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THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS

SAMVEL KARAPETIAN



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THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS

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The present work enlarges on the lives and activities of 47 mayors of Tiflis (Tbilisi) who governed the city for more than 800 years (from the 12th century until 1917). It is interesting to note that 45 of these mayors were Armenians.
The work also offers materials concerning the governance of Tiflis and its Municipal Council.
Intended for the general reader, specialists in the history of the Armenian and Georgian peoples as well as for experts in the development of urban planning and architecture in Tiflis.

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CONTENTS

PREFACE 5
A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION 6
The Income and Privileges of Meliks 7
The Population of Tiflis 9
Tiflis between 1801 and 1840 10
The Government of Tiflis between 1840 and 1864 11
The Revolt of Trade Unionists in 1865 13
The Ethnic Relationships in the City Council (Duma) in the Late 1880s and the Early 1890s 19
The Municipal Government in the 1890s 20
The Contemporary Georgian Press about the Mayors of Tiflis-Tbilisi 23
THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS BETWEEN THE 12th AND 13th CENTURIES 25
Vasak Artsruny 25
Kurd Artsruny 25
Shadin (Badin) 27
THE BEHBUDIAN MAYORS OF TIFLIS BETWEEN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES 28
Melik Enal 28
Melik Bayandur 28
Melik Khoja Behbud 29
Melik Ashkharbek 29
Melik Avtandil 30
Amir Behbudiants 30
Aslamaz Amirian Behbudiants 30
Giorgi Aslamazian Behbudiants 30
Zurab Behbudiants 31
Ashkharbek Behbudiants 31
Agha Ashkharbekian Behbudiants 32
Anton 34
Sahak Shergiliants 34
Avetik Aghayan Behbudiants 34
Darchi Avetikian Behbudiants 36
THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS DURING THE PERIOD OF PUBLIC GOVERNANCE (1840 to 1875) 42
Hovhannes (Ivan) Izmiriants 42
Stepan Gabrielian Khatissiants 42
Movses Ter-Grigoriants (Ter-Grikurov) 42
Hovhannes Simoniants Shadiniants 43
Tovma Davtian Pridoniants 44
Zakaria Stepanian Amiraghiants 44
Hovsep Afanassian Mirimaniants 44
Avetik Astvatsatrian (Bogdan) Svechnikov 44
Soghomon Davtian Sarajev 46
Andrei Davtian Mananov 46
Vardan Astvatsatrian Arshakuny 46
Soghomon Zakarian Abisoghomiants 48
Soghomon Mirimanian Mirimaniants 49
Gevorg (Yegor) Grigorian Pridoniants 49
Galust Harutiunian Shermazan-Vardaniants (Shermazan-Vardanov) 50
Yeremia Gevorgian Artsruny 58
Nikoghayos Hovhannissian Aladatiants 61
Dmitri Tumaniants 62
Yazon Dmitrian Tumaniants 62
THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS IN THE YEARS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT (1875 to 1917) 65
Dmitri Ivan Ghipiani 65
Anton Soghomonian Ghorghaniants (Korganov) 67
Alexandre Stepanian Matiniants 68
Nikoghayos Barseghian Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed*) 74
Poghos Alexandrian Izmailiants 77
Gevorg Grigorian Yevanguliants 82
Alexandre Michaelian Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed*) 84
Christapor Avakumian Vermishiants 85
Vasili Nikolayevich Cherkezov 88
Alexandre Hovhannissian Khatissiants 91
CONCLUSION 95
Personal Names 99
Geographical Names 105
Subject List 107
Bibliography 110

PREFACE

Generations should be well informed about those who built their national heritage and passed it down to them. In this regard, the present work can be considered as a token of respect to the memory of 47 mayors of Tiflis 45 of whom were Armenians.

The development and flourishing of any city, in accordance with general principles of urban planning, directly depend on the activities of its mayor. Many cities owe their beauty as well as the successful—and often original—solution of urban planning problems first and foremost to their mayors.

Throughout eight centuries, the capital of Georgia, Tiflis, one of the oldest and major cities in Transcaucasia, was predominantly governed by Armenian mayors who were entirely devoted to it and worked hard for its progress and prosperity.

The Paris of Caucasia—by this name was Tiflis often mentioned in the late 19th century, hardly 100 years after Agha Mohammad Khan's conquest of the city, during which it had been totally devastated, plundered and burnt away.

The houses as well as the public, administrative and engineering buildings erected in Tiflis between the 19th and 20th centuries are remarkable for their architectural and artistic merits, being the fruits of highly creative mind.

Unfortunately, however, the Armenian mayors' devotion to Tiflis was not properly appreciated, and their Georgian successors made no efforts to respect their memory. This regrettable fact gave rise to the necessity of preparing the present work through which we can look back into the history of Georgian Armenians with an attempt to find answers to many questions...

A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The book is devoted to 47 mayors of Tiflis (mentioned as *Tpghis* or *Tpkhis* in Armenian sources) who governed the city from the second half of the 12th century until 1917. Three periods can be distinguished within this time frame:

1. 12th to 13th centuries, when the mayors were known by the titles of *shahab* or *emir (governor)*;

2. 17th century to 1801, when the city was ruled by the *melik* or *melik-tanuter* (in Georgian: *მამასახლისი,* namely *father of the city*);

3. 1840 to 1917, when the governors of the city were called *mayors.*

Most presumably, until the second half of the 12th century, as well as between the 13th and 17th centuries, the person holding the mayoralty of Tiflis was designated by different titles such as *prince*, *head of governors*, *city alderman*, *melik,* and *melik-headman*. Unfortunately, the available sources do not provide much information[1] in this regard; for this reason, we are starting the present research from the second half of the 12th century.

From this period until the end of the 12th century, the post of emir (governor) of Tiflis was held by the members of the Artsrunies' princely family of Mahkanaberd (the brothers Vasak and Kurd are known to have succeeded each other during this time).

In the early 17th century, the Behbudians, who had the title of melik, assumed the governance of Tiflis City and the province of the same name.

Many of the existing sources report that the Behbudians assumed the mayoralty of the city in the middle of the 17th century, but according to a letter (21 May 1802) written by the last representative of the family, Melik Darchi, to General Knorring, they took up the reins of the city only in 1714: "It has been 300 years since our ancestors immigrated into Tiflis after the fall of the Armenian statehood. We always enjoyed respect under the rule of different authorities. After 1714 the Georgian kings gave our forefathers the titles of melik, mamasakhlis and natsval, and they preserved their rights and honours during both the Turkish and Persian domination of Georgia. Moreover, judging from the decrees of the Turkish sultans, Persian shahs and Georgian kings, they strengthened their positions thanks to heroism, hard work and selfless service."[2]

The Behbudians—and the *mokalaks,* namely *native, hereditary citizens* in general—enjoyed the patronage of Georgian kings and were given privileges equal to those of Georgian aristocrats: "The Armenians and mokalaks had great privileges in Tiflis and the Georgian kings themselves extended every kind of support to them. Unlike the lower classes, mokalaks were not sentenced to capital punishment for criminal offence and were only liable to fine. Under the laws adopted by Georgian king Vakhtang, a mokalak's blood was of the same value as that of a second-class Georgian aristocrat. In those disastrous times, when Georgia was forced to pay the Persian shahs a certain tax called *arbab*, namely deliver up virgins and boys to them, the Armenians were exempt from it and paid money instead. They were liable only to a certain tax called *makhta* which was paid to the king. Moreover, they were allowed to hold state positions, being even entitled to occupy more than one post (in general, most of them were craftsmen). However, seeing all these privileges of the "*citizens*," the Georgians themselves did not become mokalaks, except for a single Georgian family which acquired this title when the Russians occupied Tiflis."[3]

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1 According to researcher Veidenbaum, the melik's existence is proved by some Georgian archive documents of the 15th to 16th centuries, and particularly, by those of 1684. Describing Tiflis during the period of the Georgian Kingdom, he writes: "Apparently, the melik was the most important person in the city: the Georgian archive documents of the 15th to 16th centuries attest that not only Tiflis but also the adjoining villages were under his rule. The melik's position was approved by the king. A decree issued by Shah Suleyman in 1684 said that all the noblemen and common people should acknowledge the melik's power, fulfill his demands and orders and serve for the benefit of the king" (the original reads: "Главным лицом в городе был, повидимому, мелик. Из грузинских актов 15 и 16 столетий видно, что в его ведении находился не только Тифлис, но и тифлисския земли, т.е. окрестныя селения. Он утверждался в должности царем. Все знатные и незнатные жители тифлисских земель, сказано в одном повелении шаха Сулеймана (1684 г.), должны признавать мелика, повиноваться его требованиям и распоряжениям и не уклоняться от служения шахским интересам." **Вейденбаум Е.**, Путеводитель по Кавказу [**Yev. Veydenbaum**, A Guide to Caucasia] (Tiflis, 1888), p. 313). Also see **Լեո**, Երկերի ժողովածու [**Leo**, Works], vol. 4 (Yerevan, 1984), p. 78.

2 Акты собранные Кавказскою археографическою комиссиею [Acts Collected by the Caucasian Archaeological Commission], vol. 1 (Tiflis, 1866), p. 475. Also see **Leo**, p. 78.

3 **Տիւրեան Կ.**, Շաբաթ մ'ի Տփղիս (ուղևորի յիշատակարանէն) [**K. Tyurian**, "A Week in Tpghis" (Travel Notes)] «Հանդես Ամսօրեայ» [*Handes Amsorea*] (1890), p. 155.

Until 1864 the meliks and mayors of Tiflis were only from the families of mokalaks. Taking into consideration this fact, we are presenting a list of 79 families of first-class hereditary citizens found in a decree (dated 7 June 1859) which exempted them from corporal punishment. The representatives of 14 of them held the post of mayor in different times (their surnames are in bold type):

1. **Abisoghomovs**: Stepan Hasratov, Harutiun Gasparov; 2. **Abisoghomovs**: Stepan Shakarov and Soghomon Shakarov; 3. Amiranov; 4. Hakhnazarov; 5. Baysogholov; 6. Bastamov; 7. Bezirghanian; 8. Buzgulov; 9. Garsoyev; 10. Gzirbezhoyev; 11. Gulakov; 12. Gulibashov, 13. Gululov; 14. Gurgenbekov; 15. Dilakberov; 16. Yevangulov; 17. Hejubov; 18. Zakarbekov; 19. Zohrabov; 20. **Izanshadinov**; 21. Izdanov; 22. **Izmirov**; 23. Iprumov; 24. Kalinaani; 25. Ghamazov; 26. Ghambarov; 27. Kapanakov; 28. Kepinov; 29. Ketkhudov; 30. Kishmishev; 31. *Kuzanovs*: David Geurgov, Karapet Geurgov, Michael Geurgov, Osep Sanvelov, Soghomon Sanvelov, Nasghid Khachaturov, Alexei Stepanov, Gabriel Ohanesov, Grigor Voskiyev, Geurg Asaturov, Izhan Asaturov and Hakob Matosov; 32. Stepan Kuzan Zaliyev; 33. Kukujanov; 34. Malakov; 35. **Mananov**; 36. Mangoyev; 37. Mandenov; 38. **Matinov**; 39. **Melik Zurabov**; 40. **Melik Sahakov**; 41. **Melik Shermazanov**; 42. Mesantlov; 43. Mirzoyev; 44. **Mirimanov**; 45. Muntoyev; 46. Mushribov; 47. Nazarbekov; 48. Okoyev; 49. Parkuzatov; 50. Pirov; 51. Pitoyev; 52. Porakov; 53. **Pridonov**; 54. Pughiyev; 55. Rotinov; 56. **Sarajev**; 57. Taveldarov; 58. Takoyev; 59. Tamamshev; 60. Tatoyev; 61. Ter-Asaturov; 62. Ter-Ghazarov; 63. Ter-Poghosov; 64. Ter Shmavon Ter-Isayev; 65. Youzbashevs: Yesayi Shakarov, Gevorg Shakarov, Gabriel Shakarov; 66. Youzbashevs: Soghomon Isayev and Mkrtum Isayev; 67. Master Iasov; 68. Khankalamov; 69. Kharazov; 70. **Khatissov**; 71. Khakhutov; 72. Khudadov; 73. Tsugaduzov; 74. Tzurinov; 75. Chaolan Babanasov; 76. Chitakhov; 77. Shahbudaghov; 78. Shergilov; 79. Shioyev.[4]

As can easily be seen, the list does not contain any reference to the families of native Georgian citizens. This fact was explained in the following way: "The predisposition of native Georgians for municipal life, trade and industrial activities was so feeble that the class of mokalaks almost entirely consisted of Armenians despite all the profits and privileges [enjoyed by its members]."[5]

From the 1640s until 1801, when Georgia joined Russia, the post of melik passed to the princes Behbudian by inheritance and 15 meliks (mayors) succeeded each other during this period.

The Income and Privileges of Meliks. Apart from having a share in the taxes collected, the meliks of Tiflis also possessed real estate: 14 of the 17 inns of the city belonged to the Armenians (the main one was known under the name of *Melikents,* namely *belonging to the meliks).*[6] There were 8 public bath-houses in the city, the most important of which was named *Melikents,* too: "Melikents, which belongs to Prince Haykazn Behbudiants and is the chief public bath-house both by its building and water."[7]

Taxes were a remarkable source of income which grew particularly profitable when the same person held the posts of both melik and mamasakhlis at the same time. In this connection, Melik Darchi Behbudiants wrote: "The melik and mamasakhlis of Tiflis received an equal income. In earlier times, different people occupied these positions and each of them got his income separately, but when these posts were held by their ancestors, the income was shared between them. Each married state merchant and peasant living in Tiflis paid a rouble and 20 kopecks per year: a rouble and 5 kopecks passed to the tsar, and 15 kopecks to the melik and mamasakhlis. In cases of real estate sale, the purchase document was to be approved by both the melik and mamasakhlis. If the sold realty was of low price, these two officials were given 2 *chervonets* [a gold coin], but the tax rose if the price was higher.

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4 Acts, vol. 12 (Tiflis, 1904), pp. 226-227 (the original reads: "1. **Абесаломовы**. Степан Асратов и Арутин Гаспаров, 2. Абесаломовы. Степан Шакаров и Согомон Шакаров, 3. Амиранов, 4. Ахназаров, 5. Байсоголов, 6. Бастамов, 7. Безирганов, 8. Бузгулов, 9. Гарсоев, 10. Гзирбежоев, 11. Гулагов, 12. Гулипашов, 13. Гулулов, 14. Гургинбегов, 15. Дилакберов, 16. **Евангулов,** 17. Еджубов, 18. Захарбегов, 19. Захрабов, 20. **Изаншадинов**, 21. Изданов, 22. **Измиров,** 23. Ипрумов, 24. Калинаани, 25. Камазов, 26. Камбаров, 27. Капанаков, 28. Кепинов, 29. Кетхудов, 30. Кишмишев, 31. Кузановы. Давид Геурков, Карапет Геурков, Михаил Геурков, Осеп Санвелов, Соломон Санвелов, Наскид Хечатуров, Алексей Степанов, Габриел Оганезов, Грикур Оскиев, Геурк Асатуров, Ижан Асатуров и Акоп Матузов, 32. Кузанов Степан Залиев, 33. Кукуджанов, 34. Малаков, 35. **Мананов,** 36. Мангоев, 37. Манденов, 38. **Матинов,** 39. **Мелик Зурабов,** 40. **Мелик Сааков,** 41. **Мелик-Шармазанов,** 42. Месантлов, 43. Мизоев, 44. **Миримановъ,** 45. Мунтоев, 46. Муширибов, 47. Назарбегов, 48. Окоев, 49. Паркузатов, 50. Пиров, 51. Питоев, 52. Пораков, 53. **Придонов,** 54. Пугиев, 55. Ротинов, 56. Сараджев, 57. Тавлдаров, 58. Такоев, 59. Тамамшев, 60. Татоев, 61. Терасатуров, 62. Терказаров, 63. Терпогосов, 64. Тершмоан Тер Исаев, 65. *Узбашевы.* Исай Шакаров, Геурк Шакаров, Гаприел Шакаров, 66. *Узбашевы.* Согомон Исаев и Микиртум Исаев, 67. Устаиясов, 68. Ханкаламов, 69. Харазов, 70. **Хатисов,** 71. Хахутов, 72. Худадов, 73. Цугадузов, 74. Цуринов, 75. Чаолан Бабанасов, 76. Читахов, 77. Шабудагов, 78. Шергилов, 79. Шиоев").

5 **Бакрадзе Д., Берзенов Н.**, Тифлис в историческом и этнографическом отношениях [**D. Bakradze**, **N. Berzenov**, Tiflis from Historical and Ethnographical Standpoints] (St. Petersburg, 1870), p. 88 (the original reads: "Нерасположение природных Грузин к городской жизни, к Торговой промышленной деятельности, было так сильно, что не смотря на все выгоды и преимущества сословие мокалаков состояло почти из одних Армян...").

6 Uտորագրութիւն ԹիֆլիզոյՀ ["A Description of Tiflis"], «Գարուն» [*Garun*], no. 4 (1866), p. 249.

7 Ibid., no. 2, p. 102.

The melik and mamasakhlis were entitled to settle any problems connected with property, and taxes were paid in accordance with the aforementioned article. They also received income for handling the affairs of merchants and other people. If two brothers who were citizens of Tiflis had any problems connected with property division or merging, the melik and mamasakhlis ratified the agreements, getting a small present of 30 to 40 roubles or less, depending on the plaintiffs' financial means (either brother had to pay 2 *chervonets* or more). In accordance with a legislative act, on returning from foreign lands, the merchants of Tiflis were bound to give the melik and mamasakhlis presents as lavish as they could afford (the *murav* of Tiflis had his own share in the tax). The mamasakhlis also got 15 kopecks for every cart of dried fish imported into Tiflis. Under another law, the artisans of the city had to give the melik and mamasakhlis gifts of 120 roubles on certain holidays."[8]

Nevertheless, it was impossible to calculate the exact amount of the meliks' annual income as it depended on the affairs and cases they had to handle while performing their duties.

One of the main privileges of the melik was the right to keep the keys to all the 5 gates of Tiflis: "The city had 5 gates: 1. The Southern Gate, which was called *Ganja Door* as the caravan of Gandzak (also known as *Ganja*) entered there from that side (the Royal Garden (Botanical Garden) was situated there). 2. The Eastern Gate, which was situated at the end of the bridge of the public bath-house, was called *Yerevan Door*, since the caravan of Yerevan entered the city from this side (the Custom House *(Rakhtarkhane, Tamozhnia)* was situated near it). 3. and 4. The Western Gates, one of which (called *Tsavkis Door*) was situated between the houses of the Zeydles and Ter-Asaturovs at the end of the large quarter of Jkrashen Church. The other was located near Avtandil Kukujaniants' house and was called Deghomy Door. 5. The Northern Gate, called Halvabar Door, was situated between the caravanserai of Metekh and Jipin, on the opposite bank of the river. The iron gates usually closed in the evenings and the keys were given to the mayor who was called melik."[9]

From medieval times until 1801, all the meliks of Tiflis were Armenians. Historian Sh. Chkhetia explains this by the fact that the Armenian population of the city far outnumbered the local Georgians: "It should be mentioned that under the reign of Georgian kings, the Armenians were traditionally appointed meliks (mayors) of Tbilisi. This confirms that the authorities reckoned with the majority of the Armenian population and appointed Armenian mayors. In the late 18th century, the last melik of the kingdom of Tbilisi was Darcho Behbudov."[10]

However, the existing sources prove that it was not only the Georgian kings who appointed the Armenians as mayors: for instance, as far as the period between the 17th and 18th centuries is concerned, there are no records confirming this. Moreover, it is reported that Melik Bayandur was appointed mayor by Persian shah Abbas Junior, while the Behbudians held this position by inheritance. Most presumably, Georgian kings were merely entitled to approve the rights of the son inheriting the position of his father as mayor.

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8 Acts, vol. 1, p. 196 (the original reads: "Сколько имел доходу мелик Тифлисский, столькожь и мамасахлис. В прежния времена чины сии были у разных людей и каждый получал особенно свои доходи; а когда оба сии чины были пожалованы предкам нашим, тогда обеих должностей доходами пользовались вместе. В Тифлисе жительствующих государственных купцов и крестьян с каждаго женатаго получалось в год по 1р. 20к.; из сего числа поступало в царские доходы по 1р. 5к., а по15к. получали мелик и мамасахлис. При продаже в Тифлисе всякаго недвижимаго имения следовало утвердить купчую мелику и мамасахлису. Если имение бывало неважной цены, то для утверждения купчей по двум сим чинам получалось 2 червонца; если-же имение бывало важной цены, то тогда получалось больше. В Тифлисе какие только бывали споры в разсуждении имения, то по решении тех дел подписки бывали утверждаемы от мелика и мамасахлиса и доходами по случаю сему пользовались сообразно вышеписанной статье. Какия только от мелика и мамасахлиса бывали изследываемы дела купцов и других, то по приличию каждаго дела за утверждение онаго и за труды пользовались они доходом. Когда из Тифлисских граждан братья между собою делились или соединялись, тогда мелик и мамасахлис получали по сему случаю от них какую либо вещь, стоющую 30 или 40 руб., а иногда и менее сего, смотря на их движимое и недвижимое имение и состояние. По сему же разделу и соединению братьев мелик и мамасахлис, для утверждения их договоров получали, смотря на их состояние, по маловажному имению с каждого брата 2 червонца, а с достаточных больше сего. Тифлисские купцы, приезжая из чужих земель, каждый в силу учреждения мелику и мамасахлису привозил по состоянию своему подарок, ибо Тифлисский моурав имел учрежденные из пошлин доходы, а малику и мамасахлису было предоставлено пользоваться оным. Сколько привозилось в Тифлис сухой рыбы, то с каждаго воза мелик и мамасахлис получали 15 коп. Тифлиские ремесленники имели положение в некоторые праздники отдавать что либо мелику и мамасахлису, что и составляло каждый по 120 руб").

9 "A Description of Tiflis," *Garun*, no. 1 (1866), p. 62.

10 **Чхетия Ш.,** Армяне в Тбилиси в шестидесятых годах XIX века [**Sh. Chkhetia**, "The Armenians of Tbilisi in the '60s of the 19th century"], "ИФЖ" [*Historico-Philological Journal*], no. 3 (Yerevan, 1958), pp. 161-162 (the original reads: "Здесь мы должны подчеркнуть, что меликом городским головой Тбилиси при грузинских царях традиционно назначался армянин. Эта говорит о том, что высшая государственная власть, считаясь с тбилисским армянским населением, составлявшим в городе большинство, назначала городским головой армянина. Последним царским меликом в Тбилиси к концу XVIII в был Дарчо Бебутов...").

The Population of Tiflis. As attested by the available sources, the Armenian population formed a majority in Tiflis not only in the 19th century but also before it, even in the Middle Ages. Speaking about the peoples living in Tiflis, the Italian geographer and travel writer Giovan Battista Ramusio first of all mentions the Armenians: "This province has a nice city called Tiflis which is surrounded by many fortresses and fortified villages inhabited by Christians: Armenians, Georgians, few Saracens and Jews."[11]

The colophon of a manuscript written in 1629 mentions the Armenian city of Tiflis.[12]

In 1745 the Armenians' numerical superiority was also emphasized by Georgian prince Vakhushty Bagrationy: "Tiflis is populated by Persian Muslims in the fortress and Seydabad, while the area outside the fortress is mainly occupied by Armenians and partly by Georgians."[13]

In 1770 Captain Yazikov wrote the following in his report on Georgia: "According to what they say, the city has 5,000 houses, and most of the population are Armenians and Catholics. The former occupy a dominant position in the sphere of trade, there being a lot of rich merchants among them. It is, however, impossible to state the exact number of the inhabitants of the city since they themselves do not know it; nevertheless, it is a populous place."[14]

The Georgian kings, Persian shahs and Turkish sultans appointed the Armenians to the posts of melik and mamasakhlis taking into consideration these very facts.[15]

Throughout the 19th century and in the early 20th century, the Armenians constituted a majority among the different nationalities living in Tiflis. The statistical survey carried out after the 1860s revealed the following correlation of the inhabitants of Tiflis:

Year	Armenians	%	Georgians	%	Russians	%	Other Nationalities	%	Total
1803[16]									11777
1848[17]	14194	46.1							30814
1851[18]									34888
1864[19]	28404	47.3	14878	24.8	12462	20.7	4341	7.2	60085
1865[20]	31180	47.2	14786	22.4	12142	18.4	7934	12.0	66042
1875[21]	36974	45.0	21295	25.9	19424	23.7	4363	5.3	82056
1876[22]	37601	41.0	22156	24.2	20198	22.0	11713	12.8	91668
1880[23]	38509	45.0	22285	26.0	19804	24.0			
1885[24]									104024
1891[25]	55553	38.1	38357	26.3	36113	24.3	15708	10.8	145731
1895[26]	66201	40.8	34623	21.3	28983	17.8	32544	20.0	162351

11 **Հակոբյան Հ.,** Ուղեգրություններ [**H. Hakobian**, Travel Notes], vol. 1 (Yerevan, 1932), p. 55.

12 ԺԷ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ [Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th century], vol. 2 (Yerevan, 1978), p. 321.

13 **Մելիքսեթ-Բեկ Լ.**, Վրաց աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին [**L. Melikset-Bek**, Georgian Sources about Armenia and Armenians], vol. 3 (Yerevan, 1955), p. 83.

14 Грамоты и другие исторические документы XVIII столетия, относящиеся к Грузии. Т. 1 (с 1768 по 1774 г.). Под редакцией **Цагарели А.** [**A. Tsagareli**, ed., Historical Documents of the 18th Century Relating to Georgia], vol. 1: 1768 to 1774 (St. Petersburg, 1891), p. 187 (the original reads: "...в нем считается по их сказкам пять тысячь дворов, жители по большой части армяне и католики, первыя главный торг производят и много есть богатых купцов, а сколько числом в городе людей,- того сказать не можно, потому, что они и сами не знают...").

15 Different research works prove that the Armenians' appointment as mayors or meliks was not conditioned only by their being in the majority. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, they did not constitute a majority any longer and the mayors were not appointed but elected; nevertheless, that position was constantly occupied by the Armenians with the exception of 2 cases (the reasons will be discussed later).

16 **Ениколопов И.** Первая перепись в Тифлисе [**I. Yenikolopov**, "The First Population Census in Tiflis"], Вечерний Тбилиси [*Vecherni Tbilisi*], no. 15, 20 January 1970.

17 Кавказский календарь на 1850 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1850] (Tiflis, 1849), p. 91.

18 Кавказский календарь на 1852 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1852] (Tiflis, 1851), pp. 91, 404.

19 Кавказ [*Kavkaz*], no. 16, 1865, pp. 83-84. Also see Известия Тифлисской городской думы [*Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*], no. 11 (1910), p. 17.

20 «Երեւակ» [*Yerevak*], no. 134, 1866, p. 397.

21 Кавказский календарь на 1882 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1882] (Tiflis, 1881), p. 314.

22 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, ibid.

23 Caucasian Calendar for 1882, p. 315.

24 Кавказский календарь на 1886 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1886] (Tiflis, 1885), p. 117.

25 «Նոր-Դար» [*Nor-Dar*], no. 218, 1893, p. 1.

26 *Kavkaz*, no. 88, 1896, p. 2. Also see «Մշակ» [*Mshak*], no. 39, 1896, p. 3; *Nor-Dar*, no. 59, 1896, p. 1.

1896[27]									163012
1897[28]	46713	32.0	40526	27.7	39213	26.8	19712	13.5	163012
1905[29]	84170	35.0	54558	22.7	57191	23.8	44404	18.5	240323
1910[30]	124901	40.9	54120	17.7	67086	22.0	59100	19.4	305207
1914[31]									344629
1916[32]	142019	40.9	37584	10.8			167163		346766
1922[33]	85262	36.6	80072	34.4	38326	16.5	29114	12.5	232774
1926[34]	112000	39.0							
1959[35]	149000	21.0	330000	48.0	126000	18.0			
1979[36]	153000	14.0	653000	62.0	129000	12.0			

The table clearly shows reduction in the number of the Armenian population in the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century. Moreover, their number has been gradually decreasing since the establishment of the Soviet regime.

In the first half of the 19th century, the total percentage of the Armenian population of Tiflis was much higher than, for instance, in 1864 when it formed 47.4 %. This is proved by a work of 1821 stating that 2,951 of the 3,368 houses of the city were inhabited by the Armenians, while the Georgians and Russians together occupied merely 417 houses; in other words, 87.6 % of the houses of the city belonged to the Armenians.[37]

Tiflis between 1801 and 1840. In 1801 the Russian authorities stripped the last melik of Tiflis, Darchi Avetikian Behbudiants, of his power and rights, and nobody succeeded him until 1840. For about 4 decades, the city was under the charge of different regional military governors appointed by the emperor. During this period, large-scale construction activities were unfolded there for the purpose of developing it.

In 1817 a German diplomat, Moritz von Kotzebue, wrote the following about the improvements made in Tiflis in the previous few years: "In all the provinces, roads used to be out of function, and Tiflis was hidden in mud. The city owes its improved conditions to General Yermolov, who built houses and squares and paved the streets in a short time to get rid of the [existing] narrow and dirty ones. To cut it short, those who left Tiflis a year ago will hardly recognize it now. Its inhabitants have come to realise at last that it is much more pleasant to live in houses than in mud."[38]

Another witness to the development of Tiflis, the English artist and archaeologist Robert Ker Porter, wrote in 1817: "The Governor General has chosen his place of residence at a short distance from the body of the city; on the gentle slope of a hill, fronting the river, and a fine view of the Caucasian mountains.

"This building, with the arsenal, hospital, churches, and a few villas in the neighbourhood, are the only erections, in or near the place, that remind one at all of Europe. The rest is purely Asiatic; but very different from the idea, commonly received in Europe, of that term,—gay minarets, painted domes, and gilded trellice-work. Here was a collection of low, flat-roofed dwellings, built of dun brick, mingled with stones and mud; the doors and windows exceedingly small; the latter covered with paper, glass being in little use from its scarcity and dearness.... The streets are, without exception, narrow; and, from the primitive state of the pathways, intolerably filthy in wet weather, and dusty in dry. However, His Excellency, the Governor, is endeavouring to obviate this inconvenience, by ordering them to be paved; which good work is already begun. He is also establishing other improvements, by directing all ruinous houses to be either repaired, or entirely pulled down, to make way for the erection of new ones, according to handsome and more salubrious plans."[39]

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27 Кавказский календарь на 1898 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1898] (Tiflis, 1897), pp. 22-23.
28 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, ibid.
29 Кавказский календарь на 1908 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1908] (Tiflis, 1907), p. 325.
30 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, ibid. Also see Закавказье [*Zakavkaziye*], no. 68, 1911.
31 Кавказский календарь на 1915 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1915] (Tiflis, 1914), p. 188.
32 Кавказский календарь на 1917 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1917] (Tiflis, 1916), pp. 190-193. The Georgians' number also includes 1,476 Muslim Georgians.
33 «Մարտակոչ» [*Martakoch*], no. 105, 30 June 1923.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 **Թոթաձե Ա.**, Թիֆլիսի ազգաբնակչությունը [**A. Totadze**, "The Population of Tiflis"], «Թբիլիսի» [*Tbilisi*], 13 June 1989.
37 Братская помощ пострадавшим в Турции армянам [Fraternal Support to Armenians Who Have Suffered in Turkey (collection)], second edition (Moscow, 1898), p. 553.
38 **Հակոբյան Հ.**, Ուղեգրություններ [**H. Hakobian**, Travel Notes], vol. 6 (Yerevan, 1934), p. 501.
39 **Sir Robert Ker Porter**, Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c., vol. 1 (London, 1821), pp. 116-117.

Proceeding with his interesting description of houses, shops, the market-place and the local people's customs, R. Ker Porter concludes: "Such was Tiflis in the year 1817. But if the plans of the present Governor General, for rectifying the construction of houses, be carried fully into effect, such will not be Tiflis, a few years hence. What His Excellency has already accomplished in the improvements of the public buildings give a good specimen of the future fairer aspect of the place."[40]

As early as 1835, referring to the conditions of Tiflis in his work entitled *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Caucasus* (*A Journey to the Caspian Sea and Caucasia*), Dr. Karl Eduard von Eichwald wrote: "Tiflis does not even partly resemble a European city. In rainy weather, its streets are extremely muddy, while in dry weather, and particularly, when the wind is blowing, the whole city is hidden in clouds of dust. Every kind of rubbish is thrown out right into the streets, and it is not uncommon for passers-by to be covered with dirt thrown down from above and [then] demand compensation for their spoilt clothes.... There are pavements and roads next to several streets, but they are very poorly built. Yerevan Square is the best and largest one, but it abounds in bumps. The place is devoid of any canals and alleys; in a word, it lacks all the features reminiscent of the luxury of European cities and does not bear at least a remote resemblance to Asian splendour."[41]

Further, unusually large-scale improvements continued in Tiflis until 1840, when a new Government was established there. As for the mayor, as early as 1810, Governor of Georgia Akhverdov presented a report to the authorities suggesting that a City Council should be set up in Tiflis under the supervision of Georgian princes and noblemen, but this proposal was never carried out.[42]

The Government of Tiflis between 1840 and 1864. The new Government, established by Yev. Al. Golovin (1838 to 1842), the Commander of the Caucasian Corps and Head of the Municipal Government of Caucasia, apparently pursued the objective of fostering the future development of the city: "Under his rule, the Statutes of the Municipal Government of Tiflis were worked out and approved by the Vice-Roy on 10 April 1840, being brought into force on 10 August of the same year."[43]

These regulations gave the city a right to found a Municipal Government consisting of a mayor, to be elected by all the citizens eligible to vote, and 6 other members representing 3 classes: property owners, merchants, and artisans (2 members from each class). Ten representatives were elected from each class, and the taxes were distributed in the presence of these 30 people. Six members (2 representatives from each class) were entitled to tax collection. The decisions of the Municipal Government were brought into force with the help of the Council of Aldermen, which was headed by the Chief Alderman. Every class was represented by 2 members each of whom had 2 assistants.[44] The first mayor of Tiflis to be elected under these Statutes was Hovhannes Izmiriants, who assumed office in 1840.

In 1841 the new governance system of the provincial city of Tiflis was adopted, and an ad hoc construction committee was set up: it consisted of the mayor and other officials and was headed by the Governor.[45]

Beginning with 1840, when the Statutes of Public Governance were adopted, the mayoralty of Tiflis was held by the representatives of the famous Armenian families of mokalaks.[46] This tradition was first broken only in 1864 when a non-native citizen (akhalmosul), Galust Shermazaniants, was elected mayor.

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40 Ibid., p. 149.

41 **Պ. Տ.**, Թիֆլիս կէս դար առաջ եւ այժմ [**P. T.** "Tiflis Half a Century ago and Now"], «Մասիս» [*Masis*], 1886, p. 611.

42 **Джабарь М.**, 35-летие Тифлисской гор. думы [**M. Jabar**, "The 35th Anniversary of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis"] Тифлисский листок [*Tiflisski Listok*], no. 298, 1909, p. 3.

43 According to another source, the new system of public governance was approved and brought into force on 21 August 1841 (**Jabar**, "The 35th Anniversary," ibid).

44 **Чрелаев С.**, Тифлис в XIX столетии [**S. Chrelayev**, "Tiflis in the 19th Century"], Тифлисский листок [*Tiflisski Listok*], no. 291, 1901 (the original reads: "При нем разработано и положение о городском общественном управлении в Тифлисе, которое удостоилось Высочайшаго утверждения 10-го апреля 1840 года и вошло в действие с 21 августа того же года. Этим положением городу предоставлено было право образовать городскую управу в лице городского головы и 6 членов. Голова избирался целым обществом городских обывателей, членов же избирали три сословия. домовладельцы, торговцы и ремесленники, по два члена от сословии. Каждое сословие избирала по 10 представителей и раскладка повинностей происходила в присут. всех этих 30 избранных лиц, при чем внимание повинностей поручено было 6 сборщикам, по 2 человека от каждаго сословия. Постановления городского общественнаго управления приводилось в исполнение при помощи 6 старост,- устабаши, - избиравшихся сословиями в числе 2 человек с 2 помощниками от каждаго..."). Also see **Jabar**, "The 35th Anniversary," p. 3.

45 **Jabar**, "The 35th Anniversary," ibid.

46 Writing about the mayors who governed the city from the 1840s until the 1860s, Sh. Chkhetia enumerated their names without making any reference to their terms of office: "After the adoption of the Statutes of the Civic Department (1840), the mayoralty was held by the outstanding representatives of the Armenian bourgeoisie. The first mayor of Tbilisi was Ivan Izmirov, who was succeeded by S. Khatissov, M. Ter-Grikurov, I. Shadinov, F. Pridonov, Z. Amiraghov, I. Mirimanov, A. Svechnikov, S. Sarajev, An. Mananov, V. Arshakuny, S. Abisoghomov, Yer. Artsruny, N. Aldatov and D. Tumanov (1869 to 1871)" (the original reads: "Со дня создания "Положения о

After the adoption of the Statutes of Public Governance (1840), the Municipal Government had the following staff:

Year	Mayor	Members of the Municipal Government		State Secretary
		Native Citizens (Mokalaks)	Non-Native Citizens (Akhalmosuls)	
1845[47]	Stepan Gabrielian Khatissiants	Alexandre Hovsepian Tamamshiants, Zaal Zakarian Zaaliants, Hovsep Hovhannissian Ter-Hovhannissiants (a deputy from a region)	Isaac Hovhannissian Maysuriants, Hovhannes Davtian Sultaniants	Vasili Ivan Rakovich
1849[48]	Tovma Davtian Pridoniants	Zakaria Petrossian Tamamshiants, Hovhannes Stepanian Aladatiants, Petros Hovhannissian Hambardzumiants, Avetik Hovhannissian Tsatriants, Avtandil Alexei Hakhverdiants, Agha Revaz Revazov		Pyotr Vasili Sokolovski
1850[49]	Zakaria Stepanian Amiraghiants	Zakaria Minassian Gulaspiants, Isaac Mkrtchian Tandoyants, Stepan Andrei Jaghatiants, Hakob Michaelian Dzamoyants, Tovma Sargissian Iskandariants, Ghazar Abrahamian Vardaniants		Pyotr Vasili Sokolovski

Between 1840 and 1864, the mayoralty of Tiflis was held by exceptionally mokalaks, but in the 1840s, the Municipal Government included a considerable number of non-native citizens; thus, during the mayoralty of St. Khatissiants (1845), 2 of the 6 members of this body were akhalmosuls.

In the course of time, new administrative bodies were added to the Government of the city, including the Trade Police founded in 1847 on the initiative of the Vice-Roy of Caucasia, M. Vorontsov (1844 to 1854).[50] According to Syulyuk, who visited Tiflis in 1850, M. Vorontsov made every endeavour to involve the upper classes in the construction activities carried out in the city: "Prince Vorontsov and his wife were in favour of marriages between people of different nationalities and made every possible attempt to have the Armenian capital invested in the building activities ongoing in the city."[51]

Interestingly enough, until 1875 not only the mayors but also the majority of the members of the Municipal Government were Armenians. This is confirmed by the following table which covers the period between the ratification of the Statutes of Public Governance (1840) and the establishment of municipal autonomy (1870):

Year	Mayor	Members of the Municipal Government		State Secretary
		Native Citizens (Mokalaks)	Non-Native Citizens (Akhalmosuls)	
1851[52]	Hovsep Afanassian Mirimaniants	Zakaria Davtian Sarajev	Petros Hovhannissian Hambardzumiants, Ghazar Vardanian Vardaniants	Pyotr Vasili Sokolovski
1852[53]	Hovsep Afanassian Mirimaniants	Hejoub Gabrielian Hejoubiants, Hovsep Stepanian Ananiants, Soghomon Petrossian Sargissiants	Avtandil Hakhverdiants, Mkrtich Kasoumiants, Avetik Tarkhaniants	Pyotr Vasili Sokolovski
1853[54]	Avetik Astvatsatrian Svechnikov	Isaac Nikita Pughiniants, Hejoub Gabrielian Hejoubiants, Asatur Cyrilian Khalatiants	Hovsep Michaelian Dzamoyants, Vardan Ghazarian Sparapetiants	Pyotr Vasili Sokolovski
1854[55]	Avetik Astvatsatrian Svechnikov	Soghomon Miron Mirimaniants, Hejoub Gabrielian Hejoubiants, Stepan Andrei Jaghatiants	Petros Hovhannissian Hambardzumiants, Hovsep Michaelian Dzamoyants, Sargis Yeganiants	Pyotr Vasili Sokolovski

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городском общественном управлении в Тифлисе" в 1840 г. в течение многих лет должность городского головы занимали представители крупной армянской буржуазии. Первым городским головой Тбилиси был Иван Измиров. Затем эту должность занимали. С. Хатисов, М. Тер-Грикуров, И. Шадинов, Ф. Придонов, З. Амирагов, И. Мириманов, А. Свечников, С. Сараджев, Ан. Мананов, В. Аршакуни, С. Абесаломов, С. Мириманов, Ег. Придонов, К. Шермазан-Вартанов, С. Абесаломов, Е. Арцруни, Н. Алдатов, Д. Туманов (1869-1871)" (ibid., p. 166).

47 Кавказский календарь на 1846 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1846] (Tiflis, 1845), p. 167.

48 Caucasian Calendar for 1850, p. 11.

49 Кавказский календарь на 1851 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1851] (Tiflis, 1850), p. 13.

50 **Jabar**, "The 35th Anniversary," ibid.

51 **Սիւխկ**, Ճանապարհորդութեան տպաւորութիւններ [**Syulyuk**, "Travel Impressions"], «Փորձ» [*Pordz*], no. 10, 1879, p. 96.

52 Caucasian Calendar for 1852, p. 561.

53 Кавказский календарь на 1853 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1853] (Tiflis, 1852), p. 511.

54 Кавказский календарь на 1854 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1854] (Tiflis, 1853), p. 592.

55 Кавказский календарь на 1855 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1855] (Tiflis, 1854), p. 628.

1855[56]	Avetik Astvatzatrian Svechnikov	Artem Yegorian Babanassiants, Isaac Martin Tandoyants, Zakaria Minassian Gulaspiants	Petros Hovhannissian Hambardzumiants, Grigor Melikiants, Sargis Muradiants	
1856[57]	Soghomon Davtian Sarajev	Soghomon Movsissian Istamaniants, Artem Yegorian Babanassiants, Grigor Petrossian Sargissiants, Hambardzum Nikita Enfianjiants, Avetik Grigorian Janshiants (a housing deputy)	Simon Davtian Mghebriants, Grigor Hayrapetian Sargissiants, Georgi Amilakhvarov (a housing deputy)	Grigor Hovhannissian Izmiriants
1857[58]	Andrei Davtian Mananov	Astvatsatur Svechnikov, Yedis. Gabrielian Yedisubov, Soghomon Gabrielian Baysogholiants, Hambardzum Nikita Enfianjiants	Petros Hovhannissian Hambardzumiants, Hakob Barseghian Mickeliants	Grigor Hovhannissian Izmiriants
1858[59]	Vardan Astvatsatrian Arshakuny	Avetik Grigorian Janshiants, Soghomon Gabrielian Parunbekiants, Zakaria Gerasim Mirimaniants	Artem Davtian Khechumiants, Grigor Nikoghossian Mkrtumiants, Michael Avetikian Tugurelov	Grigor Hovhannissian Izmiriants
1859[60]	Vardan Astvatsatrian Arshakuny	Avetik Grigorian Janshiants, Baghdasar Aladatiants,(honorary citizen), Zakaria Gerasim Mirimaniants	Ghazar Vardaniants, Michael Avetikian Tugurelov	Mikhail Fyodor Fyodorov

Tiflis grew and flourished year after year. An eye-witness who visited it in 1858 found it looking more developed and improved than 2 or 3 decades before: "Tiflis, or as we call it Tpkhis, the capital of old Georgia, can truly be considered the capital of entire Caucasia, Transcaucasia, Armenia and Georgia. The newly-built part of the city, with its fine edifices, straight streets, beautiful alleys, thriving shops called caravanserais and night lights, immediately shows that the country is under the rule of a prosperous European state, and that the rich constitute a large number in its population. However, like many Oriental places, the older part of the city is in very bad conditions with crooked and dirty streets, small shops and irregularly-built houses."[61]

Beginning with 1860, new posts were created within the Municipal Government of Tiflis: Secretary; Secretary of the Court of Orphans' Care Attached to the Municipal Government; Treasurer, and Commissars of City Quarters. This system of government was preserved until 1867.

The Revolt of Trade Unionists in 1865. In 1865 Mayor Galust Shermazaniants attempted to impose new taxes on the rich merchants and artisans of Tiflis in order to realize his plans concerning the reconstruction of the city. Opposing to the newly-elected mayor's decision, and particularly, taking advantage of the fact that he was a non-native citizen—the Armenian mokalaks could not put up with this fact—the trade unionists rose in rebellion against him. As a result of this revolt, tax collector Bazhbeuk Melikiants was killed, while the mayor had to leave the city.[62]

This unprecedented mutiny made the Vice-Roy of Caucasia, Prince M. Nikolayevich (1862 to 1882), approve the amended project of the city government.

The Municipal Government had the following departments before the aforementioned reforms:

Under the new Statutes adopted in 1866, the electorate included 4 social classes:

1. native aristocrats;
2. native citizens and those who had acquired a noble title on merit (not by inheritance);
3. ordinary citizens;
4. any people having civic duties and responsibilities.

56 Кавказский календарь на 1856 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1856] (Tiflis, 1855), p. 620.
57 Кавказский календарь на 1857 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1857] (Tiflis, 1856), p. 522.
58 Кавказский календарь на 1858 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1858] (Tiflis, 1857), p. 426.
59 Кавказский календарь на 1859 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1859] (Tiflis, 1858), p. 452.
60 Кавказский календарь на 1860 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1860] (Tiflis, 1859), p. 10.
61 «Մասեաց Աղաւնի եւ Ծիածան Հայաստանեայց» [*Maseats Aghavni yev Tsiatsan Hayastaneayts*], no. 2 (1860), pp. 28-29.
62 For details relating to the revolt, see the part of the present work devoted to G. Shermazaniants (pp. 52-60).

