is abolished, but the obligatory links of the Muslim peasants to the beks remained, and possessions have not been demarked; misunderstandings happen everywhere, serving the source of income for small local authorities and provoking the just dissatisfaction in all classes of population.

The lack of clarity of the title rights is also followed by heavy economic and communal consequences. Due to the number of circumstances, created by abolition of the serfdom and gradual endearment of life, crossing from the patriarchal order to the decayed-bourgeois one – the beks and agalars, i.e. local land owners, started requiring a credit. On the other hand, since they have not been approved as having nobility rights, they can't use credit at the nobility bank, while the peasants' bank necessary for the popular mass has not been established yet. In result, all classes of the local population have been submitted by the improvident Russian power in catchy hands of the Armenian usurers. Collating this fact with the long-standing inactivity of the title-land commission one can easily draw the logical and life-proved conclusion that *the Armenian plutocracy, benefiting from this abnormal situation of things, has been supporting it through own ruinous influence on the local governmental institutions* and individual dishonest actors. The Muslim bek, whose ancestors had held prominent positions under the Georgian tsars, and then served as officers of the Russian service, can't place his son in the cadet corps at

the expense of treasury because of uncertainty of his title rights. Representatives of the supreme class, beks and agalars, are talented for the military service; but even when they discharge the flawless and excellent service they are not indemnified from the tax collected from the Muslim population for liberty from military service.

Due to absence of the national financial policy in the province the economic situation of particularly Muslims deteriorates year by year. The Armenian plutocracy represents the organized mob devaluating the labour of the Tatar farmers and cattle breeders, catching all markets, credit and general circulation of money. The entire province is divided into districts taken by more or less big Armenian spiders exploiting the local Tatar population. Some Khublarov is sitting at one place, buying mulberry and grape for nothing, Sogomonov at another place, somebody of that kind in the third place. These agricultural products get spoiled very fast: if they are not sold in time, then a lot of labour would be lost and farmer's family would remain hungry. Running for city? The buyer-ups may block the way to market and low-ranked police will be on their side. One has to follow the Ukrainian saying: "ride as the Pan says"...

Under the present abnormal conditions of the Caucasian life that would be strange even to imagine that the external economic force would break in the regions of the usurious exploitation of the Tatar population, create competition and raise the level of the popular income. The hooks or crooks, including grave crimes, are used to fight such attempts. The case of Khublarov or murder in Shelly village of Elisavetpol province caused great noise across the Caucasus. The Russian entrepreneur decided to establish the liqueur factory in district caught by the Armenian monopolist Khublarov. People tried to con-

vince and even prevented him from that project. He sent several of his clerks to the Agdam district of Shusha uyezd with the task of designing the factory, who got killed; their bodies remained unburied for several days because the court investigator – Armenian – was distracted from his duties by some family celebrities. He started investigation with an enthusiasm, described as “face of female going to work”, and despite his efforts for acquisition of evidences acquitting the monopolist Khublarov the latter had to be subjected to preliminary detention in prison due to very substantial evidences, what strongly infuriated the Armenian financial plutocracy. The especially aggravating evidences were discovered not by the preliminary investigation, but by the police interrogation. So began the attacks against all persons sincerely trying to reveal culprits of that savage murder. They brought up to light cases compromising the chief of uyezd and district marshal; those cases were made up long before that and then shelved, and the critical moment *they have been brought up to daylight with the only purpose of undermining testimonies of those officials and their exclusion from the official circulation*. Simultaneously they composed an outrageous tale about Tatar Djafar bek Vezirov, the landlord in Shusha, guilty of showing interest to the investigation since one of the victims was his relative. They composed and, in order to prepare the public opinion to the beforehand conceived trick, dared to speak the transparent hints publicly in layers’ society that Djafar bek Vezirov, as an influential person in his district, brings people to the mosque and forces them to take the oath of loyalty (!) to himself. Simultaneously with the news about transfer of Khublarov’s case, by decree of the Caucasian administration, from civil court to the military one, and dismissal of the policemen unpleasant to

Mr. Khublarov from service, Tiflis became filled with gossip that defence of Khublarov is organized in a very specific way: one local rascal from the Caucasian natives, who had contacts in different spheres of Tiflis and disgraced his Russian name long ago by cynical service to various Armenian intrigues, engaged himself to "conduct" it. He had to "conduct" the case staying in shadow personally: the sum of money assigned for these innocent expenditures varied in tongs of narrators from 40 up to 100 thousands. The Armenian press reached the extreme lyrics defending Khublarov, *while it was rather more than difficult to write against the latter because of the local censorship situation.*

The session of the military-district court under chairmanship of the military judge Ivanenko has arrived to Shusha. The course of the process, i.e. new preliminary and forensic investigation, could be revealed by the impartial reviser, but unfortunately he wasn't sent there. There are only three undoubted facts: assistant of prosecutor instead of the charging speech delivered something like the acquitting one, which was published in the Armenianized "Novoye Obozreniye" newspaper as is; two days before the announcement of the verdict, which seemingly could not be known to anybody in advance, the entire Shusha has been preparing for the Lucullus style Asian feast and later all members of the assizes, except for one lieutenant-colonel from the Erivan regiment, had participated in the Khublarov's feast after Mr. Ivanenko had concluded his justifying verdict with lyrical greeting to the successful Mr. Khublarov. Unexpectedly for the province Djafar bek Vezirov was arrested and subjected to the preliminary detention. They have kept him there for quite long time and then released old ill man saying "pardon, monsieur!"