Year	Mayor	Members of the Municipal Government		State Secretary	Secretary of the Municipal Government	Secretary of the Court of Orphans' Care Attached to the Civ. Adm.	Treasurer	Commissars of the Four Districts			
		Native Citizens (Mokalaks)	Non-Native Citizens (Akhalmosuls)					I	II	III	IV
1860[63]	Soghomon Zakarian Abisoghomiants	Soghomon Movsissian Istamaniants, Stepan Meburnutiants	Hovhannes Mamikoniants, Hakob Mikeliants	Mikhail Fyodor Fyodorov	Leonid Baratov			G. G. Mirimaniaints	Philip Iovl. Chikvaidze	Dmitri Hovsep Beriyev	
1861[64]	Soghomon Mirimanian Mirimaniants	Yeghia Hovhannissian Poughiniants, Gabriel Avel Shadiniants, Grigor Hakobian Hakhnazariants	Petros Hovhannissian Hambardzumiants, Yeghia Minassian Didariants, Michael Isahakian Nalbandiants	Mikhail Fyodor Fyodorov	Leonid Baratov	Hovsep Gabrielian Pondoyants	Movses Poghossian Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	G. G. Mirimaniants	Philip Iovl. Chikvaidze	Dmitri Hovsep Beriyev	Ghorkhmaz Davtian Ghaitmaziants
1862[65]	Yeghia Grigorian Pridoniants	Alexandre Grigorian Babanassiants, Stepan Vahramian Astvatsatriants, Grigor Hakobian Hakhnazariants	Petros Hovhannissian Hambardzumiants, Michael Yesayan Nalbandiants, Gevorg Melk. Didariants	Mikhail Tim. Demenev, Mikhail Fyodor Fyodorov	Leonid Germanoz Baratov (also housing deputy)	Hovsep Gabrielian Pondoyants	Movses Poghossian Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	G. G. Mirimaniants	Philip Iovl. Chikvaidze	Dmitri Hovsep Beriyev	Ghorkhmaz Davtian Ghaitmaziants
1863[66]	Yeghia Grigorian Pridoniants	Alexandre Grigorian Babanassiants, Stepan Vahramian Astvatsatriants, Grigor Hakobian Hakhnazariants	Petros Hovhannissian Hambardzumiants, Michael Yesayan Nalbandiants, Hovhannes Hovsepian Saipov	Mikhail Tim. Demenev, Mikhail Fyodor Fyodorov	Mikhail Dmitri Kikodze	Grigor Hovsepian Melikiants	M. P. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	G. G. Mirimaniants	Philip Iovl. Chikvaidze	Dmitri Hovsep Beriyev	Ghorkhmaz Davtian Ghaitmaziants
1864[67]	Galust Harutiunian Shermazan-Vardaniants	A. G. Babanassiants	H. Enfenjiants, G. Mkrtumiants, I. Maminov, A. D. Khechumiants, A. Babayants, H. D. Vardaniants	A. O. Dizhyevitsa-Kovvach	M. D. Kikodze	G. H. Melikiants	M. P. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	G. G.Mirimaniants	F. I. Chikvaidze	D. H. Beriyev	Gh. D. Ghaitmaziants
1865[68]	Soghomon Zakarian Abisoghomiants	N. I. Milov, H. A. Ter-Ghazariants, H. Mantashiants	K. Mamikoniants, S. A. Ter-Melkisetiants	A. O. Dizhyevitsa-Kovvach	M. D. Kikodze	G. H. Melikiants	J. S. Yenikolopiants				
1867[69]	Yeremia Gevorgian Artsruny	N. Ye. Zubalov, A. N. Onikov, M. H. Shadiniants, A. G. Babanassiants, Z. S. Narimaniants, S. H. Shaburiants	S. S. Sholkoyev, H. P. Margariants	K.l L. Zisserman	M. D. Kikodze		Ch. A. Araratiants (accountant)	A. H. Melikiants. Melikiants	F. I. Chikvaidze	O. Bazhbeuk-Melikiants	Gh. D. Ghaitmaziants

63 Кавказский календарь на 1861 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1861] (Tiflis, 1860), p. 12.
64 Кавказский календарь на 1862 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1862] (Tiflis, 1861), p. 340.
65 Кавказский календарь на 1863 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1863] (Tiflis, 1862), pp. 359-360.
66 Кавказский календарь на 1864 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1864] (Tiflis, 1863), p. 311.
67 Кавказский календарь на 1865 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1865] (Tiflis, 1864), pp. 15-16.
68 Кавказский календарь на 1866 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1866] (Tiflis, 1865), p. 18.
69 Кавказский календарь на 1868 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1868] (Tiflis, 1867), p. 40.

Each class was entitled to elect 100 representatives who would later elect 25 deputies and 8 candidates. The City Council consisted of 100 deputies authorized to elect the mayor and all the officials involved in the city government. The Government consisted of the mayor and 8 members elected from the aforementioned 4 classes.[70]

The first deputy elections were held in December 1866.[71]

In 1868 new officials were involved in the Municipal Government, which had the following staff:[72]

Mayor - Major General Yeremia Gevorgian Artsruny;

Government Member - Nikolai Khariton Tverdokhlebovich;

Representatives of aristocracy - Tim. Nikit. Beloy, Nikoghayos Ye. Zubalov, nobleman Tovma T. Ketkhudiants, native honorary citizen Alexandre Grigorian Babanassiants;

Native Citizens (mokalaks) - Zakaria Sargissian Narimaniants, Soghomon Hovhannissian Shaburiants;

Citizens - Sogh. Step. Shelkoezov, Hovhannes Grigorian Margariants;

Secretary - Mikhail Dm. Kikodze;

Accountant - Christapor Avetikian Araratiants;

Municipal Commissars - Art. Hovhannissian Melikiants, Phil. I. Chikvaidze, Michael Atarbegian Bazhbeuk-Melikiants, Ghorkhmaz Davtian Ghaitmaziants;

Trade Inspector - Michael Nikoghayossian Sundukiants;

Committee on Housing Issues - Adam Andr. Kviatkovski, Ivan Boris Buchkiyev, nobleman Alexandre Nikoghayossian Shadiniants, Harutiun Grigorian Babanassiants, native citizens Grigor Nikoghayossian Mkrtumiants, Avetik Rostomian Tarkhaniants, Secretary Platon Mikh. Mikhailov, Accountant Movses Poghossian Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed*);

Municipal Orphanage - Barsegh Art. Vardaniants, State Councillor Gabriel N. Ter-Asatriants, Secretary Grigor Hovsepian Melikiants, Jhangir Stepanian Yenikolopiants;

Sworn Municipal Estimators - citizen Hovsep Stepanian Ananiants, honorary native citizen Ilar. Parakov, Nikoghayos Gabrielian Shadiniants;

Sworn Witnesses to the Public Sale of Estates - native citizen Alexandre Martirossian Tzoviants, B. Ye. Bastamiants, citizen Shakar Sargissian Deduniants;

Auction Board of Tiflis - Dr. Stepan Yeghian Bastamiants (Head), citizens Simeon Yeghian Zargariants, Isaac P. Dzeliyev;

First Department - Nikoghayos Hovhannissian Aladatiants (Head), Harutiun Yeganiants, Gaspar Isahakian Sahakiants, Stepan Gerasimian Stepaniants, Grigor Bezhan. Koniyev;

Council of Aldermen - Carl Christian. Kugler, Poghos Hovhannissian Avaliants, Grigor Simeonian Sharimaniants, Michael Grigorian Lazariants;

Chairmen - Bezhan Zakarian Yenikolopiants and Herman Valling;

Second Department - citizen Barsegh Harutiunian Kalamkariants (Head), Yeghia Gabrielian Avetissiants, Gevorg Arakelian Ter-Abrahamiants, Yegor Artem Pishnov, David Poghossian Demuriants, Zakaria Grigorian Davtiants, Hovhannes Alexandrian Aziziants;

Council of Aldermen - Hovhannes Poghossian Boyakhchiants, Khecho Martirossian Hovsepiants, Hovhannes N. Ter-Nikoghossiants, Michael Hovsepian Mehrabiants;

Union of Tiflis Artisans - citizen Stepan Petrossian Janiants (Head), Khlebnikiants (Ustabashy), citizen Petros Youzbashian, shoemakers Hajji-Serob Terjaniants, Gigol Aghajaniants, furrier and hatter Geo Tsoviants, tailor Shakar Vardan-Babiants, carpenter Zakaria Petrossiants, coachman Andr. Kotrin, dyer Galust Martirossiants, miner Abram Bibilaury, diamond cutter Alexandre Karakhaniants, barber Hovhannes Jamaspiants, armourer Soghomon Kagarov, machinist Harutiun Stepaniants, colorist Sargis Antoniants, galloon maker Karapet Alaverdiants, bricklayer Simeon Mantashiants, tanner Grigol Askilov.

This system of post distribution was preserved until 1875[73] and later underwent some changes:

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70 **Jabar**, "The 35th Anniversary," ibid.

71 Ibid.

72 Кавказский календарь на 1869 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1869] (Tiflis, 1868), pp. 25-27.

73 Кавказский календарь на 1870 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1870] (Tiflis, 1869), pp. 28-30; Кавказский календарь на 1871 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1871] (Tiflis, 1870), pp. 28-29; Кавказский календарь на 1872 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1872] (Tiflis, 1871), pp. 29-31; Кавказский календарь на 1873 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1873] (Tiflis, 1872), pp. 30-31; Кавказский календарь на 1874 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1874] (Tiflis, 1873), pp. 32-34; Кавказский календарь на 1875 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1875] (Tiflis, 1874), pp. 26-28. Also see **Jabar**, "The 35th Anniversary," ibid.

1878[77]	1877[76]	1876[75]	1875[74]	Year
Dm. I. Ghipiani	D. I. Ghipiani	D. I. Ghipiani	Y. D. Tumaniants (8.12. 1874-01.12.1875), D. I. Ghipiani (from 14.12.1875)	**Mayor**
M. Ye. Doloukhaniants	M. Ye. Doloukhaniants (from 30.12.1876)	L. K. Elimirziants (until 23.02.1876)	L. K. Elimirziants (from 22.01 1875)	**Deputy Mayor**
I. N. Khanjiyev, A. S. Matiniants, P. Gh. Alkhaziants	I. N. Khanjiyev, A. S. Matiniants, P. Gh. Alkhaziants	I. N. Khanjiev, G. S. Khatissiants, A. A. Tamamshiants, P. L. Alkhaziants	I. N. Khanjiyev, H. G. Pondoyev (from 22.01.1875)	**Members of the Government**
P. A. Izmailiants	P. A. Izmailiants (from 15.01.1877)	L. Y. Mghebriants (until 20.12.1876)	L. Y. Mghebriants (from 22.01.1875)	**Secretary of the Government (also of the Duma)**
K. T. Arvanov	H. I. Ter-Stepaniants	H. I. Ter-Stepaniants		**1**
M. P. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	M. P. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	M. P. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*		**2**
A. A. Zalenski	A. A. Zalenski	A. A. Zalenski		**3**
H. D. Akhsharoumiants	N. H. Ananiants			**4**
P. N. Zablotski	Ye. T. Beloy			**City Architect**
Y. A. Alexeyev	Y. A. Alexeyev			**Clerks of the Members of the Adm. Government**
A. G. Gerasimov	V. Dm. Kartsov			**City Technician**
Ye. A. Chemeshkiants	Ye. A. Chemeshkiants			**City Surveyor**
N. Z. Nazariants, assistants: P. D. Sokolov, N. A. Paron-Sargissiants, treasurer: I. Ye. Strakhov	N. A. Papiants, assistants: J. S. Yenikolopiants, N. Z. Nazariants, P. Dm. Sokolov, I. Ye. Strakhov	N. A. Papiants, assistants: J. S. Yenikolopiants, N. Z. Nazariants, treasurer: I. Ye. Strakhov	N. A. Papiants, treasurer: I. Ye. Strakhov	**Accountant General of the Adm.**
Ye. Didariants, Ph. I. Chikvaidze, M. A. Kochariants, L. L. Serebriakiants, A. M. Shahverdiants	Ye. Didariants, Ph. I. Chikvaidze, M. A. Kochariants, L. L. Serebriakiants, A. M. Shahverdiants	H. J. Aslamaziants (I district), Ph. I. Chikvaidze (II district), M. A. Kochariants (III district), S. Ye. Didariants, A. M. Shahverdiants, I. Rahimov (IV district)	H. J. Aslamaziants, Ph. I. Chikvaidze, M. A. Kochariants, Ye. A. Chemeshkiants, N. M. Golubev, A. M. Shahverdiants	**Executives**
P. R. Tsitliyev, M. N. Sunduk-iants	P. R. Tsitliyev, M. N. Sunduk-iants	H. A. Shadiniants, P. R. Tsitliyev	H. A. Shadiniants, P. N. Babanassiants	**Trade Inspectors**
P. N. Babanassiants, S. Barkhoudariants, A. Hejoubiants	P. N. Babanassiants, P. Youzbashiants, V. Khachatriants, candidates: S. Barkhoudariants, P. Stepaniants	N. N. Shaniants, members: H. J. Aslamaziants, P. N. Babanassiants, D. G. Khatissiants, M. M. Bouniatiants	L. M. Behbudiants, members: A. Yeg. Babanassiants, Ye. I. Pougnov, T. G. Saibiants	**Court of Orphans' Care**

74 Кавказский календарь на 1876 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1876] (Tiflis, 1875), p. 28. Also see *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 18.

75 Кавказский календарь на 1877 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1877] (Tiflis, 1876), p. 30.

76 Кавказский календарь на 1878 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1878] (Tiflis, 1877), p. 30.

77 Кавказский календарь на 1879 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1879] (Tiflis, 1878), p. 24.

On 1 January 1875, the project of municipal autonomy, developed in 1870 and relating to all Russian cities, was put into effect in Tiflis. It stated that the City Council should consist of 72 deputies.

In the late 1870s, the Municipal Government had the following staff:

Year	1879[78]	1880[79]	1881[80]
Mayor	Dm. I. Ghipiani (until 09.04.1879), A. S. Ghorghaniants (28.01.1879, resigned 15.02.1879), A. S. Matiniants (from 11.03.1879)	A. S. Matiniants	A. S. Matiniants
Deputy Mayor	M. Ye. Doloukhaniants (until 01.06.1879), A. A. Tamamshiants (from 08.10.1879)	A. A. Tamamshiants	A. A. Tamamshiants
Members of the Government	N. A. Papiants (from 09.04.1879), Ye. Ye. Khosroyev (from 01.06.1879)	N. A. Papiants, Ye. Ye. Khosroyev	N. A. Papiants, Ye. Ye. Khosroyev
Secretary of the Adm. (also of Duma)	P. A. Izmailiants (from 19.12.1879)	P. A. Izmailiants	P. A. Izmailiants
Duma Clerks	A. S. Tretyakov	A. S. Tretyakov	A. S. Tretyakov
Government Clerks	H. D. Akhsharoumiants, Ye. D. Ter-Alexandriants	H. D. Akhsharoumiants, Ye. D. Ter-Alexandriants	H. D. Akhsharoumiants, N. G. Ter-Sargissiants
City Chief Engineer		A. L. Silyander	A. L. Silyander
City Architect	A. G. Ozerov	A. G. Ozerov	A. G. Ozerov
District Technicians	A. G. Rakin, V. F. Bochkovski, S. V. Davidov	N. N. Zherebtsov, Hovh. H. Aghounakiants, S. V. Davidov	Hovh. H. Aghounakiants, A. H. Hejoubiants, S. V. Davidov
Accountant General of the Government	N. Z. Nazariants, assistants: A. A. Zalenski, N. A. Paron-Sargissiants, I. S. Nomikos	N. Z. Nazariants, assistants: A. A. Zalenski, I. Z. Gogoberidze, G. H. Ghorghaniants	N. Z. Nazariants, assistants: I. Z. Gogoberidze, G. H. Ghorghaniants, N. A. Paron-Sargissiants
Treasurer	G. N. Shadiniants	G. N. Shadiniants	I. H. Ter-Mikeliants
Executives	M. A. Kochariants, S. Ye. Didariants, Ph. I. Chikvaidze, L. L. Davidov, P. P. Ignatev	M. A. Kochariants, S. Ye. Didariants, Ph. I. Chikvaidze, G. A. Chikoany, N. H. Ghorghaniants	M. A. Kochariants, S. Ye. Didariants, Ph. I. Chikvaidze, S. D. Korintely
Attorney of Municipal Affairs			G. A. Chikoany
Employees Concerned with the Regulation of Old Cases (Registrar)	K. T. Arvanov	A. Y. Kanyevski	V. S. Moisyev
Trade Inspectors	P. R. Tsitliyev, K. M. Shiukov	P. R. Tsitliyev, K. M. Shiukov	P. R. Tsitliyev
Auction Board	P. N. Babanassiants, estimators: S. Barkhoudariants, A. Hejoubiants	P. N. Babanassiants, estimators: S. Barkhoudariants, A. Hejoubiants	P. N. Babanassiants, estimators: D. Khatissiants, A. Hejoubiants
Court of Orphans' Care	N. N. Shanshiants, members: P. N. Babanassiants, D. G. Khatissiants, M. M. Bouniatiants	N. N. Shanshiants, members: P. N. Babanassiants, D. G. Khatissiants, M. M. Bouniatiants	N. N. Shanshiants, members: P. N. Babanassiants, D. G. Khatissiants, Ye. I. Terouniants, P. Hovh. Amiriants, A. M. Shahverdiants (assistant)

78 Кавказский календарь на 1880 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1880] (Tiflis, 1879), p. 28. Also see *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 18.

79 Кавказский календарь на 1881 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1881] (Tiflis, 1880), p. 28.

80 Caucasian Calendar for 1882, p. 38.

From the 1880s until the early 1890s, the Georgian deputies formed an Opposition in the City Council, apparently in consequence of their vain efforts to occupy a dominant position in this body during the mayoralty of Al. Matiniants and P. Izmailiants: "The Opposition was represented by the outstanding Georgian politicians Nikoladze, Zubalov, Chelokayev, I. Machabely and others. The campaign of Matinian and Izmailian was going to target the members of the Opposition in general, but this time, its 'victims' were the Georgians who constituted the Opposition party in the former Assembly. However, this was merely an illusion. Matinian, Izmailian and their adherents had made a list including the overwhelming majority of the people on whom they relied: these were wealthy Armenians entitled to a decisive vote in the municipal elections under the Civic Statutes of 1892."[81]

In the 1880s, when the mayoralty of the city was held by Al. Matiniants, the Municipal Government had the following staff:

Year	Mayor	Government Members	City Engineer	City Architect
1883[82]	A. S. Matiniants (re-elected 23.01.1883)	A. A. Tamamshiants (Deputy Mayor until 04.06.1883), P. A. Izmailiants (Deputy Mayor from 17.10.1883), N. A. Papiants (re-elected 31.01.1883), Ye. Ye. Khosroyev (re-elected 31.01.1883)	A. L. Silyander	A. Ye. Ozerov
1884[83]	A. S. Matiniants	P. A. Izmailiants (Deputy Mayor), N. A. Papiants, Ye. Ye. Khosroyev	A. L. Silyander	A. Ye. Ozerov
1885[84]	A. S. Matiniants	P. A. Izmailiants (Deputy Mayor), N. A. Papiants, Ye. Ye. Khosroyev		A. P. Shimkevich

In the subsequent years, the staff of the Municipal Government underwent some changes and new officials were included in it:

Year	Mayor	Government Members	City Architect	City Technicians	City Surveyor	Clerks of the Municipal 'Government	City Lawyer	Accountant General	Treasurer	Secretary of the Government
1886[85]	A. S. Matiniants	P. A. Izmailiants (Deputy Mayor), N. A. Papiants, Ye. Ye. Khosroyev		N. Sh. Pitoyants-Yaghouyants, N. Ye. Tsurinov, P. K. Gothardt		N. G. Ter-Sargisiants, H. D. Akhsharoumiants G. Ghouliants		N. Z. Nazariants	I. Hovh. Ter-Mikeliants	H. T. Tigraniants
1887[86]	A. S. Matiniants (re-elected 13.01.1891-01.03.1891)	P. A. Izmailiants (Deputy Mayor), N. A. Papiants (re-elected 12.01.1887-01.11.1890), Ye. Ye. Khosroyev (re-elected 12.01.1887, 21.01.1891, 21.11.1893)	A. P. Shimkevich	N. Sh. Pitoyants-Yaghouyants, A. A. Melik-Beglariants, P. K. Gothardt	H. N. Markossiants	H. A. Vermishiants, H. D. Akhsharoumiants, G. G. Ghouliants	I. S. Ter-Stepaniants, assistant: S. B. Israeliants			

81 **Արասխաճեանց Ա.**, Քաղաքային ընտրութիւնների առիթով [**A. Araskhaniants**, "Regarding the Municipal Elections"], «Մուրճ» [*Murj*], no. 1, 1897, pp. 140-141.

82 Кавказский календарь на 1884 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1884] (Tiflis, 1883), p. 32. Also see *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), pp. 18-20.

83 Кавказский календарь на 1885 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1885] (Tiflis, 1884), p. 37.

84 Caucasian Calendar for 1886, p. 31.

85 Кавказский календарь на 1887 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1887] (Tiflis, 1886), p. 28.

86 Кавказский календарь на 1888 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1888] (Tiflis, 1887), p. 67. Also see *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), ibid.

The Ethnic Relationships in the City Council (Duma) in the Late 1880s and the Early 1890s. According to the statistical data gathered in 1886, the Armenians who constituted 47 % of the population of Tiflis had 72 % of the seats in the City Council. Interestingly enough, the Georgians who formed 28 % of the population had only 4 % of the voices, while the seats of the representatives of other nationalities, Russians, Germans, Poles, Greeks, etc. (21 %), constituted 24 % in the same year.[87]

K. Tyurian offers the following interpretation on the numerical superiority of the Armenian deputies: "This is also directly connected with the fact that the rich class of the city mainly comprises the Armenians. The majority of merchants are Armenians and most of the enterprises are under their control. The Armenians of Tiflis do not seem unable to unite in a large enterprise. The banks of Tiflis were founded thanks to the Armenian capital: the Armenians are the founders of the Commercial Bank of Tiflis, the Mutual Credit Company, the Municipal Credit Company as well as the Insurance Agency Against Fire, where they constitute the majority of the shareholders.... This agency has been founded quite recently as they thought that instead of annually paying large sums of money to different Russian or foreign companies, they had better keep it among themselves."[88]

As early as 1890, not only the mayor and deputy mayor but also the majority of the members of the City Council were Armenians: "In order to be elected and be an elector, one should possess some real estate, or more exactly, pay a certain tax to the Municipal Treasury. Although the Armenians comprised only half of the population of Tiflis, most of those who were elected and were therefore also electors as well as the majority of taxpayers were Armenians."[89]

The available sources report that out of the 72 members elected to the City Council, 38 were Armenians, 22 Georgians, 11 Russians and one German.[90]

In the early 1890s, and particularly, after the elections of 16 May 1893, the relations between the Armenians and the Georgian-Russian fraction worsened to an unprecedented extent mainly due to the fact that the Armenians, forming a little more than 1\3 of the population of Tiflis, had again won more than 2\3s of the seats in the City Council. The representatives of other nationalities together had got only 1\3 of the voices, which aroused a storm of protest particularly among the Georgian and Russian candidates as well as the parties supporting them. Suffice it to say that the 80 deputies elected on 16 May 1893 comprised only one Georgian (Prince Kolubanski), 16 Russians, 3 Germans and 63 Armenians.[91]

Different Georgian politicians who were displeased with the results of the elections believed that the Armenians should have much fewer seats in the City Council. Thus, according to Gogebashvili, they should form a little more than 1\3 of the deputies.[92] The Russian-Georgian party, headed by I. Javjavadze, distributed the seats in the following way: 22 for the Armenian deputies, 23 for the Russians and 28 for the Georgians.[93] As for the small number of Russian deputies in the City Council, the editor of the *Kavkaz* Russian newspaper, Velichko, wrote the following in this respect: "There is no point in speaking about the small number of Russian representatives in the Council: the fact itself is terrible.... Everything bearing marks of civilization in this country was created through the Russian capital, and on the initiative, or under the patronage, of the Russian Government, under the defence of the Russian army. And all of a sudden, the Russians form a most strange and inexplicable minority in the Council of Tiflis! This is mockery."[94]

The editor of the *Kavkaz* proved the necessity for a greater number of Georgians and Russians in the Council with the following words: "The Armenians should not forget that Tiflis was the capital of the former Georgian kingdom.... It is the Russians who should be elected since spiritual enlightenment was introduced into our country under the auspices of Russia."[95]

As for the considerably small number of Georgian deputies at the elections of the City Council, the following explanation was offered to it: "The Georgians from Kartli and Kakheti had almost nothing to do with the status of a citizen. They were first of all farmers and warriors. Agriculture and military service have been the most favourite occupations of the inhabitants of Eastern Georgia since ancient times. Time changes a lot of things: gradually the

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87 **Туманов Г.** Заметки о городском самоуправлении на Кавказе [**G. Tumanov**, Notes on Municipal Autonomy in Caucasia] (Tiflis, 1902), p. 3.

88 **Tyurian**, "A Week in Tpghis," pp. 202-203.

89 Ibid., p. 202.

90 «Մուրճ» [*Murj*], 1890, p. 1757.

91 **Araskhaniants**, "Regarding the Municipal Elections," *Murj*, no. 1, 1897, p. 145; no. 5, 1897, p. 699.

92 **Гогебашвили Я.**, Правда о Тифлисе [**Yak. Gogebashvili**, The Truth about Tiflis] (Tiflis, 1897). Also see «Մուրճ» [*Murj*], no. 5, ibid.

93 *Murj*, no. 5, ibid.

94 **Araskhaniants**, "Regarding the Municipal Elections," *Murj*, no. 1, 1897, p. 146.

95 Ibid., p. 147.

representatives of different classes of Georgians are forming the bourgeoisie. There are businessmen and people of free professions among them, but they form a small number and most of them do not even have a right to vote in Tiflis."[96]

Anyway, the elections of 16 May 1893 were annuled,[97] and new elections were held on 30 May: "On 30 May, only 92 people declared their wish to be elected, while on 16 May, their number had been 175: all the Georgian candidates (with the exception of two, G. Tsereteli and P. Kolubanski) had taken back their ballot papers, as if offended at the fact that on 16 May, only 6 people had been elected from among them, and believing that the same was going to happen on 30 May. Some of the Russians and all those from among the Armenian youth who had not won enough votes to be elected on 16 May refused to participate in the elections. However, the Georgians who expected admiration were only criticised and reproached in the public opinion since what they had done was like running away from the battlefield."[98]

Speaking about the results of the elections of 1893, in which 120 Georgian and 80 Russian electors had participated (200 people on the whole), N. Nikoladze declared that "all the Armenians" had "unanimously" voted for the Armenian deputies, while in reality, 7 Georgian candidates had won more than 400 electoral votes (therefore, about 200 Armenian electors had given their votes to each of them). In addition, 12 Georgian candidates gained more than 325 votes; therefore, about 125 Armenian electors had given their votes to each of them.[99]

The Municipal Government in the 1890s. While the problem of the ethnic identity of the deputies and mayor was becoming more and more serious, the Municipal Government followed its routine of work. Its staff underwent some changes, and new officials were involved to meet the demands of those times. In 1892 the new Municipal Statutes were ratified,[100] giving the provincial authorities a right to consolidate their control over the Municipal Council by restricting its rights.[101] The Municipal Government had the following staff in 1896:

Year	Mayor	Government Members	City Architect	City Technicians	City Surveyor	Assistants of the Municipal Government	City Lawyer	Accountant General	Treasurer
1896[102]	N. B. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* (25.03.1891-10.07.1893, re-elected 24.04.1895-05.11.1896)	A. A. Ivanenko (member from 03.06.1891, re-elected 21.11.1893, 16.10.1895, Deputy Mayor from 21.02.1894), Ye. Ye. Khosroyev, P. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* (21.11.1893, re-elected 16.10.1895-07.10.1896), A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* (11.11.1896-24.03.1901, re-elected 03.12.1907), Ch. A. Vermishiants (from 07.10.1896)				G. G. Ghouliants, F. I. Bek, V. L. Weimann	I. S. Ter-Stepaniants	N. Z. Nazariants, assistant: S. G. Aramiants	I. Hovh. Ter-Mickeliants

The elections of municipal deputies held on 18 May 1897 included 177 candidates 57 of whom (37 Armenians, 8 Georgians, 10 Russians and 2 Germans) won enough votes to be elected.[103] New elections were held on 1 June of the same year, with 29 deputies (18 Armenians, 9 Russians, 2 Georgians) elected.[104] Thus, the total number of the deputies amounted to 86: 55 Armenians, 19 Russians, 10 Georgians and 2 Germans.

As reported by the contemporary press, this correlation of the number of deputies who were going to work in the City Assembly in the following 4 years made passions run high among certain members of the Opposition.[105]

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96 **Tumanov**, 1902, p. 5 (the original reads: "Грузины-карталинцы и кахетинцы-менъе всего горожане. Они прежде всего люди земли, затъмъ люди оружия. Сельское хозяйство и военная служба искони были любимыми занятиями жителей восточной Грузии. Время многое измъяетъ; понемногу изъ разныхъ классовъ грузинскаго населения выдъляется извъстный элементъ въ буржуазию. Встръчаются грузины-коммерсанты, лица свободныхъ профессий. Но ихъ пока мало. Большинсво ихъ не имъетъ даже избирательнаго ценза въ Тифлисъ").

97 *Murj*, 1893, pp. 820-823; no. 5, 1897, pp. 688-689.

98 *Murj*, 1893, p. 823.

99 **Tumanov**, 1902, pp. 14-16.

100 **Araskhaniants**, "Regarding the Municipal Elections," *Murj*, no. 1, 1897, p. 141.

101 **Tumanov**, 1902, p. 32.

102 Кавказский календарь на 1897 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1897] (Tiflis, 1896), pp. 120-121.

103 *Murj*, no. 5, 1897, pp. 683, 701.

104 Ibid., p. 702.

105 **Սարգսեան Լ.**, Ներքին տեսութիւն [**L. Sargissian**, "Internal Theory"], «Մուրճ» [*Murj*], no. 4, 1901, pp. 220-227.

This time N. Nikoladze declared that many deputies had won the majority of votes only because they were Armenians. He, however, ignored the fact that K. N. Reiter, Malinin, Opochinin, Bourhart and Ivanenko had similarly gained the majority of voices despite the fact that they were not Armenians.[106]

In the late 1890s and in the early 1900s, the City Council had the following staff:

Year	Mayor	Government Members						
		Deputy Mayor	Members	Secretary of the Adm. (also of Duma)	Clerks of the Adm.	Accountant General	Treasurer	City Lawyer
1897[107]	G. G. Yevanguliants (from 06.11.1897)	A. A. Ivanenko (until 02.11. 1898)	Ye. Ye. Khosroyev (re-elected 22.12.1897), A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, Ch. A. Vermishiants	S. F. Chrelayev	F. I. Bek, V. L. Weimann, G. G. Ghouliants	N. Z. Nazariants, assistant: S. G. Aramiants	I. I. Mikeliants	I. S. Ter-Stepaniants
1899[108]	G. G. Yevanguliants	M. S. Shestakov (from 22.03.1899)	Ye. Ye. Khosroyev, A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, V. N. Cherkezov	S. F. Chrelayev	F. I. Bek, V. L. Weimann, G. G. Ghouliants	N. Z. Nazariants, assistant: T. G. Yermishiants	S. T. Ter-Stepanian	I. S. Ter-Stepaniants, assistant: G. Z. Kananiants
1900[109]	G. G. Yevanguliants (until 16.09.1901)	M. S. Shestakov (until 21.02.1900), A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* (from 24.02.1901)	M. S. Shestakov, Ye. Ye. Khosroyev, V. N. Cherkezov	S. F. Chrelayev	I. H. Saatsazov, V. L. Veiman, G. G. Ghouliants	T. G. Yermishiants, assistant: A. Gh. Kharaziants	S. T. Ter-Stepanian	I. S. Ter-Stepaniants, assistant: G. Z. Kananiants
1902[110]		M. S. Shestakov (from 16.09.1901)	Ye. Ye. Khosroyev (re-elected 07.01-28.03.1902), T. H. Enfiajiants, V. N. Cherkezov, N. P. Kockchayev (from 22.04.1902, re-elected 23.01.1906)	V. L. Weimann	N. F. Arvanitaky, I. H. Saatsazov, P. M. Yakimov, A. K. Arvaniants	T. G. Yermishiants, assistant: A. Gh. Kharaziants	S. G. Aramiants	I. S. Ter-Stepaniants, assistant: G. Z. Kananiants

The City Council retained the ethnic correlation of the deputies formed in the 1880s until World War I. This is proved by the results of the elections of municipal deputies held in 1902, 1907, 1911 and 1917. At the elections held in 1902, 80 deputies were elected (51 Armenians - 63.75 %; 15 Georgians - 18.75 %; 9 Russians - 11.25 %; 2 Germans; 2 Poles, and 1 Muslim).[111]

In 1907 the City Council of Tiflis consisted of 60 members: 41 Armenians (68.33 %); 7 Georgians (11.66 %); 5 Russians (8.33 %); 3 Jews; 2 Germans; 1 Greek, and 1 Ossetin.[112]

In 1911 75 deputies and 22 candidates were elected for a 4-year term (1911 to 1915): they included 53 Armenians (54.63 %); 19 Georgians (19.58 %) as well as 25 Russians and representatives of other nationalities.[113]

In 1917 120 deputies were elected to the City Council: 48 Armenians (40.0 %); 39 Georgians (32.5 %); 27 Russians (22.5 %); 4 Muslims and 2 Jews.[114]

106 **Tumanov**, 1902, p. 16.
107 Caucasian Calendar for 1898, p. 125. Also see *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), pp. 18-20.
108 Кавказский календарь на 1900 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1900] (Tiflis, 1899), pp. 138-139.
109 Кавказский календарь на 1901 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1901] (Tiflis, 1900), pp. 149-150.
110 Кавказский календарь на 1903 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1903] (Tiflis, 1902), pp. 149-150.
111 *Murj*, no. 11, 1902, p. 189.
112 *Zakavkaziye*, 14 July 1907.
113 Известия Тифлисской городской думы [*Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*], no. 12 (1911), p. 22.
114 «Համբաւաբեր» [*Hambavaber*], no. 30, 1917, p. 607.

Below follows a table showing the staff of the Municipal Government during the aforementioned period:

Year	Mayor	Government Members						
		Deputy Mayor	Members	Secretary of the Adm. (also Duma)	Clerks of the Government	Accountant General	Treasurer	City Lawyer
1903[115]	N. B. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* (re-elected 24.02.1903)	M. S. Shestakov (until 13.10.1903)	Chairman: N. V. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, members: T. H. Enfiajiants, V. N. Cherkezov, N. P. Kockchayev	V. L. Weimann	N. F. Arvanitaky, I. H. Saatsazov, P. M. Yakimov, A. K. Arvaniants	T. G. Yermishiants, assistant: A. Gh. Kharaziants	S. G. Aramiants	I. S. Ter-Stepaniants, assistant: G. Z. Kananiants
1904[116]	N. B. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* (until 03.05.1904), Ch. A. Vermishiants (from 11.10.1904)	V. N. Cherkezov (from 22.03.1904)	Chairman: V. N. Cherkezov, members: T. H. Enfiajiants, V. N. Cherkezov, N. P. Kockchayev, N. Ye. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* (from 03.02.1904)		Gh. A. Ter-Minassiants, I. H. Saatsazov, P. M. Yakimov, A. K. Arvaniants	T. G. Yermishiants, assistant: A. Gh. Kharaziants	S. G. Aramiants	I. S. Ter-Stepaniants, assistant: G. Z. Kananiants
1905[117]	Ch. A. Vermishiants (until 14.09.1905)	V. N. Cherkezov (until 29.10.1907)	T. H. Enfiajiants, N. P. Kockchayev, N. Ye. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	F. I. Bek	Gh. A. Ter-Minassiants, I. H. Saatsazov, P. M. Yakimov, A. K. Arvaniants	T. G. Yermishiants, assistant: A. Gh. Kharaziants	S. G. Aramiants	
1908[118]	V. N. Cherkezov (from 29.10.1907)	A. H. Khatissiants (from 07. 01. 1908)	N. P. Kockchayev, A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, N. Ye. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* (re-elected 10.03.1908)	F. I. Bek		T. G. Yermishiants, assistant: G. M. Otiants	S. G. Aramiants	
1909[119]	V. N. Cherkezov (until 14.07.1910)	A. H. Khatissiants (until 15.11.1910)	N. P. Kockchayev (re-elected 21.12.1909), A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, N. Ye. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	S. A. Dandouriants		T. G. Yermishiant, assistant: G. M. Otiants	S. G. Aramiants	
1912[120]	A. H. Khatissiants (20.09.1910)		M. N. Atabekiants, A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, N. Ye. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, G. D. Zhuruli (from 31.01.1911)	S. A. Dandouriants		A. M. Botshik, assistant: G. M. Otiants, G. I. Karev	S. G. Aramiants	
1915[121]	A. H. Khatissiants		A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, M. N. Atabekiants, G. D. Zhuruli, M. A. Jabar	S. A. Dandouriants		A. M. Botshik, assistant: G. M. Otiants, Y. F. Janaghov	S. G. Aramiants	

115 Кавказский календарь на 1904 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1904] (Tiflis, 1903), pp. 153-154.
116 Кавказский календарь на 1905 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1905] (Tiflis, 1904), pp. 153-154. Also see *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), ibid.
117 Кавказский календарь на 1906 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1906] (Tiflis, 1905), p. 111.
118 Кавказский календарь на 1909 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1909] (Tiflis, 1908), p. 60.
119 Кавказский календарь на 1910 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1910] (Tiflis, 1909), p. 62.
120 Кавказский календарь на 1913 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1913] (Tiflis, 1912), p. 97.
121 Кавказский календарь на 1916 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1916] (Tiflis, 1915), pp. 127-128.

Thousands of archive documents relating to the history of the development of Tiflis attest that both after the adoption of the Statutes of Public Governance in 1840 and after the establishment of autonomy in 1875, the main objective of the Municipal Government was the prosperity of the city, in spite of the fact that this body was almost always headed by an Armenian mayor and constantly consisted of Armenian deputies forming either an overwhelming or relative majority there. That the welfare of the city was a priority for them is also proved by the large amounts of money that some mayors and deputies bequeathed to the City Council. It should be mentioned, however, that the vast majority of these statesmen who were selflessly devoted to the problems of the city never touched upon any national issues and always acted as merely administrative officials. Taking into account this fact, the correspondent of the *Hovit* wrote the following in 1914, referring to the mayoralty of Cherkezov: "Did the Armenians suffer any harm during Cherkezov's mayoralty? No, they did not. After all, what does the Municipal Government have to do with the nation? National and municipal interests are completely different. To me, a school and a bath-house in the remotest small Armenian village are far more important than all the Armenian members of the Municipal Government of Tiflis and their deputies."[122]

Yes, the Armenian mayors and deputies who had become alienated from their national roots in consequence of having been educated at state (Russian) schools and gymnasia had been deprived of the chance of self-cognition and were unable to support their nation and be helpful to their compatriots. According to the contemporary press, they did not belong to their nation any longer.

As far as the economic conditions of the Municipal Government are concerned, it faced grave financial problems from 1840 onwards. In 1907 the picture was as follows: "At present the city is deeply in debts; the Municipal Treasury is completely devoid of any means; a great number of employees, including teachers of colleges who intended to go somewhere for their summer holidays after hard work, keep standing in queues in front of the House of the Municipal Government for days and weeks to get their salaries, but they always return with nothing since the municipal budget is completely empty."[123]

It is also reported that some deputies failed to fulfill their duties properly: "It is hardly possible to assemble even 40 of the 80 deputies of the city to convene a session; as a result, the sittings are cancelled for months and the existing problems are not properly considered and settled."[124]

In 1917, when Al. Khatissiants, the last Armenian mayor in the centuries-old history of Tiflis, resigned from office, and particularly, when the Transcaucasian republics acquired independence (1918), a completely new era commenced in the history of the mayors of Tiflis and the deputies of the City Council. In 1919 the mayoralty of the city was held by M. Atabekian.[125] Until the 1960s, the post of deputy mayor was often occupied by an Armenian, but on the whole, Tiflis-Tbilisi has been governed by exclusively Georgian mayors since 1921.

Vahan Hovhannissian, a member of the Mekhitarist Congregation who visited Tbilisi in 1960, wrote the following about the city, which had undergone some changes during the 40 years of the Soviet reign: "There were very few recently-erected buildings: as the residence of the Vice-Roy of Caucasia, it [the city] had magnificent palaces, avenues and alleys. The Georgians are well-aware of the fact that Tiflis was built by the Armenians. When Russia took control of it in 1801, it was just a large village. Thanks to Armenian immigrants, namely the meliks of Syunik, a certain Mantashian, a certain Aramiants and other wealthy Armenians, Georgia acquired its beautiful Tiflis, while the Georgians decorated it with attractive *kintos*."[126]

The Contemporary Georgian Press about the Mayors of Tiflis-Tbilisi. In recent years, the Georgian press has frequently raised issues relating to the history of the mayors of Tiflis-Tbilisi.[127] Apparently, lacking knowledge of the subject, the authors of different articles—either journalists or historians—have actually made extraordinary mistakes and falsifications. Thus, the historian J. Amiranashvili, who has at his disposal only an incomplete and casually-made list of mayors known to have governed the city between 1849 and 1917, presents it as "an eloquent archive record," without having previously inquired further into the issue from a professional point of view. If he had had a professional approach to the issue, he would have compared the "record" with at least several other relevant archive documents before publishing it. By doing so, he would have certainly found out

122 «Հովիտ» [*Hovit*], no. 18, 1914, p. 284.

123 Ibid., no. 20, 1907, p. 309.

124 Ibid., no. 23, 1907, p. 355.

125 «Տարազ» [*Taraz*], no. 7 (1919), p. 50.

126 **Յովհաննիսեան Վ.**, Ինչպէս տեսայ Հայաստանը [**V. Hovhannessian**, "Armenia as I Saw It"], «Բազմավէպ» [*Bazmavep*] (1961), pp. 217-218. A *kinto* was a trader or an unemployed person mostly occupied in entertaining others in *dukans* (restaurants) popular in Tiflis between the 19th and early 20th centuries. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kinto

127 See **ჯინჯარაძე გ.**, რამ დაგვამხო ქართველობა? [**G. Jinjaradze**, "What Undermined Georgia?"], "შანსი" [*Shansi*], no. 1, 2000; **ამირანაშვილი ჯ.**, მრავლისმეტყველი საარქივო ცნობა [**J. Amiranashvili**, "An Eloquent Archive Document"], "ასავალ დასავალი" [*Asaval Dasavali*], no. 36, 13-19 December 2000; "ასავალ დასავალი" [*Asaval Dasavali*], no. 10, 5-11 March 2001.

that by 1849 (from 1840) Tiflis had already had 4 mayors: H. Izmiriants, S. Khatissiants, M. Ter-Grigoriants and H. Shadiniants. J. Amiranashvili deliberately omits the names of 8 Armenian mayors (S. Sarajev, S. Abisoghomiants, Ye. Pridoniants, G. Shermazaniants, Yaz. Tumaniants, A. Ghorghaniants, Al. Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed*), Ch. Vermishiants) from the list, adding to it a certain Mikheil Sergo Shestakov and Tigran Ambartsum Enkitsiants (is this how Amiranashvili perceived the surname Enfiajiants?), who were never elected to the post of mayor. Moreover, he does not mention the Georgian mayor Vasili Cherkezov's name, regretting that there was only one Georgian mayor in the history of the mayors of Tiflis (until 1917), Dmitri Ghipiani.

There is a much more incomplete list of mayors—by a certain Giorgi Jinjaradze—who allegedly governed Tiflis during the same period (1849 to 1917),[128] but we find it pointless to make any comments on it.

As for the list of exclusively Georgian mayors who held office from 1921 to 1998,[129] Amiranashvili thinks that the Georgians owe it to the "saving" October Revolution.[130]

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128 **Jinjaradze**, ibid.

129 According to J. Amiranashvili, the following people held the mayoralty of Tiflis between 1921 and 1998: 1921 - Silibistro Essi Todria, 1921 - Alexandre Alexandre Gegejkori, 1921 - Levan David Ghoghoberidze; 1922 - Vladimer Elizbar Dumbadze; 1923 - Vladimer Pavle Sukhishvili; 1928 - Ivane Bezhan Bolkvadze; 1930 - Pavle Giorgi Meladze; 1931 - Bagrat Timothy Machaidze; 1934 - Valerian Minas Bakradze; 1934 - Simon Pilat Jugheli; 1935 - Mikheil Tripon Nioradze; 1937 - Kote Dimitri Bujiashvili; 1937 - Mikheil Mikheil Gvishiani; 1938 - Ioseb Dimitri Kojlamazashvili; 1943 - Giorgi Alexandre Gochashvili; 1949 - Mikheil Mikheil Lelashvili; 1951 - Giorgi Nikopor Zambakhidze; 1952 - Givi Dimitri Javakhishvili; 1953 - Giorgi Andreas Gegeshidze; 1953 - Mekheil Kondrat Maghradze; 1956 - Alexandre Erast Meladze; 1965 - Shota Eprem Bukhrashvili; 1973 - Tamazi Basarion Janelidze; 1973 - Bakhva Tedore Lobzhanidze; 1979 - Gurami Dimitri Gabunia; 1982 - Boris Erast Saralidze; 1984 - Zaur Shio Meskhishvili; 1987 - Irakli Onissim Andriadze; 1991 - Tamaz Mikheil Vashadze; 1992 - Otar Anton Litanishvili; 1993 - Constantine Vladimer Gabashvili; 1993 - Nikoloz Mikheil Lekishvili; 1995 - Badri Shalva Shoshitaishvili and 1998 - Ivane Ivane Zodelava (**Amiranashvili**, ibid).

130 Ibid.

THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS BETWEEN THE 12th AND 13th CENTURIES

VASAK ARTSRUNY

Under the reign of Georgian kings Demetre (1125 to 1156) and David (1156), the mayoralty of Tiflis was held by Prince Vasak, the son of Vahram from Mahkanaberd's noble family of the Artsrunies. He enjoyed the favour of King David, a fact which aroused the envy of some Georgian princes and they poisoned this monarch out of spite: "And when Georgian king Demetre died, he was succeeded by his son David, a good-natured person who was particularly benevolent towards the Armenian princes under his reign. He greatly honoured the *shahap* of Tiflis, Vasak, the son of Prince Vahram, and his brothers Kurd and Sargis, being so benevolent to them that he even sent for Kyurike, King David Bagratuny's son, and promised to return the legacy of which he had been stripped under the reign of his ancestors. He sent him gifts and fixed a day for their meeting (he also wanted to find out the truth about their religion, thus honouring Orthodoxy). Learning about his wish, the Georgian princes, particularly the Orbelians, were imbued with great envy and poisoned King David. And Armenia and Georgia went into deep, long-lasting mourning, the late king being succeeded by his brother Giorgi."[131]

Unfortunately, King Giorgi (1156 to 1184), who succeeded David, aggravated the atmosphere of mistrust under the influence of different rumours, and this made Vasak leave Tiflis: "When Giorgi became king, he wanted to imprison Prince Vasak, being imbued with spite towards him due to the fact that he did not honour him the way he had treated his brother David during his mayoralty, and did not serve him. Vasak was also slandered by other Georgian princes so that he had to flee to Teodupolis, the contemporary city of Karin, together with his brothers. And the governor, whose name was Saltukh, received him with great honours and gave him a hearty welcome. And Saltukh was captured by the Georgian troops during the siege of Ani City, being taken to King Demetre in Tiflis: Vasak had rendered him a lot of services, so he was honoured with gifts and given many villages. And when Vasak died, he was buried in a church called Astvatsatsin [Holy Virgin]."[132]



Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Karin (Western Armenia), in the yard of which Vasak Artsruny was buried

KURD ARTSRUNY

Kurd Artsruny succeeded his brother Vasak Artsruny: "Vasak and Kurd had close ties with the Georgian court and succeeded each other in the post of mayor of Tiflis."[133]

One of the earliest records which bears reference to the name of Emir (Governor) Kurd is a three-line inscription dating as far back as 1176 (it is preserved on the wooden door of the monastery of Sevan Island).[134]

131 Հայապատում. պատմիչք եւ պատմութիւնք Հայոց յօրինեալ եւ հաւաքեալ ի **Հ. Դաւնդեայ վ. Մ. Ալիշան** [Hayapatum (Armenian History): Armenian Historiographers and History Written and Compiled by **Father Gh. Alishan**] (San Lazzaro, Venice, 1901), p. 389. Also see **Աճառյան Հ.**, Հայոց անձնանունների բառարան [**H. Ajarian**, Dictionary of Armenian Personal Names], vol. 5 (Yerevan, 1962), p. 51: "Vasak, the son of Prince Vahram and the brother of Sargis and Kurd, was the shahap or mayor of Tiflis. As Georgian king David liked him very much, the Georgian princes who were imbued with envy slandered him before King Giorgi. Together with his brothers, Vasak fled to Karin, where Governor Saltukh gave him a warm welcome since he had done him a lot of favour while he was held captive in the Georgians' hands in Tiflis. Saltukh gave Vasak power over many villages and he ruled there for a few years, until the time of his death came."

132 **Alishan**, pp. 389-390.

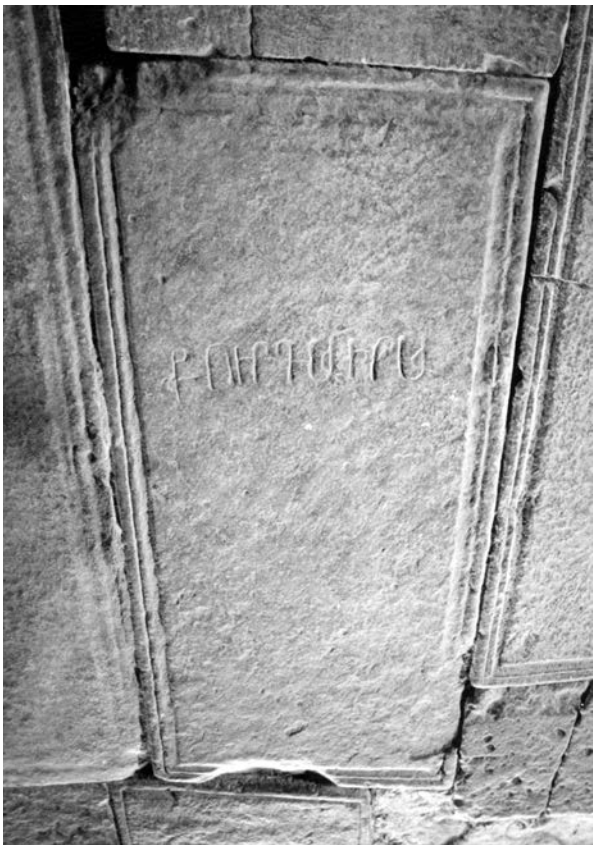
133 **Շահնազարյան Ա.**, Վահրամյանների իշխանությունը [**A. Shahnazarian**, The Vahramians' Principality] (Yerevan, 1990), p. 41.

134 The inscription reads: «*Ի թվ(ին) հայոց ՈՒԵ (1176) ծորոգեցաւ դուռն ս(ուր)բ | եկեղեցոյս հրամանաւ իշխանաց իշխան*

Apart from performing the duties of mayor, Kurd Artsruny also focused his activities on issues of state importance, such as, for instance, the defence of the country. In 1178 on the order of the Georgian king, the head of Tiflis (described as a great city)[135] chased the armed group of the princes Orbely up to his native province of Mahkanaberd: "The mayor of Tiflis, Kurd, reached the ravine on his way to his native province called Mahkanaberd."[136]

In 1181 the belfry of Sourb Amenaprkich (Holy Saviour) Church of Sanahin was reconstructed under the governance of Kurd.[137]

An undated inscription which presumably bears reference to the period before 1184 also mentions Governor Kurd, who interceded with Georgian king Giorgi III and exempted the monastery from taxes.[138]



Kurd Artsruny's tombstone in the gavit (narthex) of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church of Haghpat Monastery, Lori Region, RA

Governor Kurd's name is also found in an inscription (1197) commemorating the consecration of Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Nor Getik (Goshavank) Monastery: it says that a two-hour service was performed in the sanctuary in honour of Arzukhatun's father Kurd.[139]

Governor Kurd is also mentioned in the construction inscription of the main domed church of Dadivank Monastery (Karvajar District, Republic of Artsakh) built by his daughter Arzukhatun in 1214:

... I, Arzu Khatun ... the daughter of great prince of princes Kurd ...[140]

Governor Kurd, who presumably died in the late 1180s or in the early 1190s, was buried in the gavit

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Քրդին եւ / ձեռամբ Յոհաննիսի հիւսանն, որք ընթեռնոյք յիշեսջիք» (transl.: *On the order of Prince of Princes Kurd, the door of the holy church was repaired by carpenter Hovhannes in the year 625* [1176] *of the Armenian calendar. May those who read it remember* [them]). Հայերեն արձանագրությամբ առարկաներ, աշխատասիրությամբ **Եվ. Մուշեղյանի** [**Yev. Musheghian**, Objects with Armenian Inscriptions] (Yerevan, 1964), p. 60.

135 Ե-ԺԲ դարերի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ [Colophons of the Armenian Manuscripts of the 5th to 12th Centuries] (Yerevan, 1988), p. 224.

136 Ibid. Another record states: "On the order of Giorgi, the mayor of Tbilisi, Emir Kurd Artsruny, chased Liparit's group, reached them in the province of Mahkanaberd and made the rebels run away, blocking their way in the ravine" (**Մարգարյան Հ.**, Հյուսիսային Հայաստանի և Վրաստանի ԺԲ դարի պատմության մի քանի հարցեր [**H. Margarian**, Some Issues of the 12th-Century History of Northern Armenia and Georgia] (Yerevan, 1980), p. 187).
Also see **Հակոբյան Վ.**, Դավիթ Քոբայրեցու հիշատակարանը, «ՀՍՍՌ ԳԱ Տեղեկագիր Հասարակական գիտությունների» [**V. Hakobian**, "The Colophon of David Kobayretsy," *Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR: Social Sciences*], no. 8 (1952), p. 120.

137 **Ղաֆադարյան Կ.**, Սանահնի վանքը և նրա արձանագրությունները [**K. Ghafadarian**, Sanahin Monastery and Its Inscriptions] (Yerevan, 1957), p. 104. The inscription commemorating this event reads (transl. from Arm.): *1181. Under the reign of the victorious king Gevorg, when the Amirspasalar was Sargis with his sons Zakare and Ivane, and when the Governor was Kurd, I, Hovhannes, the prior of the holy monastery, rebuilt the church with the help of Governor Kurd, great Archimandrite Grigor and Jesus Christ.*

138 Դիվան հայ վիմագրության [A Corpus of Armenian Inscriptions], vol. 6 (Yerevan, 1977), p. 139 (the verification of the chronology of the lapidary inscriptions by S. Avagian). See **Ա-վագյան Ս.**, Վիմագրական պրպտումներ [**S. Avagian**, Search for Lapidary Records] (Yerevan, 1986), pp. 81-82. The first inscription is engraved on the western side of the northern cross wing of the church: «*Կամաւն Այ. և ողորմութբ. թագաւորին Գիաւրգէ ես՝ Ամիր Քուրդս առի գիր ազատութե. ի թագ-[աւորէ] Սբ. Ածածնիս. Մորո ձոր[ո] հաւրն Յովանիսի...*» (transl.: *By God's will and by the mercy of King Giorgi, I, Governor Kurd, received a letter of exemption from the king for the prior of Sourb Astvatsatsin Monastery of the Moro Ravine, Father Hovhannes...*). The second is on the eastern side of the same wing: «*Ամուամբ ամենակալին Այ., ես՝ Գիաւրգի թագաւորաց թագ[աւոր] եւոու զՄորո ձորո վանքս հաւրն Յովանիսի և արարի ազատ յամենայն հարկէ, Ամիր Քրդին հոգցողու-[եամ]բ...*» (transl.: *In the name of Almighty God, I, great king Giorgi, gave the monastery of Morodzor to Father Hovhannes and exempted it from any kind of tribute with the efforts of Governor Kurd...*).

139 Ibid., p. 65. The Armenian inscription reads: «*...Ը: (2) հաւր Արզուխաթունի՝ Քրդին բարեպաշտին, ամխափան...*».

140 The original reads: «*...Ես՝ Արզու Խաթունս,... դուստր մեծի իշխանաց իշխանին՝ Քրդին...*». See the whole inscription in: **S. Karapetian**, Armenian Cultural Monuments in the Region of Karabakh (Yerevan, 2001), pp. 99, 101.

(narthex) built in front of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church of Haghpat Monastery from the west. His simple rectangular tombstone bears the following undated inscription: «*Քուրդ ամիրա*» (transl.: *Emir Kurd*).[141]

Among the descendants of Kurd Artsruny are his son Sadun I, his grandson Sherbarok, the latter's son and daughter, Sadun II[142] and Arzu-Khatun, the wife of Prince Vakhtang II of Khachen, as well as other famous historical personalities.[143]

SHADIN (BADIN)

During the period of the revolt against the Mongols (1259 to 1260), when Georgia was ruled by David E. Ulun (1247 to 1270), Giorgi Lasha's son, and David Z. Narin (1230 to 1293), Rusudan's son, an Armenian named Shadin or Badin was the governor of Tiflis: "[When Arghun] entered Tiflis, he was welcomed by all the noblemen and princes of Georgia, including a certain Badin, who was of Armenian origin."[144]

141 **Ղաֆադարյան Կ.**, Հաղբատ [**K. Ghafadarian**, Haghbat] (Yerevan, 1963), p. 188.

142 **Հովսեփյան Գ.**, Նյութեր և ուսումնասիրություններ հայ արվեստի պատմության [**G. Hovsepian**, Materials and Studies on the History of Armenian Art], vol. 2 (Yerevan, 1987), p. 69.

143 **Մարգարյան Հ.**, Մահկանաբերդցիների (Սադունեանների) իշխանական տունը ԺԲ-ԺԴ դարերում [**H. Margarian**, "The Princely House of Mahkanaberd (the Sadunians) between the 12th and 14th Centuries"], «Հայկազեան Հայագիտական Հանդէս» [*Haykazian Armenological Journal*], vol. 18 (Beirut, 1998), p. 33.

144 **Մելիքսեթ-Բեկ Լ.**, Վրաց աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին [**L. Melikset-Bek**, Georgian Sources about Armenia and Armenians], vol. 2 (Yerevan, 1936), p. 59. Cf.: "They entered Tiflis, where all the princes and eristavs of Georgia met a certain Armenian named Shadin: Tiflis as well as the entire kingdom was left under his charge" («Վրաց ժամանակագրություն» [Georgian Chronicles]. Translated from Old Georgian into Armenian with an introduction and notes by **P. Muradian** (Yerevan, 1971), p. 117).

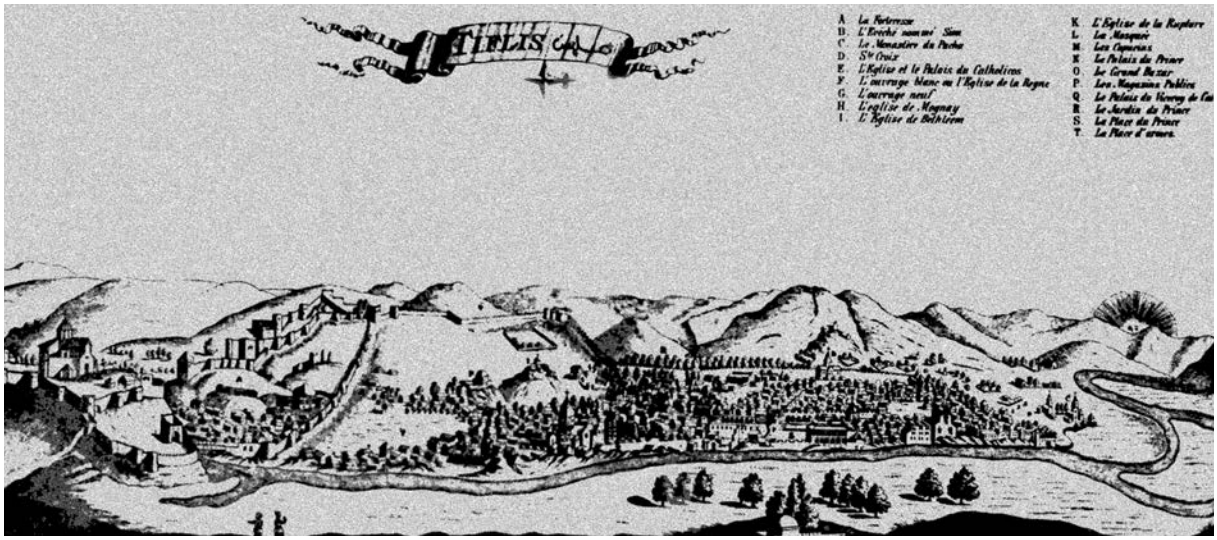
THE BEHBUDIAN MAYORS OF TIFLIS BETWEEN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

MELIK ENAL

According to a number of archive documents on the estates and purchase deeds of Tiflis, Enal occupied the position of melik from 1646 until 1673,[145] but he held office at intervals. It is particularly known that in 1650 Melik Bayandur assumed this post, which was also occupied by Khoja Melik Behbud (the latter is known to have died in 1662).

It can be neither confirmed nor denied that Melik Enal came from the Behbudians' family as there are no records to prove this.

As far as Melik Enal's genealogy is concerned, of great value is an archive document on his grandsons' argument (considered to have taken place in 1717 to 1719) over their legacy, a bath-house and its water. It bears reference to his sons Rostom and Kaykhosro (the latter was the headman's assistant in 1701 to 1714) as well as the former's son Daniel and those of the latter, Karapet, Baghi, Joseph and Gevorg.[147]



Tiflis during Melik Enal's mayoralty (photo by Jean Chardin, 1673)

During the mayoralty of Melik Enal, the mamasakhlis was Aslamaz, whose assistants (*natsvals*) were Shermazan (1646 to 1658) and David (1666 to 1678).[146]

MELIK BAYANDUR

As reported by Zakaria Kanakertsy, beginning from 1650, the melik of Tiflis was Bayandur, who had been appointed mayor by Persian Shah Abbas Junior (1642 to 1666): "Hearing about this, King Sany Abbas, namely Shah-Abbas Junior, called Bayandur and gave him power over the city: this occurred in 1650."[148]

145 The dated archive documents trace back to 1646, 1648, 1658, 1659, 1666, 1672 and 1673. See დოკუმენტები თბილისის ისტორიისათვის (XVI-XIX სს.), წიგნი პირველი, შეადგინეს: **ნ. ბერძენიშვილმა** და **მ. ბერძენიშვილმა**, თბილისი, 1962 [**N. Berdzenishvili** and **M. Berdzenishvili**, comps., Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), book 1 (Tbilisi, 1962)], pp. 12-13, 14, 19, 21, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.

146 In 1667 Georgian king Vakhtang V Shahnavaz (1658 to 1675) issued a decree giving Shermazan Yevanguliants the title of melik ("Вечерний Тбилиси," [*Vecherni Tbilisi*], no. 135, 22 October 1958).

147 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), pp. 112-113.

148 **Զաքարեայ սարկավագի** Պատմագրութիւն [Historiography by **Deacon Zakaria**] (Vagharshapat, 1870), p. 98.

Apparently, the year when Bayandur was appointed melik of the city (1650) overlaps Melik Enal's term of office, 1646 to 1673, a fact proving that the latter held his post at intervals.

The available scanty sources do not provide any grounds to affirm or deny that Melik Bayandur came from the Behbudians' family, but the fact that his successors were the representatives of this princely house gives reasons to suppose that he was one of its members.

In 1655 Khoja Behbud built Tsiranavor Sourb Astvatsatsin Church,[151] which was later called *Khojivank* (*Khoja's Monastery*) after its founder.

Khoja Behbud donated 3 shops situated in Tiflis to Holy Echmiatsin: "The three shops given by Khoja Behbud provided sustenance for Holy Echmiatsin."[152]

As can be seen, the information provided above does not contain the slightest hint that Khoja Behbud ever held the post of melik of Tiflis. He is mentioned under this title only in a record of his death: "On 7 July



A view of Khojivank Monastery from the south-west; its Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church on the eve of its destruction in 1935; the funerary hall adjoining the church in the west, and the Behbudians' tombstones; the construction inscription of Khojivank Church (1655)

MELIK KHOJA BEHBUD

Melik Khoja Behbud's brother was Khaty; his wife's name was Laly, and his sons were Aslan and Ashkharbek.

One of the first records mentioning Khoja Behbud dates back to 1651: "On 18 July, I, Zakaria, came to Tvlis: the head of the bank of Tvlis was Rstamkhan and the treasurer was Khoja Behbud."[149]

In 1654 the king of Kartli, Rostom (1638 to 1658), met Khoja Behbud's request to build a church in the Behbudians' family cemetery, to plant a park near it and construct a canal on the slope of Mount Makhat.[150]

1662 [350 of the Georgian Chronicon], Khoja Melik Bebout (Bebouda) died."[153]

No sources exist as to when and who entitled the khoja to hold the post of melik, but apparently, this occurred in the last years of his life.

MELIK ASHKHARBEK

Melik Ashkharbek was Khoja Behbud's son and the brother of Aslan, who is known to have donated 3

149 **Զաքարիա Աղուլեցու** օրագրությունը [The Diary of **Zakaria Aguletsy**] (Yerevan, 1938), p. 37.

150 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), p. 17.

151 See the decipherment of the inscription in: **П. Мурадян,** Армянская эпиграфика Грузии: Тбилиси [**P. Muradian**, The Armenian Epigraphy of Georgia: Tbilisi] (Yerevan, 1988), p. 96.

152 «Գալվածագրեր», կազմեց՝ **Աբրահամյան Հ.** [Purchase Deeds. Compiled by **H. Abrahamian**] (Yerevan, 1941), p. 130.

153 **Melikset-Bek**, vol. 3, p. 169.

shops located in Tiflis to the monastery of Holy Echmiatsin in 1664. Melik Ashkharbek himself made a similar donation, which is attested by Catholicos Simeon (1763 to 1780): "In 1664 Khoja Behbud's son Aslan gave these three shops to the Holy See led by Catholicos Hakob of Jugha.[154] The documents of donation were in Georgian. The Holy See also owns another shop situated on the way to Norashen, in Yashpaz-Khan Street. On the right of it, Gharan's shop is located, while on the left, that of Apov can be seen: this shop was given to the Holy See by Melik Ashkhal[r]bek, who is the same Aslan's brother."[155]

Most presumably, Ashkharbek assumed the post of melik after his father Melik Behbud's death in 1662, but it remains unknown when his term of office ended. He was succeeded by Melik Amir, who ruled the city in the late 17th century.

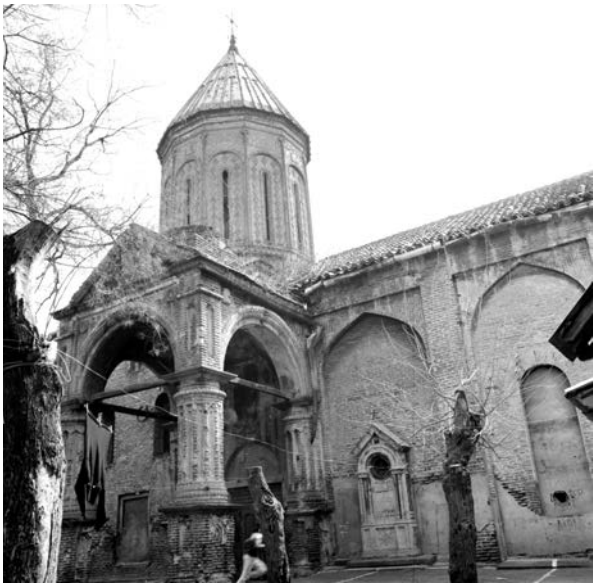
MELIK AVTANDIL

The earliest written sources mentioning Melik Avtandil date back to 1678, but the archive documents on the estates and commercial affairs of the city refer to him prior to 1698.[156] Presumably, he was one of Melik Enal's sons. During his mayoralty, the headmen were Nazar (1678), Giorgi (1683 to 1694) and Pap (1696, 1698), with David (1678) and Gaspar (1683) as their assistants.

MELIK AMIR BEHBUDIANTS

The available biographical data about Mamasakhlis and Melik Amir Behbudiants are very scanty. It is known that he lived in the second half of the 17th century and supervised the construction of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church: "This church was built with the means of Mokalak, Mamasakhlis Amir. Zurab Melikov is one of the representatives of his family."[157]

Amir's son Aslamaz participated in the construction of this church, too: "Headman Amir and his son, Headman Aslamaz, built the church of Sourb Nshan Sourb Nikoghayosi [Holy Sign of St. Nicholas] together with its belfry."[158]



Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church built by Melik Amir Behbudian and his son Aslamaz (photo 1989)

A decree issued in 1677 mentions a bath-house belonging to the Behbudians[159]: it was one of the estates inherited by the descendants of the Behbudians' family: "Behbud's (also known as *Melik's*) bath-house belonged to Prince Darchi Behbudov, who was the melik of the city under the reign of the last king."[160]

ASLAMAZ AMIRIAN BEHBUDIANTS

Headman Aslamaz, who lived between the 17th and 18th centuries, participated in the preliminary reconstruction of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church together with his father.[161] Afterwards "Headman Aslamaz and his wife Shahruban repaired the church again."[162]

GIORGI ASLAMAZIAN BEHBUDIANTS

Giorgi Behbudiants' date of birth is unknown. The available records mention him in the post of melik of the city from 1699 until 1711.[163] During this period, the headmen were Pap (1696 to 1706, 1712) and Parsadan (1705 to 1712, 1714), whose assistant was Kaykhosro (1701 to 1714).

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154 The Catholicos of All Armenians from 1655 until 1680.

155 Ջամբռ համաժողովեցեալ եւ շարադրեցեալ ի **Սիմէօնէ կաթուղիկոսէ Երեւանցւոյ** [*Jambr* (a work on the history and estates of the Holy See of Echmiatsin, the Armenian Patriarchs, as well as on the Catholicosates of Aghtamar, Caucasian Albania and Cilicia) Compiled and Written by **Catholicos Simeon Yerevantsy**] (Vagharshapat, 1873), pp. 207-208.

156 The dated archive documents trace back to 1678, 1683, 1684, 1686, 1694 and 1696. See Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), pp. 32, 38, 41, 42, 44, 53, 57. Some of them also date from 1698 (**Մարտիրոսյան Վ.**, Վրաց իրավունքի հուշարձանները վիրահայության մասին [**V. Martirossian**, "Georgian Legal Documents on Georgian Armenians"], «Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների» [*Messenger of Social Sciences*], no. 5 (1991), pp. 158-159).

157 **Melikset-Bek**, vol. 3, p. 267.

158 National Archives of Armenia, fund 332, list 1, file 102, p. 8.

159 **Bakradze**, **Berzenov**, 1870, p. 117.

160 Ibid., p. 118 (the original reads: "...баня Бебута (Мелика – то же, ибо позднейший владелец ея кн. Дарчи Бебутов, при последнем царе был городским меликом").

161 National Archives of Armenia, fund 332, list 1, file 102, p. 8.

162 Ibid.

163 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), pp. 59-62, 65, 67, 70-72, 75, 77, 80, 85, 86, 88.



Tiflis under Melik Giorgi's rule (photo by J. Tournefort, 1701)



An inscription mentioning Melik Zurab: engraved on the southern entrance of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church

In 1703 Giorgi Behbudiants reconstructed Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church built by his father and grandfather. He, however, did not live to see its consecration (1711): "In 1703 Melik Giorgi rebuilt Sourb Nshan from its very foundations, by enlarging it as a fine, arched construction. In 1741[164] the church was blessed, and a religious service was conducted there, but Melik Giorgi had died earlier that year."[165]

Melik Giorgi initiated certain improvements in the vicinity of Sourb Nshan Church: "Headman Giorgi had the church walls moved back."[166]

In 1709 the melik was mentioned among the signatories to an agreement envisaging the buying back of 3 shops in Tiflis that belonged to Echmiatsin.[167]

Giorgi Behbudiants' wife was Khampervan; his sons were Zurab and Pap.[168]

ZURAB GIORGIAN BEHBUDIANTS

Melik Zurab was the descendant of Amir, Aslamaz and Giorgi, who had been the headmen and meliks of Tiflis in the first half of the 17th century. There are only some scanty records on his biography and activities. He assumed the post of melik after his father's death (1711), in 1712,[169] and that of the headman after 1713 (1715[170] to 1732). However, a record dating from 1735 again speaks about him as the melik of the city. Melik Zurab's name is also mentioned in another source, which traces back to 1735 and bears reference to the advance of the Turkish army in the direction of Kars and Tabriz: "The melik of Tiflis is Zurab Giorgi, an Armenian from Georgia."[171]

Zurab Behbudiants died in 1742,[172] this being attested by an unknown Georgian chronicler: "In 1742 [430 of the Georgian Chronicon] Khan Imam-Ghuli ... killed Melik Zurab and his son Avtandil by beating them severely with a stick although they had not committed any crime."[173]

In 1833 Archpriest Hovhannes Zarapiants repaired the southern entrance of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church and engraved an inscription on the same facade, mentioning Melik Zurab's name and asking readers to remember him in their prayers.[174]

ASHKHARBEK BEHBUDIANTS

Ashkharbek, another melik of Tiflis, was Khoja Behbud's grandson and presumably, Melik Zurab's son or brother.

In 1712 Vakhtang VI and his wife Rusudan returned Ashkharbek the Behbudians' palace, which King Giorgi had seized from them and given to Elch Boughda Bek.[175]

In 1712 to 1713, when Zurab was melik of the city, Ashkharbek was the headman.[176] From 1714 until his

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164 The church reconstructed in 1703 could not have been consecrated in 1741. Besides, until 1741 the meliks of Tiflis were Giorgi's son Zurab, Ashkharbek II and Agha, who succeeded each other in that position; therefore, the year mentioned in the original, 1741, is an evident misprint and should be corrected as 1711.

165 National Archives of Armenia, fund 332, list 1, file 102, p. 8.

166 Ibid.

167 Purchase Deeds, p. 131.

168 Ibid.

169 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), p. 89.

170 A verdict made on 10 November 1715 mentions Zurab among the other witnesses: "We are witnesses to this before the Lord: ... Headman Zurab [the seal in Georgian: Headman Zurab]" **Martirossian**, "Georgian Legal Documents," p. 160.

171 Армяно-Русские отношения во втором тридцатилетии XVIII века [The Armenian-Russian Relations in the mid-18th Century] (a collection of documents), vol. 3 (Yerevan, 1978), p. 46 (the original reads: "...в Тифлисе меликом грузинский армянин Зураб Гиоргиев...").

172 **Думин Станислав, Князь Ю. Чиковани**, Князья царства Грузинского [**Stanislav Dumin**, **Prince Yuri Chikovani**, The Princes of the Georgian Kingdom], vol. 4 (Moscow, 1998), p. 132.

173 **Melikset-Bek**, vol. 3, p. 169.

174 **Muradian**, 1988, p. 70.

175 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), pp. 93-94.

176 Ibid., pp. 95, 97, 98, 100, 101.

tragic death in 1734, he also occupied the position of melik[177] and headman (1724 to 1728, 1733).[178]

Melik Ashkharbek was also mentioned in 1714 in connection with the ratification of an agreement concerning Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Norashen: "In 1650 Khoja Nazar built the church and handed it over to the late Melik Ashkharbek Behbudian by a permanent agreement: this was in the year 1714."[179]

In 1715 reference was made to Ashkharbek as one of the witnesses of a verdict passed on 10 November: "We are witnesses to this before the Lord: Melik Ashkharbek [the seal in Georgian: Melik Ashkharbek] and Headman Zurab [the seal in Georgian: Headman Zurab]."[180]

In 1717 Melik Ashkharbek commenced the construction of Kusanats (Virgins') Convent of Tiflis close to the Behbudians' palace: "Directly on a rock near the palace of the princes Behbudov stands a monastery adjoined by dwellings and cells for celibate monks. It was built in 1717 by Prince Ashkharbek Be[h]budov in memory of the holy martyr Stepanos the Archdeacon."[181]

However, the melik did not live to see the accomplishment of his undertaking: "Melik Ashkharbek failed to realise his idea: as a military figure, he was always engaged in the battles of the Georgians, Persians and Turks. He was killed during the Turkish invasion of 1724, without having achieved his goal."[182]

A decree issued by Vakhtang VI on 6 September 1722 and addressed to the population of Tiflis mentioned the governor and melik-headman of the city[183] without giving his name, but undoubtedly, the person referred to was Ashkharbek, for an archive document of April 1724 speaks about him as occupying the same post.[184]

Melik Ashkharbek Behbudiants' grandson Hovsep Behbudiants sheds some light on his grandfather's activities in a letter addressed to the Catholicos: "Perhaps, You have heard how much my grandfather Melik Ashkharbek cared about our people who were under



Kusanats Sourb Stepanos (Virgins' St. Stephen) Church before the construction of its dome in 1885

the reign of the Ottomans. He often kept them from repudiating Christianity, while many a Georgian king renounced the Lord. He also prevented the construction of mosques in the sites of many churches, and later died a tragic death, sacrificing himself and remaining loyal to his ideals."[185]

The details of Melik Ashkharbek's "tragic death" can be found in the Georgian chronicles: "Isad Pasha hanged the melik of Tiflis, Ashkharbek, on 10 September."[186]

Speaking about the melik's death, Abraham of Crete also mentions its date (1734): "Isak Pasha, had, without any reason, ordered the strangling of Ashkhal Bek, the melik of our people [the Armenians] in Tiflis. He had kept his corpse hanging on the [city] gate until he received 50,000 *kurus*, after which he had permitted the body to be buried."[187]

Ashkharbek's sons were Agha, Behbud, Stepan, Khaty and Khoja Zada. Agha assumed the post of melik by inheritance.

AGHA ASHKHARBEKIAN BEHBUDIANTS

Agha Ashkharbekian Behbudiants' birth date is unknown. The available written sources report that he became melik of Tiflis after the tragic murder of his father Ashkharbek (1734) and ruled the city at intervals until his death in 1768 (from 1746 until 1751, and between 1751 and 1760, this post was held by respectively Anton[188] and Sahak Shergilian[189]). Agha Behbu-

177 Ibid., pp. 104, 106, 110, 114, 117, 119, 121, 123, 126, 128, 158, 166.

178 Ibid., pp. 131, 132, 133, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150-151, 154, 161, 162, 164. Also see **Martirossian**, "Georgian Legal Documents," p. 162.

179 National Archives of Armenia, fund 332, list 1, file 102, p. 4.

180 **Martirossian**, "Georgian Legal Documents," p. 160.

181 **Melikset-Bek**, vol. 3, p. 269.

182 **Խուցեան Խ.**, Թիֆլիսի Ս. Ստեփանոս Կուսանաց անապատի պատմութիւնը [**Kh. Khutsian**, The History of Tiflis' Convent of St. Stepanos] (Tiflis, 1914), p. 15. It should be noted that the year 1724, when Melik Ashkharbek supposedly died, is not confirmed by any contemporary sources. The exact date of his death is 1734.

183 Ibid., p. 161.

184 Ibid., p. 162.

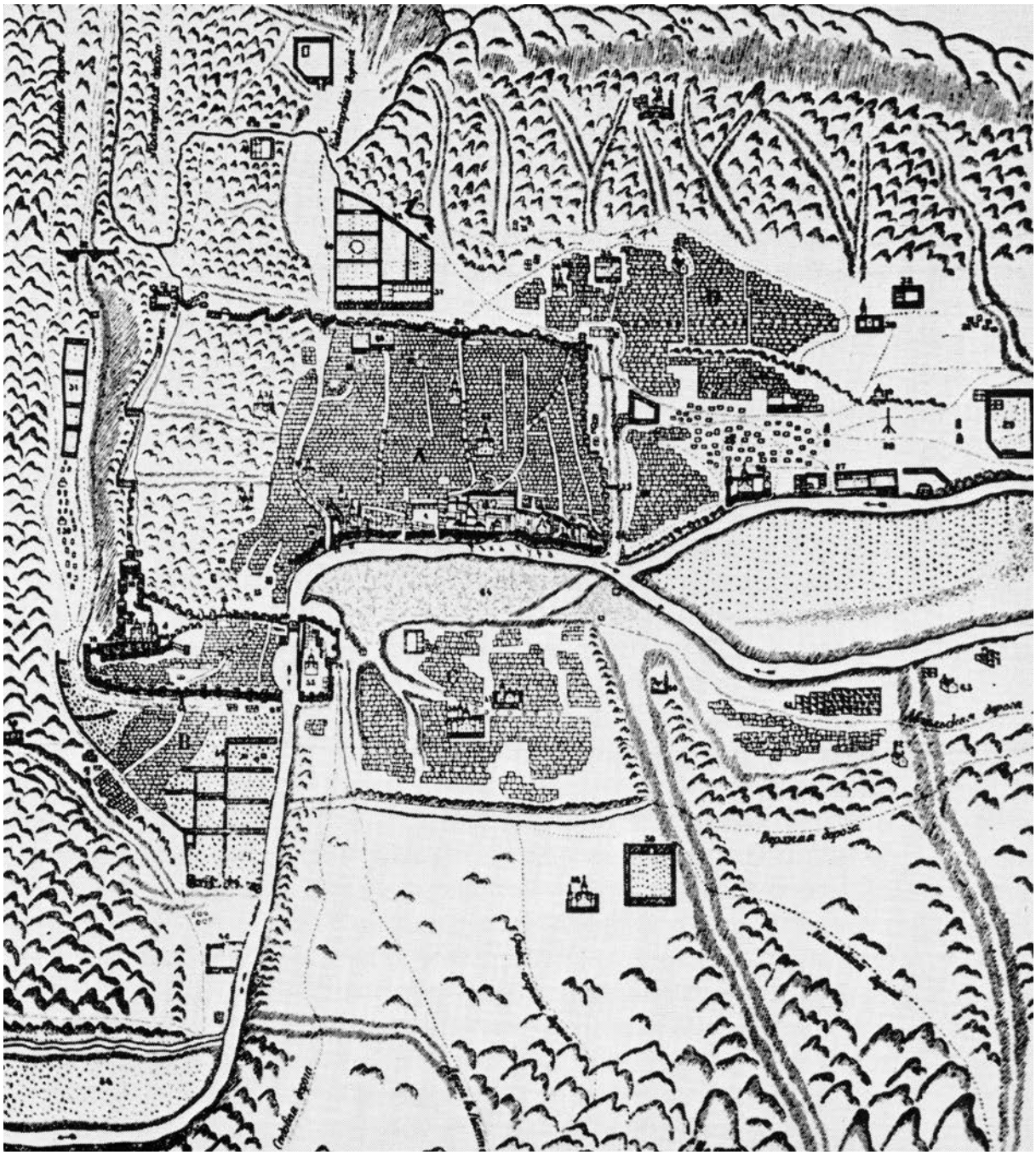
185 **Գեղամեանց Ե.**, Պատմական քաղուածներ [**Yegh. Geghamiants**, "Historical Excerpts"], «Հովիտ» [*Hovit*], no. 12, 1910, p. 182.

186 **Melikset-Bek**, ibid.

187 The Chronicle of **Abraham of Crete**. Annotated Translation from the Critical Text with Introduction and Commentary by George A. Bournoutian (Mazda Publishers, 1999), pp. 16-17.

188 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), pp. 204, 207, 216, 218, 221, 223, 229.

189 Ibid., pp. 231, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 244, 246, 249, 250, 252-254, 255, 258, 261, 263, 265, 266, 267, 269, 273, 274, 276, 278, 279, 281-282, 285-286.



The plan of Tiflis during Melik Agha Behbudiants' rule (graphical drawing by Vakhushty Bagrationy, 1735)

dian's name is found in a number of commercial and estate documents.[190]

Agha Behbudiants escorted Prince Heracle (Teymuraz II's son) to the court of Persian shah Nadir.[191]

In 1736 Catholicos Abraham of Crete mentioned the melik of Tiflis, Agha, among those present at his meeting with the Persian shah in Mughan: "I was invited by the son of Ashkhal Bek of Tiflis, whose name was Aqa [Bek], and who was the kalantar and melik of Tiflis and was born in those parts, to his tent to honor me."[192]

In 1737 to 1739, Agha Behbudiants participated in the Indian invasion of Shah Nadir and was awarded a sword decorated with diamonds for his bravery. His courage also earned him the honorary degree of *miskarbashy*.[193]

190 Ibid., pp. 169, 170, 172, 174, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 184, 185, 190, 191, 192, 194, 196, 197, 199, 201, 208, 210, 293, 298, 301, 304, 306, 308, 309, 311, 314, 316, 317, 320, 322.

191 **Abraham of Crete**, p. 84.

192 Ibid., p. 87.

193 Ibid.

According to the Georgian chronicler Papuna Orbeliany, Melik Agha headed the work for the fortification of Kars in 1744: "The Persian king recruited four hundred people from Tiflis who were led by the melik of the city, Agha: they reached Ghars, worked there a month and returned."[194]

On 16 July 1753, Georgian Kings Teymuraz II and Heracle II approved the list of the serfs belonging to Agha Behbudiants.[195]

In February 1758, Agha purchased the lands belonging to Ohanes Mangoyants' sons Petros, Hovsep, Stepan and Movses.[196] On 22 March 1766, Samadavle Papunashvili, David and their relative Zaza sold him part of their gardens situated on the territory extending from Okroghana to Tiflis.[197]

From the 1760s up to his death, Agha Behbudiants held the position of melik together with his son Avetik. In those years, he occupied the posts of melik and headman.[198]

Catholicos of All Armenians Simeon was in close correspondence with Agha Behbudiants, and some of his letters addressed to the melik have reached us. One of them is dated 1764 (*To Miskarbashy Melik Agha, Tiflis*)[199] and another 1766 (*Another letter to Miskarbashy, Mr. Agha Melik*).[200] In a letter written in 1766 the Catholicos urged Melik Agha and his son Avetik to remain loyal to the Armenian Church and retain their faith: "An admonition to Miskarbashy Melik Agha through Archimandrite Zakaria[201] ... that he should urge his son Avetik to remain ever faithful to the Holy See."[202]

Both Melik Agha and his descendants (as well as his ancestors) were buried in their family cemetery in Khojivank, an eloquent fact proving that the deceased *did* really belong to the Armenian Apostolic Church. The aforementioned letter shows that the melik was truly in a predicament, being under the pressure of Georgian king Heracle, but he remained faithful to his creed or returned to the bosom of his Church a short time later; otherwise, his remains would have been interred in an Orthodox cemetery.[203]

Agha Behbudiants' wife Mariam built a church in the site of Kusanats (Virgins') Chapel.[204]

His brothers were Behbud and Stepan. He had 3 sons, Avetik, Hovhannes and Hovsep, who once wrote the following about his father to the Catholicos: "His father Melik Agha liked his people and honoured his nation highly."[205]

Melik Agha Behbudiants died on 18 September 1768[206] and was buried in Khojivank Cemetery.

ANTON

There are no data concerning Melik Anton's biography and ancestors: a number of commercial and estate documents mention him in the post of melik from 1746 until 1751. During his governance, the headman was Pap.[207]

SAHAK SHERGILIANTS

No biographical data are available regarding Melik Sahak. According to the available scanty records, his father's name was Melko; his two brothers were Khaty and Estat, and his sons were Shakar, Gevorg, David and Shermazan.[208]

A number of commercial documents and estate deeds mention Sahak Shergiliants in the post of melik between 1751 and 1760. During his governance, Pap still performed the duties of the headman.[209]

Melik Sahak's descendants were the Melik-Sahakians, who were awarded the status of first-class mokalaks on 7 June 1859.[210]

AVETIK AGHAYAN BEHBUDIANTS

Avetik Behbudiants' birth date is unknown. In 1749 he was mentioned in an archive document concerning the internal re-distribution of the property belonging to his family. According to it, Avetik, who was presumably a small child at that time, was going to get a number of living quarters from his father on the occasion of his marriage.[211]

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194 **Melikset-Bek**, vol. 3, p. 119.

195 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), pp. 256-257.

196 Ibid., pp. 278-280.

197 Ibid., pp. 296-297.

198 Ibid., pp. 293, 301, 304, 306, 308, 309, 311, 314, 316, 317, 320.

199 Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, գիրք Գ, Սիմէոն Կաթողիկոսի յիշատակարանը, հրատ. **Գիւտ քահանա Աղանեանց** [Documents Relating to Armenian History, vol. 3: The Colophon of Catholicos Simeon Published by **Priest Gyut Aghaniants**] (Tiflis, 1894), p. 97.

200 Ibid., p. 419.

201 Archimandrite Zakaria was the religious leader of the Armenians of Tiflis.

202 **Aghaniants**, 1894, p. 534.

203 We regard the following record of the *melik's* biography as wrong and written deliberately: "Agha (Melik Agha) (?-1768): he converted to Orthodoxy by the name of Vasili" ("Ага (Мелик-Ага) (?-1768), перешел в православие с именем Василий..."). **Dumin**, **Chikovani**, p. 131.

204 **Khutsian**, p. 16.

205 **Geghamiants**, "Historical Excerpts," *Hovit*, no. 12, 1910, p. 182.

206 **Melikset-Bek**, vol. 3, p. 170.

207 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), pp. 204, 207, 216, 218, 221, 223, 229.

208 Ibid., p. 250.

209 Ibid., pp. 231, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 244, 246, 249, 250, 252-254, 255, 258, 261, 263, 265, 266, 267, 269, 273, 274, 276, 278, 279, 281-282, 285-286. Also see **Martirossian**, "Georgian Legal Documents," pp. 162-163.

210 Acts, vol. 12, pp. 226-227.

211 Documents on the History of Tiflis (16th to 19th centuries), p. 339.

Avetik Behbudiants assumed the position of melik of Tiflis after his father's death in 1768.

Melik Avetik was in even closer relations with the Catholicos of All Armenians than his father. The letters of the Supreme Pontiff addressed to him show that the former knew his family well and shared their joys and misfortunes. Some pieces of their correspondence that have reached our days are dated 1769,[212] 1770,[213] 1774,[214] 1775 (*Another letter to Melik Avetik and his brother, Mirishkear Ivane*),[215] 1777 (*Another letter to Melik Avetik to console him with his wife's death*),[216] 1778,[217] etc.

As the governor of the city, Melik Avetik received the Commander of the Russian detachment in Georgia, Major General A. Sukhotin, in his house in 1771.[218]

Melik Avetik was the first among those who approved the verdict on the case of property division between farrier Gevorg and Hovsep passed on 15 December 1772.[219]

In 1774 Melik Avetik was mentioned in connection with a commercial bargain (he sold a house to Iese Baratashvili).[220]

An archive document of 1780 attests that Melik Avetik, who had inherited the position of the warden of the Armenian churches of Tiflis, resigned from it.[221]

In 1781 Georgian king Heracle addressed a letter to Melik Avetik in connection with the assistance he had provided for publisher Poghos Arapian.[222]

In 1780 Melik Avetik Behbudiants started reconstruction in Tsiranavor Sourb Astvatsatsin (Khojivank) Cloister of Havlabar, the work being completed in 1782. On this occasion, on 2 August of the same year, Catholicos Ghukas addressed him a *kondak* of blessing: "Tsiranavor Monastery, dedicated to the Holy Virgin and built by your ancestors of blessed memory in a plain in Havlabar, was abandoned many years later, but now it has been reconstructed."[223]

The religious persecutions that had begun as early as the days of Melik Agha acquired new manifestations during Melik Avetik's governance. Now and then the Georgian king would intensify pressure in order to reach the assimilation of the Armenian population of Tiflis through conversion. Indeed, the prominent religious and lay representatives of the nation were the primary targets of this policy, for once they were converted, the common people would not be able to put up serious resistence against it. Fortunately, Melik Avetik, who was the true successor of his ancestors, proved as great a patriot as they and resisted the temptation with honour. Catholicos of All Armenians Ghukas Karnetsy, who kept a watchful eye on these events, appreciated the melik's position, expressing his gratitude to, and satisfaction with, him in a number of letters addressed to him in 1782: "A letter to Melik Avetik (Tiflis) to express gratitude to him for his loyalty, particularly, for the endeavours he made, together with the entire [Armenian] population of the city, to resist the *Akhtarmas* who wanted to convert them."[224]

In another letter, the religious authorities again praised Melik Avetik for his faithfulness.[225]

In 1783 Melik Avetik was mentioned in connection with some commercial and financial relations.[226] In 1784 Catholicos Ghukas sent him a telegramme of condolences on the occasion of the death of his brother, Mirishkar Hovhannes (Ivane).[227]

Melik Avetik died in 1795: this is confirmed by an inscription preserved in Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Norashen, which was reconstructed in the same year: "In the year 1795, the late father Grigor carried out rebuilding in Norashen on the order of Melik Avetik Behbudian of blessed memory."[228]

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212 Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, գիրք Ը, Սիմէոն կաթողիկոսի յիշատակարանը, 1767-1776, հրատ. **Աղանեանց Գիւտ քահանայ** [Documents Relating to Armenian History, vol. 3: The Colophon of Catholicos Simeon (1767 to 1776). Published by **Priest Gyut Aghaniants**] (Tiflis, 1908), pp. 97, 105. Melik and Headman Avetik is also mentioned in an archive document made up on 24 September 1869 and entitled "A Verdict on Disputed Roads" (**Martirossian**, "Georgian Legal Documents," p. 166).

213 Ibid., pp. 131-132, 138.

214 Ibid., p. 266.

215 Ibid., pp. 322, 390.

216 Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, գիրք ԺԱ, Սիմէոն կաթողիկոսի յիշատակարանը, մասն III, 1777-79, հրատ. **Աղանեանց Գ. ա. ք.** [Documents Relating to Armenian History, vol. 11: The Colophon of Catholicos Simeon, part 3 (1777 to 1779). Published by **Priest Gyut Aghaniants**] (Tiflis, 1913), p. 14.

217 Ibid., pp. 275, 280.

218 **Tsagareli,** Decrees and Other Historical Documents, vol. 1, p. 480.

219 **Martirossian**, "Georgian Legal Documents," p. 167.

220 **Melikset-Bek**, vol. 3, p. 165.

221 Դիվան հայոց պատմության. Ղուկաս Կարնեցի, նոր շարք, h. Ա, աշխատասիրությամբ **Վ. Գրիգորյանի** [**V. Grigorian**, comp., Documents Relating to Armenian History: Ghukas Karnetsy, new series, vol. 1] (Yerevan, 1984), pp. 97, 126-127.

222 **Ջեմճեմեան Ս.**, Նամականի Պօղոս Արապեան տպագրիչի [**S. Jemjemian**, "The Letter Collection of Publisher Poghos Arapian"], «Բազմավէպ» [*Bazmavep*] (1982), p. 28.