Then ... everything is fine. None of the new entrepreneurs engaged in competition with the Armenian industrial feuds, which are “invincible”. The honest people in the Caucasus, especially representatives of our valiant army, were outraged, crying, speaking, and then this dirty case gave space to other dirty cases, and their name is legion.

The mentioned case, just like many other judicial dramas played in the Caucasus, had the same although unpleasant, but characteristic for the Tatar population, details connected with presence of the assassins and remarkable inclination of the Tatars to the perjury. Reasons for both phenomena are complicate and can't be attributed exclusively to the fault of the Azerbaijani race. The issue of assassins can be conveniently regarded in connection with issue of plunders, which shall be highlighted further and which is the Achilles' heel for all administrators of the province, obviously breaking the harmony of the reported wellbeing in the Caucasus.

The perjury is sad and almost general phenomena, meanwhile rooted rather in external circumstances, than in character of the Muslim population. The Azerbaijani Tatar is religious and truthful in common life; he is reliable in friendship, keeps his word, values good name. *But he will definitely lie in the court.* On one hand, he doesn't understand the principles of our court, on the other hand – our court process makes harmful effect on his nerves. For his nature he is passionately-sportive man; the competitive process for him is not a method for establishment of truth, but *struggle*, where victor is the only right. In addition, the court, disregarding local customs and definitions and frequently offending the truth of life, doesn't inspire the Muslim with that trust and respect, when the tongue can hardly move to lie. The advocates both the

underground and the “jury”, ironically called so, engaging to defend whomsoever and whatsoever, push criminals and witnesses to the path of lie and contempt over the law. It would be easy to understand, and to some extent to justify, the negative attitude of the Muslim Azerbaijanis and all other Caucasian population to our court, if to complement the picture with those lowering the moral stance hard material and communal circumstances, which our officials, including the judicial institutions, have to live in at the Caucasus.

The business is strongly affected because the natives lack knowledge of the state language, which is the language of the court process, and judicial officials lack knowledge of local languages; hence the wide and to some degree decisive part is played by the less reliable interpreters. The natives know what the latter is worth of, and that gives them additional reason to treat the Russian court with scepticism. There is another reason for that in psychology of the Azerbaijani Tatars. For centuries they got used to immediate application of the strict decisions of their khans and agalars, i.e. the culprit used to be subjected to hanging on the nearest plane-tree or immediate confiscation of property. The concept of criminal offence was not so distinct from the civil offence, and in some occasions its interpretation was life-supported. For instance, if the baker quoting too high price for the bread was causing discontent of population, then khan or judge used to nail his ear to the door and kept him in this position until he refused from the usurious prices for the essentially necessary product. This practice is still continued in Persia. That is too cruel for the nerves of the modern law-makers, but from the point of view of local customs it is more rational than our long paper court process with all appellations, cassations, bailing and ex-

ile, where the courageous man can easily escape from. Bearing in mind the last two conditions *the witnesses are afraid to tell truth, perfectly knowing that the criminal will definitely revenge them* by arson or murder. Such reasonable fear strongly complicates the cause of justice across not only the Transcaucasia, but the rest of Russia as well; so that would be unjust to attribute it to the lack of culture at Muslims only.

Clearly, the Transcaucasian natives, and particularly Muslims, need a different, more thoroughly thought court and process, along with appropriate regulation of stable state functions in the province, which activity of the judicial power is tightly linked with. By the way, the school is required to be as wide as possible and influence the mass of population. Unlike the Armenian and partially Georgian patriots, the Muslim influential circles do not object to introduction of the Russian schools, but the Caucasian authority stints money for that, to great joy of the Armenian wire-pullers, tradesmen and provincial officials, who are interested in keeping the Muslim population, knowing neither the state language, nor the laws, as victim of various exploitation as long as possible. The Armenians also benefit from forming of the negative opinion within the Russian society about Muslims as uncultured, wild and absolutely unreliable element. The Armenian press really celebrates when it has an opportunity to write about the Tatars' plunders, contrasting the ostensibly peaceful mood of the "Christians", i.e. Armenians, and undermining the trust to the Russian power in the province.

Contents

1. Introduction	4
2. The character of the past	8
3. Brotherly Georgians	30
4. Russian-Georgian relations	54
5. Armenians	69
6. Historical background	72
7. Crossing to the theocracy and monophysitism	85
8. The tribal isolation and economic supremacy	93
9. Truth of the Turkish atrocities	110
10. Political role of the church and Armenian programme	115
11. Azerbaijani Tatars	136

Translator:

Hikmet Rzayev

Design:

Ceyhun Mahmudov
Araz Ashurov

«Batan» publishing 2007.