223 Ibid., p. 336.

224 Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, գիրք Դ, Ղուկաս կաթողիկոս, հրատ. **Աղանեանց Գիւտ քահանայ** [Documents Relating to Armenian History, vol. 4: Catholicos Ghukas. Published by **Priest Gyut Aghaniants**] (Tiflis, 1899), p. 376.

225 Ibid., p. 380.

226 Matenadaran (Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, henceforward: M. M. Institute of Ancient Manuscripts), ms. 2803, p. 193ա. Also see **Մարտիրոսեան Վ.**, Հայերը Վրաստանի առեւտրատնտեսական կեանքում [**V. Martirossian**, "The Armenians in the Commercial and Economic Life of Georgia"], in: «Էջեր հայ գաղթավայրերի պատմութեան» [Pages from the History of Diasporan Armenian Settlements] (Yerevan, 1996), p. 148.

227 Documents Relating to Armenian History, vol. 4, p. 404.

228 **Muradian**, p. 75.



Tiflis in the 18th century (painting by Sergeyev)



Khojivank. General view from the west

The melik's name is also found in Prince Georgi's letter addressed to Shahamir Shahamirian on 10 May 1796: "Poor Melik Avetik died before this accident."[229]

DARCHI AVETIKIAN BEHBUDIANTS

Darchi Avetikian Behbudiants was born in 1764.[230] The available sources keep silence about his biography until his father Melik Avetik's death in 1795. Darchi Behbudiants, who was 31 at that time, assumed the position of melik of Tiflis by inheritance. One of the earliest records (1799) mentioning him in this post, a decree issued by King Heracle, bears relation to the reconstruction of St. Gevorg (George) Church.[231]

Most presumably, it was due to the political instability (Agha Mohammad Khan's invasion, etc.) that Catholicos of All Armenians Ghukas sent Melik Darchi a letter sympathising him with his father's death and congratulating him on assuming the position of melik only in 1798: "May it be known to Your Majesty. Wise and famous Melik Avetik Agha, who was very dear to us, breathed his last in the year 1795. May his soul rest in peace, and may he be ranked among his pious, noble ancestors.... I am writing this letter to sympathise you, my dear, with the death of your pious father, and congratulate you on inheriting the post of melik."[232]

Melik Darchi was predestined to govern Tiflis in a very difficult period since the city was still in ruins in 1798: "The capital city of Tiflis resembled a heap of ruins."[233]

When Heracle's son Giorgi inherited the throne of Georgia in 1798, he stayed in Melik Darchi's house in Tiflis for some time: "During his visit to the devastated capital, King Giorgi had to stay in the only standing house of the city belonging to Prince Behbudov. And he lived there in two small rooms until the time of his death came."[234]

Melik Darchi enjoyed great popularity among the citizens of Tiflis, a fact that the Russian authorities did not fail to notice (1800): "It has been announced to the people through Melik Darchi and has been accepted with great gratitude."[235]

In 1801 Major General Lazarev wrote the following about the civil government of Georgia in his research entitled *A Description of Georgia*: "The purchase documents were generally approved by the king.... The only exception was ... Tiflis, where the Prefect and Mamasakhlis, Melik Darchi, usually put his seal on them."[236]

Admiring the efficiency with which Melik Darchi handled civil cases, General Lazarev said the following

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229 Армяно-русские отношения в XVIII веке, 1760-1800 гг., сборник документов [The Armenian-Russian Relations in the 18th Century (1760 to 1800)] (a collection of documents), vol. 4 (Yerevan, 1990), p. 428.

230 His date of birth is verified by the bilingual (Russian & Georgian) inscription of his ruined tombstone, which states that Melik Darchi died at the age of 68 in 1832; therefore, he was born in 1764. Those who consider the year 1761 as his date of birth are evidently mistaken (see **Dumin**, **Chikovani**, p. 131).

231 Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, գիրք Ը, Հովսեփ կաթողիկոս Արղութեան, մասն առաջին, 1778-1800, հրատ. **Աղաճեանց Գ. ք.** [Documents Relating to Armenian History, vol. 9: Catholicos Hovsep Arghutian, part 1 (1778 to 1800). Published by **Priest Gyut Aghaniants**] (Tiflis, 1911), pp. 215-217.

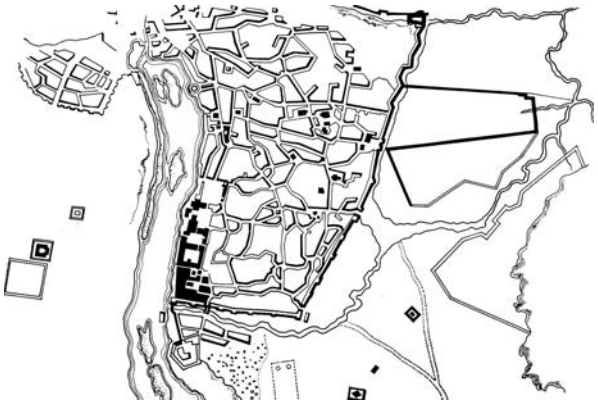
232 Documents Relating to Armenian History, vol. 4, p. 669.

233 **Эзов Г.**, Сношения Петра Великого с Армянским народом [**G. Ezov**, The Relations of Peter the Great with the Armenian Nation] (St. Petersburg, 1898), p. CVIII.

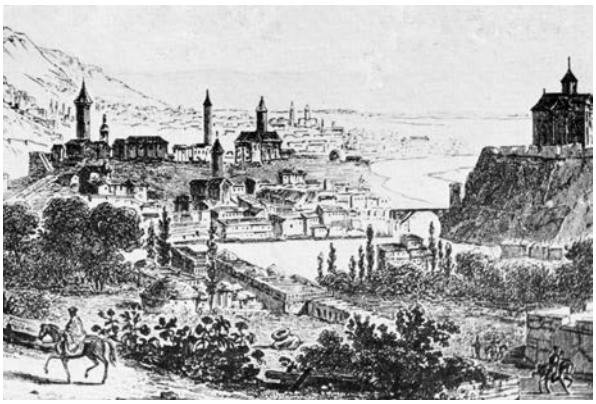
234 **Дубровин Н.**, История войны и владычества русских на Кавказе [**N. Dubrovin**, A History of the Russian War and Domination in Caucasia], vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1886), chapt. 11, p. 231 (the original reads: "Царь Георгий, поселившись в разоренной столице, должен был поместиться в единственно уцелевшем доме кн. Бебутова, где и прожил до самой своей смерти в двух весьма маленьких комнатах"). Also see **Ezov**, pp. CVIII-CIX; **А. К.**, О чем говорит история [**A. K.**, "What does History Say?"], Тифлисский листок [*Tiflisski Listok*], no. 187, 1910, p. 2.

235 Acts, vol. 1, p. 191 (the original reads: "...народу же оное объявлено чрез их мелика князя Дарчи и принято с большею благодарностию...").

236 Ibid., p. 193 (the original reads: "...купчия же скреплялись царем самим, исключая Тифлисских жителей, у коих еще и здешний мамасахлис или род полицеймейстера мелик Дарчи прикладывает свою печать...").



The plan of Tiflis in 1785 (by A. Pishchevich)



Tiflis in the late 18th century

in his letter to Lieutenant General Knorring written in the same year: "The melik of Tiflis, Prince Darchi Behbudov, and his uncle Avet Behbudov, who enjoy trust and respect among the local inhabitants, have established peace [in the city]. They have also set some obligations for them, assuring them that greater changes were in their own interests. Moreover, Melik Darchi, who was eager to restore order and discipline in the city, always demanded that I should do something about it. On the order of the king's heir, the city was divided into several sections, each of which was further separated into 10 parts. Heads and supervisors were appointed to secure the cleanness of the city, and the local people started doing the same with such a pleasure that could hardly be expected of them given their rude Asian nature."[237]

General Knorring's answer, addressed to General Lazarev on 31 May of the same year, also emphasized Melik Darchi's administrative skills and merits: "I agree to Your opinion of the governance of Prefect, Melik Darchi Behbudov and his assistant, *Natsval* Mkrtum Surghunov, since their conduct, manners and care about the interests of the society are well known to You."[238]

Melik Darchi was in close correspondence with Catholicos David, Ghukas' successor. In a letter written in 1802, the Catholicos addressed him in the following way: "To noble, elegant and glorious Agha Melik Darchi, powerful through Christ's might."[239]

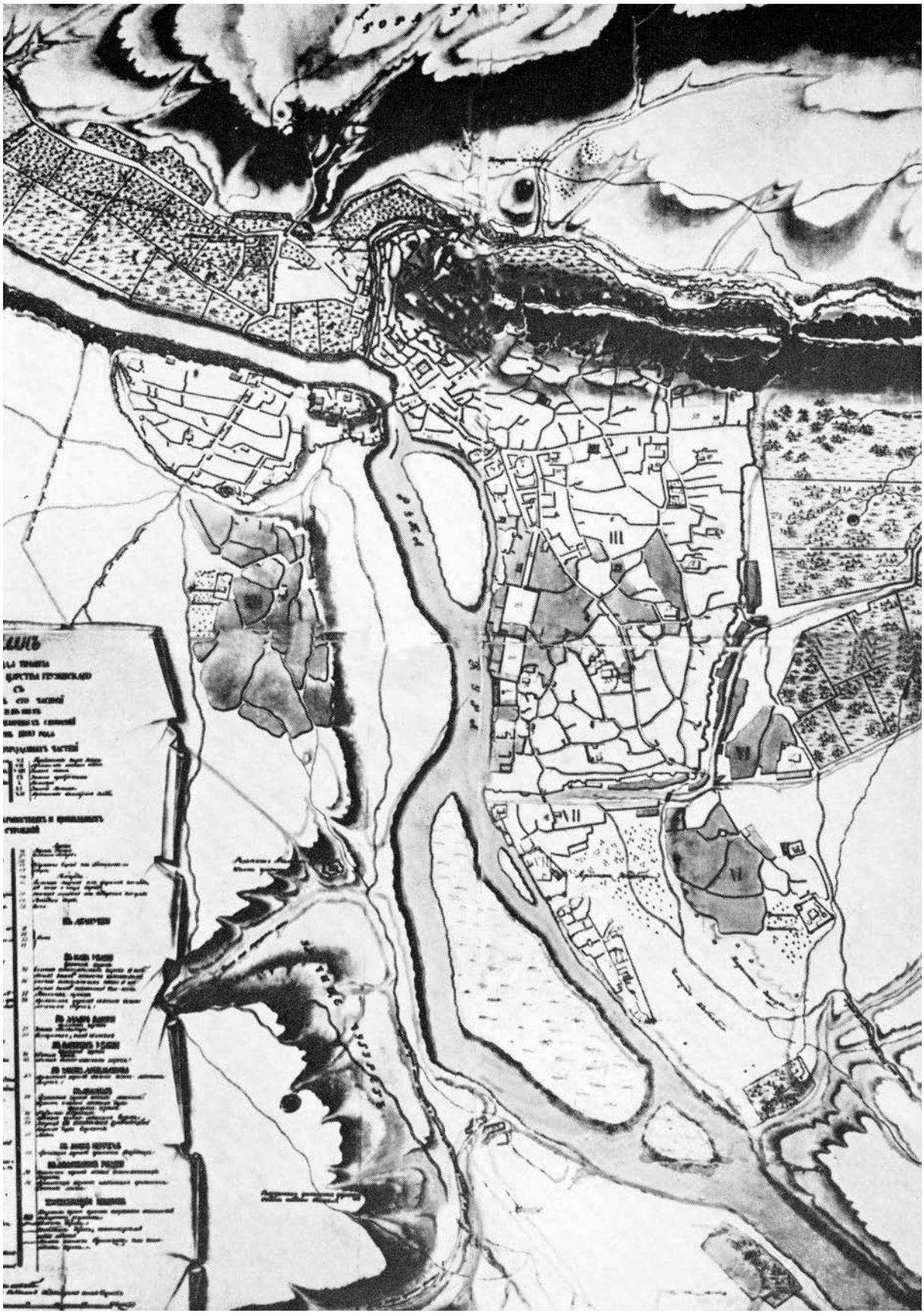
In 1801 General Knorring wrote the following, stating his opinion of those who deserved state awards: "As far as crosses are concerned, to my mind, Princes

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237 Ibid., p. 325 (the original reads: "...Князь Дарчи Бебутов, Тифлисский мелик, и дядя его князь Авет Бебутов, кои пользуясь привязанностию и доверенностию здешних обывателей, внушили им всю их пользу, от настоящей перемены могущую произойти для них, и удержали здешних обывателей в повиновении и тишине; сверх того мелик Дарчи, имея нетерпение поскорее видеть в городе существующий порядок, непрестанно требует от меня завести хотя тень онаго, что по приказанию наследнаго царевича и выполняется: город разделен на несколько частей, каждая на десятки, определены десятские и частные, кои наблюдают чистоту и порядок, и оне делается с таким удовольствием от обывателей, что я никак ожидать не мог грубому Азиятскому нраву...").

238 Ibid., p. 422 (the original reads: "...Касательно определения к управлению должности начальника полицейскаго порядка, мелика здешняго князя Дарчи Бебутова и под ним в помощники ему нацвала Микиртума Сургунова, я согласен, полагаясь на удостоение ваше, поколику их поведение, частныя правила и ревность к пользам об щественным вам больше известны..."). We find it necessary to present the following quotation to show what influence Melik Darchi had on the internal affairs of Tiflis and on the Armenian clergy: "Kusanats [Virgins'] Convent of Tiflis, Norashen, Moghni and a number of other churches both in the city and villages were regarded as belonging to him, and he appointed priests and archpriests for these sanctuaries. He would order the Primate to ordain this or that sexton as a priest, and his command would be fulfilled immediately. When Prince Darchi got angry with the priests, he would slap them.... When the priests visited him on some business, he would keep them waiting at his door for hours, after which he either received them or passed his commands to them through his servant, this happening oftener. If he wanted to see the Primate, he would send his servant for him. And the archbishop, the religious leader of the Armenians in Georgia, would put on his chasuble in the street before going into Prince Darchi's residence, and having waited for quite a long time, would enter and bow down to the prince smoking a pipe, without daring to sit down until the latter told him to. The prince had appropriated the Primate's religious rights: it was he who decided whether this or that marriage was permissible or not; he took divorce decisions and settled cases of wills, donations and robberies. The melik gave permission to bury people in the church yards, and he was also entitled to take one priest's parish and give it to another. If the priests learnt that the prince was coming to church, they were not permitted to begin the religious service until his arrival, etc. The churches did not have wardens so that their income entirely belonged to Prince Darchi, who spent it freely, without ever accounting to the Primate, priests or the people for it" (**Geghamiants**, "Historical Excerpts," *Hovit*, no. 8, 1910, p. 120).

239 Դիւան հայոց պատմութեան, գիրք Զ, Դաւիթ կաթուղիկոս, մասն առաջին, 1801-1802, հրատ. **Գիւտ աւագ քահանայ Աղանեանց** [Documents Relating to Armenian History, vol. 6: Catholicos David, part 1 (1801 to 1802). Published by **Archpriest Gyut Aghaniants]** (Tiflis, 1904), p. 295.



The plan of Tiflis (by Lieutenant V. Chuyko, 1800)

Ignat Tumanov, Darchi Behbudov and Soghomon Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* [the *Long-Armed*] are those who truly deserve that award."[240]

In 1801, when Georgia joined Russia and Russian laws were introduced into the country, Mayor (Melik) Darchi, who had been governing Tiflis by inheritance, was stripped of his rights. In 1802 he was mentioned as Acting Senior Prefect of Tiflis.[241] In order to soften the melik's possible dissatisfaction, on 25 August of the same year, the authorities awarded him the second-class silver Order of St. Anna: "The former melik or mayor of Tiflis, Prince Darchi Behbudov, is among the counsellors of state [to receive the order]."[242]

Another Governmental document states that Melik Darchi, the mamasakhlis (chief judge) and leader of all the Armenians of Tiflis (it was almost entirely inhabited by them at that time), greatly contributed to the union of Georgia and Russia.[244]

In 1803 an annual payment was established for Melik Darchi: "Since he [Melik Darchi Behbudov] enjoyed the profitable governance of the merchants of Tiflis for quite a long time, I think he should not work and should not receive more than 600 roubles. In addition, to my mind, he can be awarded the title of State Servant with a payment of 600 roubles."[245]

Despite the honours, medals and titles offered to Melik Darchi by the Russian authorities, he was still dissatisfied as he had been deprived of his income: "During the existence of the Georgian Kingdom, he held the posts of melik, governor, mamasakhlis or headman and was an important person in the city having power over everybody. Thanks to his numerous positions, Darchi received a large income before the Russians came to Georgia. Later the post of melik was abolished together with all its income, in consequence of which, Darchi suffered great financial losses and had difficulty retaining the former splendour of his house,



The plan of Tiflis in 1809

despite the titles, positions, medals and payment received from the Russian government."[246]

The general atmosphere was so aggravated that in 1805 Melik Darchi, who was displeased with his conditions, adhered to the anti-Russian movement that had begun in Georgia. As a result of this, the Russian authorities forced him into leaving Tiflis, sending him into "honorary" exile in Russia: "Prince Darchi Behbudov, a state servant, the former melik of Tiflis: without mentioning the reasons for suspicion, he should be called back to Russia for the sake of peace in Georgia. Opinion: he was loyal, and this was proved during the last turmoil of the previous year, when he participated in all the secret meetings."[247]

In 1807 Darchi Behbudiants was mentioned with regard to an argument with a certain Alkhaziants over his garden.[248]

Beginning from 1814, when Nerses Ashtaraketsy was appointed Primate of the Armenian Diocese in Georgia, Melik Darchi, who still maintained considerable influence and privileges, found himself in a serious conflict with him: "From the very first day of his

240 Acts, vol. 1, pp. 529-532. Also see **Ezov**, p. CXII (the original reads: "...что касается до крестов, то по моему мнению, князья Игнатий Туманов, Дарчи Бебутов и Соломон Аргутинский Долгоруков более всех заслуживают этой награды...").

241 Acts, vol. 1, p. 686 (the original reads: "...Тифлисским временным обер-полицеймейстером...").

242 Ibid., p. 763 (the original reads: "В статские советники: бывший Тифлисский мелик или градоначальник князь Дарчи Бебутов...").

243 Ibid., p. 401 (the original says: "Князь Бебутов Дарчи, был мелик и мамасахлис, то есть главный судья и правитель всего Армянскаго народа, живущаго в Тифлисе").

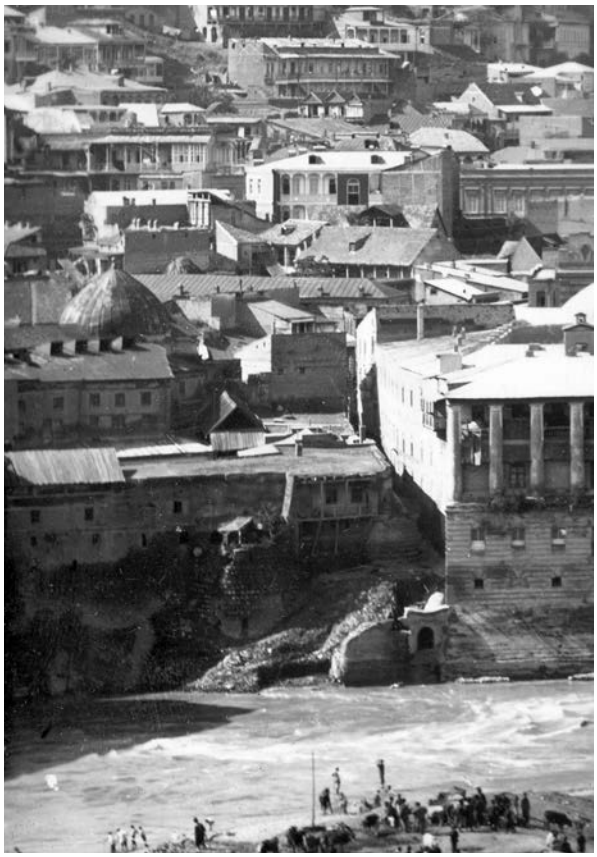
244 Ibid.

245 Acts, vol. 2 (Tiflis, 1868), p. 43 (the original reads: "Мелик Кн. Дарчи Бебутов... Послику оный давно пользовался выгодным управлением Тифлисскаго купечества, по мнению моему не имеет нести службы, не следует ему иметь более 600 руб; чином же, как мне кажется, можно наградить к. с. ...600").

246 **Geghamiants**, "Historical Excerpts," *Hovit*, no. 8, 1910, p. 119.

247 Acts, vol. 2, p. 178 (the original reads: "К. с., бывший Тифлисский мелик кн. Дарчи Бебутов. Не упоминая о причинах подозрения, считает нужным для спокойствия Грузии вызвать его в Россию. Мнение: Верностью исполнен и доказал то в последнее замешательство прошлого года, будучи бывшим правителем Грузии преимущественно употребляем во все тайныя сношения").

248 Acts, vol. 3 (Tiflis, 1869), p. 16.



The Behbudians' caravanserai on the right bank of the river Kur (late 19th century)



General Barsegh Hovsepian Behbudiants, Melik Darchi Behbudiants' nephew (1791 to 1858)



Tiflis in the 1830s (painting by N. Chernetsov)

arrival in Tiflis, Nerses Ashtaraketsy entered into direct contradiction to the rules and customs established by Prince Darchi. To the latter's great surprise, Nerses did not wear a chasuble and did not bow down to him like a slave on his very first visit. If there were any problems to settle, the Primate would not go to the prince's house, but would call him to his residence. And when the prince came, he would receive him as other visitors and would not show him to the door. Nerses firmly declared to the prince that he could not accept and obey the customs established for the former Primates."[249]

A number of incidents and details show that in the course of time, Melik Darchi, who kept opposing Nerses Ashtaraketsy, gradually lost his influence, frequently finding himself in the position of one who asked for something or complained, instead of commanding.[250]

For the last time, it was Governor Retishchev who reminded Prince Darchi about his limited rights: "[He told the prince that] his further opposition and obstinacy would be regarded not only as a contemptuous attitude towards the Armenian Church and its leader but also as disobedience to the will of His Majesty the Emperor and opposition to the Russian Empire."[251]

Darchi Avetik Behbudiants died at the age of 68 in 1832 and was buried in the family cemetery of the Behbudiants in Khojivank. Between 1937 and 1938, when this graveyard was annihilated on the order of the city authorities, his tombstone was broken in two parts, but it is still preserved.

Below follows a bilingual (7 Russian and 10 Georgian lines) inscription carved on Darchi Avetik Behbudiants' gravestone:

Праху | покоющегося здесь колле|жского советника Тифли|ского мелика князя Дарчия | Бебутова, скончавшагося [29]-го | февраля, 18[32] года на 68 году | от рождения.

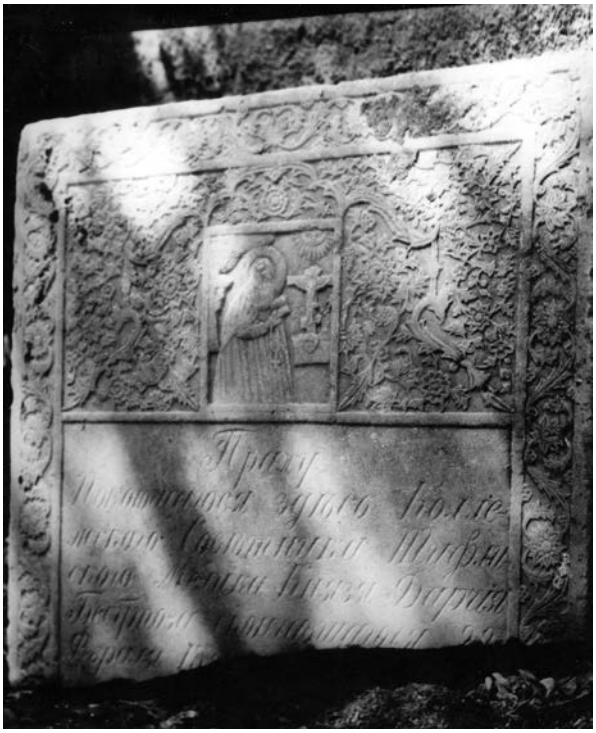
249 **Geghamiants**, "Historical Excerpts," *Hovit*, no. 9, 1910, p. 134.
250 Ibid., pp. 134-136.
251 **Geghamiants**, "Historical Excerpts," *Hovit*, no. 13, 1910, p. 199.

Transl.: *Here lies Prince Darchi Behbudov, collegiate counsellor and melik of Tiflis who died at the age of 68 in 1832.*

აქა ქუჱშე ლოდის ამის დაიდუა სხეული ტფი/ლისის მელიქისა კოლლეჟსკი სოვეტნიკისა თავადისა მელიქ / ავეტიქას ძისა დარჩი ბებუდოვისა გარდაცუალებულისა თებერვლის ...სა ჩყლბ-სა შობითგან თვსით 68 სა წელი/ც და მით მგლოიარედ დამტევებელისა ერთის ძისა რომელ/მანცა ჟამათ რაოდენმე დაუვიწყარად სხვისათვის / და სდვნილოდი ესე ვითარცა ნიში უთლმოწიწებიფს (՞) / თფლსისა მოვლეოლბეს უსრულიბწ (՞) დირ ბნილისედი (՞) დთ / .... ნესლსა (՞) ამისა და ... მოლველნაბისნო წართქ/მას ... (՞) გვიდრეთ

Transl.: *Here, under this tombstone, lie the remains of Darchi Behbudov, Prince, Melik Avetik's son, the melik of Tpilis [Tiflis] and a collegiate counsellor who died at the age of 68, leaving the country in mourning....*

Published in: **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Թիֆլիսի քաղաքագլուխներ [**S. Karapetian**, The Mayors of Tiflis] (Beirut, 2003), p. 44.





The remnants of Melik Darchi Behbudiants' tombstone, 1832 (photos by S. Darchinian)

THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS DURING THE PERIOD OF PUBLIC GOVERNANCE (1840 to 1875)

HOVHANNES (IVAN) IZMIRIANTS

Hovhannes Izmiriants, whose date of birth is unknown, descended from an Armenian family of first-class hereditary citizens (mokalaks).[252] The first mayor elected after the adoption of the Statutes of Public Governance (1840), he held his position from 1840 until 1843.

Secretary of the Municipal Government St. Fyodr. Chrelayev left the following record regarding the initial stage of his governance: "On assuming the post of ... mayor of Tiflis, Ivan Izmirov raised the question of abolishing the law under which, soldiers lived in the citizens' dwellings during their military service. His suggestion was substantiated by the fact that the local people disliked the idea of outsiders being witnesses to their family lives. The supreme regional authorities accepted that suggestion and allowed the implementation of realty assessment to settle the housing problems between property owners and military or civil officials."[253]

As for Izmiriants' administrative activities, he tried hard to exercise the power of law to restrict the trade unionists' absolute rights resting on force of habit. He worked out a project for this purpose and submitted it to Vice-Roy of Caucasia Vorontsov for consideration.[254]

252 Acts, vol. 12, p. 227.

253 **Chrelayev**, "Tiflis in the 19th Century" (the original reads: "Первым городским головой в Тифлисе был избран Иван Измиров, который сейчас же по вступлении в должность возбудил вопрос о замене натуральной военной квартирной повинности денежною, мотивируя свое предложение тем соображением, что туземцы не любят, чтобы постороння лица, квартирующия у них, были свидетелями их семейной жизни. Ходатайство это было уважено высшей властью в крае, тогда же было разрешено произвести оценку недвижимых имуществ для раскладки между домовладельцами сбора на квартирное довольствие военных и гражданских чинов").

254 Тифлисские амкары: Из записок **Юрия Ахвердова** [The Trade-Unionists of Tiflis: From the Notes of **Yuri Akhverdov**] (Tiflis, 1883), pp. 30-31.

STEPAN GABRIELIAN KHATISSIANTS

Stepan Gabrielian Khatissiants' date of birth is unknown. He descended from the Khatissiants' (Khatissovs') family, which had the title of first-class mokalaks.[255] In the 1820s, Stepan Khatissiants contributed to the foundation of Nersissian Spiritual School.[256]

Khatissiants held the post of mayor from 1843 until 1844. In 1845 he was mentioned among those 9 people who were going to supervise the construction of the newly-founded Court Theatre.[257]

MOVSES TER-GRIGORIANTS (TER-GRIKUROV)

The existing sources do not report anything relating to Movses Ter-Grigoriants' biography, but he is known to have occupied the post of mayor between 1845 and 1846. During this period, on 2 July 1845, the shopping malls of Tiflis were burnt away.[258]

On 20 September 1845, the first Russian theatre opened in Tiflis.[259]

During M. Ter-Grigoriants' governance, in March 1846, a racetrack opened in Tiflis. On 3 September of the same year, a school began functioning in the city.[260]

In 1846 Ter-Grigoriants joined architect Skudiery, Beloy as well as foreman Sonin (an engineer and colonel) in signing a document on the construction of a theatre house.[261]

In 1846 the publication of the newspaper *Kavkaz* was initiated in the Armenian and Russian langua-

255 Acts, vol. 12, p. 227.

256 **Երիցեանց Աղէքսանդր**, Պատմութիւն 75-ամեայ գոյութեան Ներսիսեան Հայոց հոգևոր դպրոցի որ ի Թիֆլիզ [**Al. Yeritsiants**, History of the 75-Year-Long Existence of Nersissian Armenian Spiritual School in Tiflis], vol. 1 (Tiflis, 1898), p. 56.

257 Acts, vol. 11 (Tiflis, 1888), p. 880.

258 Acts, vol. 10 (Tiflis, 1885), p. 830.

259 Кавказский календарь на 1892 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1892] (Tiflis, 1891), p. 27.

260 Acts, vol. 10, ibid.

261 Acts, vol. 12, p. 885. Vice-Roy Vorontsov approved that document on 4 November 1846, and the theatre (architect: Skudiery) was founded on 15 April 1847 being built with the means of Gabriel Tamamshiants (ibid).



Tiflis. The house of the Court (State) Theatre



Tiflis. Mikhailovski Bridge

ges.[262] On 5 May the Women's Charity Society opened an educational institution after St. Nina,[263] and on 3 September the Caucasian Surveyors Training School was founded.[264]

During his post-mayoralty period, Ter-Grigoriants mainly focused his activities on the construction of Mikhailovski Bridge. On 17 January 1848, with the consent of Caucasian vice-roy M. Vorontsov, Ivan Khubov, Master Mehty Agha Hyusein Oghly, a Persian subject, and M. Ter-Grigoriants embarked on its construction by contract: "We are committing ourselves to erecting two stone bridges on both sides of the river Kur, in Tiflis City. One of them, to be situated on the left bank of the river, will consist of 3 spans, and the other will have only one, being located on the right bank."[265]

However, it so happened that already in 1849 Ter-Grigoriants was left alone in his job of contractor: "The continual disagreements among the contractors inevitably affected the success of the work. In July 1849, the aforementioned contractors made a petition to the Eighth District Department, according to which, they were willing to pass on the construction of the bridge to one of them, Movses Ter-Grigorov, a citizen of Tiflis who was going to complete the contract. The authorities approved this undertaking so that already on 9 September 1849, Movses Ter-Grigorov was the only person responsible for the contract."[266]

However, in 1850 he died without accomplishing the bridge and leaving its construction accounts in a chaotic state (he had some debts).[267]

Ter-Grigoriants was buried in his family cemetery situated in front of the western entrance to Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Bethlehem (in Tiflis).

HOVHANNES SIMONIAN SHADINIANTS

No information is available regarding Hovhannes Shadiniants' birth date, but he is known to have occupied the post of mayor from 1847 until 1848. On 10 January 1855, he was elected member of the Council of Mokalaks.[268]

In 1856 Shadiniants became the director and patron of the Russian theatre of Tiflis: "According to the agreement of 7 May, Provincial Secretary Ivan Shadinov took up the management of the theatre of Tiflis, also assuming its patronage and care for its state property."[269]

In 1862 Shadiniants was one of the members of the theatrical circle founded by teacher Hakob Kariniants.[270]

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262 Caucasian Calendar for 1850, p. 27.

263 Ibid.

264 Ibid.

265 Acts, vol. 11, p. 822 (the original reads: "...мы принимаем на себя построить в гор. Тифлисе чрез два рукава р. Куры два каменные мосты, из коих один к левому берегу о трех арках, а другой к правому берегу об одной арке...").

266 Ibid., p. 824 (the original reads: "Между-тем несогласия между подрядчиками продолжались, что не могло не отразиться на успешности самаго дела. В июле 1849 года контрагенты по постройке моста подали в правление VIII Округа прошение, в котором заявили, что, по состоявшемуся между собою соглашению, они постройку моста передают одному из них, Тифлисскому гражданону Моисею Тер-Грикурову, который и обязывается кончить взятый ими подряд. На это последовало согласие начальства и, таким образом, с 9-го сентября 1849 года ответственным лицом по подряду остался один Моисей Тер-Грикуров...").

267 Ibid., p. 825.

268 Ibid., p. 968.

269 Acts, vol. 11, p. 935 (the original reads: "...Тифлисский театр, по контракту 7-го мая сего года, отдан уже в непосредственное распоряжение губ. секр. Ивана Шадинова, обязавшагося содержать Русскую труппу в течении двух лет, с полною его ответственностью за все казенное имущество...").

270 **Պռօշեանց Պ.**, Հայոց թատրոնի սկզբնաւորութիւնը Թիֆլիսում [**P. Proshiants**, "The Establishment of the Armenian Theatre in Tiflis"], «Թատրոն» [*Tatron*], no. 1 (Tiflis, 1893), p. 56. Also see **Երեմեան Ա.**, Ռուսահայ թատրոնի պատմութիւն [**A. Yeremian**, "History of Russian Armenian Theatre"], «Բազմավէպ» [*Bazmavep*], nos. 9-10 (1934), p. 372.

TOVMA DAVTIAN PRIDONIANTS

No records are available regarding Tovma Davtian Pridoniants' date of birth and biography. He was elected mayor in 1848 and governed the city until 1849.[271]

ZAKARIA STEPANIAN AMIRAGHIANTS

No records are preserved concerning Z. Amiraghiants' date of birth and biography. He is known to have held the mayor's position from 1850 until 1851.[272]

On 6 March 1850, the first Transcaucasian exhibition of handicrafts as well as agricultural and industrial products opened in Tiflis.[273]

During Amiraghiants' governance (1850 to 1851), the *Ararat* weekly (editor: Gabriel Patkanian) was published in the city.[274]

Amiraghiants retained a high political rating even in his post-mayoralty period: thus, on 5 April 1855, meeting General Muravyov's suggestion, the Armeninas of Tiflis formed 6 volunteer squads *(druzhinas)* to resist the impending Turkish incursion, and ex-mayor Amiraghiants was appointed Commander of the Fifth one: "The leader of the squad is Zakaria Amiraghov, a mokalak from Tiflis."[275]

HOVSEP AFANASSIAN MIRIMANIANTS

Hovsep Afanassian Mirimaniants, whose date of birth is unknown, descended from an Armenian family of first-class hereditary citizens (mokalaks).[276] In the late 1840s, he worked in the sphere of fish industry,[277] and in 1851 he assumed the mayor's position, also holding it in 1852.[278]

During Mirimaniants' governance, on 1 January 1851, the first Georgian-language theatrical performances were staged in Tiflis.[279] On 9 November of the same year, the Municipal Theatre presented the first Italian opera in its history.[280]

Mirimaniants had the title of honorary native citizen,[281] which is proved by a record of 1854.[282]

AVETIK ASTVATSATRIAN (BOGDANY) SVECHNIKOV

A. Astvatsatrian Svechnikov (date of birth unknown), who had the title of honorary citizen, was elected mayor in 1853.[283] In the autumn of the same year, Mayor Svechnikov organised the entertainment of the troops who had arrived in Tiflis to leave for the front of the Russo-Turkish war: "27 September 1853. Mayor Svechnikov organised the pastime of the III battalion after Your Excellency Prince M. S. Vorontsov in Alexandrovski Square, the battalion officers, certain representatives of the military and civil authorities being shown hospitality in the best hotel of Tiflis after Karl Morij."[284]

During Svechnikov's governance, on 8 November 1853, Tiflis saw the opening of a 5-span bridge built in honour of Caucasian vice-roy Michael Semyon Vorontsov and named after him.[285]

On 13 May 1853, the regulations of the Commercial Court of the city were approved.[286]

On 10 January 1855, Svechnikov again won the elections of municipal deputies and was re-elected mayor: "During the sitting of 10 January, the elections of the first aldermen were held, Avet Bogdan Svechnikov being re-elected mayor."[287]

On 14 April 1855, the Statutes of the Orphan Court attached to the Municipal Government of Tiflis were ratified.[288]

Meeting General Muravyov's suggestion and also taking into consideration the ongoing war, on 5 April 1855, Svechnikov organised 6 squads *(druzhinas)* of volunteers and himself took command of the third one: "The commander of the squad was Avetik Svechnikov, the mayor of Tiflis and an honorary citizen."[289]

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271 Caucasian Calendar for 1850, p. 11.

272 Caucasian Calendar for 1851, p. 13.

273 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 28.

274 Հայ պարբերական մամուլը. մատենագիտական համահավաք ցուցակ (1794-1980), կազմեց՝ **Բաբլոյան Մ. Ա.** [**M. Babloyan**, comp., The Armenian Periodical Press: A Complete Bibliographic List (1794 to 1980)] (Yerevan, 1986), p. 27.

275 Acts, vol. 11, p. 207 (the original reads: "Начальник дружины, Тифлисский мокалак Закарий Амирагов..."). We have no grounds to suppose that the mayor of Gori, Yesayi Amiraghiants (mentioned in 1803), and Zakaria Amiraghiants descended from the same family (Acts, vol. 2, pp. 71-72).

276 Caucasian Calendar for 1852, p. 561.

277 Acts, vol. 11, pp. 638-639.

278 Caucasian Calendar for 1853, p. 511.

279 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 28.

280 Ibid.

281 Caucasian Calendar for 1853, ibid.

282 Ibid., p. 638 (the original reads: "...потомственный почетный гражданин Иосиф Мириманов...").

283 Caucasian Calendar for 1854, p. 592.

284 Acts, vol. 11, p. 874 (the original reads: "27-го сентября 1853 года. Городской голова Свечников угощал 3-й баталион имени е. св. кн. М. С. Воронцова полка, на Александровской площади, а офицеры баталиона и также некоторые из Тифлисских военных и гражданских начальников были приглашены им на обед в лучшую Тифлисскую гостиницу Карла Мориджи").

285 Caucasian Calendar for 1857, p. 512.

286 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 28.

287 Acts, vol. 11, p. 968 (the original reads: "Января 10-го. В собрании происходило избрание первых старшин. Избраны: почетным старшиною - городской голова Авет Богданович Свечников...").

288 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 29.

289 Acts, vol. 11, p. 207 (the original reads: "Начальник дружины, Тифлисский городской голова, почетный гражданин Аветик Свечников...").



The plan of Tiflis in the mid-19th century

During his term and, most probably, also before it, Svechnikov was one of those few Armenians who had their own place and role in the economy of the country: "Among the Armenian merchants, mention should be made of Honorary Citizens Arshakuny and Mirimanov as well as Mayor Svechnikov, pivotal figures in fish industry (in Salian), which is profitable both for them and the Government."[290]

290 Acts, vol. 10, p. 97 (the original reads: "Между Армянами-торговцами есть лица, которыя заслуживают особен-

Svechnikov held the mayor's post until the elections of 1856. In the same year, 87 honorary citizens of Tiflis, including Svechnikov, initiated fund-raising (300 roubles) for the destitute of the city who had appeared in extremely bad conditions as a result of the considerable rise in food prices due to the Russo-Turkish war.[291]

In peace time, Svechnikov devoted himself to the cultural sphere: in early 1863, he held membership of the Board of Trustees of the Armenian Theatre.[292]

SOGHOMON DAVTIAN SARAJEV

Soghomon Sarajev, whose date of birth is unknown, descended from a family having the title of honorary native cititzens of Tiflis. Before being elected mayor, in the early 1850s, he worked in the field of fish industry.[293] During the Russo-Turkish war, in 1855 he was entrusted with the command of the first of the 6 volunteer squads organised for the defence of Tiflis: "The Commander of the squad was Soghomon Sarajev, the mayor of Tiflis and an honorary native citizen."[294]

In 1856 Sarajev was awarded the third-class Order of St. Stanislaus for the services he had rendered to his motherland: "The third-class Order of St. Stanislaus was conferred on the mayor of Tiflis, Honorary Native Citizen Sarajev."[295]

Sarajev held the mayor's post from 1856[296] until the new elections of 1857.

ANDREI DAVTIAN MANANOV

No records are preserved regarding Andrei Davtian Mananov's date of birth and biography,[297] but he is known as a descendant of an Armenian family[297] of first-class hereditary citizens who were natives of Tiflis.[298] On 10 January 1855, he became member of the City Council of Mokalaks.[299] In 1857 he was elected mayor[300] and held that post until the next elections of 1858.

VARDAN ASTVATSATRIAN ARSHAKUNY

Vardan Astvatsatrian Arshakuny (date of birth unknown) had the title of honorary native citizen. He worked in the administrative, construction and economic spheres, particularly in fish industry, where he began his activities as early as the 1840s.[301] He headed a company which was a shareholder in Salian, the centre of fish industry in Georgia[302]: "In 1853 the Industrial Manager of Salian presented a few hermetically closed cans of caviar produced by the company Bozhi Promisel to Major General Chilyayev, the Military Governor of Shamakhy, with a request to deliver them to Petersburg."[303]

Having gained his approval, the products were delivered to Russia: "In the spring of 1854, Arshakuny sent the Court of Petersburg 200 cans of caviar produced by Bozhi Promisel via Astrakhan. The product reached there unspoilt, and in March 1855, Count Adlerberger, the Minister of the Court, asked the Military Governor of Shamakhy to again send them caviar in hermetically closed 10 cans. The order was fulfilled by the same Arshakuny."[304]

Already in 1854, V. Arshakuny was one of those three people who occupied a dominant position in the fish industry of Transcaucasia: "Honorary Native Citizens Hovsep Mirimanov, Vardan Arshakuny and Gabriel Ter-Mikelov, a first-class merchant, played a prevailing role in the fish and seal industries of Transcaucasia, getting an income of 166,480 roubles."[305]

наго внимания, как-то: почетные граждане Аршакуни и Мириманов, содержащие с выгодою и для себя и для правительства огромный рыбный откуп в Сальянах; здешний голова Свечников и...").

291 Acts, vol. 11, p. 697.

292 **Proshiants**, "The Establishment of the Armenian Theatre," p. 48.

293 Acts, vol. 11, p. 693.

294 Ibid., p. 206 (the original reads: "Начальник дружины, и.д. Тифлисскаго городского головы, потомственный почетный гражданин Соломон Сараджев...").

295 Acts, vol. 11, p. 715 (the original reads: "Тифлисский городской голова, потомств. почетн. гражд. Сараджев; получил орд. св. Станислава 3-ей степ.").

296 Caucasian Calendar for 1856, p. 522.

297 A record of 1805 mentions an Armenian merchant, a certain Mananov, who lived in Tiflis and was presumably a relative of Mayor Mananov (probably, his father). See Acts, vol. 2, pp. 216-217.

298 Acts, vol. 12, p. 227.

299 Acts, vol. 11, p. 968.

300 Caucasian Calendar for 1858, p. 426.

301 Acts, vol. 11, pp. 638-639.

302 Ibid., p. 639.

303 Ibid., p. 966 (the original reads: "Управляющий Сальянским промыслом, почетный гражданин Аршакуни, в 1853 году представил Шемахинскому военному губернатору, ге.-м. Чиляеву, несколько жестянок, герметически закупоренных, с икрою приготовления Божьяго-Промысла и просил отослать их в Петербург...").

304 Ibid. (the original reads: "Весною 1854 года Аршакуни отправил чрез Астрахан в Петербург к Высочайшему Двору 200 банок икры с Божьяго-Промысла, доставленной в хорошем виде. Министр Двора, гр. Адлерберг, в марте 1855 года вновь просил Шемахинскаго военнаго губернатора о даставлении к Высочайшему Двору, по примеру прошлого года, до 10-ти п. паюсной икры в жестяных-же, герметически закупоренных банках. Заказ этот своевременно был исполнен тем-же Аршакуни").

305 Ibid., p. 638 (the original reads: "Закавказские рыбные и тюленьи промыслы состоят ныне в откупном содержании у потомственных почетных граждан Иосифа Мириманова и Вартана Аршакуни и Астраханского 1-ой гильдии купца Гавриила Тер-Микелова, с платою по 166.480 р. с. в год").



Mayor Vardan Arshakuny's residence

A person of a large fortune, Arshakuny made a lot of contribution for the benefit of the society. Thus, in 1853 together with ex-mayor Hovsep Mirimaniants, he organised the entertainment of part of the troops who had arrived in Tiflis to go to the front of the Russo-Turkish war: "Honorary Citizens Mirimanov and Arshakuny offered hospitality for 8 dragoon cavalry squadrons of the regiment of His Majesty Prince and Heir to the Throne Virtemberg and Don Artillery Division no. 7 in Alexandrovski Square (their officers were entertained in the Noblemen's Meeting Hall)."[306]

In 1855 Arshakuny offered entertainment for the personnel of the Persian embassy in Tiflis: "Meeting General Muravyov's wish, on 2 June Honorary Citizen Arshakuny gave a dinner party in honour of the embassy in the Shermazan-Vardanovs' house. Everybody was present there, with the exception of General Muravyov, Prince Behbudov and the ambassador."[307]

In 1856 Arshakuny was among the 87 benefactors (all of them were honorary citizens) who organised fund-raising to help some destitute people who had appeared in miserable conditions in the aftermath of the Russo-Turkish war. On the whole, 7,246 roubles was collected, 500 roubles, namely about 5 times as much as the average total, having been donated by Arshakuny himself.[308]

In August of the same year, 30 honorary citizens gathered at Gartiskarski Station to bid farewell to the retired governor, General Muravyov. Arshakuny was the only person among them to give a lavish dinner party in honour of the general: "Honorary Citizen Arshakuny and his friends offered generous hospitality at Gartiskarian Station, where about 30,000 people had gathered to bid farewell to General Muravyov."[309]

On 24 February 1857, when the remains of Nerses Ashtaraketsy were moved to Holy Echmiatsin, Arshakuny gave dinner for all the participants of the funeral ceremony. On the eve of that event, he had given money to the trade-unionists in the presence of the mayor and provided some bread and money for a number of prisoners.[310]

306 Acts, vol. 11, p. 874 (the original reads: "Почетные граждане Мириманов и Аршакуни угощали на Александровской площади 8 эскадронов драгунскаго его кор. выс. наследнаго принца Виртембергскаго полка и Донскую N 7-й батарею, а офицеров - в зале Дворянскаго Собрания").

307 Ibid., p. 569 (the original reads: "2-го июня ген. Муравьев изволил давать в честь посольства большой обед 5-го июня, в доме братьев Шермазан-Вартановых, почетным гражданином Аршакуни дан был в честь посольства обед, на котором присутствовали все, за исключением ген. Муравьева, кн. Бебутова и самого посла").

308 Ibid., p. 697.

309 Ibid., p. 715 (the original reads: "На Гартискарской станции, куда провожало ген. Муравьева около 30-ти чел., почетным гражданином Аршакуни с товарищами приготовлен был раскошный обед...").

310 Кавказ [*Kavkaz*], no. 17, 28 February 1857.

In the same year, at the suggestion of Kunfer, the head of the Research Institute of Physics in Petersburg and a real state counsillor, future mayor Arshakuny received the title of Correspondent Member of this institution. For several years, he carried out continual meteorological research in Bozhi Promisel, the centre of fish industry in Transcaucasia, thus making a great contribution to science.[311]

Honorary Native Citizen Vardan Arshakuny was elected mayor in 1858[312] and held that post until 1860.

In Metskhet in 1858, Arshakuny, who had already been elected mayor, met Catholicos of All Armenians Matevos (he was returning from Constantinople to Echmiatsin) together with other high-ranking officials: "On 14 June, the mayor of Tiflis was the first to meet the Catholicos, being followed by the leaders of the trade-unionists of the city, all more than 200 horsemen."[313]

In 1861 Arshakuny again made a donation of 500 roubles for a school and publishing house founded with the efforts of Khrimian Hayrik in Varag Monastery.[314]

A record of 1866 attests that the mayor's house was the finest edifice in Tiflis: "In 1836 the outstanding buildings of Tiflis included the residence of the Vice-Roy, the Headquarters of the Caucasian troops, the soldiers' quarters, the old Nersissian School as well as the residences of the Military and Civil Governors. At present, however, there are some structures of European style which excel them, increasing in number day by day. ... particularly Honorary Native Citizen Vardan Arshakuny's house, which is the first in Tiflis."[315]

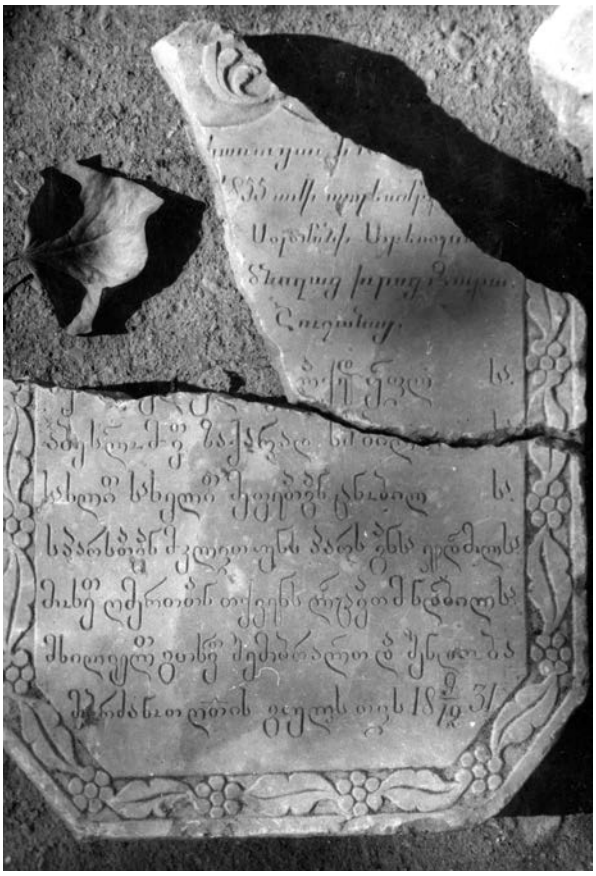
Vardan Arshakuny died in 1862.[316]

Under his will, more than 500,000 roubles was given to a school intended for orphans and children of poor families.[317]

SOGHOMON ZAKARIAN ABISOGHOMIANTS

Soghomon Zakarian Abisoghomiants, whose date of birth and biography remain obscure, descended from an Armenian family of first-class hereditary citizens (mokalaks).[318]

According to the available sources, S. Abisoghomiants commenced his public activities in the sphere of education. On 12 January 1831, he gained membership of the Committee on the Accomplishment of the Armenian School of Tiflis, which dealt with the problems of Nersissian School.[319]



The remnants of a tombstone erected in memory of Shushan and Zakaria, Mayor S. Abisoghomiants' parents (photo by S. Darchinian)

In 1838 Abisoghomiants participated in the establishment of a trade company headed by Yer. Artsruny.[320] In 1841 he was one of the deputies of the Georgian-Imeretian Province. [321]

On permission granted by Emperor Nikolai I and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in June 1844 Hereditary Merchant S. Abisoghomiants (Abisalamiants) was entrusted with the supervision of the construction of a church in the Armenian cemetery of Vera.[322]

In 1845 Commercial Counsillor S. Abisoghomiants became one of the 9 members of the government of the newly-founded Court Theatre,[323] which he had agreed to build with his own means (architect: Ivanov), meeting Vice-Roy Vorontsov's suggestion. Later, however,

311 *Kavkaz*, no. 12, 10 February 1857.
312 Caucasian Calendar for 1859, p. 452.
313 *Maseats Aghavni yev Tsiatsan Hayastaneayts*, no. 2 (1860), p. 28.
314 **Լէօ**, Գրիգոր Արծրունի [**Leo**, Grigor Artsruny], vol. 3 (Tiflis, 1905), p. 11.
315 "A Description of Tiflis," *Garun*, no. 4 (1866), p. 249.
316 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, nos 5-6 (1914), p. 27.
317 Ibid.
318 Acts, vol. 12, pp. 226-227.
319 **Yeritsiants**, 1898, p. 241.
320 Acts, vol. 9 (Tiflis, 1884), p. 52.
321 Ibid., p. 28.
322 **Абовян Х.**, Раны Армении [**Kh. Abovian**, Wounds of Armenia] (Yerevan, 1977), p. 307 (note).
323 Acts, vol. 11, p. 880 (the original reads: "...9 коммерции советник С. З. Абесаломов").

he refused to sponsor it since he disliked the project: "Commercial Counsillor Solomon Abesalomov and architect Ivanov expressed a desire to construct a new theatre house, but when the latter drew up the project, they broke up with each other."[324]

At first Abisoghomiants promised to allocate 200,000 roubles for the construction of the theatre house, but seeing its project, he declared that he would not give more than 50,000 for such a building.[325]

Broadening its activities in fish industry, the company founded by Abisoghomiants (1854) established a branch in Salian.[326]

At General Muravyov's suggestion during the Russo-Turkish war, in 1855, S. Abisoghomiants, who was mainly distinguished in the spheres of education, culture and trade, took command of the second of the 6 volunteer squads organised in Tiflis: "The Commander of the squad was Commercial Counsillor Solomon Abisoghomonov."[327]

Abisoghomiants was twice elected mayor at an interval of four years: 1860 to 1861 and 1865 to 1866.

During his governance, on 5 October 1860, telegraph communications were established between Tiflis and Poti.[328]

S. Abisoghomiants was buried in his family cemetery lying in the yard of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church in Tiflis.

In the early 1980s, the Art Museum of Tbilisi kept the fragments of a tombstone with a bilingual (Armenian and Georgian) epitaph that had been removed from the cemetery of Sourb Nshan Church: it had been erected there by S. Abisoghomiants as early as 1855, in memory of his parents.[329]

SOGHOMON MIRIMANIAN MIRIMANIANTS

Soghomon Mirimaniants, whose date of birth and biography remain unknown, descended from the Mirimaniants' family having the title of first-class mokalaks.[330]

During the dangerous period of the Russo-Turkish war, in 1855, Mirimaniants was appointed Commander of the Fourth Volunteer Squad organised in Tiflis: "The Commander of the squad was Soghomon Mirimanov, a mokalak from Tiflis."[331]

Mirimaniants was elected mayor in 1861 and held that post until 1862.[332]

GEVORG (YEGOR) GRIGORIAN PRIDONIANTS

Gevorg Grigorian Pridoniants, the descendant of an old Armenian family having the title of first-class hereditary citizens,[333] was born in Tiflis in 1816. In 1862 he was unanimously elected mayor of Tiflis and held that position until 1864, when he voluntarily refused to be re-elected.

During Pridoniants' governance, the Artisans Training College was founded in Tiflis. The pavement of the city's roads, which had begun only in the late 1850s, was in full swing particularly during his mayoralty (the pavement of all the main streets and squares of the city is inevitably connected with his name). By 1863 a surface of 42,000 square sazhens had already been paved in Tiflis: "Golovinian Avenue, which is present-day Palace Street without the part of the bridge, was paved, and trees were planted on both sides of the pavement. At the same time, some measures were taken for the illumination of the streets, squares and bridges with photogen or photonaphthyl: 302 street lamps were placed, and another 200 would be added soon so that the annual expenses of the city illumination amounted to 12,000 roubles."[334]

On 1 January 1862, the Surveyors' Chamber of Transcaucasia opened, and on 2 January 1863, telegraph communications were established between Tiflis and Stavropol. On 3 February of the same year, a military school opened in Tiflis.[335]

The theatre enjoyed great development under the auspices of the mayor, and Italian operas were staged there.[336]

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324 Acts, vol. 11, p. 882 (the original reads: "Первоначально изъявил желание воздвигнуть здание для театра коммерции сов. Соломон Абесаломов, совместно с архитектором Ивановым, но, по составлении последним плана, они разошлись...").

325 Ibid., p. 883.

326 Acts, vol. 11, p. 639.

327 Ibid., p. 206 (the original reads: "Начальник дружины коммерции советник Соломон Абесаломов...").

328 Caucasian Calendar for 1863, p. 198. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 30.

329 The bilingual epitaph was published by P. Muradian (**Muradian**, pp. 113-114).

330 Acts, vol. 12, p. 227.

331 Acts, vol. 11, p. 207 (the original reads: "Начальник дружины, Тифлисский мокалак Соломон Мириманов...").

332 Caucasian Calendar for 1862, p. 340.

333 Acts, vol. 12, p. 227.

334 **Bakradze**, **Berzenov**, 1870, pp. 143-144 (the original reads: "Головинский проспект, что ныне Дворцовая улица кроме мостовой, был обведен с обеих сторон тротуаром из плит, и обсажен деревьями. Одновременно были приняты меры и к освещению городских улиц, площадей и мостов посредством фотонафтиля или фотогена; на первый раз было устроено 302 фонаря, предполагалось еще 200, так что весь расход на освещение обходился бы городу около 12.000 руб. в год").

335 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 30; Кавказский календарь на 1867 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1867] (Tiflis, 1866), p. 277. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1892, ibid.

336 Caucasian Calendar for 1867, ibid.



A fragment of Mayor G. Pridoniants' tombstone in the yard of Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church (photo by S. Darchinian)

Information concerning the post-mayoralty period of G. Pridoniants is still more scanty: it is reported that in 1883 he was a contractor and lived in his own house in Sergeyev Street, Sololak District, Tiflis.[337]

G. Pridoniants died at the age of 79 in 1892 and was buried in the yard of Norashen's Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church (in Tiflis) on 6 February: "The mayor, the deputies of the City Council, all the trade unions with their Councils of Masters, the head of the artisans, the Council of Citizens as well as that of the trade unions attended his funeral with their banners. His coffin was decorated with the wreaths brought by the Municipal Government, the Armenian Theatrical Committee, the Armenian Dramatic Theatre and others."[338]

337 Caucasian Calendar for 1884, p. 185.

338 *Kavkaz*, no. 35, 1892 (the original reads: "На похоронах присутствовали городской голова, гласные городской думы, все амкары со своими старшинами, ремесленный голова, мещанский староста, цеховые старшины со своими флагами. На гробе покойнаго возложено было много венков, между прочим от городского управления, от армянскаго театральнаго комитета, армянской драматической труппы и проч.").

According to the will of the dead mayor, a large amount of money was going to be allocated to the charities of Tiflis,[339] "including: 5,000 roubles to Nersissian National Spiritual School to support a pupil who was the son of a poor Armenian artisan; 3,000 roubles to the Girls' School of Norashen's Sourb Astvatsatsin [Holy Virgin] Church; 1,000 roubles for the reconstruction of the same sanctuary; 2,000 roubles for the city's Artisans' College; 1,000 roubles for the Armenian parish school of Mozdok; 500 roubles for the treasury of the orphans and widows of the priests of Tiflis, and, finally, 10,000 roubles for the educational activities of the Catholicos of All Armenians."[340]

In 1989 a broken piece of Gevorg (Yeghia) Pridoniants' tombstone (it had been removed from its original location) was preserved near the southern wall of Norashen's Sourb Astvatsatsin Church with the endings of the following lines:

(Աստ հանգչին) ոսկերք | ... [Գ]րիգորեան | ... (Փրիդ)[ո]նեան | ... [ծնեալ ի] 1816-|... արի, 1892...:

Transl.: *...Here lie the bones ... Grigorian ... Pridonian ... born in 1816 ... 1892...*

GALUST HARUTIUNIAN SHERMAZAN-VARDANIANTS (SHERMAZAN-VARDANOV)

Galust Harutiunian Vardaniants was born in Old Jugha, Nakhijevan, in 1814.[341] His father Harutiun Vardaniants was a treasurer at the court of the Persian shah and bore the honorary title of *shermazan*, in return for his faithfulness, by the latter's special firman.[342] His descendants had this title added to their surname of Vardaniants.

In 1818 H. Shermazan-Vardaniants moved first to Nakhijevan and then to Tiflis at the invitation of Nerses Ashtaraketsy.[343] He bought a two-storey stone house[344]

339 Ibid.

340 «Արձագանք» [*Ardzagank*], no. 15, 1892. Also see *Nor-Dar*, no. 21, 1892, p. 3.

341 «Բազմավէպ» [*Bazmavep*] (1847), p. 94. Also see *Ardzagank*, no. 41, 1891.

342 **Եղեմեան Ա.**, Թատրոնը Թիֆլիսում [**A. Yeremian**, "The Theatre in Tiflis"], «Բազմավէպ» [*Bazmavep*] (1934), p. 91.

343 Ibid., p. 89.

344 One of the manuscripts of Ter-Grigorian (Vano), a theatrical figure, contains a description of "Shermazan's" house: "It had a large yard with semi-circular steps leading to a big entrance-room which opened into a nice hall built in Persian style. The dimensions of the square hall (the whole gate) were 30 to 32 metres (length and width) x 10 metres (height). The walls were covered with thin plasterwork and Persian pictures. The ceiling which was adorned with a beautiful big glass chandelier of many sconces was supported by two thick walnut pillars and had big, semi-circular gilded nails" (ibid., p. 91)

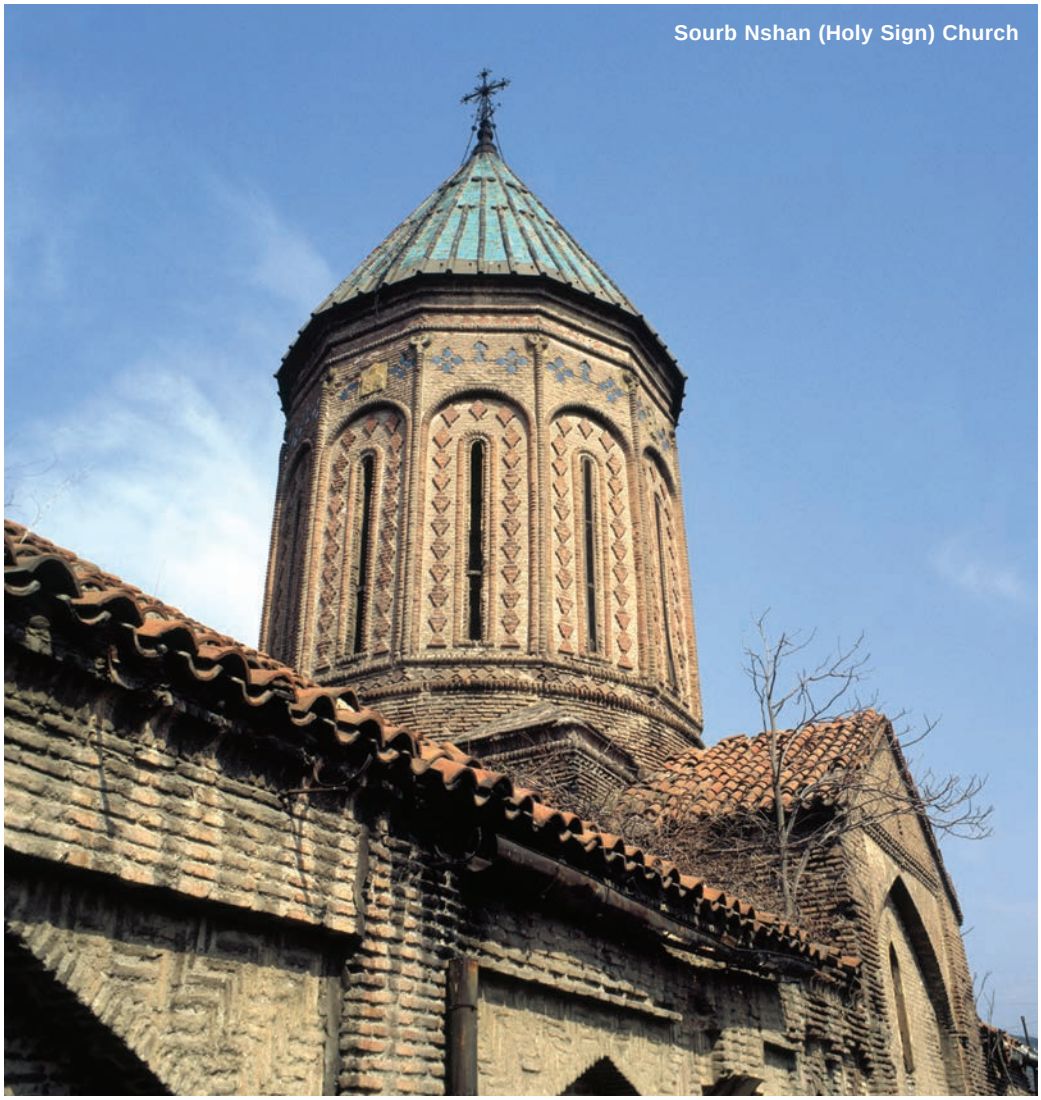
There were a great number of "gates" in the vicinity of Norashen's Sourb Astvatsatsin: "It [the city] being inhabited by rich



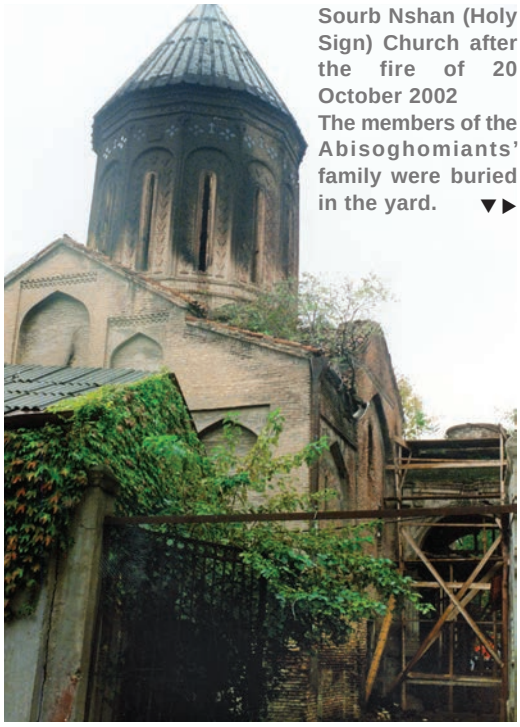
Tiflis: the Fortress Quarter, early 20th century ▲



The House of the Municipal Council (Duma): photo by S. Darchinian ▼



Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church



Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church after the fire of 20 October 2002
The members of the Abisoghomiants' family were buried in the yard. ▼▶





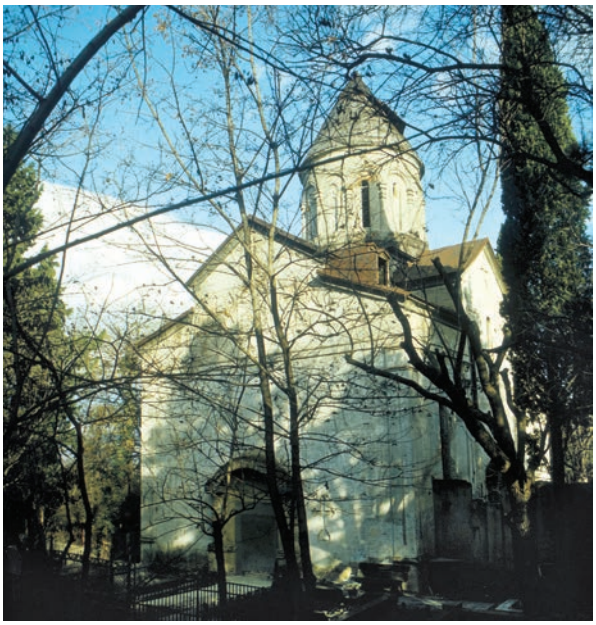
Sourb Karapet (Holy Forerunner) Church before Georgianization
Mayor Yazon Tumaniants was buried in the yard.





▲ Kusanats Sourb Stepanos (St. Stephen) Church built and repaired by the Behboudian meliks of Tiflis

◄ Sourb Betghehem (Holy Bethlehem) Church before Georgianization
M. Ter-Grigorov was buried in the yard.



Sourb Khach (Holy Cross) Church of Vera, in the yard of which, Mayor Yer. Artsruny was buried ►



Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Norashen, in the yard of which, Mayor Yeghia Pridoniants was buried





Buildings constructed by Armenians on Rustaveli (former Golovinski) Avenue: destroyed in 1991 and 1992 (photos by S. Darchinian)





Aramiants' Mansion after it fell prey to a fire during the events of 22 December 1991 to 6 January 1992
(photo by S. Darchinian)



with a large "gate" near St. Gevorg (George) Church of Mughni in Mets Tsur Street[345] and commenced his commertial activities. Thanks to his bravery and energetic character, he succeeded in making vast amounts of money, at the same time also acquiring an influential position in the social life of Tiflis.[346]

One of H. Vardaniants' sons, Galust, received primary education from the parish priest of Old Nakhijevan, after which, in 1823, he was admitted to Vank Cathedral of Tiflis, where his teacher was Archbishop Poghos Gharabaghtsy.[347] From 1825 until 1829, he was at Nersissian School, studying with Kh. Abovian, S. Nazariants, A. Araratian, S. Saharuni, H. Hovnanian, G. Mirzoyan, P. Madatian (Sayat) and others.[348]

After his graduation, G. Shermazan-Vardaniants voluntarily stayed at Nersissian School for another year to improve his education.[349]

Even after that, Galust remained faithfully attached to his alma mater: in 1831, for instance, he became one of the executors of the so-called Charukhchian[350] Will together with Yeremia Artsruny.[351]

Between 1824 and 1828, Galust was one of the members of the theatrical circle of Nersissian School.[352]

In 1826, when he was a fifth-class student at this school, he wrote a play: "In 1826 Archimandrite Poghos Gharabaghtsy, who taught the Armenian language at Nersissian School, suggested that each of his fifth-class pupils should present his own piece of writing. Galust wrote a play entitled "Asribek and Giki," this being his first attempt in writing plays."[353]



Mayor Galust Vardanian-Shermazaniants
Photo taken from Bishop M. Ashjian's work entitled Դիւան Մեսրոպ Թաղիադեան [Mesrop Taghiadian's Archives] (New Jugha, 1979)

This play was published many decades later, after it had been refined and improved by the author.[354]

In 1836, exactly 10 years after his first play, Shermazan-Vardaniants wrote another one based on the everyday life of Tiflis Armenians.[355] Eager to contribute to the existence and development of the city theatre, he donated the "gate," forming part of his house, to it: "Galust Shermazaniants was the first to realise that the theatre could develop and make progress only when it had its own building."[356]

In 1836, pursuing the aim of educating the society with plays depicting the reality, Galust wrote a play-reprimand exposing those people whose intrigues eventually resulted in the temporary termination of the activities of Nersissian School.[357]

A certain fishmonger Melko's wedding ceremony, performed through bribery, became the subject of a co-

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Armenians, the "gates" extended up to Velyaminovski Street" («Հովիւ» [*Hoviv*], no. 42, 1909, p. 669).

345 Mets Tsur Street was later renamed Lermontov. The house (no. 4) was located at the corner of Velyaminovskaya (later: Dzneladze) Street and extended up to the First Blind Alley of Mughni in Abas-Abadian Square (ibid., p. 91). In 1909 it belonged to a certain Michaeliants from Agulis (*Hoviv*, no. 42, 1909, p. 669).

346 On 25 February 1819, H. Shermazan-Vardaniants donated 165 roubles for the construction of Nersissian School. In 1824 he was elected as a trustee of the same institution and a supervisor of its economic department (also including the management of its estates) together with G. Artsruny (see **Yeritsiants**, 1898, pp. 51, 58).

347 Библиотека Галуста Шермазанянца ["Galust Shermazaniants' Library"], *Kavkaz*, no. 29, 1856.

348 **Yeremian**, "The Theatre in Tiflis," p. 90.

349 **Yeritsiants**, 1898, p. 116.

350 Kospar Barseghian Charukhchian, a native of Van who had become well-known for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, died in Tiflis in 1824 (ibid., p. 57).

351 Ibid., p. 261.

352 **Երեմեան Ա.**, Ռուսահայ թատրոնի պատմութիւնը (սկզբից մինչև 70-ական թւականը) [**A. Yeremian**, "History of Russian Armenian Theatre (from its establishment until the '70s)"], «Բազմավէպ» [*Bazmavep*] (1933), p. 30.

353 **Yeremian**, "The Theatre in Tiflis," p. 90.

354 «Կռունկ Հայոց Աշխարհի» [*Krunk Hayots Ashkhari*], no. 1 (1862); no. 2 (1863).

355 **Yeremian**, "The Theatre in Tiflis," pp. 90-91.

356 Ibid., p. 91. Also see **Աղաբեկեան Մ.**, Հայկական թատրոնի անցեալը [**M. Aghabekian**, "The Past of the Armenian Theatre"], «Փորձ» [*Pordz*], no. 10, 1879, p. 63.

357 **Yeremian**, "The Theatre in Tiflis," p. 92.

medy written in the 1830s: "Considered as the first comedy ever written by a Russian Armenian, it offered a vivid and true portrayal of Archibshop Karapet, his corrrupted puppets and fishmonger Melko. Indeed, it was a great piece of writing that was widespread with the contemporary readers. However, the comedy could be acquired only secretly: Archbishop Karapet had requested the police to find its unknown author, although in vain."[358]

In the late 1830s, Galust went first to Europe and then to Persia, where he was even appointed mayor of Tabriz: "A new period of social activities commenced: being in charge of his father's commercial affairs, he went to Leipzig, Germany, whence he sent goods to Persia. That cultural centre opened new areas of study for Shermazaniants—it was during that period that he learnt the German language, got acquainted with German literature and art, thus improving his education still further. It was there that he was imbued with love of ancient art and manuscripts and returned to Tabriz, Persia, with his knowledge enriched with European culture. In a short time, he succeeded in winning the society's liking and was elected mayor (*tajir-bashi* in Persian) of Tabriz. Overburdened as he was with social work requiring great responsibility, Galust remained loyal to his principles and went further into the cultural area of his activities. Living in the midst of the common people, he made a detailed and thorough study of the features characteristic of their everyday life, customs and traditions. His observations served as the basis of another play entitled "A National Wedding": its title page states that the event is taking place among the Armenians of Tabriz."[359]

In 1841 G. Shermazan-Vardaniants completed an interesting play entitled "A Description of Certain Affairs of Bishop Karapet, the Primate of the Armenian Resettlers from Tayk."[360]

In the 1840s, G. Vardaniants wrote poems ("The Man and the Lion"[361]), fables ("The Wolf and the Blacksmith's Dog"[362]) and worked at some pieces of folklore (a song titled "The Woe of Jugha Armenians"[363]), etc.[364]

The Shermazans' Gate served as a theatre hall for foreigners as well: thus, in 1855, when the authorities rejected the request of a Georgian troupe to have at least a weekly performance in the Royal Theatre, the actors hired the well-known "gate" for that purpose: "By raising money through private donations, they founded the temporary theatre of Vardanov (Shermazan), a citizen of Tiflis."[365]

In the 1850s, G. Shermazan-Vardaniants' correspondence was published in some Russian periodicals.[366]

In 1857, when Vardaniants lived in Tabriz, he entered into correspondence with G. Akhverdian, then a citizen of Tiflis, in this way conveying to him all his knowledge and experience respecting trade-unions (this information later served as the basis of an interesting work written by Akhverdian).[367]

The theatrical life of Tiflis, and particularly, the Armenian Theatre housed in the Shermazans' Gate, had a new period of flourishing between 1859 and 1860, when over 30 plays were staged within two years.[368]

In 1860 Galust returned to Tiflis, where he expanded his theatrical activities. In 1861 he wrote two Armenian-language plays entitled "My Fiancee is Araz" and "A National Wedding"[369] (published in the same year).[370]

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358 **Երիցեանց Ա.**, Ամենայն Հայոց կաթողիկոսութիւնը եւ Կովկասի Հայք XIX-րորդ դարում [**A. Yeritsiants**, The Catholicosate of All Armenians and the Armenians of Caucasia in the 19th Century], part 2 (Tiflis, 1895), p. 472.

359 **Yeremian**, "The Theatre in Tiflis," p. 94.

360 M. M. Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, mss. 3045, 8810. The play was published with As. Mnatsakanian's foreword and notes in: «Գիտական նյութերի ժողովածու» [*A Collection of Scientific Materials*], no. 2 (1950), pp. 99-178.

361 «Կովկաս» [*Kovkas*], no. 19, 1846.

362 Ibid., no. 25, 1847.

363 *Bazmavep* (1847), pp. 94-95.

364 *Kovkas*, nos. 24, 27, 28, 1847. Also see **Մնացականյան Ա.**, Հայտնաբերված է Գ. Շերմազանյանի՝ Խ. Աբովյանի դասընկերոջ կոմեդիայի երկու ձեռագիր [**A. Mnatsakanian**, "Two Handwritten Pieces of the Comedy by G. Shermazanian, Kh. Abovian's Classmate, Found"], «Գրական թերթ» [*Grakan Tert*], no. 37, 1948. Also see **Զարյան Ռ.**, Մի նորահայտ պիեսի մասին [**R. Zarian**, "About a Newly-Found Play"], «Սովետական գրականություն և արվեստ» [*Soviet Literature and Art*], no. 5, 1952.

365 Acts, vol. 11, p. 925 (the original reads: "...решилась занять у частных лиц деньги и построила в дарбазе Тифлисскаго гражданина Вартанова (Шермазанова) временный театр...").

366 *Kavkaz*, no. 29, 1856, pp. 115-116; no. 30, pp. 119-120; no. 31, p. 124 ("Galust Shermazaniants' Library"). Also see *Kavkaz*, no. 51, 1856.

367 This work was published 23 years after the author's death. Also see **Հովհաննիսյան Ա.**, Գ. Ախվերդյանի և Գ. Շերմազանյանի նամակափոխանակությունը Վրաստանի և Պարսկաստանի համքարությունների մասին [**A. Hovhannissian**, "G. Akhverdian's and G. Shermazanian's Correspondence about the Trade-Unions of Georgia and Persia"], «ՊԲՀ» [*Historico-Philological Journal*], no. 2, 1963, pp. 187-215.

368 «Մեղու Հայաստանի» [*Meghu Hayastani*], no. 40, 1861, p. 500.

369 Philologist A. Yeremian wrote the following with regard to the plays: "They are the true reflection of real life where Shermazaniants' skilful pen presents the history of the everyday struggle between the older and younger generations. The spiritual ordeal and sufferings of the victims of the traditional way of life are so vivid that the reader equally shares them. Shermazaniants was just as successful while writing the "National Wedding": devoted to the common people's everyday life, this play reveals an entire nation with their traditional mode of life, customs, dances, music ... and world outlook" (**Yeremian**, "History of Russian Armenian Theatre," p. 298). Also see *Bazmavep* (1935), pp. 154-155.

370 *Krunk Hayots Ashkhari*, nos. 4, 6 (1861).

For the first time in the history of Tiflis, in 1864, the post of mayor was occupied by a person who was not a mokalak, namely a native citizen, but an akhalmosul, a non-native: "Formerly it never occurred to any of the non-natives that they would be ever honoured to hold the position of mayor, while today Shermazaniants became the first to overcome the barrier between the native citizens and newcomers and was elected mayor by the very akhalmosuls."[371]

The mokalaks who had always had the monopoly of holding the position of mayor, were violently opposed to this fact, but it was of great importance during that period.[372] The struggle between the mokalaks and akhalmosuls was worsening day by day, but "the people gave their voices in behalf of Shermazaniants, appreciating his higher education and wide experience in the sphere of politics."[373]

The mayoral elections were held in the very Shermazans' Gate.

On 21 January 1864, telegraph communications were established between Tiflis and Dilijan, Yerevan, Nakhijevan and Jugha.[374]

In January 1865, G. Shermazan-Vardaniants was re-elecetd to the mayor's post.

On 7 April 1865, a first-class girls' school opened in Tiflis.[375]

On 27 July 1865, the Statutes of the Caucasian Museum were approved.[376]

G. Vardaniants' two-year governance (1864 to 1865) was marked with such a significant movement as the rebellion of the trade-unionists. In the very first year of his mayoralty, he took drastic measures to increase the municipal income. In 1864 Tiflis was supposed to have an income of 306,823 roubles and 72 1/2 kopecks, while the expenses amounted to 638,502 roubles and 14 kopecks, which means that the latter was twice as large as the former. Moreover, almost 1/3 of the municipal income was spent on the housing problems of the Caucasian Military Corps personnel, although these expenses were not to be defrayed only by Tiflis. In order to cover the budget deficit, the Municipal Government, headed by Galust Shermazan-Vardanian, a "non-native" mayor, from 1864, took certain measures to extirpate all the financial problems of the city. For that goal, the authorities set new tributes that were mainly imposed on the craftsmen and lower classes. The detailed announcement on the taxes, published in the official newspaper *Kavkaz* (nos. 12, 15, 17 and 19), incited the trade-unionists to organise secret meetings in different parts of the city, Havlabar, Ortajala, Khojivank Cemetery and the church *gavits* (narthexes). Meanwhile, rumours spread among the common people convincing them that everything was being done on G. Shermazan Vardanian's initiative.

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371 **Մանուկյան Ս.,** Պերճ Պռոշյան [**S. Manukian**, Perj Proshian] (Yerevan, 1964), p. 443.

372 P. Proshian wrote the following in that respect: "In those times, the population of Tiflis consisted of two classes, natives and non-natives. Indeed, we do not take into account the state officials and noblemen, who ... did not pay taxes. ... The native or naturalised citizens of Tiflis had a feeling of impudent contempt for the newcomers, the *akhalmosuls*, whom they always teased and oppressed. The former had dominant positions and a decisive voice in the Municipal Government, whereas the latter were only subordinates devoid of the right to their own vote and opinion. However, times change, do they not? Yes, this was the natural state of things as long as the non-natives formed only a small minority in the city, but nowadays their number has considerably grown. They have taken up permanent residence in the city and think it their indisputable right to share both the burdens and privileges of its governance" (**Manukian**, ibid).
Prof. L. Melikset-Bek offers the following interpretation in his work on the trade-unionists' revolt: "In the mid-19th century, the antagonism the two classes felt toward each other considerably worsened. One of the parties was represented by the trade-unions characterised with their caste arrangement, customs, rites and concepts that had already been "adjusted" to the feudal system. The other was the class of the so-called newcomers (akhalmosuls) or craftsmen: they were not natives of Tiflis (*zareshe*) and mainly comprised Russians and foreigners (Europeans) who were reluctant to join the trade-unionists. On the one hand, the struggle between these two classes was motivated by the latter's desire to maintain their "centuries-old" monopoly in the market, for the purpose of which, they tried either to oust the newcomers from their field of activities or force them to become members of the trade-unions and obey their Statutes, thus being dependent on them. On the other hand, the Tsarist Government kept the "newcomers" under its close auspices granting them "monopolies" which differed from those held by the trade-unionists for centuries. The latter aimed at making the former equal to themselves, meanwhile also fighting against the newly-born bourgeoisie that had already created a traceable "gap" in the economy of both the city and villages. This gap was gradually deepening because of the day-labourers whose number was rapidly increasing. Despite the fact that the Tsarist Government patronised the "newcomers" and the bourgeoisie, it did not dare to fight the trade-unions openly as they were closely attached to the majority of the citizens through their ancient customs, and the struggle against them was fraught with serious consequences. So, whenever the bourgeoisie put forward the question of extirpating the trade-unions, the Government did not meet that, thinking that those institutions themselves would become extinct when the reasons causing their existence were uprooted, namely when good means of communication were established in the country and the industry and commerce developed. The antagonism between the newly-born bourgeoisie and "non-native" craftsmen on the one hand, and between the old trade-unions and the lower classes of the city and villages, which suffered pauperisation, on the other, worsened to such an extent that it gave rise to mass protests, rallies and even rebellions." See **Մելիքսեթ-Բեկ Լ.**, Համքարների ելույթը Թբիլիսում 1865 թվականին, Գ. Սունդուկյանը և հայ մտավորականները [**L. Melikset-Bek**, "The Trade-Unionists' Revolt in Tbilisi in 1865: G. Sundukian and the Armenian Intellectuals"], «Խորհրդային Վրաստան» [*Khorhrdayin Vrastan*], no. 19, 3 September 1938, pp. 2-3.

373 *Bazmavep* (1934), p. 94.

374 Caucasian Calendar for 1867, p. 279. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 31.

375 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 31.

376 Ibid., p. 32.

The trade-unionists applied to the authorities with a request to either abolish the tributes or reduce them, but of no avail. On 26 June 1865, they held a meeting in Khojivank Cemetery and unanimously decided to go on strike on the 28th of the same month (Monday) and stop work in all the ateliers and shops until the Government met their petition. Learning about the trade-unionists' decision, the Vice-Roy, Prince G. Orbelian, ordered Roslavlev, Tbilisi's chief of police, to tell them that if they *did* go on strike, the authorities would regard it as opposition and would take drastic measures, even resorting to arms. On the morning (at 8 o'clock) of the 27th of June (Sunday), all the chief masters (*ustabashis*) of the trade-unions were invited to the chief of police so that the latter would tell them Prince Orbelian's order. Then a large crowd of trade-unionists, day-labourers and representatives of the lumpen-proletariat gathered in front of the police-station situated in Yerevan Square. The rumour spread that the masters had been arrested and would be exiled to Siberia, but the chief of police, who feared lest the "crowd" might break into the building, denied it and urged the principals of the trade-unions to leave the police-station. The latter, however, refused to do so under the excuse that they were afraid the crowd would beat them on their leaving the place. Meanwhile, the mob increased, amounting to 10 thousand so that the police had to ask the authorities, first Prince Nikolai Javjavadze, the Civil Governor of Tbilisi, and then even the Vice-Roy, Prince Grigol Orbeliani, for mediation, but in vain. The people kept protesting against the heavy taxes; some of them even spread rumours that a law would be adopted on mandatory military service. Although G. Orbeliani was endowed with a poetic gift and was known for his supporting the conspiracy against the Russian Government organised in 1832, his sweet words addressed to the crowd gathered in Yerevan Square were of no use to him. He pointed out that the law was the same for everybody, and he himself paid a tax for his horse, but in vain. The threats of the Prime Minister were answered with swear words and whistles, which made him leave the square without reaching his goal.

At 3 o'clock on the same day (27 June), a group of gendarmes and Cossacks appeared in Yerevan Square; their task was to disperse the crowd, but the latter did not make a single step back. Moreover, they began showering the newly-arrived group with stones and even injured one of the Cossacks in the head. They attempted to break into the police-station to destroy it, but their efforts were not successful. The agitated people rushed to Khojaminasazov's house through Velyaminovski Street, but learning that Mayor G. Shermazan Vardanian did not live there, they moved towards his residence, located in the same street, and attacked it, breaking its windows and doors and even partly destroying the walls. The infuriated crowd threw out the expensive Persian carpets and cut them into pieces with daggers, scattering the tiny pieces here and there. The jars of jam, the china dishes and even the piano and books were thrown out into the street. Thus, the rich library of a person who was engaged in the study of the problems of Armenian history as well as his collection of more than 100 Armenian manuscripts were simply destroyed (at present the surviving manuscripts are kept in the Manuscript Department of Tübingen University, Germany).

Before the crowd's intrusion, Vardaniants was having dinner, but learning about the impending attack, he fled from the house.

One of the eye-witnesses of the rally of 27 June 1865, Avetik Yenfiajiants, who was G. Shermazan-Vardaniants' rival and Hambardzum Yenfiajiants' brother, offered the following account of the destruction of the mayor's house in a letter (written in Tbilisi, in the '90s of the 19th century) addressed to Levon Gyanjetsian and the German Armenologist, Professor Franz Nicolaus Finki in Tübingen: "The last days of the governance of Galust Shermazaniants, the mayor of Tiflis and an intelligent person, were marked with a great tumult in the city. Unable to bear the extremely heavy taxes, the enraged citizens took their revenge upon the mayor; they attacked his residence for the purpose of killing both him and his whole family. However, Vardaniants and his family managed to escape, leaving their house in the hands of the infuriated crowd, which reduced it to ruins, stealing all their dishes and belongings.[376a]

From the mayor's residence the crowd headed for the Soldatski Bazaar, whence they moved towards Chughuret via the bridge of Kuki, with the aim of pulling down tax collector Bazhbeuk-Melikov's house. The latter, who was at home, offered a violent resistance to them and even hurt one of them, this inciting them to break into his house and destroy everything. Bazhbeuk-Melikov climbed the roof whence he jumped onto that of the neighbouring house. The people in the street noticed him and began chasing him until they caught him, knocked him down and stoned him to death. His house shared the fate of the mayor's residence.

The rebellion was suppressed only in the evening when an entire military company came to the rescue of the municipal authorities and occupied the main streets and squares."[377]

376a A List of Armenian Manuscripts Kept in Tübingen University Library (in German) (Tübingen, 1907), p. 5.

377 **Melikset-Bek**, "The Trade-Unionists' Revolt," pp. 2-3. Summarizing the materials concerning the rebellion, Sh. Chkhetia wrote: "In 1865, in order to increase the income of the Municipal



The revolt of trade-unionists in 1865 (painting by G. Sharbabchian, an honoured worker of art)

That the prices and taxes considerably rose in Tiflis during Vardaniants' two-year governance is also attested in M. Chemeshkian's memoirs.[378]

Some years later, Proshian wrote: "Someone had told the trade-unionists that the mayor was their enemy, and as they were unable to go deep into the essential reasons of the matter and relied only on themselves, they hastily turned to lynching. Indeed, how could the simple trade-unionist be aware of the conspiracy continually plotted against Shermazaniants, it being but a complicated struggle between the mokalaks and akhalmosuls, as finally interpreted by some intelligent people."[379]

G. Sh. Vardaniants declared that there were certain people who had stirred the trade-unionists to the uprising. He shared his standpoint with the Committee of Inquiry: "He (Shermazan-Vardanov) insists that it was the members of the class of honorary citizens who, motivated by the interests of their class and their enmity towards Shermazan-Vardanov..., instigated the trade-unionists to opposition against the authorities. However, their actual aim was to depose him (Shermazan-Vardanov), rob him of his property and even kill him. As evidenced by Vardanov, the main instigator of the mutiny was Court Counsillor Grigor Izmirov, an honorary citizen, his adherents being Gabriel Sundukian, a court counsillor and member of Tbilisi Provincial Council; Dr. Rotiniants, Soladov, assistant housing supervisor (all of them were native citizens); Hambardzum Yenfiajiants, one of the members of the Printing-House Association (the other two were Rotiniants and Sundukian); Petros (*Petrus* in the original) Simoniants, the editor of the *Meghu Hayastani* newspaper printed in Yenfiajiants' publishing-house; Honorary Citizens Nazar Nazarbegov, Yegor Pridonov, Daniel Izmirov, Artem Baysogholov and a certain Gevo Gozalov. Shermazan-Vardanov provided the following arguments for accusing these people of the organisation of the revolt:

1. Grigor Izmirov. a) Together with Sundukian, Izmirov stirred up a feeling of resentment against Shermazan-Vardanov among the native citizens and those who had recently settled down in the city; b) While speaking to Vardanov in the presence of Bishop Makar, the Primate of the diocese, Izmirov threatened to crush him; c) Izmirov gathered a group of people in his own house and tried to convince them that Shermazan-Vardanov aimed at converting the Armenians to Orthodoxy. He also told them that the mayor had sent him to Echmiatsin to inform the Synod about it. d) Before leaving for Echmiatsin, Izmirov and ex-Mayor Pridonov organised two meetings of the trade-unionists (first in the *gavit* of Norashen Church and then in Khojivank Cemetery) for the purpose of provoking the people against Vardanov. The Governor warned Izmirov and his followers, Enfiajiants, Simoniants and others, against such actions.

Treasury and improve the conditions of the quarters inhabited by the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the authorities set additional taxes amounting to 60 thousand, mainly imposing them on the working class and the petty bourgeoisie (petty merchants, craftsmen and workers). The promulgation of the Government's intention aroused the vexation of the lower classes. The trade-unionists who always expressed their interests undertook a powerful movement which became known as the trade-unionists' rebellion in the official sources. Within several days, all the stands in Tbilisi closed, demanding the extirpation of the additional taxes. The merchants, craftsmen and the poor, all about ten thousand souls, engaged a true battle against the rich. Mayor Shermazan Vardanov had a narrow escape from the infuriated mob, while tax-collector Bazhbeuk-Melikov, who had always carried out his commands, received a severe beating" (the original reads: "Заботясь об увеличении доходов казны и благоустройстве буржуазных кварталов города, в 1865 г. власти установили дополнительные налоги в сумме 60 тыс. руб., которые падали исключительно на трудовые элементы и на мелкобуржуазные слои населения, на мелких торговцев, ремесленников и рабочих. Объявление о сборе новых налогов всколыхнуло низшие классы населения, и, выражая их интересы и настроения, амкары развернули мощное движение, известное в официальных источниках под именем "амкарского бунта". В течение нескольких дней все лавки в Тбилиси были закрыты: амкары требовали отмены дополнительных налогов. Торговцы и ремесленники вместе с городской беднотой в числе до десяти тысяч человек вышли на улицу и дали настоящий бой городским богачам. Городской голова Шермазан Вартанов едва спасся от рассвирипевшей толпы, а исполнитель его приказаний сборщик податей Бажбеук-Меликов был избит до смерти..."). **Chkhetia**, "The Armenians of Tbilisi," p. 166.

378 **Չմշկեան Մ.**, Թիֆլիզը 1865 թ. եւ Կռոյի տղա Մինասը [**M. Chemeshkian**, "Tiflis in 1865 and Kro's Son Minas"], «Հովիտ» [*Hovit*], no. 25, 1915, pp. 392-393.

379 **Manukian**, p. 443.

Apart from this, Mayor Shermazan-Vardanov also told the Committee of Inquiry that Izmirov had incited the trade-unionists against Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants and ex-Mayor Mirimanov.

2. Shermazan-Vardanov has accused Gabriel Sundukian and his brother-in-law, Doctor Rotiniants, having seized their property. Besides, he (Shermazan Vardanov) also told the investigating bodies that when Izmirov was leaving for Echmiatsin, Sundukian disseminated false information according to which, the citizens of Tiflis had to pay the same trade taxes as the foreign merchants of Tiflis. Sundukian also threatened the mayor for putting a veto on the property of Dr. Rotiniants, his brother-in-law. However, no proof was presented to substantiate the first accusation. As for the second one, the Governor was summoned to bear witness to it since Sundukian had threatened Vardanov in his presence.

Conducting further investigation into the accusations against the aforementioned people, the Committee of Inquiry came to the conclusion that the material at their disposal did not provide enough grounds to bring to justice Dr. Rotinian, Petros [*Petrus* in the original] Simoniants, the editor of the *Meghu Hayastani* as well as Gabriel Sundukian, a court counsillor and one of the members of Tbilisi Provincial Council, until the further process of the case revealed more evidence of their involvement in the organisation of the riot."[380]

The police accounts about the organisers of the trade-unionists' revolt indirectly provide additional details respecting G. Shermazan Vardaniants' mayoralty: "An extract from the materials of the secret investigation conducted by Tbilisi Chief of Police in connection with the uprising of 27 to 28 June 1865:

Pyotr Shanshiyev, the author of a booklet entitled *A Few Words about the Trade-Unionists*, received his higher education at the universities of Dorpat and Petersburg. He taught at the Armenian Gregorian seminaries of Tbilisi and Shushi, but was dismissed for disseminating anti-Governmental and anti-religious ideas, despite the fact that he was under the auspices of some influential men. His activities mainly consisted in propagating that the Armenian nation should become independent, and certain religious reforms should be implemented among them. At present he is collaborating with the *Meghu Hayastani*, which is published in the Armenian language. Petros Shanshiyev is in constant correspondence with Bazel and other scholars.

Pyotr Simoniants, who was from Nakhijevan-on-Don, received education at Dorpat University and taught in a seminay in Tbilisi. He was discharged for the same reasons as his friend Shanshiyev and lived in abject poverty. Two years ago, George William from Oxford University, an Englishman, came to Tiflis and stayed at the place of Khatissiants, Honorary Citizen Khatissov's son (now Simoniants lives there). George William, who travelled about the country with Simoniants, lived in Echmiatsin for two weeks. After his departure, Simoniants grew very rich and well-off. Now he is the editor of the *Meghu* Armenian newspaper, which is published in the printing office belonging to Hambardzum Enfiajiants, Gabriel Sundukian and Dr. Rotiniants.

Gabriel Khatissiants, Honorary Citizen Khatissov's son, was a graduate of Dorpat University, the friend of the aforementioned two people. He taught at the Armenian Gregorian seminary of Tbilisi, but was dismissed for the same reasons as his friends. Now he works as a correspondent for the *Meghu*.

The three of them are in correspondence with foreign agents, their accomplices being Grigor Izmirov, Hambardzum Enfiajiants, Dr. Rotiniants and Gabriel Sundukian, who works in the Provincial Council.

The first three people mentioned above focused their activities on the good Armenian families, propagating ideas about freedom, criticising the Government's actions, imbuing the people with hatred for it and persuading them to send their children abroad, and particularly, to Basel to get education there.

Izmirov and Enfiajiants made every attempt to influence the common people, by reminding them of the newly-imposed heavy taxes and convincing them that the Government's actions completely neglected their interests. They also frightened them by telling them that the authorities aimed at converting them to Orthodoxy and finally enslaving the entire nation.

Doctor Rotiniants is another graduate of Dorpat University. Disguised as a physician, he has access everywhere and keeps disseminating the same ideas as Sundukian. The latter's main task consists in finding out whether or not their actions are controled by the secret and local police forces (he succeeds in obtaining trustworthy information in this respect).

Formerly, before being elected mayor, Kalust Shermazan-Vardanov was one of the members of this circle and was naturally well-aware of their desires, ideas and purposes. Therefore, when he won the mayoralty of the city, he detached himself from that society and started persuading them to give up their convictions that were useless and fraught with grave consequences. Indeed, his former companions did not agree to this; moreover, they got infuriated with him since he had betrayed them, being aware of all their intentions. It was for these very reasons that the Armenians were imbued with a feeling of revenge against him and made petitions to depose him under the excuse of his having been elected illegally. Their efforts for achieving this

380 **Melikset-Bek**, "The Trade-Unionists' Revolt," pp. 2-3.

aim being fruitless, they carried out what took place on 27 June."[381]

Below follows the secret report (no. 119, 10 September 1865) of the Chief of the Sixth District of Gendarme Corps addressed to the Vice-Roy of Caucasia: "The chairman of the Committee of Inquiry, established for the purpose of investigating the riot of 27 to 28 June of this year, sent me an extract (4 September, note no. 116) from the materials of the secret investigation into this case conducted by the chief of police:

"Presenting the original of that extract to Your Highness, I want to add that I know Gavrilo Sundukian, who is mentioned among the other accomplices in the riot, as a kind-hearted person of high principles. He is intelligent enough to understand that the favourable laws of our Government are in the very interests of the Armenian people. Though I know but little about the other accomplices, judging from their education, I think that they share the same ideas for their own peace and welfare.

"As far as I know, ex-Mayor Kalust is not a kind-hearted and honest person. His accusations against these people are absolutely groundless, which gives us reason to think that these actions are in his own interests. In this way, he wants to extirpate the suspicions that are likely to arise with regard to his own involovement in the case. Consequently, I cannot believe what he has told us: it has absolutely no grounds and is beyond law. Nor can I act in any way, it falling completely outside my jurisdiction."[381a]

In 1888 Dr. Aramiants accomplished a work entitled *A Persian-Indian Repository* thanks to the important materials provided by G. Sh. Vardaniants. The work was awarded the Izmirian Prize.[382]

After the suppression of the trade-unionists' revolt, the Government was forced to depose G. Sh. Vardaniants. However, as a true intellectual, he suffered a more painful blow due to the destruction of his library. After some time, the former mayor of Tiflis was again able to carry out literary and cultural activities.

Between 1875 and 1878, G. Sh. Vardaniants published several of his works in a series of articles.[383]



The Khankalamians' house built on the site of G. Shermazaniants' residence at the corner of Velyaminovskaya (nowadays: no. 20 Dadiani) and Lermontov (called Bolshaya Krivaya until the 1890s) Streets (photo by S. Darchinian)

The most important among Vardaniants' research works is perhaps a book entitled *Materials for Armenian National History* (in Armenian) and devoted to outstanding Persian Armenian figures. On 30 May 1889, Bishop G. Servandztiants wrote the following with regard to this work: "You can hardly find a single intelligent Armenian who is not familiar with G. Shermazanian's name, and who has not seen his poems, historical, descriptive and critical works, translations, etc., all written in great taste and on useful subjects, published in a number of Russian Armenian periodicals and newspapers. He also knows the publishers of the *Arshaluys Araratian* and *Masis* Turkish Armenian newspapers very well. It has already been more than half a century since he commenced his literary activities, and now that he has reached a venerable age, he is presenting his nation with a work that is remarkable in every aspect. He started it in 1832 and completed it in 1863. Unfortunately, on 28 to 29 June 1865, when Tiflis converted into a theatre of a great political conflict, G. Shirmazanian's entire library fell victim to it, the loss, alas, being irreversible. With the destruction of G. Shir-

381 Ibid.

381a Ibid.

382 «Արարատ» [*Ararat*], March 1888, p. 192.

383 These article series include: Կենսագրութիւն Սահակ եպիսկոպոսի Սադունեանց ["Bishop Sahak Saduniants' Biography"], «Մասիս» [*Masis*], no. 1759, 1875; Մի քանի խօսք Ֆաթ-Ալի շահի վերայ եւ ցուցակ նրա որդիների, դուստրների և թէ նրանք երբ, ինչ մօրէ են ծնած, ու՞մ հետ են ամուսնացած և նրանցից ոմանք ինչ ձիրքեր և տիտղոսներ են ունեցած, նույնպէս նրա կանանց ինչ ցեղէ, ինչ ազգէ լինելն և ինչ ձիրքեր կամ տիտղոսներ են ունեցել ["A Few Words about Shah Fat-Ali, and a List of His Sons and Daughters, Including Their Birth Dates, the Women who Gave Birth to Them and Their Spouses, also Enlarging on the Natural Gifts and Titles of Some of Them, on the National Identity of the Shah's Wives and Their Natural Gifts or Titles"] «Արարատ» [*Ararat*], 1876, pp. 132-139, 182-188, 214-219, 251-257, 301-305; Ճանապարհորդութիւն Հայաստանումը: Գ. Շ-ի յիշատակարանից հանած: 1842 թիւ 12 օգոստ. Մաղարթա Նախավկա վանքումը ["A Journey in Armenia (from G. Sh.'s diary). 12 August 1842: In Nakhavka (Magharta) Monastery"] («Արարատ» [*Ararat*], 1877, pp. 17-27, 57-67, 92-102, 134-148, 179-185, 208-221, 254-262, 293-308, 331-336, 370-383, 405-419, 447-460, 1878, 17-29, 46-53); «Անեկդոտներ, զվարճալի զրոյցներ, համառոտ դէպքեր և առակներ մեծ մասամբ ազգային կեանքից առած» [Jokes, Brief Amusing Tales and Fables Mostly Taken from the Armenians' Life (collection)] (Tiflis, 1878).

mazanian's library, this work was irrevocably lost, a fact that the author occasionally mentions with great bitterness since it contained the detailed biographies of more than sixty prominent Armenian personalities. Consequently, he again went to Persia, where he embarked on writing his favourite work, which consists of thirty-eight chapters."[384]

In the same year, the *Materials for Armenian National History* became an Izmirian Prize winner at Sahak-Mesropian Awards. It also received a monetary reward of 600 roubles.[385]

G. Shermazaniants died in Zalesnoye Village, Orlov Region, in 1891[386] and was buried in the yard of a local church.[387]

YEREMIA GEVORGIAN ARTSRUNY

Yeremia Artsruny was born in the city of Van in 1804. When he was 9 years old, the Artsrunies moved to Tiflis, where he received education at a gymnasium. The future mayor continued his studies in a military seminary in Petersburg and entered upon a military service in 1823. Between 1826 and 1828, he participated in the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Persian wars: "In 1823 he began his military service as a cadet in the Ulanian Detachment. By 1826 he had already been promoted to a cornet."[388]

"During the Russo-Persian war, Cornet Artsruny participated in the battles of Sardarapat, Abasabat and Yerevan. In 1828 he fought among the Russian troops against the Ottoman state in the army near the Danube."[389]

In 1829 Yer. Artsruny went to Persia, where he participated in the conclusion of Turkmenchai Treaty under the leadership of Prince Dolgorukov. After this, he met the Persian shah in Hamadan: "In 1831 he was charged with the fulfillment of emergency tasks under the command of Mr. Paskevich. After the latter had left, he maintained the same position until 1835, being under the supervision of the head of the Caucasian Corps. In 1835 he was promoted to captain."[390]

When Yer. Artsruny returned to Tiflis, his father Gevorg Agha had already died (1830),[391] and he inherited his estates, a caravanserai and a house near the Vice-Roy's residence, devoting himself to their management: "He had his father's talent for construction, but he excelled him in his strange aptitude for drawing up large and complicated projects which took him such a long time that his business eventually suffered heavy damage because of that."[392]

In 1833 Yer. Artsruny also got the officially approved documents of his maternal domains in Vaspurakan belonging to the Pachavian-Artsrunies: "Yeremia also began legal proceedings for those distant estates: that was a long-lasting and fruitless lawsuit that required all his attention besides great expenditures."[393]

In 1832 Artsruny constructed several new bulidings and added a 4th floor to the caravanserai inherited from his father.[394] He participated in the war against the highlanders, and in 1836, when he was already a lieutenant colonel, he started working at the Ministry of Finances.[395] Being well-aware of Persia's position and economy, Artsruny committed himself to the study of the chances of developing commercial ties between Caucasia and this country. He was also entrusted with the supervision of all the Transcaucasian custom-houses.[396]

In 1838 Artsruny and several of his companions embarked upon the foundation of a large commercial company to deliver Russian products into Persia, import raw materials from the north of that country for the purpose of processing them, and exploit the oil mines of Baku and Shirvan together with the local saline lakes. The regulations of the future company were approved by Tsar Nikolai, and even preliminary expenditures were made, but they did not succeed in realizing their plan.[397]

In the late 1830s, Artsruny was promoted to colonel and was appointed Commissary General of the Caucasian army: "He manifested unsurpassed honesty and disinterestedness while occupying that important position. He introduced strict discipline into that institution which generally spent vast amounts of money from the state budget and made the employees obey the newly-established order, thus becoming an incorruptible guar-

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384 *Ararat*, July 1889, pp. 413-414.

385 *Kavkaz*, no. 190, 1889.

386 *Ardzagank*, no. 12, 1891. «Արևելք» [*Arevelk*], no. 2352 (1891); *Mshak*, no. 127, 1891. There are different opinions regarding the exact date of his death, but the available sources do not confirm any of them. According to one of them, it occurred in 1883 (*Bazmavep* (1934), p. 96).

387 We do not know why the former mayor and prominent worker of Armenian culture spent his last days so far from his motherland, in Zalesnoye Village. It remains obscure whether he was in exile or not.

388 Acts, vol. 9, p. XVI (the original reads: "...начал службу в 1823 году юнкером л.-гв. в уланском полку; в 1826 году произведен в корнеты...").

389 Acts, vol. 8 (Tiflis, 1881), p. 303.

390 Ibid. (the original reads: "...в 1831 году назначен к гр. Паскевичу для особых поручений; остался после отбытив гр. Паскевича в той-же должности при командире Отд. Кавк. Корпуса до 1835 года; в 1835-же году произведен в ротмистры...").

391 **Լէօ**, Գրիգոր Արծրունի [**Leo**, Grigor Artsruny], vol. 1 (Tiflis, 1902), p. 56. Also see Acts, vol. 9, pp. 303, XVI.

392 **Leo**, 1902, p. 57.

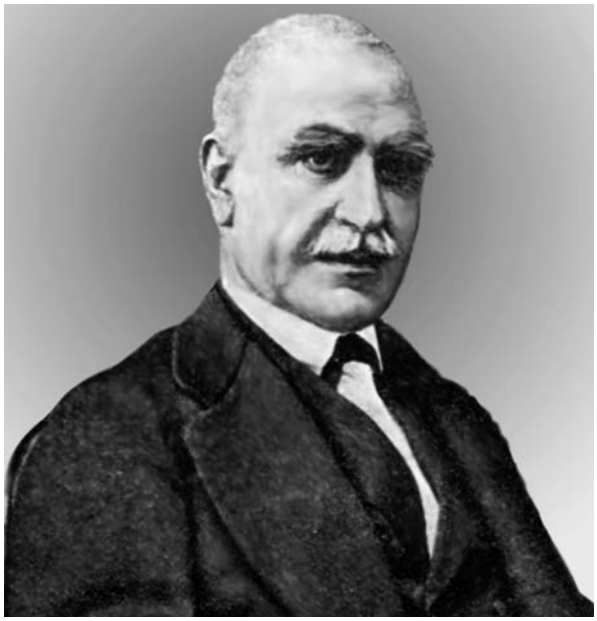
393 Ibid., p. 59.

394 Ibid.

395 Ibid.

396 Ibid., p. 60.

397 Acts, vol. 9, p. 52. Also see **Leo**, 1902, pp. 60-61.



Mayor Yeremia Artsruny

dian of the treasury. In this way, he held the post for several years until he quitted it."[398]

Yer. Artsruny married Agrippina, Prince David Nazarian's daughter: "As far as it is known, Yeremia had four sons and four daughters, the first-born of his sons being Gevorg, who joined the armed forces and died very young."[399]

On 12 January 1831, Yer. Artsruny became member of the Committee on the Renovation of Nersissian Armenian School of Tiflis.[400] In the same year, by Nerses' consent, Yer. Artsruny succeeded his father as the executor of Charukhchian, who had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was also elected as an honorary member of the committee of the school.[401]

Preoccupied with the printing-office of that establishment which was consigned to idleness, and unable to operate it just on the spot, Artsruny took the printing machinery to his house to work them there, but he did not succeed in his undertaking.[402]

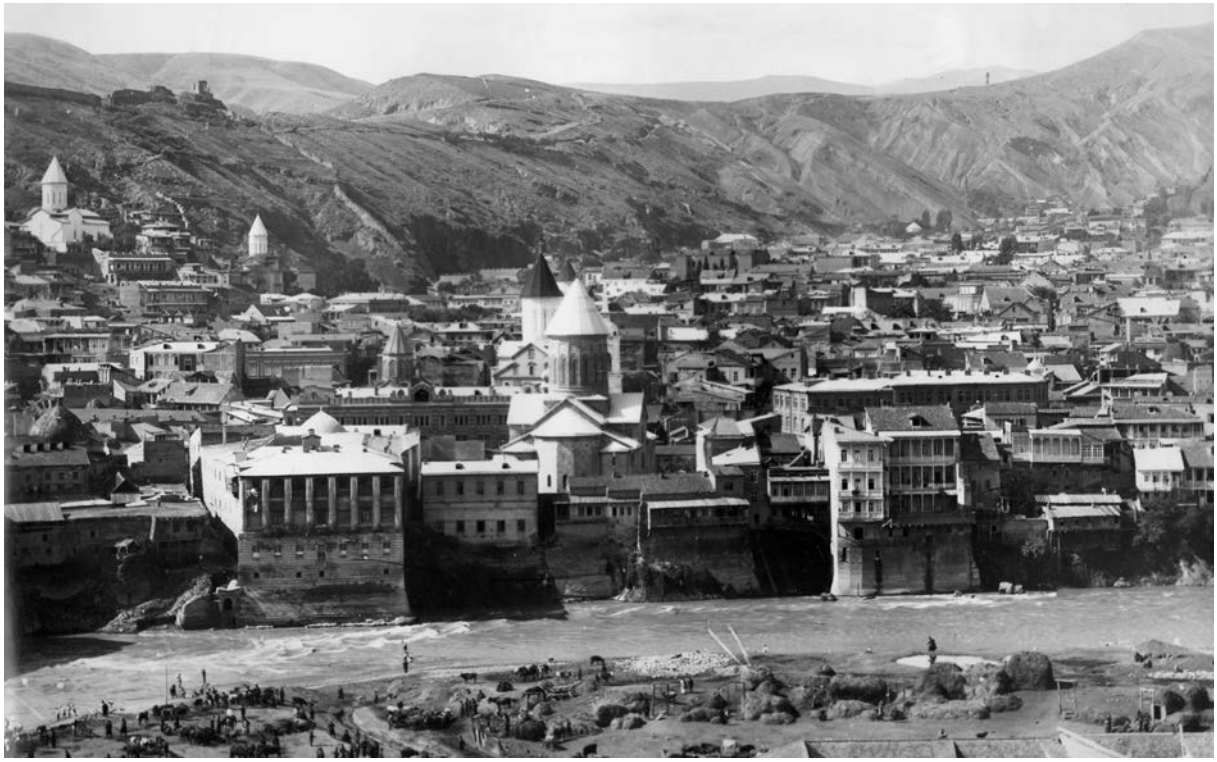
In the first half of the 1840s, Artsruny refused to continue his military service and moved to Moscow, where he stayed until the late 1850s: "Settling down in the Russian capital, Artsruny regularly received the income of his estates in Tiflis, thanks to which, his family lived a luxurious life typical of aristocrats. Despite this, however, Artsruny himself preferred privacy and lived, as he wrote in one of his letters, a life of a hermit. Indeed, it was Mrs. Agrippina, neé princess Nazarian, that imparted aristocratic splendour to Artsruny's house."[403]

During the years of their stay in Moscow, Artsruny's sons Grigor (1845) and Andreas (1847) were born.[404] In about 1853, his wife Agrippina died: "Yeremia did not get married for the second time; trying to replace his children's mother, he entirely devoted himself to his family. In 1854, when the Crimean war commenced, Artsruny got a telegram from the Minister of the Armed Forces saying that he had been appointed Commissary General of the troops stationed in Crimea on the order of Emperor Nikolai. Honourable as it was, that important position was not accepted by Yeremia, who hurried to Petersburg to beg the Minister to relieve him of it. As he himself told him, the main reason for his action was that he had eight children, whom he could not leave without any care. The authorities treated his request with respect, and he returned to the bosom of his family."[405]

Yer. Artsruny was a strict person by nature: "Gevorg Artsruny's son did not have any of the traits of a tender and compassionate mother. As a father, he more resembled a soldier who performed his duties with a sense of the utmost conscientiousness. He was ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of his family. He lived a life of a recluse and never participated in any social events. His whole world was concentrated around his household, where he was a commander, supervisor and guardian at the same time."[406]

In the summer of 1855, the caravanserai founded by Gevorg Agha near the Georgian church of Holy Zion, Tiflis (known as Artsruny's Caravanserai, it was the second among the 14 similar Armenian establishments in the city),[407] was burnt away. The merchants having numerous shops there suffered great losses amounting to millions.[408] Learning about the disaster, Yer. Artsruny went to Petersburg to ask the authorities to conduct a most detailed investigation into the case and returned to Tiflis many years later. The losses inflicted on the tradesmen were truly heavy, but it was possible to restore everything. Yeremia wrote: "Thanks to the farsightedness of Gevorg Agha, the caravanserai endured

398 Ibid., p. 61.
399 Ibid., p. 62.
400 **Yeritsiants**, 1898, p. 241.
401 Ibid., p. 262.
402 Ibid., p. 268.
403 Ibid., pp. 62-63.
404 Grigor Artsruny, the future founder and editor of the *Mshak*, was Yer. Artsruny's third son. His elder brothers Gevorg and Sargis had died.
405 Ibid., p. 65.
406 Ibid., pp. 65-66.
407 «Գարուն» [*Garun*], no. 4 (1866), p. 249.
408 The sum amounted to 3 million roubles according to Agh. Yeritsian, whereas Leo mentioned 5 million (see **Երիցեանց Աղ.**, Գրիգոր Արծրունու և նրա քսանը հինգ տարուայ գրական գործունեութեան առիթով (1865-1890) [**Al. Yeritsiants**, Regarding Grigor Artsruny and His Literary Activities of Twenty-Five Years (1865 to 1890)] (Tiflis, 1890), p. 41). Also see **Leo**, 1902, p. 69.



The caravanserai belonging to the Artsrunies on the right bank of the river Kur, between the Georgian church of Holy Zion and the Behbudians' caravanserai

the fire which had devoured even the copper articles and silverware."[409]

Despite the huge expenses, Artsruny succeeded in restoring the caravanserai within 4 to 5 months and soon embarked upon the construction of a new arcade for which he purchased some plots of land belonging to his neighbours (400 sazhens of the Vice-Roy's garden, some territory owned by the Military Headquarters, etc.): "One needs a vast amount of money to accomplish something great, but this did not discourage Yeremia from continuing what he had initiated. Pawning the caravanserai and gallery in the Transcaucasian Pawn-Shop, he borrowed more than 200 thousand roubles and completed the building within several years, just as he intended. The edifice was truly magnificent: it was a huge arcade located in one of the main streets of the city and consisting of numerous shops and rooms. It has been preserved up to our days and does not cease surprising visitors. In 1867 the Armenian Land (this is the name of the arcade) resembled a European building, representing one of the most beautiful sights in the city. The arcade of Petersburg may be regarded as its unequal rival; this is what that military figure achieved through his great will power and persistence."[410]



Mayor Yeremia Artsruny's caravanserai on the right bank of the river Kur (photo late 19th century)

409 **Leo**, 1902, p. 70.
410 Ibid., pp. 73-74.



Yer. Artsruny's son Grigor Artsruny, the founder and first editor of the *Mshak*

In 1860, with the active assistance of Yer. Artsruny, mass donations were made and sent to Mkrtich Khrimian (known as Khrimian Hayrik among the Armenians) to support the school and printing-office functioning in Varag Monastery. Artsruny himself gave a large sum of money thus contributing to the cause.[411]

In the same year (1860), Artsruny also made a great contribution to the establishment of the Armenian Library of Tiflis, becoming one of its founding members. However, for some reason or another, this institution did not open.

Particularly remarkable was Artsruny's assistance in working out the new Statutes of Nersissian School: he himself edited the document which was approved by Catholicos Mateos in 1861.[412] The authorities of the school wanted to see Artsruny in the institution's Board of Trustees, but he refused.

In 1861 Artsruny was promoted to major general, but in 1864 he gave up military service for ever.[413]

In 1867 the new Statutes of Municipal Governance, adopted on 14 August 1866, were put into effect in Tiflis, this coinciding with the election of Artsruny as mayor: "The citizens were very pleased with the outcome of the elections since they already knew him as an honest person of great will power."[414]

Artsruny was elected mayor during the deputy elections of December 1866,[415] the contemporary press writing the following in this respect: "The people of Tiflis know that Mr. Artsruny is an energetic and honest person, which gives them a good reason to congratulate each other on his having been elected to the mayor's post."[416]

Under Artsruny's mayoralty, on 16 January 1866, a junkers' school opened in Tiflis,[417] and on 2 January 1867, the Caucasian Museum was founded.[418]

In two years' time, in 1868, Artsruny resigned from office due to his poor health, confining himself to only the position of a member of the City Council.

In 1872 Artsruny published a booklet containing his report entitled "The Issue of the Railway to India" (he had delivered it in April of the same year during one of the sessions of the Technical Society).[419]

After Yeremia's death, one of the state banks took possession of his family caravanserai: "At present the huge caravanserai of Tiflis, which used to belong to him, is the property of the Estates Bank of Tiflis."[420]

Yer. Artsruny died on 15 November 1877 and was buried in the Armenian cemetery of Vera Quarter in Tiflis.[421] His tombstone has been annihilated.

NIKOGHAYOS HOVHANNISSIAN ALADATIANTS

Nikoghayos Aladatiants' date of birth is unknown. After completing his studies at a gymnasium in Tiflis in 1856, he continued his education at the Imperial University of Moscow,[422] meanwhile also commencing theatrical activities. In 1859 he wrote his first play entitled "Woe Betide My Lost 50 Pieces of Gold" (in Armenian) for the circle of theatre amateurs founded in Moscow in 1858, and began staging Armenian performances.[423] The play had a long run amongst the Ar-

411 Ibid., p. 76. Artsruny donated 500 roubles (see **Leo**, 1905, p. 11).
412 Ibid., p. 81.
413 Ibid., p. 84.
414 Ibid.
415 Тифлисский листок [*Tiflisski Listok*], no. 298 (Tiflis, 1909), p. 3.
416 «Հայկական Աշխարհ» [*Haykakan Ashkhar*], nos. 8-9, 1866.
417 Caucasian Calendar for 1867, p. 282. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 32; **Jabar**, "The 35th Anniversary," ibid.
418 Caucasian Calendar for 1868, p. 140. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1892, ibid.
419 **Арцруни Е.,** Вопрос о железной дороге в Индию, "Сборник сведений о Кавказе" [**Yer. Artsruny**, "The Issue of the Railway to India," in: A Collection of Materials regarding Caucasia], vol. 2 (Tiflis, 1872). Also see the same work in a booklet.
420 "Словарь Кавказских деятелей" [Dictionary of Caucasian Personalities] (Tiflis, 1890), p. 14 (the original reads: "...ему принадлежал в Тифл. громадн. каравансарай, ныне перешедший к тифл. дворянск. земельн. банку...").
421 **Տէր-Աստվածատրեանց Հ.**, Բառարան հայ կենսագրութեանց 1441-1904 [**H. Ter-Astvatsatriants**, Dictionary of Armenian Biographies (1441 to 1904)], vol. 1 (Tiflis, 1904), pp. 155-156. Also see **Երեմեան Ա.**, Թիֆլիսի Հայկական Պանթէոններում [**A. Yeremian**, "In the Armenian Pantheons of Tiflis"], «Հանդէս ամսօրեայ» [*Handes Amsorea*] (1938), p. 407.
422 **Yeremian**, "History of Russian Armenian Theatre," *Bazmavep* (1935), p. 150.
423 The plot of the comedy was based on the life of the Tiflis of those days. According to A. Yeremian, the play was weak in struc-

menian theatrical groups, but its first night was held in merchant Michael Stepaniants' house located in Novaya Basmannaya Street, Moscow, on 27 January 1859.[424]

In 1860 Aladatiants made a contribution to the publication of the *Hyusisapayl*.[425] In 1865 he played the part of a rich merchant in an Armenian performance staged in Moscow.[426] After graduating from the university, Aladatiants returned to Tiflis; in 1866 he taught at Mariamian Girls' School, at the same time being also one of the trustees of Nersissian School.[427]

During the municipal elections of 1868, Aladatiants was elected as a senior representative. After Yeremia Artsruny's resignation, he held the mayoralty of the city for a year and a half.[428]

Under Aladatiants' rule, on 8 November 1868, a new municipal hospital opened in Tiflis.[429]

In 1869 he participated in the foundation of Gayanian Girls' School.[430]

Aladatiants died of pulmonary tuberculosis in Tiflis on 25 July 1875.[431]

DMITRI TUMANIANTS

Dmitri Tumaniants was elected mayor in 1869 and held his post until 1870. The available sources do not report any other information regarding his life and mayoralty.

YAZON DMITRIAN TUMANIANTS

After completing his studies at a gymnasium, in 1844 Yazon Tumaniants commenced his state service being appointed a butler of the emperor's palace in 1868. Soon he rose to the position of Vice-Roy for Special Commissions, being also promoted to active duty general.[432] In the early 1860s, apart from his court service, Tumaniants also took an active part in the establishment of the Armenian Theatre and assisted it financially although he was completely ignorant of his mother tongue. In this regard, Perj Proshian wrote: "The prince painfully repented his ignorance of Armenian and asked the committee for permission to communicate with the theatrical circles, where he hoped to learn it.... A true aristocrat in his very essence, Prince Tumaniants did not know a single word in Armenian since he had alwayd kept himself aloof from his compatriots. Now, on the contrary, he wished to work with such unimportant people as we were."[433]

At the suggestion of Grigor Izmirian, one of the devotees of the Armenian Theatre, Yaz. Tumaniants occupied the position of its General Manager (Director): "Prince Tumaniants' involvement imparted greater authority and significance to the Armenian Theatre amidst officials and foreigners."[434]

Some time later, however, Tumaniants took charge of the Municipal Theatre and abandoned the Armenian Theatre: "The prince, who had been absent from several meetings, appeared one evening and told the participants that he had to resign from the honourable position of Manager of the Armenian Theatre as the Municipal Theatre had invited him to hold the same post there."[435]

Thanks to Yaz. Tumaniants' high repute and activities, within a short time, the State Theatre of Tiflis reached the height of its success just like the Armenian Theatre in the period of its being under his charge: "Between 1868 and 1871, he was the Manager of Tiflis Theatre, this being the most fruitful and glorious period in its history."[436]

In 1870 Tumaniants was elected mayor of Tiflis: "[He] held the post from 1870 until the end of 1874, gaining such popularity that he was re-elected in 1874 for a 5-year term. It was only his ill health that compelled him to resign."[437]

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ture and even unskillfully written: "[However], it is remarkable for the actual issues raised in it as well as for the real characters portrayed in their peculiar everyday lives with their habits, customs, world outlook and vernaculars. All these are noteworthy features for a contemporary repertoire" (**Yeremian**, "History of Russian Armenian Theatre," pp. 150-151). For further information about the play and performance, also see *Haykakan Ashkhar*, no. 1, 1867, p. 72.

424 **Yeremian**, "History of Russian Armenian Theatre," *Bazmavep*, no. 4 (1934), p. 164.

425 *Meghu Hayastani*, no. 12, 1860, p. 930; no. 14, p. 106.

426 **Քիշմիշեան Ա.**, Հայոց թատրոնը Մոսկւայում 1858-68 թթ. [**Al. Kishmishian**, "The Armenian Theatre in Moscow in 1858 to 1868"], «Տարազ» [*Taraz*], no. 2 (1908). Also see «Փորձ» [*Pordz*], no. 10, 1879; «Հյուսիսափայլ» [*Hyusisapayl*], no. 1, 1859, p. 76; **Արշարունի Ա.**, Մոսկվայի համալսարանը ու հայ առաջավոր ինտելիգենցիան [**A. Arsharuny**, Moscow University and the Progressive Armenian Intellectuals] (Yerevan, 1955), p. 232; «Սովետական Գրականութիւն» [*Sovetakan Grakanutyun*], no. 6 (164) (1956); **Հարութիւնեան Ս.**, Սիհրդատ Ամերիկեան [**S. Harutiunian**, Mihrdat Amerikian] (Yerevan, 1959), p. 36; **Բզնունի Գ.**, Գրիգոր Ավետեան [**D. Bznuny**, Grigor Avetian] (Yerevan, 1963), p. 147; **Ավչեան Ս.**, Գրական ակնարկներ [**S. Avchian**, Literary Reviews] (Tbilisi, 1978), pp. 225-228.

427 *Bazmavep* (1935), p. 150.

428 Ibid.

429 Caucasian Calendar for 1869, p. 116. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 33.

430 *Bazmavep* (1935), ibid.

431 Ibid.

432 **Туманов Г.,** Характеристики и воспоминания [**G. Tumanov**, Characteristics and Memoirs], book 1 (Tiflis, 1913), p. 48.

433 **Proshiants**, "The Establishment of the Armenian Theatre," p. 49.

434 Ibid.

435 Ibid., p. 62.

436 *Meghu Hayastani*, no. 97, 1883. Also see Dictionary of Caucasian Personalities, p. 71.

437 *Meghu Hayastani*, ibid. For information about Yazon Tumaniants' re-election as mayor in 1874, also see *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 298, 1909, p. 3.





Mayor Yazon Tumaniants' house (no. 10) at the corner of Nagornaya (Lermontov) and Sergeyevskaya (now: Machabeli) Streets in Sololak
After Tumaniants' death, the house shifted into the Tsovians' possession. In the 1910s, it belonged to the Azarians (photo by S. Darchinian)

Under Yaz. Tumaniants' mayoralty, the Municipal Government obtained autonomy and Michaelian Craftsmen's School was founded: "During his rule, municipal self-government was established in Tiflis, and the foundations of Michaelian Craftsmen's School were laid."[438]

On 31 October 1871, a music school opened in the city.[439]

In 1872 Tumaniants provided assistance to the inhabitants of Shamakhy who had suffered great losses in consequence of the earthquake of 16 January.[440]

On 11 October 1874, the theatre house was set on fire.[441]

Tumaniants was re-elected mayor on 8 December 1874 for a four-year term, but he resigned on 1 December 1875[442]: "Prince Yazon D. Tumanov having resigned from his position, the Duma deputies will hold new mayoral elections on 14 December, Sunday."[443]

During his mayoralty, in 1873, Tumaniants became one of the 7 members of the Board of Directors of Hovnanian School: "An ad hoc committee was set for the construction of the school and the elaboration of a curriculum for its future activities."[444]



Sourb Karapet (Holy Forerunner) Church, in the yard of which, the family cemetery of the Tumaniants was preserved until 1981 (photo of the late 19th century)

Tumaniants was also one of the first trustees of the same establishment: "The school the opening ceremony of which took place on 22 September 1877 immediately attracted a large number of girls. A short time later, its Board of Trustees underwent a slight change; Prince Yazon Tumanian yielded up his spirit to God, being succeeded by Alexandre Stepanian Khatissian."[445]

The general meeting of the Craftsmen's Club, held on 16 June 1880, elected Yazon Tumanian chairman of that institution.[446]

In the last years of his life, Yaz. Tumaniants occupied the position of Court Chamberlain. He died at the

438 Dictionary of Caucasian Personalities, ibid.

439 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 33 (the original reads: "...при нем введено в Тифл. гор. самоуправл. и положено основанье михайл. ремесл. училищу...").

440 *Mshak*, no. 10, 1872, p. 3.

441 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 34.

442 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 18. According to a source, the mayor resigned because of his poor health (*Meghu Hayastani*, no. 97, 1883).

443 *Mshak*, no. 49, 1875, p. 1.

444 *Hoviv*, no. 31, 1906, p. 491.

445 *Hoviv*, no. 33, 1906, p. 523.

446 Тифлисские объявления [*Tiflisskiye Obyavleniya*], no. 124, 1880, p. 1.

age of 56 and was buried in the Tumaniants' family cemetery located in the yard of Sourb Karapet (Holy Precursor) Church (in Tiflis). His white marble tombstone was demolished in 1981, during the so-called reconstruction of this sanctuary.[447]

In 1883 the City Council of Tiflis made a decision to place Yaz. Tumanian's portrait in the hall of Michaelian Trade Centre and have a marble plate fixed onto one of its walls with the following words written on it: "To Prince Yaz. D. Tumanov, ex-mayor (1870 to 1874) and founder of this Trade School: from the Municipal Duma of Tiflis. 1883."[448]

In 1884, in token of respect of her husband's memory, Tumaniants' widow donated a sum of 1,000 roubles to cover the educational expenses of the city.[449]

Between the 1870s and 1880s, Yaz. Tumaniants lived in Erivantsov's house (no. 8) at Nagornaya Street, Tiflis (in the vicinity of Shahparoniants Pharmacy).[450]

447 **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Վրաց պետական քաղաքականութիւնը և հայ մշակույթի հուշարձանները [**S. Karapetian**, The State Policy of Georgia and the Monuments of Armenian Culture] (Yerevan, 1998), p. 29.

448 Новое Обозрение [*Novoye Obozreniye*], 14 March 1884.

449 Ibid.

450 Caucasian Calendar for 1874, p. 190. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1879, p. 157; Caucasian Calendar for 1881, p. 215.

THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS IN THE YEARS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT (1875 to 1917)

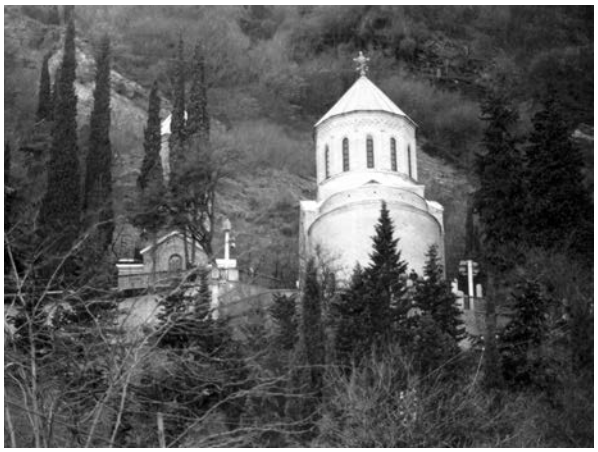
DMITRI IVAN GHIPIANI

Dmitri Ghipiani was born in Meret Village of Gori District in 1814. At the age of three, he lost his father, a nobleman who had moved to Meret from Abashi, Western Georgia.[451] The family estate of the Ghipianies was Kvishkheti Village located in the Borzhom Gorge.

In 1830 to 1859, D. Ghipiani worked in different spheres of civil service, after which he moved to Tiflis thanks to his elder brother Kaykhosro and entered an 8-year religious seminary. He pursued his studies at this institution for only 2 years and continued them at the Noblemen's College (first-class gymnasium): "Accomplishing a scientific course at the Noblemen's College, he started teaching at Tiflis Gymnasium in 1830. In 1834 he took up a post in Vologda's Office of Provincial Governance, where he was elected Secretary in 1835. In the same year, D. Ghipiani was appointed Manager of the Governor's Civil Office, and in 1837 he became member of the personnel of the Executive Exploitation Department of Georgia's Supreme Governance attached to the Civil Office of the Governor of the country. In the same year, he assumed work in the Special Commissions Section attached to this institution. In 1838 he was appointed editor of the *Zakavkazski Vestnik* and Secretary of the Civil Office of Georgia's Governor, but he remained in his office of Secretary at the petition of the Imperial Manager. In 1839 Ghipiani was moved to the Office of the Commander General of Georgia; in 1841 he became a titled councillor and in 1843 a candidate of the Counsellor for Foreign Affairs. In 1845 Ghipiani was appointed Acting Director of the Office of the General Department. After the liquidation of this Department (1846), he became Manager of the Council of the General Department. In the same year, the title of Counsellor for Commerce was conferred on him, after which, in 1854 he was granted the title of Senior Councillor (since 1848 he had been working as an alderman). In the same year (1854), he was approved in the post of Senior Councillor, and in 1856 he was appointed Provisional Acting Director in the Office of the Vice-Roy of Caucasia (from 20 February until 22 May). In 1857 Ghipiani was awarded the first-class Order of St. Stanislaus, after which, he acquired membership of the Council of the General Department of the Transcaucasian Region and of the Council of the Vice-Roy of Caucasia in 1859. In 1860 he was awarded the first-class Order of St. Anna and retired in 1862. For more than 10 years, D. Ghipiani was the Honorary Trustee of the Provincial Gymnasium of Tiflis. In 1864 and 1866, he received the first-class Order of St. Anna with a crown and the second-class Order of St. Vladimir respectively. D. Ghipiani was also the leader of the nobility of Tiflis Province."[452]

451 "მოგზაური" [*Mogzauri*], no. 2, 1999, p. 8.

452 Acts, vol. 10, p. XXII (the original reads: "По окончания курса наук в Тифлисском Благородном училище, поступил к 1830 г. учителем в Тифлисскую гимназию; в 1834 - определен в число канцелярских чиновников губернского правления в Вологде, где в 1835 г. определен секретарем; в том же году назначен и. д. правителя канцелярии гражданского губернатора; в 1837 году зачислен в штат Исполнительной Эксплуатации Верховного Грузинского Правления и прикомандирован к канцелярии Грузинского гражданского губернатора; в том же году назначен чиновником особых поручений при Грузинском гражданском губернаторе; в 1838 г. - секретарем к Грузинскому гражданскому губернатору и редактором "Закавказского Вестника", но, по ходатайству управлявшаго Империей, оставлен по прежнему при нем секретарем; в 1839 г. переведен в Канцелярию главноуправляющаго в Грузии; в 1841 г. произведен в тит. с., в 1843 - в к. а. и н. с.; в 1845 - назначен и. д. директора Канцелярии Главнаго Управления; по упразднении сей Канцелярии переименован в правители дел Совета Главнаго упрвления (в 1846 г.); в том же году произведен в к.с.; в 1854 г, в с. с., со старшинством с 1848 г.; в том же 1854 - в д. с. с.; в 1856 - назначен временно и. д. директора Канцелярии наместника Кавказскаго (с 20-го февраля по 22-е мая); в 1857 г. пожалован орден св. Станислава 1-й ст.; назначен членом Совета Главнаго Управленяи Закавказскаго края; в 1859 г. - членом Совета наместника Кавказскаго; в 1860 - пожалован орден св. Анны 1-й ст.; в 1862 г. уволен в отставку. Был почетным попечителем Тифлисской губернской гимназии (более 10-ти лет); в 1864 г. пожалован опред св. Анны 1-й ст. с короною; в 1866 - св. Владимира 2-й ст.; был предводителем дворянства Тифлисской губернии...").



St. David Church, in the yard of which, D. Ghipiani is buried (photo by K. Asatrian)





Mayor D. Ghipiani and the memorial erected over his grave in the yard of St. David Church (photo on the right by K. Asatrian)

In 1845 D. Ghipiani married General Giorgi Jilashvili's daughter Nino. During the Crimean War, General Behbudov appointed him Commander of the Military Headquarters. In 1864 he was elected President of the Union of Noblemen and founded a school of literacy.[453]

An active public figure, in the 1860s, D. Ghipiani played a considerable role in the dissemination of the idea of the abolition of serfdom.[454] He initiated the foundation of the Noblemen's Bank of Tiflis[455] and was promoted to active duty general.[456] Ghipiani worked as a correspondent for the *Mnatobi* magazine published under N. Avalishvili's editorship (1869 to 1879), particularly preparing materials for its historical and literary sections.[457] D. Ghipiani was elected mayor on 14 December 1875 and held office until 9 April 1879.[458] During his term, the process of the confirmation of the new staff of the Municipal Council came to an end.[459]

In March 1876, a one-day population census was held in Tiflis.[460]

Resigning from office,[461] D. Ghipiani took up residence in Kvishkheti Village, where he engaged himself in grammar studies and translation activities (*The Merchant of Venice* by Shakespeare).

Between 1885 and 1886, D. Ghipiani was the representative of the nobility of Kutayis Province. In 1887 some robbers killed him in Stavropol.[462] His remains were taken to Tiflis and interred in the yard of the Georgian church of St. David. In 1899 a memorial was erected over his grave: "On 24 October (Sunday), the blessing of the bust erected over Dmitri Kipiani's grave took place in the yard of St. David Church of Tiflis.

453 *Mogzauri*, no. 2, 1999, pp. 8-9.

454 *Mshak*, no. 198, 1899, p. 2.

455 Dictionary of Caucasian Personalities, pp. 42-43.

456 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 48.

457 **Хаханов А.,** Два эскиза из культурной жизни грузин [**A. Khakhanov**, Two Sketches from the Cultural Life of the Georgians] (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 14.

458 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 18.

459 "Кавказское слово" [*Kavkazskoye Slovo*], no. 71, 1914, p. 2.

460 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 34.

461 *Murj*, no. 4, 1891, p. 528. The biographers of D. Ghipiani wrote the following concerning his resignation: "He was the mayor of Tiflis from 1875 until 79, but resigned because of an incident over the issue of the language in which the Armenians were to swear loyalty (he insisted on Russian or Georgian, which he understood). However, after his death, no magazines, papers or biographical articles, published in numerous works, ever mentioned that incident. The only exception was the magazine Moambe, which spoke about it and from which Khakhanov took information about Ghipiani. The latter's colleagues do not remember such an incident, which is, generally speaking, improbable if we take into account D. I's religious and ethnic tolerance. However, even if we accept that such an incident *did*
truly take place, it could not have impeded Ghipiani's re-election for a new term. The point is that at the end of 1878, the Duma of Tiflis received a considerable number of new members: formerly, most of them represented officials, whereas now young tradesmen and people of free professions prevailed there" (the original reads: "...в 1875-79 гг. был тифлисским городским головой, должность котораго он покинул из-за инцидента, на каком языке должен присягать армянин: он настаивал на русском или грузинском языке, как ему понятном диалекте. О том инциденте не упоминается в многочисленных биографических очерках, появившихся после смерти Д. И. Кипиани, в журналах, газетах и отдельных изданиях, за исключением журнала "Моамбе", где действительно говорилось об этом и откуда заимствован Хаханов свой сведения о Кипиани. Сослуживцы Д. И. Кипиани не помнять указаннаго инцидента. Он вообще маловероятен, если принять во внимание религиозную и национальную терпимость Д.И. Но если даже предположить, что инцидент этот в действительности имел место, то во всяком случае он не был причиной неизбрания Д. И. Кипиани на новый срок. Дело в том, что в конце 1878 г. состав тифлисской думы значительно обновился. Если прежде в ней играли большую роль чиновники, то в новом составе преобладали молодые коммерсанты и представители свободных профессий..."). **Tumanov**, 1913, pp. 98-99.

462 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 238, 1887.

The ceremony was attended by representatives of Tiflis City, the press, the deceased mayor's family members and other people who had come from different places to pay tribute [to his memory]. The requiem service was conducted by Bishops Leonid and Kerion of Gori and Alaverdi respectively. Ratiyev made a speech by his grave, and wreaths were placed there on behalf of [the representatives of] Tiflis City, the Georgian Society of Literacy, the Georgian Dramatic Society, the Noblemen's Bank of Tiflis, the *Iveria* newspaper [and] the family of the deceased mayor."[463]

Ghipiani is the author of a number of literary works and translations (from the originals) of some plays by Shakespeare and Molière.[464]

Ghipiani had several houses in Tiflis: first he lived in a private residence at Graphski Street (1845);[465] then in Shioyev's house at Komendatski Street (1854);[466] in Markossov's house at Yelisavetskaya Street, Kukia Quarter (1859),[467] and finally, in Pughinov's house at Arsenali Street.[468]

ANTON SOGHOMONIAN GHORGHANIANTS (KORGANOV)

Anton Ghorghaniants was born in Gharachinar Village, Gyulistan District, Artsakh (Karabakh), on 10 May 1838 in the family of retired Second Lieutenant Soghomon Pridonian Ghorghaniants and Mariam Nikoghossian Ketkhudiants, a native of Tiflis. He was baptized by Priest Harutiun Astvatsatriants in Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church of the same village on 18 May.[469]

Completing his military studies, he became the head of a sappers' batallion and was promoted to captain. Soon, however, he resigned his commission and took up a civilian job: "He fulfills his duties in the municipal and social fields as well as in banking skilfully and honestly."[470]

On the order of Emperor Mikhail Nikolayevich, Ghorghaniants was charged with providing the Russian army with food during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 to 1878. While occupying this post, Ghorghaniants fully justified the confidence felt in him and received much praise for that.[471]



Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church of Gharachinar Village, where A. Ghorghaniants was baptized on 18 May 1838, on the 8th day of his birth

The city deputies who had put up Ghorghaniants' candidacy expected him to devote himself to the adminstration of the municipal affairs with a sense of responsibility, particularly contributing to the settlement of economic issues: "The newly-elected deputies wanted to introduce certain novelty into the membership of the City Council, and for this purpose, Ant. Sogh. Korganov was elected mayor instead of D. I. Ghipiani. They hoped that unlike his predecessor, the former (he held large territories under lease) would be more active in the settlement of economic issues."[472]

On 28 January 1879, Ghorghaniants was elected mayor with 47 votes for and 17 ones against him.[473] On 15 February 1879, however, he resigned office without even assuming it.[474]

In 1881, together with Pitoyev and Pridoniants, Ghorghaniants transferred 10,000 roubles to the Municipal Treasury for the student scholarships of the future university.[475]

In the last years of his life, Ghorghaniants occupied himself with banking: "In 1894, when the Municipal Credit Company of Tiflis was in a crisis, he was elected its president. Thanks to his peaceful nature and tranquility, he succeeded in alleviating the inflamed passions and settling the company's complicated affairs, thus building up high repute for it. He was still in this position when he died."[476]

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463 *Mshak*, no. 198, 1899, p. 2.

464 Dictionary of Caucasian Personalities, ibid. Also see *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 238, 1887.

465 Caucasian Calendar for 1846, p. 237.

466 Caucasian Calendar for 1855, p. 746.

467 Caucasian Calendar for 1860, p. 80.

468 Caucasian Calendar for 1874, p. 190. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1879, p. 156.

469 National Archives of Georgia, fund 213, list 1, file 2001, p. 49.

470 *Taraz*, no. 2 (1902), p. 7.

471 Ibid.

472 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 99 (the original reads: "Новый состав гласных пожелал обновить весь состав городского самоуправления, и дело началось с того, что вместо Д. И. Кипиани в городские головы был избран Ант. Сол. Корганов, имевший в то время крупные подряды. Предполагалось, что он хозяйственные вопросы двинет вперед энергичнее, чем его предшественник...").

473 *Mshak*, no. 13, 1879, p. 2.

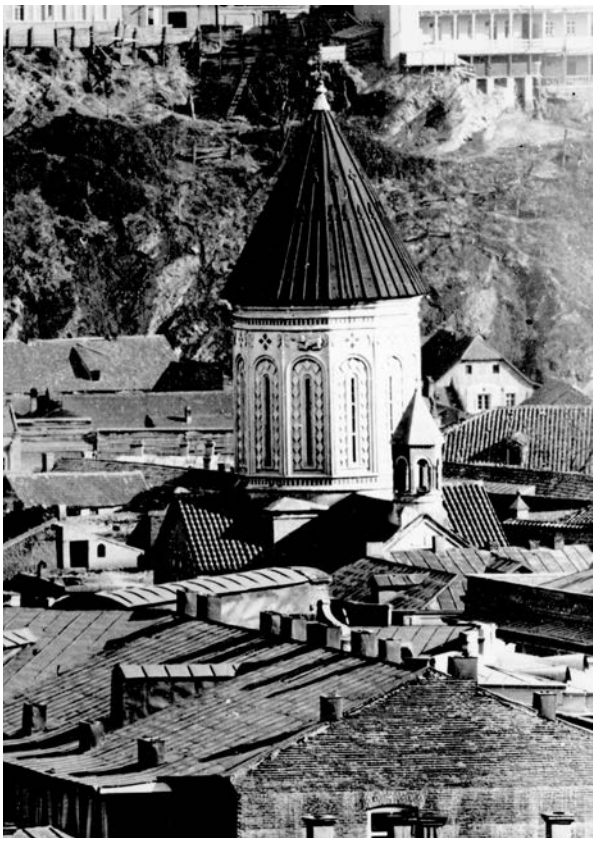
474 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 18.

475 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 12, 1902.

476 *Taraz*, no. 2 (1902), p. 7.



Mayor A. S. Ghorghaniants



Jgrashen's Sourb Avetyats (Holy Annunciation) Church (photo late 19th cent.), in the small cemetery of which, A. Ghorghaniants was buried (both the church and his grave were destroyed in 1938)

A list of the noble landowners of Tiflis (1898 to 1900) shows that Ghorghaniants and his brother Adam owned Mets (Major) Enaget and Goltati Villages, Tiflis District, with an area of 427 *dessiatinas.*[477]

Ghorghaniants died on 13 January 1902 and was buried in the yard of Jgrashen's church of Sourb Avetyats (Holy Annunciation).[478] His grave and this church were totally demolished in 1938.

ALEXANDRE STEPANIAN MATINIANTS

Alexandre Stepanian Matiniants was born in Tiflis in 1843. Completing his studies at the local First Gymnasium, he entered Moscow University of Law in 1862. In 1866 he graduated from it and commenced practising his theoretical knowledge with Moscow's Regional Public Prosecutor. In late 1867, he was sent to Kutayis Province on a business trip charged with the task of settling the district affairs of Kutayis and Shorapan.

After the legal reform implemented in 1868, Al. Matiniants was appointed Assistant Justice of Peace of the Second Police Station of Tiflis, where he worked as an investigator for two years.[479] In late 1874, he was elected deputy of the City Council holding that post for 22 years, until 1897.[480] On 20 December 1876, Matiniants was elected as a member of the Municipal Government, and on 4 April 1879, he won the mayoralty of the city, despite the fierce efforts of the Russo-Georgian Opposition. The unusual course of the developments marking that year (the City Duma had to vote for several times) received the following interpretation: "The events of 1879 were truly striking; Mayor Kipiani resigned and the Duma was compelled to assemble to elect a new mayor. This being of absolutely no avail, they convened another meeting which proved completely futile. Mr. And. Ghorghanian won the majority of votes, but he refused to enter upon office. Finally, the mayoralty was won by a person whose candidacy had been put up by a single voice: it was Mr. Alexandre Matiniants, whose victory was most incredible and improbable."[481]

The 12 years of the governance of this mayor, who had been elected "by chance," were very fruitful for the city: "After the adoption of the Municipal Statutes of

477 National Archives of Georgia, fund 214, list 1, file 3413, p. 24.

478 *Mshak*, no. 9, 1902.

479 *Taraz*, no. 2 (1902), p. 7.

480 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 8 (1909), p. 3; *Mshak*, no. 9, 1902.

481 *Murj*, no. 4, 1891, p. 528; *Novoye Obozreniye*, no. 2427, 1891, p. 1. Also see Dictionary of Caucasian Personalities, p. 50.

Tiflis in 1870, the area of activities was yielded up to a group of young intellectuals who were desirous of taking an active part in the city affairs. Among the members of this group, A. S. Matinov, P. A. Izmailov and A. A. Tamamshev can be particularly distinguished: not only did they work out a plan of actions but also managed to carry it out successfully. Their programme included the improvement of the city and the settlement of its most urgent problems, prioritizing construction activities (the building of the bridges of the Mnatsakanovs' and Vera, the Town Hall, city stands) and the improvement of water supply, tram service, etc."[482]

In the autumn of 1880, the solemn opening of a trade school was held in Tiflis under the auspices of the mayor: "On 28 September 1880, the opening ceremony of the trade school and the Secondary School after Baryatinski (temporarily housed in the same building) took place under the patronage of Mayor A. S. Matinov."[483]

It should be noted that the foundation of the aforementioned school had been initiated by Mayor Yaz. Tumanov in 1873. He even succeeded in raising a certain amount of money and erected a building with those means. The opening of the school, however, was postponed due to some discord between the staff of the City Council and the institution.[484]

Going further into his educational activities, in the same year (1880), Matiniants embarked on the implementation of another project: within 10 years, they were going to raise means (by saving 10,000 roubles per year) to found a university in Tiflis.[485]



Mayor A. S. Matiniants

The financial investments fostered the further development of the city: "Under their rule, the city made a number of loans for the first time."[486]

Al. Matiniants is the only person among the mayors of Tiflis to be re-elected for four times without intervals: "Matinov was re-elected to the mayor's position for the next four years, 1891 to 1894. ... Matinov has already won the fourth term of mayoralty."[487]

For the first time, Matiniants was elected mayor on 11 March 1879 with 31 votes for and 23 against him; for the second time, on 23 January 1883 (47 votes vs. 21); then on 4 January 1887 (55 voices vs. 9), and finally, on 13 January 1891.[488] This last time, however, he did not assume office and tendered his resignation to the Governor of Tiflis[489]: "Thus, M. held the mayor's post for 12 years. However, for the fourth time, he did not win victory by an overwhelming majority of votes, this leading to his voluntary resignation. Meanwhile, the Russo-Georgian Opposition was gradually growing in the Duma, and Matinian, who was hot-tempered by nature, had already had serious conflicts during the deputy elections."[490]

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482 **Туманов Г.,** Характеристики и воспоминания [**G. Tumanov**, Characteristics and Memoirs], book 2 (Tiflis, 1905), pp. 108-109 (the original reads: "Вскоре после введения в Тифлисе городового положения 1870 г., на сцену выступила группа интеллигентной молодежи, которая желала принять ближайшее участие в городских делах. В группе этой особенно выделялись А. С. Матинов, П. А. Измайлов и А. А. Тамамшев, которые сумели не только составить определенную программу действия, но и успешно провести ее в жизнь. Программа эта имела ввиду внешнее благоустройство города и элементарныя его потребности. Тут играло первую роль строительство − постройка Верийского и Мнацакановского мостов, водопровод, постройка городского дома и городских лавок, устройство трамвая и пр.").

483 **Кобяков Ю.** К истории Тифлисскаго городского самоуправления. Михайловское ремесленное училище [**You. Kobyakov**, "Regarding the History of Municipal Autonomy of Tiflis. Mikhailovski Crafts School"], Известия Тифлисской городской думы [*Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*], nos. 5-6 (Tiflis, 1914), p. 33 (the original reads: "28 сентября 1880 г. при городском голове А. С. Матинове состоялось торжественное открытие ремесленного училища и временно помещенной в том же здании начальной школы имени кн. Барятинскаго").

484 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 220, 1909 (the original reads: "...при них-же впервые город совершил ряд крупн. займов").

485 Ibid.

486 Dictionary of Caucasian Personalities, ibid.

487 *Mshak*, no. 5, 15 January 1891, p. 1.

488 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 18.

489 *Nor-Dar*, no. 29, 1891, p. 1. Also see *Mshak*, no. 22, 1891, p. 1; *Murj*, no. 4, 1891, p. 528.

490 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 49 (the original reads: "Так проработал М. на посту головы 12 лет, но на 4-е четырехлетие он прошел в головы незначительным большинством голосов и поэтому предпочел совсем уйти. Тогда назревала в думе грузино-русская оппозиция и М., вспыльчивого темперамента, уже имел с нею острыя столкновения еще на выборах гласных ..."). Also see *Novoye Obozreniye*, no. 2427, 1891, p. 1.



The House of the City Council designed on Mayor A. S. Matiniants' order in 1880

Thus, when re-elected for the fourth term, Matiniants held office for only about two months. The contemporary press wrote the following respecting the reasons for his resignation: "Mr. Matiniants encountered the opposition of a party which would not leave him alone. The members of the Opposition did not have any other plan than that of changing the government staff, their motto being "Renovation." This slogan could be of certain significance and could imply some programme of actions if only the names of the Opposition candidates were known, and if these were associated with some glorious past activities, if any. The Opposition had to take revenge for the fiasco of Zubalov, their former candidate. Matinian, who had won the elections, resigned office."[491]

Matiniants' candidacy was again put up at the next mayoral elections held in the early 1900s, but he refused to participate in them.[492]

Mayor Matiniants played a truly significant role in the development of Tiflis: "The city is indebted to him for all his useful undertakings, including the construction of the system of water supply, abattoir, horse tramway, the Town Hall as well as the introduction of the telephone, etc."[493]

During Matiniants' mayoralty, the municipal budget means spent in the educational sphere amounted to 357 % (in 1878 no transfers were made, and in 1890 48,000 roubles was allocated to this field); 51 % was given to the public health care, and only 7 % was used for the expenses of the City Council staff.[494]

One of the most important undertakings in the field of public health care was the construction of two hospitals in Havlabar and Kharpukh Districts on the initiative and under the auspices of Matiniants.[495]

Tiflis is indebted to Matiniants for the foundation of the Town Hall in Yerevan Square: it was designed in 1880 on his order.[496]

Under Matiniants, some important events took place in Tiflis, and a great number of public, educational, industrial and economic institutions were established there, including an orphanage opened on 2 June 1882 in memory of Alexandre II;[497] the first section of the horse-drawn railway, which was put to use on 25 February 1883;[498] a second-class horticultural school founded on 1 May 1886;[499] the system of water supply

491 *Murj*, no. 4, 1891, p. 528.
492 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 220, 1909.
493 *Hoviv*, no. 34, 1909, p. 542.
494 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 220, 1909.
495 Ibid.
496 Ibid.
497 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 35.
498 Ibid.
499 Ibid., p. 36.



Tiflis in the 1880s

exploited in August 1887;[500] an orphanage in Navtlugh District (17 April 1888);[501] another similar establishment for the children of the prisoners convicted on 29 May 1888;[502] the Centre of Preventive Inoculation against Rabies (1889);[503] an agricultural exhibition (15 September 1889);[504] a Surveyors Training College (15 October 1889);[505] the Noblemen's State Land Bank (16 March 1890),[506] and a Hunters' Exhibition (3 April 1890).[507]

As attested by the contemporary press, the inhabitants of Tiflis endured the epidemic of 1892 only thanks to a number of important measures taken by the mayor in the previous years.[508]

Matiniants owned a house (no. 9) in Sapyornaya Street, Tiflis:[509] it stood at the corner of Bolshoi-Vodovozni and Sapyornaya Streets.[510] In 1889 he was awarded the third degree Order of St. Vladimir, and Prince Dondakov-Korsakov addressed him a note of gratitude.[511]

Following the example of his relatives, the Pitoyants, Matiniants took up work in fish and oil industry: "In the last 10 to 15 years of his life, the deceased did not do anything in his field of activities. Despite this, however, he kept a watchful eye on the municipal affairs and frequently made an indirect contribution to the development of Tiflis through his influential opinion."[512]

Thanks to his abstention and modest way of life, Matiniants managed to save a considerable amount of money which he bequeathed to the city, to the development of which he had selflessly devoted himself for 12 years: "Apart from being very large (more than 200,000 roubles) in comparison with other donations, this one is also remarkable from another standpoint: the testator does not say for what specific purposes the sum is to be spent; nor does he connect it with his own

500 Ibid., p. 37.
501 Ibid.
502 Ibid.
503 Ibid.
504 Ibid., p. 38.
505 Ibid.
506 Ibid.
507 Ibid.
508 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 220, 1909. The sanitary conditions of Tiflis considerably improved after the water of the springs of Havjala had been conveyed to the city via a canal in 1885 (*Tiflisski Listok*, no. 220, 1909).
509 Caucasian Calendar for 1880, p. 157.
510 Caucasian Calendar for 1882, p. 214. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1883, p. 180; Caucasian Calendar for 1885, p. 178; Caucasian Calendar for 1886, p. 170; Caucasian Calendar for 1888, p. 309.
511 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 220, 1909.
512 *Hoviv*, no. 34, 1909, p. 543.

name, but places all the money at the full disposal of the Municipal Government. Such an action could be performed only by a person imbued with great respect of the autonomy of his native city and devoted to the interests of the society."[513]

Matiniants made his will several months before his death and sent it to the City Council of Tiflis in late 1908 with the following note: Open my will only after my death. Matinian.[514]

After the opening of the decedent's will, when its contents were made public, the Armenian, Russian and Georgian press of Tiflis issued a great number of articles of admiration, praising the late mayor and describing what he had done as becoming a true citizen selflessly devoted to Tiflis. The only remarkable exception was an article by Grigor Nikoghossian (also known under the pen-name of *Magda Neyman*), an Uti in origin who criticised that "charity," viewing it from the standpoint of Armenian national interests: "Hearkening to my heart, I openly condemn all those Armenians who bequeath their property not to their nation, but to a city where the representatives of other nations hate the Armenians deeply and are ready to inflict any damage upon them.... I cannot respect the memory of such a person. Truly, everybody in Russia has a feeling of hatred for the Armenians who are known as 'robbing, deceiving and exploiting the Caucasian peoples without any mercy, stealing their movables and plundering their real estate, thus bringing them to the verge of abject poverty.' Allegedly, 'they have driven ... the poor Georgians from their capital and ... subjugated the helpless Russians. However, this is not all ... they are also thought to have exploited the naive, innocent, simple-minded Turks as well as the Persians, rendering them poor and ... hungry.... Therefore, ... certain laws should be adopted to suppress the rapacious Armenians' actions and moderate their greedy appetite. Some severe measures should be urgently taken to establish control over these Christian Jews, rein them, and if possible, completely drive them away from Caucasia into Middle Asia, Manjuria and Siberia. Their place should be occupied by the industrious, modest and humble Russian *muzhiks* who will support the Government....' Is there any single Armenian who has not continually heard these words? Is there any Armenian who has not suffered the consequences of the foreigners' hatred and repulsion for his nation? Is there any single Russian writer, poet, novelist, or playwright, from Pushkin to Tyutchev, Chekhov and others, who has not nourished a feeling of hatred, contempt and aversion for the Armenians in his works? And after all this, should we bless or curse the memory of an Armenian who has handed down his entire wealth or most of it to a city like Astrakhan, where the Armenians constitute a very insignificant part of the population, ... or Tiflis, where they form a *certain*, but not an *overwhelming* percentage.... What should we say about this Armenian "benefactor," who, being a representative of the Armenian nation and a follower of the Armenian Church, despised the vital needs of Echimatsin as well as the countless problems and suffereings of his people, the abject poverty of tens of thousands of orphans and the destitute Armenians in Caucasia and Turkey, and bequeathed his property to such a rich city where the high-ranking Russian religious leader receives an annual income of two million roubles from the monastic estates? The Shioyevs, Elimirzovs, Shamkharovs as well as Alex. Matinov treated their compatriots in the same way: the money they left to Tiflis amounted to one million roubles.The Catholicos of All Armenians resides in a semi-ruined miserable building which bears the sacred name of Patriarchal residence. Gevorgian Spiritual Seminary is deprived of any means for maintaining its existence for at least several years and sustaining a few tens of students; Armenian peasants do not have money to buy wheat seeds for their fields; they are completely devoid of any means to found a small school; the industrious and selfless Armenian teachers who have enlightened their people for so many years have now grown old, unable to earn even their daily piece of bread. And under these conditions, our corrupted "benefactors" who have absolutely repudiated their national identity give one million roubles to such a splendid city as Tiflis."[515]

Al. Matiniants died without heirs at the age of 66 in Paris, on 25 August 1909.[516] His remains were taken to Tiflis and interred in the cemetery of the main church of Vank Cathedral on 27 September on permission granted by the religious powers of the country: "[A *kondak*][517] addressed to the Primate of the Armenian

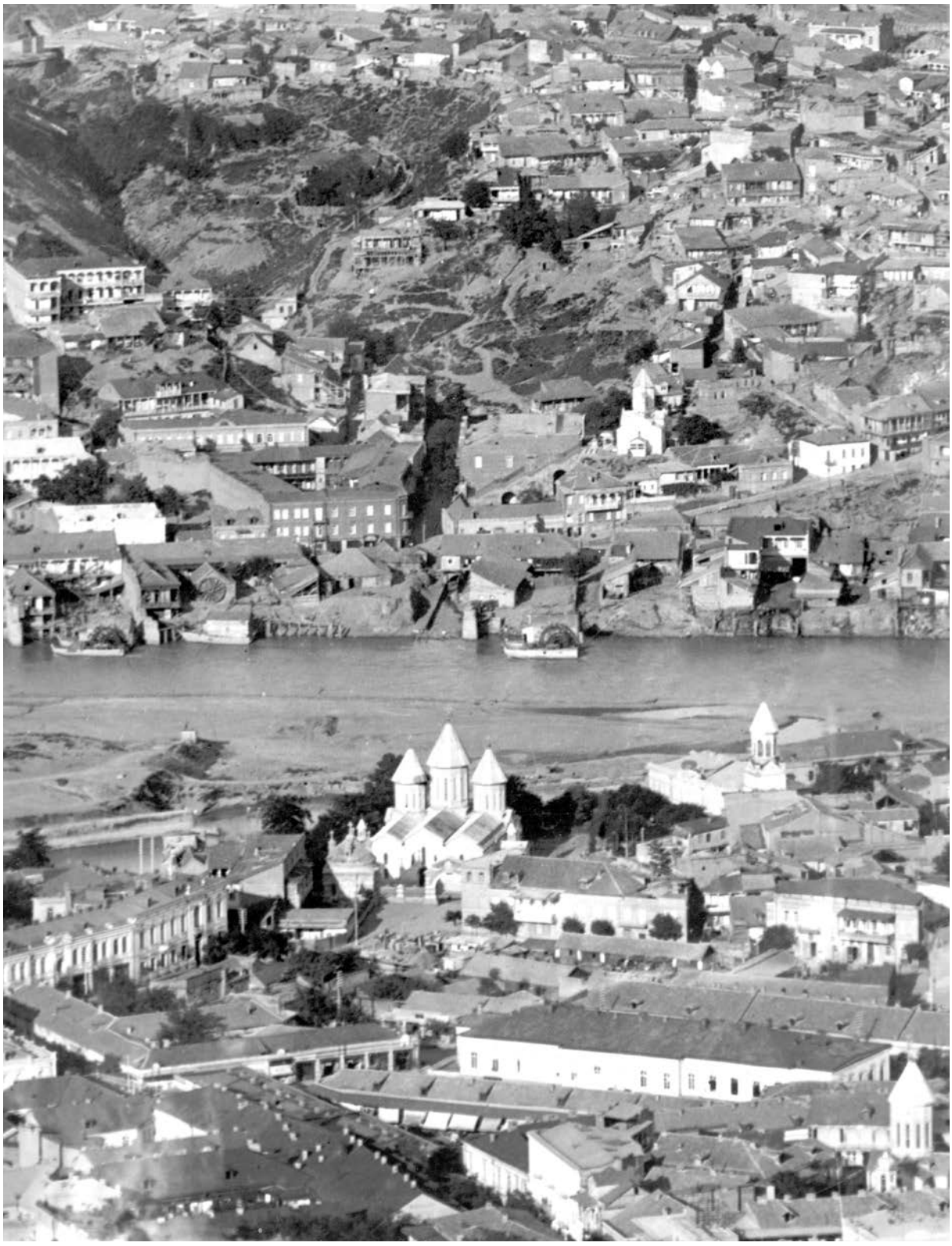
513 Ibid., pp. 49-50 (the original reads: "Это пожертвование, помимо того, что оно очень крупное сравнительно с другими пожертвованиями, делаемыми в пользу гор. Тифлиса (оно оценивается свыше 200 тыс. р.), достойно внимания еще в другом отношении. Завещатель не указывает точно предмета, на который он жертвует, и не связывает дара со своим именем, а всю сумму предоставляет в полное распоряжение городского управления. Так мог поступить только человек, проникнутый глубоким уважением к родному городскому самоуправлению и искреннею преданностью общественным интересам"). For details about the will, see an act entitled "К вопросу о завещанных А. С. Матиновым гор. Тифлису капиталах" (made public in 1909). *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 9 (1919), pp. 43-45).

514 *Hoviv*, no. 34, 1909, p. 543.

515 **Նիկողոսեան Գ.**, Կտակներ քաղաքներին և ուտիացու բողոքը [**G. Nikoghossian**, "Bequests to Cities and an Uti's Protest"], «Հովիւ» [*Hoviv*], no. 39, 1909, pp. 614-615.

516 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 49.

517 *Ararat*, nos. 10-11, 1909, p. 784.



Tiflis. The Primate's residence, Vank Cathedral, in the yard of which A. S. Matiniants was buried in 1909

Diocese of Georgia permitting to bury the corpse of the decedent, Alexandre Matiniants, in the gavit [narthex] of Vank's main church in Tiflis."[518]

A newspaper article (1914) says that the City Council decided to erect a memorial on Matiniants' grave to perpetuate his memory: "The Municipal Government has suggested building a memorial to A. S. Matinov for all the services he rendered to Tiflis as well as for the

518 *Hoviv*, no. 36, 1909, p. 562; no. 37, p. 591.





A. S. Matiniants' tombstone in the days of its destruction (1938)

generous donation he made for the city. The total expenses of the memorial amount to 10,000 roubles."[519]

In the same year, when Tiflis was celebrating the fortieth anniversary (1874 to 1914) of its autonomy, Al. Matiniants received most cordial words of remembrance, being truly considered as an unsurpassed city constructor: "A. S. Matinov, who ruled the city from 1879 until 1891, can be regarded as one of the most vigorous figures in the history of its autonomy. Many projects were implemented during the twelve years of his mayoralty thanks to his activities as well as the desire of the Municipal Duma members to introduce pan-European culture into their native city. ... It was under the rule of A. S. Matinov that the old slaughterhouse, pawn-shop, the water supply system of Avchalian, the house on Yerevan Square, the bridge of Vera and the sewerage system were built, and the city

519 *Kavkaz*, no. 31, 1914 (the original reads: "Городская управа вносит в думу доклад о сооружении в Тифлисе памятника бывшему городскому голове А. С. Матинову за особые заслуги городу и за щедрое пожертвование, сделаннео городу. Стоимость памятника определяется в 10.000 руб.").



A. S. Matiniants' house in the corner of Sapyornaya (now Tabukashvili) and Yevangulovskaya (now Laghidze) Streets (photo by S. Darchinian)

was reconstructed. For the first time, projects were worked out to found institutions of higher education and centres of treatment with mineral water."[520]

In 1916 a project was prepared for building a People's House in Havlabar District: it was going to be constructed with the means (50,000 roubles) bequeathed by Matiniants.[521]

In 1938 the municipal authorities of Tbilisi decided to annihilate the memorial complex of Vank, with which Matiniants' grave and monument were reduced to ruins, perhaps in "gratitude" for everything he had done for the city.

NIKOGHAYOS BARSEGHIAN ARGHUTIAN YERKAYNABAZUK (the *Long-Armed*)

According to his epitaph, Nikoghayos Barseghian Arghutian the *Long-Armed* was born in 1845. He was one of those few Armenians who were re-elected to the mayor's post for three times. A record states the following about him: "Prince Nikolai Barseghian Arghutian

520 *Kavkazskoye Slovo*, no. 71, 1914, p. 2 (the original reads: "А. С. Матинов, состоявший город. головой с 1879 по 1891 г., по праву может считаться одним из энергичнейших город. деятелей за все время существования у нас гор. самоуправления. Много городских проектов и начинаний осуществилось при нем за 12 лет, благодаря как личной его энергии, так составу гласных думы одушевленных желанием дать родному городу блага общеевропейской культуры. ...При А. С. Матинове основана была старая бойня, ломбард, устроен Авчальский водопровод, перестроен город, дом на Эриванской площади, Верийский мост, проведена канализация и впервые возникли проекты учреждения в Тифлисе высшаго учебного заведения и бальнеологической станции...").

521 *Kavkaz*, no. 265, 1916, p. 3.



Nikoghayos Barseghian Arghutian the Long-Armed in the late 1880s



Nikoghayos Barseghian Arghutian the Long-Armed in 1891

the *Long-Armed* [was] the true representative of a glorious Armenian princely family, the butler of His Imperial Majesty and a real state counsellor."[522]

After Al. Matiniants' resignation (1891), the Opposition, consisting of the Georgian deputies of the City Council and some of their Russian colleagues, launched a violent struggle, trying to hamper the victory of Poghos Izmailiants, regarded as the second most suitable candidate: "Izmailian received 30 voices in favour of him and 32 against him; the Opposition won a victory, but only against Mr. Izmailiants. It is uncertain whether they really succeeded in what they aimed at, for I do not think that the newly-elected mayor, Prince Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, is the person for the benefit of whom they have been struggling in recent several months. It is but obvious that the session of 25 April elected Prince Arghutian only because he had no ties with any of the parties and did not feel any personal enmity towards the majority of the Duma members. Many people thought that the prince, who had no party affiliation and was independent, would consider himself superior to them. However, this depends on the character and nature of the person; undoubtedly, such a man would like to remain totally independent, but how long will he manage to do so? On the contrary, everything seems to suggest that Prince Arghutian, who has been aloof from the municipal affairs so far and has never been involved in any social activities in his 47 years of life, will confine himself to only chairing the Duma meetings, leaving the whole field of activities to the parties. It is very probable that he will not become a party-affiliated mayor, not for the sake of being superior to the rest, but in order not to get involved in their actions. The difference is too great: he will not be the leader of the majority, but only their follower."[523]

This quotation analyses the circumstances under which Prince Arghutian assumed the position of mayor on 25 April 1891: "The session of the Municipal Duma, held on 27 May, was inaugurated by the new mayor, Prince N. Argutinski, who addressed the deputies with a speech."[524]

He, however, held office for only 2 years, until the adoption of the new Statutes of Municipal Autonomy,[525] and resigned on 10 July 1893, following his predecessor's example: "He resigned office before his term expired, and the post was temporarily taken up by Mr. Poghos Izmailian, the assistant mayor."[526]

522 *Taraz*, nos. 8-10 (1916), p. 88.

523 *Murj*, no. 4, 1891, pp. 530-531.
524 *Nor-Dar*, no. 181, 16 October 1893, p. 1.
525 *Mshak*, no. 60, 30 May 1891, p. 2.
526 *Murj*, no. 5, 1895, p. 736.



N. B. Arghutian the Long-Armed in the 1900s; his wife Mariam Arghutian Mirzayants and their five children (3 sons, 2 daughters)

In 1892 Arghutian was elected trustee of Zrkiniants Sourb Karapet (Holy Precursor) Church.[527]

He was re-elected to the mayor's post in 1895, after P. Izmailiants' death (on 5 March of the same year): "The candidacy of Prince Nikoghayos Arghutian the *Long-Armed* was put forward by 47 voices and approved by 64 votes. Six other candidates received each one voice, and another two. The Municipal Duma accepted only Prince N. Arghutian's candidacy: he was elected by secret vote with 54 voices in favour of him and 10 against him. Thus, Prince N. Arghutian was re-elected mayor."[528]

Holding office for only two years and two months, the prince again resigned on 12 July 1896, as in 1893, without completing his four-year term: "On 12 July, Prince Nik. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* tendered his resignation to the Minister of the Interior through the Governor. For already the second time, he has resigned office before the expiration of his term."[529]

The following quotation provides more details concerning the mayor's resignation: "Only a year remained for the termination of his term; in July 1897, new elections would be held for both the Municipal Duma and the Council. As stated in the City Statutes, when the mayor resigns a year before the end of his term, it is not obligatory to elect a new mayor: his post is normally occupied by the deputy mayor. The Duma has decided to elect a new mayor next autumn. By this time, his duties will be performed by Acting Deputy Mayor Apolon Af. Ivanenko. Mayor Prince Arghutian left the municipal affairs in a complicated state, but he is not to blame for that: it was the fault of the Duma, which did not have a stable intelligent majority."[530]

On 31 July 1896, the Governor of Tiflis Province conferred a silver medal and a badge on Mayor N. Arghutian.[531] As for the acting mayor, A. Ivanenko, his candidacy was ratified by vote and he held office until the new mayoral elections in 1897: "Apolon Afanasyevich Ivanenko was elected deputy mayor with 30 voices against 18. Ivanenko, who was the only candidate to be voted for, is a member of the City Council and so far has been actually performing the mayoral duties, without being elected to this post (he has been receiving a proper salary for this position). Since Prince Nik. Arghutian's resignation, the mayor's post has been vacant and will remain unoccupied until the new municipal elections."[532]

In 1900 Prince Arghutian made a donation of 300 roubles in contribution for the construction of the People's House of Tiflis.[533]

527 Ibid., no. 1, 1892, p. 156.
528 Ibid., no. 5, 1895, pp. 735-736.
529 *Murj*, no. 6, 1896, p. 878.
530 Ibid.
531 *Kavkaz*, no. 203, 1896.
532 *Murj*, no. 1, 1897, p. 163.
533 *Mshak*, no. 96, 27 May 1900, p. 2. It is worth mentioning that the millionaires A. Mantashian and M. Aramiants, who partici-



N. B. Arghutian's tombstone in the family cemetery of the Arghutians the Long-Armed in the yard of Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Sanahin Monastery, Lori Region, RA

For the third time, N. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* was elected mayor on 24 February 1903 and performed his duties until 3 May 1904, when he again resigned, without waiting for the completion of his term.[534] While in office, he actively and consistently supported the construction (1903) of the Town Hall, a project of heavy expenses, situated in Yerevan Square.[535] After his third resignation, Prince Nik. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* used his financial resources particularly for the development of the field of education: "Until his death, he was the Honorary Trustee of the Boys' Gymnasium of Tiflis and the patron of its pupils."[536]

Apart from this, Arghutian also founded a school for children deaf and dumb from birth [in Tiflis] and worked as President of its Board of Trustees until the end of his life.[537]

In 1891 Arghutian's house was situated at the corner of Sergeyev and Sadovaya Streets.[538] In 1895 his new house was located on Golovinski Avenue.[539]

Prince Arghutian died on 30 March 1916: "On 7 April, his burial was held in a solemn ceremony: after divine service performed in Vank Cathedral, his body was taken to Sanahin, where it was interred in his family sepulchre."[540]

Arghutian's wife was Mariam Hovhannissian Arghutiants (nee Mirzayanats), who died in 1919 (she was well known for her charity acts).

Prince Arghutian the *Long-Armed* was one of the outstanding intellectuals of his times, his rich library representing a collection of rare value for Caucasian Studies: "The prince, who was known as a person interested in science, had a remarkable library particularly containing publications on Caucasia."[541]

To the great luck of the Armenian nation, the authorities of the First Republic of Armenia succeeded in moving this valuable collection to Yerevan, despite the harsh and unfavourable conditions facing them: "He [Prince Arghutian] had a wonderful collection of 10,000 books which his descendants sold to the Government of Armenia in 1920 to get means to leave the country [they intended to move to Paris - S. K.]. At present it is in Yerevan, constituting a very important part of the State [Public] Library."[542]

POGHOS ALEXANDRIAN IZMAILIANTS

Poghos Izmailiants was born in 1852. The available records are not unanimous in reporting the name of his birthplace. According to some of them, he was born in Yerevan, Armenia and received education at a local gymnasium, but some other sources mention Tiflis as his native city. Poghos' grandfather on paternal line was taken captive by some Turks at a young age. When Suvorov took the fortress town of Izmail in Bessarabia in 1790, the Armenian hostage found himself in the Russian army and got the family name of Izmailiants after the place where he had been set free.[543]

As for Poghos' ancestors on maternal line, his great grandfather was the court doctor of the last king of Kartli, Giorgi, and was known by the name of Hekim Agha (*hekim* meaning *sorcerer* in colloquial Armenian): later his descendants were called Hekimian as well as Akimov, the Russified version of the surname, during the period of Russian rule.[544]

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pated in the fund-raising, donated 500 (the largest amount of money given) and 200 roubles respectively.

534 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 18.

535 *Kavkaz*, no. 246, 1903, p. 3. The address was: no. 132 Yerevan Square (Caucasian Calendar for 1906, p. LIX).

536 *Taraz*, nos. 8-10 (1916), p. 88.

537 Ibid.

538 Caucasian Calendar for 1892, p. 422. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1893, p. 457.

539 Кавказский календарь на 1896 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1896] (Tiflis, 1895), p. 500.

540 *Taraz*, nos. 8-10 (1916), p. 88. For the obituaries published on the occasion of his death, see *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, nos. 1-3 (1916), pp. 3-4; *Hovit*, no. 14, 10 April 1916, p. 210. In November 2000 we went to Sanahin Monastery, where Arghutian's tombstone was located according to the *Taraz*. Fortunately, we found it *in situ* south of the main church of the monastic complex, within about 10 metres of it. A marble slab set in one of the faces of Arghutian's finely-finished rectangular gravestone was carved with a long bilingual (Russian and Armenian) epitaph. Regretful as it is, it was mostly weathered and certain parts had become absolutely unintelligible. Below follows the bilingual epitaph with an English translation: *...Кче... Василевичъ... Аргутинский-Долгоруков* [transl.: *... Vasilevich ... Argutinski-Dolgorukov...*].
Քարեբարոյն Ան ... իշխան Նիկողայոս Վասիլ ... Երկայնաբազուկ-Արղուբեան ... 16 1845 վախճանեցաւ 30-ը... [transl.: *... Prince Nikoghayos Vasil ... Yerkaynabazuk* [the Long-Armed]*-Arghutian ... 16 1845 Died on the 30th ...*].

541 *Taraz*, nos. 8-10 (1916), p. 88.

542 «Ֆրանսահայ տարեգիրք. 1927» [French Armenian Yearbook: 1927], 2nd year (Paris, 1927), p. 171.

543 "ჟვალი" [*Kvali*], no. 12, 1895, p. 2.

544 Ibid.

Completing his studies at the gymnasium with honour, Izmailiants went to St. Petersburg to receive higher education there, but in 1869—when still a freshman—he had to return to Tiflis due to the movement that had broken out among the students. In 1870 Izmailiants and his friends, Shahverdian and Ivanov, got acquainted with G. Tsereteli and the editors of the *Droeba* and *Sasoplo* Georgian newspapers, respectively N. Nikoladze and S. Meskhia, whom they helped in founding a publishing-house named G. Tsereteli & Comp. This establishment started work under Izmailiants' charge.[545] According to Tsereteli, in 1872, when he was writing articles on instituting a *Land Bank* for the *Droeba*, Izmailiants provided him with all the materials necessary for his work.[546] Within a short time, Nikoladze and Izmailiants founded the so-called Ivanov Library, which particularly attracted juvenile readers. Continuing his cooperation with Nikoladze and Tsereteli, Izmailiants staged a comic fancy dress ball in which the masked characters personified some of the outstanding figures of the Government of those days. In his memoirs relating to this masquerade, G. Tsereteli writes that it was attended by more than 1,000 people, including the Governor of the District, Orlovski, the Head of the Regional Government and other officials.[547]



P. A. Izmailiants

In 1873 Izmailiants went abroad with his Georgian colleagues and attended a course of literature at Sorbon University, Paris, France.[548] While in this city, he proved of great instrumentality in the publication of the *Drosha* Georgian newspaper: "With Pavel Izmailov's active participation, in 1873 Niko Nikoladze and Data Mikeladze published the *Drosha* newspaper in Paris (its first three issues have come down to us and are kept in the British Museum).[549] In the third issue of this newspaper, Pavel Izmailov published an article in which he touched upon questions relating to the workers' movement in Europe, thus expressing the Socialistic principles of the *Drosha*."[550]

Izmailiants' public activities go back to the 1870s. He played a great role in the development of the Georgian press of his times, actively collaborating with the *Mshak* (its founder was Grigor Artsruny). In the latter's words, "[Izmailiants] was perhaps the only person [in the editorial staff of the periodical mentioned] who had full understanding of the work of the section he represented."[551]

Gr. Artsruny also says: "During the meetings of the editorial staff, I frequently agreed with Izmailov rather than any others for the simple reason that he was more [pro]-European than they were, far from superstitions and intellectually more developed."[552]

Izmailiants also worked as a correspondent for the *Tiflisski Vestnik* and *Mshak* periodicals. In 1878, when

545 Ibid.

546 Ibid., pp. 2-3. Some years later, enlarging on that period of Izmailiants' activities, G. Tsereteli wrote: "The present-day generation of Georgians does not probably know what dreams and noble aspirations P. Izmailiants cherished in his heart. He sacrificed the best years of his youth attempting to reach their realization and worked day and night in the editorial offices of the *Krebuli* magazine and the *Droeba* newspaper together with Nikoladze, the late Meskhi and me. In those times, we dreamt of setting the printing-office obtained from Dubelira on its feet so that it would be able to secure the publication of the *Krebuli*, *Droeba* and *Sasaplo Gazeti* in Georgian. This was between 1869 and 1872, a period when Izmailov's name was associated with the best figures in the field of printing in Georgian. Due to his selfless devotion to this area, Mr. Izmailov spent many a night in the editorial office of the *Krebuli-Droeba*, completely forgetting that his loving mother was impatiently waiting for him at home" (the original reads: "...Едва ли нынешнее поколение грузин знает какия мечты он лелеял и каковы были святые стремления П. Измайлова. Не один и не два лучших года своей молодости он пожертвовал на осуществление этих стремлений, когда Измайлов рядом со мной, с Николадзе и с покойным Месхи неустанно ден и ноч работал в редакциях журнала "Кребули" и газеты "Дроэба". Тогда мы вместе мечтали приобретенную от Дубелира типографию поставить на такую ногу, чтобы доходили ея обезпечить существование грузинских изданий: "Кребули", "Дроэба" и "Сасапло Газети". Это было в 1869, 1870, 1871 и 1872 годах. В то время с именами лучших деятелей грузинской печати было связано имя П. Измайлова. Безкорыстным служением делу грузинской печати г. Измайлов был до такой степени увлечен, что он, забыв совершенно, что у него есть дом, есть любящая мать, с нетерпением его ожидающая, на пролет ночи проводил в редакции "Кребули-Дроэба"..."). *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 254, 1893, p. 2.

547 Ibid. G. Miraghian, who is the author of a book treating the history of Georgian Theatre, wrote some years later that Izmailiants had also collaborated with Georgian actors: "Female roles were also frequently performed by the former mayor of Tiflis, the late Poghos Izmailiants" (**Միրաղեան Գ.**, Վրաց թատրոնի անցեալը եւ ներկան [**G. Miraghian**, "The Past and Present of Georgian Theatre"], «Գեղարվեստ» [*Gegharvest*], no. 3 (1909), p. 28).

548 **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Կենսագրական բառարան [**G. Stepanian**, Dictionary of Biographies], vol. 2 (Yerevan, 1981), p. 9.

549 This newspaper was published only in ten issues, the first three of which have come down to us ("ქართული მწერლობა" [*Kartuli Mtserloba*], no. 10, 1927, p. 124).

550 **Նիկոլաշվիլի Ն.**, Հայ և վրաց գրական գործիչների բարեկամության պատմությունից [**N. Nikolashvili**, "From the History of Friendship between Armenian and Georgian Literary Figures"], «Սովետական Վրաստան» [*Sovetakan Vrastan*], no. 8, 1957.

551 **Լէօ**, Գրիգոր Արծրունի [**Leo**, Grigor Artsruny], vol. 2 (Tiflis, 1902-1903), p. 57.

552 Ibid.



P. A. Izmailiants

editor of the former K. A. Behbudian was in St. Petersburg, Izmailiants, who was then Secretary of the Municipal Duma (from 1876), shouldered his duties (the newspaper was in a financial predicament at that time).[553]

During the elections of city deputies held in late 1878, Izmailiants made every possible endeavour to bring young forces into the Duma. His efforts proved successful, and although the Municipal Parliament still comprised elderly deputies clinging to their old modes of working, their voices were now no longer decisive.[554]

After Al. Matiniants had been elected mayor in 1879, P. Izmailiants actually became the most active member of the City Council: "When speaking about Izmailov, it is impossible not to touch upon the entire history of municipal self-governance beginning with 1879 to 1890, when the city was ruled by A. S. Matinov, but in fact, all the affairs were under Izmailov's control."[555]

Between 1877 and 1883, Izmailiants held the post of Secretary of the City Council for four times, serving 2 years each time (he was elected and re-elected on 15 January 1877, 19 December 1881 and 31 January 1883).[556] On 2 May 1883, his candidacy was put up for the City Council membership and he was elected to that post on 17 October 1883[557] (he was re-elected twice, on 28 December 1884 and 22 December 1888).[558] Along with this, from 17 October 1883 until 7 November 1893, Izmailiants also performed the duties of deputy mayor.[559]

In 1880 through Izmailiants' active support, Mayor Al. Matiniants charged the Government with founding a state university in Tiflis and providing it with means of existence, namely 100,000 roubles from the city budget.[560]

Izmailiants' activities until 1890 were appraised as follows: "For many years, he was the first member of the City Council, having started his service with the post of Secretary of Duma in 1876. From that day onwards, Poghos Izmailian became the driving force behind the municipal affairs of Tiflis thanks to his devotion, higher education and character, which made him easy to deal with for everybody."[561]

After Al. Matiniants' resignation (1 March 1891), Izmailiants advanced his candidacy for the post of mayor for the first time during the elections of 25 April 1891: "[We have] the candidacy of a person who almost entirely owes his position to his tireless efforts for the benefit of the city. When still Secretary of the Municipal Duma, ... he participated in the work of the City Council thanks to his excellent mental and spiritual skills. Although holding the post of Secretary of the Duma, he was the driving force behind the activities of the Council. It is quite clear why it turned out so easy for him to become the first member of the Council, namely deputy mayor, after having resigned the post of Secretary. He distinguished himself in quite a praiseworthy and unusual manner in that position that was not only higher, but also more appropriate for him, given his skills and capabilities. ... Mr. Izmailiants' election was desirable from several standpoints: first, he deserved it as a person well familiar with, and aware of, the municipal affairs; secondly, his election was sure to have a morally encouraging impact, showing that the society knew how to honour a working man, for Mr. Izmailian was a working man in the noble sense of the word."[562]

The Opposition party,[563] which comprised predominantly Georgian and partly Russian deputies, exerted much pressure so that Izmailiants would not be elected to the post of mayor at the elections held on 25 April 1891: he received 30 votes in support of him and 32

553 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 54.

554 Ibid., p. 60.

555 Ibid., p. 62 (the original reads: "...говоря об Измайлове, нельзя не остановиться на всей деятельности городского самоуправления за время с 1879 г. по 1890 г., когда во главе управления стоял А. С. Матинов, а фактическим руководителем дел, во многих случаях являлся Измайлов").

556 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 21.

557 Ibid., p. 20.

558 Ibid.

559 Ibid., p. 19.

560 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 63.

561 *Murj*, no. 2, 1895, p. 352.

562 *Murj*, no. 4, 1891, pp. 529-530.

563 For details relating to N. Arghutian's election in 1891, see p. 75 of the present work.

against him.[564] The Opposition, which was led by Zubalov, did not spare efforts to also strip Izmailiants of the chance of being elected deputy mayor on 12 October, but in vain.[565] During the initial stage of Prince N. Arghutian's governance (1891 to 1893), as well as after his resignation in 1893, he performed the duties of deputy mayor until the election of a new mayor on 7 November.[566]

These elections, which were scheduled for the autumn of 1893, were continuously thwarted and delayed (17,[567] then 31 October[568]), being eventually conducted on 7 November: "The City Council of Tiflis is to hold an emergency sitting on 7 November (Sunday)....[569] [On that day] Mr. Poghos Izmailian was elected mayor of Tiflis [by the overwhelming majority of votes]. The elections were attended by 71 people, including Mr. Izmailiants. The new mayor received 62 votes in favour of him and 8 against him."[570]

In those days, Izmailiants found an abundant spring in the forests of Saguramo. Concerned about the water-work of Tiflis, he invited specialists to study it and submitted some specimen of its water to F. Otten for examination (it turned out to be one of the best springs in Avjala yielding 2 million buckets of cold water per day, twice as much as the water already reaching the city from Avjala).[571]

However, Izmailiants was not predestined to govern Tiflis for a long term, as he departed this life in St. Petersburg on 5 March 1895: "He passed away in [St.] Petersburg on 5 March—he had gone there to attend to some municipal affairs, but got infected with influenza, then raging there, which caused pneumonia [in his organism]."[572]

It took ten days to move the deceased mayor's remains from St. Petersburg to Novorosiysk and Batum by ship and thence to Tiflis by train.[573] All the mass media of the country immediately reported the news of Izmailiants' death.[574] It will not be an exaggeration to state that the entire population of Tiflis went into deep mourning over his departure, for everybody realised that history and time are not always very lavish with the revelation of such individuals as the one they had lost: "From the most influential official to the very last street-cleaning workman, everybody sincerely liked Izmailian. While holding the honorary post of mayor, he behaved as quite an ordinary person, being a friend to everybody, be they labourers or his colleagues. He received everyone wishing to see him; listened to those asking for a favour with the utmost willingness and did everything he could for all of them.... With Poghos Izmailiants' death, entire Caucasia lost one of its unsurpassed and talented sons who are not very large in number."[575]

Giorgi Tsereteli, who knew Izmailiants well, wrote the following in the *Kvali* magazine (published under his editorship): "Any nation would like to have individuals like Izmailian, which is a true blessing. The people giving birth to personalities of such capabilities and vigour will gain only pure bliss no matter whether they are independent or in slavery."[576]

One of the correspondents of the *Nor-Dar* who was present at the funeral wrote the following in an article published in the same newspaper: "As far as we remember, never has Tiflis seen a burial like the one held on 18 March. Instead of asking who attended the funeral of Mayor Poghos Izmailian, one should ask who was not present at it. It will not be an exaggeration to say that almost the entire city of Tiflis was present there with its tens of thousands of inhabitants who were densely standing on both sides of the streets in an area of about four versts, beginning from the railway station to Vera Bridge, therefrom to the Town Hall and thence to Vank Cathedral. It is even needless to say that the windows, balconies and roofs were overcrowded as well, many people having even climbed to the tops of the trees. It is noteworthy that this large multitude had gathered voluntarily.... At 9 o'clock in the morning, the railway station was already black—both outwardly and inwardly—with the crowd that had assembled there: one could see the trade-unionists with their banners covered with black veil as well as officials, including the deputy mayor of Tiflis with all the deputies and members of the City Council; the representatives of different establishments; delegations from various cities; the family members and relatives of the late mayor, journalists, etc. In front of the station stood the Armenian clergymen of the city led by the Diocese Primate, His Eminence Archbishop Gevorg, as well as the Sheikh-Ul-Islam of the Muslims with several religious figures and the Rabbi of the Jews. At 10 minutes past 10, the funeral train approached the platform; the coffin was brought out of the carriage and placed in front of the station, after which the sad ceremony began. The procession was headed by the flag bearers of the trade-unionists, followed by the pupils of the

564 *Murj*, no. 4, 1891, p. 530.
565 *Murj*, no. 10, 1891, pp. 1242-1244.
566 *Nor-Dar*, no. 181, 1893, p. 1.
567 Ibid., no. 182, 1893.
568 Ibid., no. 185, 1893, p. 1.
569 Ibid., no. 197, 1893, p. 2.
570 Ibid.
571 "ივერია" [*Iveria*], no. 264, 1893.
572 *Murj*, no. 2, 1895, pp. 351-352.
573 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 55, 1895, p. 2.
574 See *Kavkaz*, nos. 64, 74, 1895; "Нива" [*Niva*], no. 13, 1895, pp. 315-316; *Novoye Obozreniye*, nos. 3842, 3843, 1895; *Tiflisski Listok*, nos. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 62, 97, 1895; *Nor-Dar*, no. 40, 1895, p. 2; no. 42, 1895; no. 50, 1895, p. 3.
575 *Nor-Dar*, no. 40, 1895.
576 *Kvali*, no. 12, 1895, p. 2.

unisex schools of the city, the choir and clergymen. Then came the bearers of the coffin on which shone the silver wreath on behalf of the city authorities; the catafalque and another two carriages, all buried in wreaths. An endless row of coaches ran at the very end of the mourning solemn funeral train. Throughout the way, the crowd of grieving people silently took off their caps and hats, and the shops were closed. When the procession reached the Town Hall in Yerevan Square, the deceased mayor was again placed for viewing, after which the sorrowful procession continued its way towards Vank Cathedral—its vicinity was simply crammed in the very proper sense of the word. The requiem service was performed by the Primate himself, who later delivered a graveside oration, stressing the immense loss that the city had suffered. From the rostrum, His Eminence told the deceased mayor's mother about the Catholicos' wish, which had become known to him by telegraph. The requiem service and funeral were attended by the Deputy Governor of Caucasia, the Governor of Tiflis Province, the Presidents of the Court Chamber and Provincial Court, the Head of the Caucasian Censorial Centre, the Commandant of Tiflis, the Chief of Police Forces and other dignitaries. Funeral orations were made by Deputy Mayor Ivanenko and one of the deputies, Mr. Shah-Azizian."[577]

A correspondent of the *Tiflisski Listok* adds the following to this information: "Mayor P. A. Izmailov's decease put almost all the classes of the city population into deep sorrow. That he enjoyed high popularity is also evident from the fact that the house proprietors of Nakhalovka made up a list of their names and raised money to place wreaths by his grave with the following words written on them: *To unforgettable P. A. Izmailov on behalf of the voluntary resettlers*."[578]

Only several days after Izmailiants' funeral, the City Council adopted a decision: 1) to allocate an annual allowance of 3,000 roubles to the late mayor's family (1,800 roubles for life, and 1,200 to his son until he came of age or completed his course of higher education); 2) to place P. Izmailiants' portrait in the hall of the City Council; to rename former *Kirpichnaya* Street and *Novaya* Blind Alley, where Izmailiants' house was situated,[579] into *Izmailovski* in honour of the late mayor; 3) to put a silver wreath by Izmailiants' grave (near Sanasarian's grave)[580] on behalf of the City Council staff, etc.[581] At the end of the same year (1895), the Council made a decision to allocate 700 roubles for the erection of a memorial over P. Izmailiants' grave.[582]

On 10 March 1896, a simple memorial (architects: A. Melik-Beglarian and Andrioletti) opened at P. Izmailiants' grave, with the following epitaph engraved on it: *To Poghos Izmailian from Tiflis City.*[583]

By 1909 this monument had partly gone to pieces and needed overhaul: "The memorials of two of our outstanding compatriots, the famous hero, General Arshak Ter-Ghukassian, and the prominent mayor Poghos Izmailian, both of whom are buried in the yard of Vank Cathedral of Tiflis, are in a state of dilapidation and have lost their former glamour (they were built with the budget means of Tiflis City). Due attention should be paid to them."[584]

In the same year, the correspondent of another newspaper wrote: "The memorial dedicated to the former mayor P. A. Izmailov, which is in the yard of Vank Cathedral, is in a state of total collapse. In this case, we are dealing not only with the destroying influence of time, but also with certain villains who have broken the iron balustrade and even cut some marble fragments off it. The monument needs repairing."[585]

In 1895 Hazir, a poet and minstrel from Shulaver, wrote a poem in memory of Izmailiants.[586]

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577 *Nor-Dar*, no. 50, 1895, p. 3.

578 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 57, 1895, p. 2 (the original reads: "Смерть городского головы П. А. Измайлова сильно опечалила почти все слои населения города. На сколько был популярен покойный, можно заключить из того, что домовладельцы "Нахаловки" по подписке собрали между собою деньги на венок для возложения на гроб П. А. с следующею надписью: "От самовольных поселенцев незабвенному П.А.Измайлову").

579 In 1888 P. Izmailiants lived in Babanassian's house in Sapyornaya Street (Кавказский календарь на 1889 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1889] (Tiflis, 1888), p. 309). By 1893 he had already acquired his own house in Novaya Golandskaya Street (Кавказский календарь на 1894 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1894] (Tiflis, 1893), p. 458): it was built on a plot of land formerly belonging to Mirzoyev and Ter-Ghukassov according to a project (27 May 1892) worked out by the engineer K. Butkevich. It is preserved in the National Archives of Georgia: fund 192 (Municipal Government of Tiflis), list 8a, file 3278.

580 *Nor-Dar*, no. 49, 1895.

581 *Tiflisski Listok*, nos. 56, 58, 1895. One of the state colleges of the city was named after Izmailiants. In honour of the deceased mayor, its renovation, scheduled for 1912, was to be implemented with the means of the municipal budget ("Училище имени П. А. Измайлова. Гласный А. С. Бабов вошел в думскую училищную комиссию с предложением: устроить в город. средства школу имени покойнаго город. головы П. А. Измайлова в память больших заслуг его перед городом"). *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 208, 1912, p. 2.

582 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 294, 1895.

583 *Mshak*, no. 30, 1896, p. 3. Also see *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 49, 1896.

584 *Hoviv*, no. 26, 1909, p. 416.

585 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 245, 1909, p. 2 (the original reads: "Памятник бывшему город. голове П.А. Измайлову поставленный в ограде Ванскаго собора, пришел в совершенную ветхост. В этом случае разрушающему влиянию времени пришло на помощ руки каких-то негодяев, которые изломало решетку и даже отбили куски мрамора от памятника. Необходимо памятник реставрировать").

586 See the poem on p. 88 of the Armenian version (Beirut, 2003) of the present work. We are deeply grateful to the meritorious teacher, Mrs. Sandukht Aslanian from Shulaver (nowadays: Shahumian), for handing this poem by Hazir to us.

In 1892 Izmailiants planned to build a house on a plot of land formerly belonging to Mirzoyev and Ter-Ghukassov (its project had been worked out by the engineer K. Butkevich).[587]

GEVORG GRIGORIAN YEVANGULIANTS

Gevorg Yevanguliants was born in Tiflis[588] in 1843. Having completed his studies at the local First Gymnasium (1863), he continued his education at Petersburg University and graduated from it with the degree of Ph.D in Jurisprudence (he was historian G. Yezov's pupil and friend).

In his youth, G. Yevanguliants participated in some theatrical performances as an actor: "The late Gevorg Yevanguliants manifested skilful acting in the plays by Patkaniants."[589]

In 1864 Yevanguliants started collaborating with some Armenian periodicals; thus, he published an article against Palasanian in defence of Chernishevski in the *Meghu Hayastani* weekly. In 1867 he returned to Tiflis and started working as a court investigator and Assistant Justice of the Peace, after which, he also worked as Deputy Prosecutor. In 1876 Yevanguliants assumed work in the Government of the Vice-Roy, parallelly holding membership of the Boards of Trustees of Nersissian (from 1878) and Gayanian Schools (he also contributed to the activities of Sanasarian School of Erzrum).[590] A year after Yevanguliants had been elected as member of the Court Department (1882), in 1883, he abandoned state service and started a jury service:[591] "After the end of the vice-royalty, he gave up service and started legal practice as a jury member, earning himself the repute of the most talented, skillful and conscientious barrister in the country. For a long time, he also held the post of Council President of Tiflis Company of Loans."[592]

Yevanguliants was first elected member of the Municipal Duma in 1870 and was subsequently re-elected for many times.[593]

In 1884 along with other honorary citizens of Tiflis, G. Yevanguliants became member of the committee





The horse tramway of Tiflis

supervising the overhaul of Vank Cathedral.[594] He also worked as a correspondent for the contemporary press, and particularly, for the *Mshak*.

During the mayoral elections held on 6 October 1897, Yevanguliants was elected mayor with 38 voices in support of his candidacy and 34 against him (his opponent was Prince G. Tumaniants, who was rather strong).[595] For some reason or another, Yevanguliants was ratified in the post of mayor only in February 1898: "The newly-elected mayor of Tiflis has already been officially approved in his position: he assumed office on 11 February."[596]

On 18 February of the same year, he chaired the meeting of the City Council for the first time: "In his speech of gratitude, the new mayor made a review of what had been done in his predecessors' (Izmailian, Matinian, Kipiany and Yaz. Tumanian) times, namely since Tiflis was granted autonomy in 1875. His speech was welcomed by the majority and even those who had been opposed to his election."[597]

The very beginning of the new mayor's governance was marked with complications and even crisis both in

587 National Archives of Georgia, fund 192 (Municipal Government of Tiflis), list 8a, file 3278.

588 According to another source, he was born to a well-known Armenian family that lived either in Seghnakh or in Tiflis (see **Խասապետյան Ռ.**, Ով է Գրիգոր Եվանգուլովը. սպասում ենք արձագանքի [**R. Khasapetian**, "Who is Grigor Yevangulov? Waiting for Responses"], «Երկիր» [*Yerkir*], no. 47, 1991, p. 4).

589 **Գրիգորեան Զ.**, Յիշողութիւններ. Հայոց թատրոն Թիֆլիսում 1859-60 թթ. [**Z. Grigorian**, "Memories: The Armenian Theatre in Tiflis in 1859 to '60"], «Հովիւ» [*Hoviv*], no. 46, 1909, p. 732.

590 *Murj*, no. 9, 1901, p. 251.

591 Ibid.

592 *Taraz*, no. 36 (1901), p. 353.

593 *Novoye Obozreniye*, no. 2425, 1891, p. 1.

594 *Ardzagank*, no. 40, 1884, p. 142.

595 *Mshak*, no. 117, 7 October 1897, p. 1. Also see *Nor-Dar*, no. 172, 1897, p. 1.

596 *Nor-Dar*, no. 25, 1898, p. 1.

597 *Murj*, nos. 2-3, 1898, p. 380.





Mayor Gevorg Yevanguliants with his wife Natalia Yevanguliants

the economic and administrative-political fields. It was especially the problem[598] of the horse tramway of Tiflis that caused much trouble to him (he did not know whether to sell it to any foreign firm (if yes, to which one) or leave it under the exploitation of the municipal authorities). In late 1898, Prince Golitsin (1838 to 1907), the Governor of Caucasia for Civil Affairs and the Commander of the Caucasian Military District (Okrug) who was known as a reactionary and a bigoted supporter of the monarchic system, "destroyed" the entire Duma of Tiflis in the very proper sense of the word and launched legal proceedings against G. Yevanguliants and its most prominent members: "On a Governmental order, the mayor, Mr. Yevangulian, the former members of the City Council, Misters Ivanenko and Vermishev, as well as the present-day members, Khosrovian and Prince Al. Arghutian, have been put on trial."[599]

In the long run, all of them were acquitted, but before that, they had been living with the sword of Damocles hanging over their heads for several years.[600]

In order to elect a new deputy mayor—the last official in this post had been Ivanenko, who was released by the Province Governor's order—voting was held on 22 March, its results revealing M. Shestakov as the winner: "The candidacy of M. S. Shestakov, Ye. Ye. Khosrovian as well as Princes A. M. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* and V. M. Cherkezov was put to the vote, and M. S. Shestakov was elected by a majority of voices (23 against 21)."[601]

In the meantime, the legal case incited by the Province Governor was in process: "Abely, the court investigator for particularly important cases, has interrogated the mayor, Mr. G. Yevangulian, as well as two members of the City Council, Ye. Khosrovian and Prince Al. Arghutian, for committing certain falsifications in the Council of Tiflis. The former members [of the City Council], Ivanenko and Vermishian, will be questioned, too."[602]

Meeting Georgian Patriarch Flavian's entreaties, in April 1899, G. Yevanguliants appealed to some wealthy Armenians to make donations for the overhaul of the Georgian Cathedral of Svetitskhoveli. His words were hearkened to, and from the very first day onwards, large financial contributions were made for this purpose for over a month.[603]

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598 For details, see *Murj*, nos. 2-3, 1899, pp. 328-333.

599 *Murj*, nos. 2-3, 1899, p. 341.

600 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 73. According to a press publication, the problem still remained unresolved as late as 1901: "It was reported during the sitting of the City Council of Tiflis, held on 30 April, that the Municipal Government and the mayor had received a summons showing that he and the members of the Municipal Government were being sued under the following articles of the Criminal Code: Mayor G. D. Yevangulian - nos. 411 & 412; Arghutian, a former member of the Municipal Government - nos. 411, 417, 377, 341 & 409; Ch. Vermishev, a former member of the Municipal Government - nos. 41 & 409" («Քիւզանդիոն» [*Byuzandion*], no. 1406, 16 May 1901, p. 1). Some years later, a correspondent of the *Kavkazskoye Slovo* wrote the following in this regard: "Under the last of these people mentioned, the well-known case against all the members of the City Council was launched for transgressions in their work, all of them being finally acquitted" (the original reads: "При последнем началось и закончилось оправданием известное дело по обвинению всего состава управы в преступлениях по службе"). *Kavkazskoye Slovo*, no. 71, 1914, p. 2.

601 *Taraz*, no. 11 (1899), p. 282.

602 Ibid., no. 14 (1899), pp. 346-347.

603 **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Հայերը և Մցխեթի տաճարը [**S. Karapetian**, "The Armenians and Mtskheta Cathedral"], «Հայոց Աշխատիւ» [*Hayots Ashkhar*], no. 101, 1999.



Ghukassian Museum of Religion and History in the yard of Vank Cathedral, the Primate's residence



G. Yevanguliants' house at the juncture of former Teatralnaya (later renamed Yevangulovskaya and then Lunacharski) and Sapyornaya (later: Dzneladze, at present: Tabukashvili) Streets (photo by S. Darchinian)

Yevanguliants' health condition was aggravating with every single passing day so that eventually, in the summer of 1899, it became a serious obstacle for his further activities: "Mayor G. Yevangulian has gone abroad on a two-month leave to improve his health."[604]

During Yevanguliants' absence, Deputy Mayor Shestakov acted in his place: "Mayor G. G. Yevangulian was permitted to have a two-month sick leave abroad and left Tiflis on 26 June. His duties will be performed by member of the City Council M. S. Shestakov."[605]

Although Yevanguliants left Tiflis in rather poor health, he did not cease thinking about the problems of his native city: "While abroad, Mayor G. G. Yevangulian is to hold negotiations with some foreign firms on the exploitation of the horse tramway and the introduction of electric illumination [into Tiflis]."[606]

On 15 June 1900, Catholicos of All Armenians Mkrtich extended his Patriarchal blessing to G. Yevanguliants for his contribution to the construction of Ghukassian Museum in the yard of Vank Cathedral serving as the Primate's residence[607] (until his death, Yevanguliants held membership of the Board of this museum).[608]

In the days of Mayor Yevanguliants, on 10 April 1901, the first school of sculpture and painting opened in Tiflis.[609]

Yevanguliants died in Heracle's Bath-House on the evening of 16 September 1901: "The population of the city was deeply shocked at the mayor's departure from this life. He died a sudden, unexpected death. Indeed, he had been ill for a long time, but nobody thought that his days, full of fruitful activity, were numbered."[610]

Yevanguliants' remains were interred in Khojivank Cemetery.[611]

In 1902 the Governor of Caucasia for Civil Affairs ratified the decision of the City Council to rename Teatralnaya Street in Tiflis into *Yevangulovskaya* in honour of the late mayor.[612]

Yevanguliants changed several places of residence in Tiflis: thus, in 1881 he lived in Shadinov's house at Ganovski Street.[613] Later his address was no. 8, 29 Vodovoznaya Street.[614] By 1899 he had changed his dwelling and lived in a house located at the junction of Bolshoi Vodovozni and Sapyornaya Streets.[615]

ALEXANDRE MICHAELIAN ARGHUTIAN YERKAYNABAZUK (the *Long-Armed*)

Prince Alexandre Michaelian Arghutian the *Long-Armed* was born in 1860 and received education first at the Real School of Tiflis and then in Moscow. He particularly specialised in the field of agriculture: "On a Governmental assignment, he carried out economic studies in the rural life of Transcaucasia. Following the instructions given by the Railway Department of Transcaucasia, he conducted a survey in Borchalu District and made up a report on the 25-year-long activities of the same company. He [also] collaborated with the local Russian-language newspapers."[616]

Alexandre Arghutian is also the author of a research analysis on the economic problems of Borchalu District[617] as well as other works published in the contemporary press.[618]

604 *Murj*, no. 6, 1899, p. 725. Also see *Taraz*, no. 21 (1899), p. 77.
605 *Taraz*, no. 23 (1899), p. 554.
606 Ibid., no. 25 (1899), p. 595.
607 «Լուսաւոր» [*Luma*], book 1 (1901), p. 348.
608 Ibid., no. 5 (1902), p. 266.
609 Caucasian Calendar for 1913, p. 170.
610 *Taraz*, no. 36 (1901), p. 353. Also see *Murj*, no. 9, 1901, pp. 251, 478-479; *Mshak*, no. 206, 1901, p. 1; *Luma*, book 2 (1901), pp. 478-479; *Novoye Obozreniye*, no. 5822, 1901.
611 *Luma*, book 2 (1901), p. 479.
612 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 9, 1902.
613 Caucasian Calendar for 1882, p. 213.
614 Caucasian Calendar for 1886, p. 182.
615 Caucasian Calendar for 1900, p. 615.
616 *Taraz*, no. 48 (1902), p. 466.
617 **Аргутинский-Долгоруков А.,** Борчалинский уезд в экономическом и коммерческом отношениях [**A. Argutinsky-Dolgorukov**, Borchalu Uyezd from Economic and Commercial Standpoints] (Tiflis, 1897).
618 **Аргутинский А.,** Колонисты и туземцы Борчалинск. уезда. Очерки и наброски [**A. Argutinsky**, "The Colonists and Natives of Borchalu Uyezd. Essays and Sketches"], Новое Обозрение [*Novoye Obozreniye*], nos. 3720, 3721, 3722, 1895.

Alexandre Arghutian was elected member of the Municipal Government of Tiflis on 11 November 1896.[619] On 22 March 1899, he was one of the candidates for the vacant post of deputy mayor together with M. S. Shestakov, Ye. Ye. Khosrovian and V. M. Cherkezov—by this time, Ivanenko had been dismissed by the Province Governor's decision—but it was won by Shestakov.[620] On 8 January 1901, Arghutian was re-elected as member of the Municipal Government, but the Province Governor did not approve his re-election, due to which, on 24 February 1901, he was stripped of his membership[621] and of the post of deputy mayor, which he had been holding since 21 February 1900:[622] "In 1901 he stood trial together with the other members of the Municipal Government and the mayor, but he was acquitted in the court hall in the same year."[623]

While holding membership of the Municipal Government and the City Council, Al. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* mainly attended to problems in the fields of people's education, public health care and charity.[624]

Al. Arghutian was elected mayor on 16 December 1902, but the provincial authorities did not approve him in that post so that he did not assume office.[625] It should be mentioned that the Province Governor's disapproval of his election was not at all in the interests of the city: the press publications of those days welcomed his election, particularly stating the following: "As a person familiar with the city affairs and a sincere advocate of its well-being, Prince Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* [the *Long-Armed*] will indeed triple his vigour and improve the conditions of [our] beautiful Tiflis, ... leading it to prosperity."[626]

On 3 December 1907, Arghutian was again elected as member of the Municipal Government.[627] In 1910, during Mayor Al. Khatissiants' absence, he also worked as Head of the Department of Construction within the Municipal Government.[628]

For the second time, Prince Arghutian the *Long-Armed* was elected deputy mayor on 28 February 1911[629] and re-elected as member of the Municipal Government in 1916: "On 31 May, the Duma of Tiflis re-elected two members of the City Council for a term of four years—Prince A. M. Arghutian and M. Jabar, their salaries being raised to 6,000."[630]

Al. Arghutian the *Long-Armed* lived at no. 32 Alexandrovski Street, Tiflis.[631]

CHRISTAPOR AVAKUMIAN VERMISHIANTS

Christapor Vermishiants was born on 2 January 1863[632] and received primary education at the real schools of Tiflis and Baku.[633] In 1884 he graduated from Petrovsk Academy of Farming and Silviculture with a Ph.D. in Agriculture and assumed work in Prince S. K. Bagration-Mokhranski's estate.[634]

By 1885 Ch. Vermishiants was appointed an accredited representative of the Minister of State Property in Caucasia (I. I. Tikheyev) and received an assignment to study the economic conditions of the peasantry in the royal lands of the region,[635] and particularly, in the districts of Akhaltskha and Akhalkalak. In 1886 Vermishiants was elected Secretary of the Caucasian Agricultural Society and then Assessor of the royal arable lands under exploitation.[636] In 1888 he was elected Coordinating Secretary of the Committee on the Caucasian Exhibition of Farming Tools and Machinery and acquired membership of the Council of the Caucasian Agricultural Society in 1889.[637]

In 1891 Vermishiants was elected to the City Council (at the same time, the issue of his possible membership of the Municipal Government was under discussion).[638] During one of the Duma sessions convened in the same year, he made a proposal on establishing a Bureau of Patriots attached to the Municipal Government: "The Duma decided to put Mr. Vermishov's suggestion under consideration in the Municipal Government.... Every more or less educated citizen knows how great the necessity for a Bureau of Patriots is; therefore, we have no doubts that the Municipal Government will submit its report [relating to this question] to the Duma as soon as possible."[639]

Soon, however, Vermishiants moved to Batum, where he started running the local branch of the Commercial Bank of Tiflis.[640]

On 7 October 1896, Christapor Vermishiants was elected to the Municipal Government.[641]

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619 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 20.
620 *Taraz*, no. 11 (1899), p. 282.
621 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), pp. 19-20.
622 Ibid.
623 *Taraz*, no. 48 (1902), p. 466.
624 *Taraz*, ibid.
625 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 18.
626 *Taraz*, no. 48 (1899), p. 466.
627 Ibid.
628 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 184, 1910.
629 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 19.
630 *Hovit*, no. 21, 1916, p. 335.
631 Caucasian Calendar for 1909, pp. 999, 1130. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1911, p. 763.
632 Тифлисская дума 1891 г. (краткая биография гласных) ["Tiflis Duma in 1891, with Brief Biographies of Duma Members"] Новое Обозрение [*Novoye Obozreniye*], no. 2425, 1891, p. 1.
633 Ibid.
634 Ibid.
635 Ibid.
636 Ibid.
637 Ibid.
638 Ibid.
639 *Taraz*, no. 5 (1891), p. 89.
640 Ibid., no. 24 (1904), p. 222.
641 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 20.



Avakum Vermishiants and his son Christapor

In 1898 the Duma sent Vermishiants to Baku on a business trip: he was going to support and substantiate the initiative for the foundation of a polytechnical school in Tiflis.[642]

On 2 November of the same year, the provincial powers discharged Vermishiants from his post.[643] His protest against this action remained without any reply: "Members of the Municipal Government, Misters Ivanenko and Vermishian, have been dismissed from work on the order of the Governor of Caucasia. It is reported from Petersburg that their complaint against their removal has been left without any response by the ruling Senate [Duma]."[644]

In 1899 Ch. Vermishiants took up work in Mantashian's oil company.[645]

As an Armenian citizen and intellectual, Vermishiants thought it his duty to publish a large-scale research work[646] in response to the Georgian writer I. Javjavadze's booklet abounding in non-scientific and anti-Armenian statements.[647] Vermishiants' work, which was of great scientific value and showed the author's conscientious attitude towards the issues he touched upon, was welcomed with praise and high appreciation by the critics of those times.[648]

Ch. Vermishiants was elected mayor on 11 October 1904 with 45 voices against 27.[649] This event found extensive commentaries in the contemporary press,[650] which shows that the intellectuals of Tiflis were pleased with the election results.[651]

Vermishiants held office until 14 September 1905,[652] his total term lasting less than a year, but being marked with tumultuous events. The mayor lived through hard times especially in the days of the Armenian-Turkish fights of 1905, when he was expected to manifest prudence and far-sightedness—as an official and an Armenian—to appease the tension and settle the inter-ethnic conflict. In this regard, his endeavours yielded some fruits, as attested by some press publications: "Immediately after the news of the formidable catastrophe of Baku was confirmed in Tiflis—and it turned out not just an ordinary clash—and the local newspapers published the available information [concerning it] in a haphazard manner, all the population was alarmed, irrespective of nationality. Except for some repulsive elements, for which any turmoil is pleasant and advantageous, everybody was troubled and annoyed. One of the first people to voice his protest was the agreeable mayor of Tiflis, Mr. Christapor Vermishian, a person known for his sincere public strivings as a [political] figure, a man of pen and an orator, long before being elected mayor. Mr. Vermishian addressed a telegram to the prominent Turks of Baku, Hajji Zeynal Abdin Taghiyev, Ali Mardan Bey Topchibashev (the editor of the *Kaspi* newspaper), the publicist Aghayev, Hasan Bey Melikov, Ashurov, who was very influential, Hajjiyev and others, with an appeal to call upon their fellow Muslims to put an end to those shameful acts. At the same time, Mr. Vermishian also applied to the Acting Governor of Caucasia, General-Adjutant Malama, so that the latter would take prompt measures to prevent the massacres."[653]

Vermishiants also started fund-raising to provide relief for the families that had suffered from the fights.[654]

Vermishiants actively collaborated with different newspapers—almost exceptionally Russian-language

642 Каспий [*Kaspi*], no. 35, 1898.

643 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, ibid.

644 *Taraz*, no. 21 (1899), p. 506.

645 Ibid., no. 24 (1904), p. 222.

646 **Вермишев Х.**, Материалы для истории грузино-армянских отношений: Ответ на книжку кн. И. Г. Чавчавадзе "Армянские ученые и "вопиющие камни" [**Ch. Vermishev**, Materials for the History of Georgian-Armenian Relations: An Answer to Prince I. G. Javjavadze's Book Entitled *The Armenian Scholars and the "Crying Stones"*] (St. Petersburg, 1904).

647 **Чавчавадзе И.**, Армянские ученые и "вопиющие камни" [**I. Javjavadze**, The Armenian Scholars and the "Crying Stones"] (Tiflis, 1902).

648 *Taraz*, no. 34 (1905); *Luma*, no. 4 (1904), pp. 231-234.

649 *Taraz*, ibid.

650 *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 291, 1904; Новости [*Novosti*], no. 305, 1904.

651 **М-ч. А.** Новый городской голова города Тифлиса [**A. M-ch.**, "The New Mayor of Tiflis City"], Новое Обозрение [*Novoye Obozreniye*], no. 24, 1904.

652 Ibid., p. 18.

653 *Luma*, no. 1 (1905), p. 158. On 9 February, Vermishiants applied to the Governor General of Caucasia with a request to stop the bloodshed. The conflict lasted from 6 until 11 February (*Taraz*, no. 4 (1905), p. 57). Some years later, Vermishiants dwelt on the political turmoil of 1905 in full detail in his memoirs, having previously received trustworthy data and information from Al. Khatissiants. See **Вермишев Х.,** Из недавняго прошлаго: 29 августа 1905 г. в Тифлисской городской думе [**Ch. Vermishev**, Recent Times: 29 August 1905 in the Municipal Duma of Tiflis] (Baku, 1917); *Kavkazskoye Slovo*, no. 7, 1917; «Հորիզոն» [*Horizon*], no. 31, 1917.

654 *Taraz*, no. 5 (1905), p. 65.

ones—as a correspondent, although sometimes his articles and letters revealed his insufficient knowledge of the issues he raised (the contemporary press contains publications exposing some of his erroneous statements and conclusions).[655]

In 1906 Ch. Vermishiants' house in Tiflis was located at no. 79 Nikolayevski Street.[656]

On 9 December 1907, Vermishiants participated in the general meeting of the members of Tiflis Merchants' Society for Mutual Support held at the Duma.[657]

In 1909 Vermishiants became the editor of the Russian-language *Baku* newspaper published in the city of the same name (certain publications of this newspaper were subjected to strong, although fair, criticism.[658]

The year 1911 marked a period of fierce ideological struggle for Vermishiants, whose ideological opponents, and particularly, St. Shahumian blamed him for impeding the activities of the proletarian press, avoiding criticism and defending the interests of the bourgeoisie. In fact, he failed to properly respond to these rather harsh publications[659]—he gave all his responses to his opponents through the *Baku* newspaper that was issued under his editorship.

Throughout 1912 Vermishiants was involved in legal proceedings that had been launched against him due to his publication of a leaflet propagating the ideology of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party. A record states the following in this regard: "On 27 November (Tuesday), the Special Section of the Chamber of Judgements [namely, the court] heard the case of Ch. A. Vermishian, the editor of the *Baku*. Indictment was brought in against him under Article 129 of the Criminal Code in the presence of the representatives of different classes. For the first time, this case was heard on 5 March of the current year. The Special Section of the Chamber of Judgements returned a verdict of guilty, under which Ch. A. Vermishiants was going to be stripped of his rights and exiled to Siberia. In compliance with the appeal lodged by V. A. Maklakov, the ruling Senate annulled the judgement of the court of Tiflis and decided to pass the case into the consideration of the new staff of the Special Section. ... The Assistant Prosecutor, Mr. Vasilev, thinks that the case should be heard behind closed doors because Ch. A. Vermishiants is charged





Christapor Vermishiants during his mayoralty in 1905 (top); the mayor with his five children

with having published a leaflet of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation. The Prosecutor holds that the reading of that leaflet in public in the court building should be banned to defend the honour of the state authorities. The Counsel for Defence, Attorney at Law I. M. Dolukhanian, thinks that the Counsel for Prosecution does not offer well-grounded arguments substantiating the statement that the reading of the entire leaflet—and not the part relating to Russia—may impair the reputation of the Russian authorities. After holding a consultation for half an hour, the Special

655 For instance, *Tiflisski Listok*, no. 38, 1906.

656 Весь Тифлис (Справочно-адресный альбом) [Entire Tiflis (Information and Address Album)] (Tiflis, 1906), p. 50.

657 *Hoviv*, no. 47, 1907, p. 751.

658 *Hoviv*, no. 42, 1909, pp. 662-663; no. 46, 1909, pp. 728-729; *Hovit*, no. 7, 1910, p. 103; no. 32, 1910, pp. 505-506.

659 "Современная жизнь" [*Sovremennaya Zhizn*], nos. 2, 3, 1911. Also see **Շահումյան Ս.**, Երկեր [**S. Shahumian**, Works], vol. 2 (Yerevan, 1957), pp. 130-131, 134-138.

Section of the Chamber of Judgements declared its disagreement with the opinion of the Counsel for Defence and resolved to hear the case behind closed doors.

The Special Section of the Chamber of Judgements brought in a verdict of guilty under Clause 1 of Article 1044 of the Code, in compliance with which, Ch. A. Vermishiants was to pay a fine of 300 roubles or serve a 3-month prison term if he failed to do so."[660]

Ch. Vermishiants is the author of a great number of scientific, ideological and publicistic works.[661]

After the establishment of the Soviet regime, Vermishiants continued his collaboration with periodicals as a correspondent, but the available records relating to this stage of his activities are rather scanty.[662]

Ch. Vermishiants died in 1933 and was buried in the Armenian cemetery of Pyatigorsk, Russia.

VASILI NIKOLAYEVICH CHERKEZOV

As is traditionally assumed, "the Cherkezovs are a noble Georgian family of Circassian origin living in Kakheti and Kartli."[663]

V. N. Cherkezov was born in Chaylur Village, the estate of the Georgian family of the Cherkezovs, in Kakheti, on 5 June 1857. Having completed his course of studies at the local real school, Cherkezov went to Petersburg to receive university education and took examinations in the Departments of Mines and Means of Communication simultaneously, hoping to enter at least either of them. Thanks to his great knowledge, he was admitted to both of them at once. However, strange



Vasili Nikolayevich Cherkezov

as it is, he completed his studies in neither of them and returned to Tiflis without a graduation diploma and any special skills.[664] This was largely due to financial hardships: he had to work to maintain his large family.

Upon returning to Tiflis, Cherkezov started giving private lessons, but later he began looking for some white-collar job and was employed as a proof-reader and later a secretary in the editorial office of the *Kavkaz*. At the same time, he was also involved in the literary sphere: in 1891 he published a series of feuilletons in the newspaper *Novoye Obozreniye*.

In 1885 V. Cherkezov was elected Secretary of the Union of Noblemen of Tiflis Province and held this post until 1888. Until 1892, he worked as Secretary of the President of the office of the same union, on behalf of which, he acquired membership of the Transcaucasian branch of the State Bank of Farming in 1895.[665] It is difficult to predict how long Cherkezov would have continued his literary activities but for the events of 1898,[666] which completely changed the course of events. The point is that almost all the Armenian officials of the City Council retreated from the affairs relating to the governance of the city, thus trying to escape the regime introduced by Prince Golitsin. On the other hand, these officials looked for such candidates for the posts of the City Council who would abstain from any manifestation of chauvinism: "The prominent public figures did not dare to take up governing positions, realising how slippery the path of a political figure was under Prince Golitsin: the candidate was to be found

660 *Taraz*, no. 11 (1912), p. 191. Cf. *Hovit*, no. 11, 1912, p. 175; no. 20, p. 320; no. 47, p. 751.

661 See **Вермишев Х.,** К вопросу о крестьянском банке [**Ch. Vermishev**, "Regarding the Issue of the Peasants' Bank"], Новое Обозрение [*Novoye Obozreniye*], nos. 1228, 1229, 1249, 1887; Духоборы Ахалкалакскаго уезда ["The Dukhobors of Akhalkalak Uyezd"], Кавказ [*Kavkaz*], nos. 174, 175, 1890; Еще об американской лозе (письмо из Вены) ["Once Again Discussing the American Vine" (a letter from Vienna)], Новое Обозрение [*Novoye Obozreniye*], no. 2792, 1892; Свод статист. данных о землевладениях в Тифлисск. и Кутаис. губ. изд. Закавказск. стат. ком. под ред. члена комит. Е. И. Кондратенко ["Collection of Statistical Data on Land Ownership in Tiflis and Kutayis Provinces Published by the Transcaucasian Statistical Committee and Edited by Committee Member Yel. I. Kondratenko"], Кавказ [*Kavkaz*], no. 220, 1893; Экспорт кукурузы в Кутаисской губ. ["The Export of Maize in Kutayis Province"], Новое Обозрение [*Novoye Obozreniye*], nos. 4158, 4162, 1896, etc.

662 One of Vermishian's Armenian articles entitled "*The Agricultural Needs of the Villagers of Armenia*" («Հայաստանի գիւղացիների գիւղատնտեսական կարիքները») was published in the *Ognir Hayastanin* (*Help Armenia*) one-day newspaper (Friday, 10 February) in 1922.

663 Dictionary of Caucasian Personalities, p. 77 (Черкезовы - груз. княж. и двор. фамилия в Карталинии и Кахетии; по преданию происход. от черкесов).

664 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 71.

665 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, nos. 7-8 (1910), p. 1.

666 See the part on G. Yevanguliants' biography for details about these events.



Tiflis in the 1900s

from among the 'unemployed.' At that time, the members of the Municipal Duma had involuntarily focused their attention on Prince V. N. Cherkezov, who was known as a person of Georgian origin endowed with exceptional skills. The Duma strove to involve at least one Georgian in the system of municipal governance to show that it did not display any national discrimination. Thus, V. N. Cherkezov and M. S. Shestakov were elected members of the City Council. Prince Cherkezov was more fit for a governing post, as he did not have any anti-Armenian feelings—in those days, Velichko, who was supported by Golitsin, was busy strenuously propagating intolerance against the Armenians among the Russians and Georgians."[667]

In 1898 the City Council elected Cherkezov as a member of the Committee on Purchases. On 7 December of the same year, he acquired membership of the Municipal Government, this marking the beginning of a new stage in his biography, namely the start of his career in the system of municipal governance: "V. Cherkezov commenced his activities in the city some 10 to 12 years ago as a real estate assessor."[668]

On 22 March 1899, V. Cherkezov's candidacy for the vacant post of deputy mayor was put forward, but the results of the voting proved unfavourable for him, and M. S. Shestakov won it.[669] Cherkezov was re-elected as a member of the Municipal Government on 8 November 1899 and 17 November 1903, working within the system of municipal government until his election as mayor of Tiflis.[670]

On 22 March 1904, V. Cherkezov was elected deputy mayor and held this post along with his other positions until 29 October 1907.[671]

Between 1905 and 1906, when the Armenian-Tatar fights were raging throughout Transcaucasia, V. Cherkezov's composure and peace-making demeanour earned him the local people's liking and confidence, thanks to which, during the mayoral elections of 1907, he did not have any serious opponents.[672] In fact, he had been acting mayor since ex-Mayor Ch. Vermishi-

667 **Tumanov**, 1913, pp. 73-74 (the original reads: "Солидные общественные деятели не рисковали итти в управу, зная, как скользок путь городского деятеля при кн. Голицыне. Приходилось искать кандидата среди "безработных". Среди них внимание гласных того времени невольно останавливалось на кн. В. Н. Черкезове, как человек выдающихся способностей и как на грузине. У думы была тенденция иметь хоть одного грузина в составе управы, чтобы доказать свое национальное безпристрастие. Таким образом в члены управы прошли В. Н. Черкезов и М. С. Шестаков. Кн. Черкезов тем более был желателен для управы, что он не был армянофобом (в то время Величко, при содействии Голицина, усердно культивировал среди русских и грузин неистовое армянофобство").

668 *Hoviv*, no. 40, 1907, p. 628.

669 *Taraz*, no. 11 (1899), p. 282.

670 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 20.

671 Ibid., p. 19.

672 **Tumanov**, 1913, p. 75.

ants' resignation in 1905.[673] The contemporary press wrote the following about his term of office from 1905 until 1907: "He has been shouldering the recent severe years."[674]

V. Cherkezov was elected on 14 September 1907,[675] being approved in the post of mayor on 29 October.[676] He held office until 29 October 1909, although in reality, he performed his mayoral duties only for a year and a half due to his ill health. At the same time, the issue of the candidacy of Alexandre Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, and particularly, Michael Tamamshian was under consideration, but they could not be as successful as Cherkezov, despite the number of their supporters.[677] During his short term, Cherkezov carried out large-scale projects, including the construction of Mukhranski Bridge, the building of Aramiants Hospital, a gymnasium in Havlabar Quarter, etc.

In early 1910, Cherkezov went to Petersburg to improve his health: "According to information received from Petersburg, the mayor of Tiflis, Prince Cherkezov, is recuperating."[678]

Two months later, it was announced that Prince Cherkezov was arriving from Petersburg to Tiflis, having fully recovered.[679] Despite this kind of statements, however, in the summer of 1910, Cherkezov's condition abruptly deteriorated, and a short time later, on 14 July 1910, he consigned his soul to God at the age of 53. He was buried left of the entrance to a Georgian church standing in Didube Quarter of Tiflis on 18 July.[680]



Partial view of the cemetery extending in the yard of the Georgian church of Didube Quarter; V. Cherkezov's tombstone in the centre of the graveyard (photos by K. Asatrian)

Between 1902 and 1909, Prince Cherkezov lived at no. 5 Svyatopolsk-Mirskaya Street, Tiflis.[681] In 1905 his house was at no. 27 (49) Kiroghni Street; in 1906 at no. 65 Yelisavetskaya Street;[682] in 1908 at no. 29 Nikolayevski Street,[683] and in 1909 again at no. 65 Yelisavetskaya Street.[684]

Touching upon Cherkezov's main contribution to the Municipal Government during his term, a correspondent whose pen-name is *Ditogh* writes: "Prince Cherkezov brought a new spirit and direction into the Municipal Council. Until lately, the affairs of the city were of some interest to only a very narrow circle of the population generally referred to as the upper class. Municipal matters seemed to be restricted to a certain class or even nationality, if you might put it so. During Prince Cherkezov's rule, in recent years, this narrow circle greatly widened to include the interests and needs of the entire population of Tiflis. Municipal af-

673 *Taraz*, no. 28 (1905), p. 294.

674 *Hoviv*, no. 40, 1907, p. 629.

675 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, nos. 7-8 (1910), p. 1.

676 V. Cherkezov postponed the scheduled session of the Duma in honour of Catholicos of All Armenians Mkrtich Khrimian (known as Khrimian Hayrik), who had died on the same day (29 October 1907). See *Hoviv*, no. 41, 1907, p. 645.

677 **Կ. Թէմ**. Քաղաքագլխի ընտրութեան առիթով [**K. Tem.**, "Regarding the Mayor's Election"], «Հովիւ» [*Hoviv*], no. 40, 1907, pp. 627-629. This article stresses the advantages M. Tamamshian had over V. Cherkezov: "Mr. V. Cherkezov has completely lost his former composure and become rather nervous: this was evident even during last year's sittings of the City Council when he lost his temper to such an extent that those knowing him closely were amazed at these strange and sudden fits. The sessions would often grow chaotic, threatening to turn into scandals. Besides, for other, purely practical, purposes, Mr. V. Cherkezov's mayoralty cannot be fruitful from the standpoint of establishing discipline amidst the administrative staff and finding an efficient way out of the current financial crisis in the city. "Under the present circumstances, Mr. Michael Tamamshian could render a good service to the city as an influential person of high repute, a financier, an experienced deputy endowed with a practical mode of thinking and an independent individual. Some people may argue saying that he is physically unwell; he was truly in poor health, but he has recovered, which may be proved by his election as a deputy, his active participation in the sittings and his interesting lectures for students of Caucasian Studies before large audiences. Finally, his one-week work and close attendance to the municipal affairs has turned out more fruitful than Mr. Cherkezov's during a whole month—at present the latter is unfit for that post out of some other considerations as well" (ibid., p. 629).

678 *Hoviv*, no. 3, 1910, p. 48.

679 Ibid., no. 12, 1910, p. 191.

680 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, nos. 7-8 (1910), p. 37.

681 Caucasian Calendar for 1903, p. 664. Also see Caucasian Calendar for 1904, p. 695.

682 Кавказский календарь на 1907 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1907] (Tiflis, 1906), p. 565.

683 Caucasian Calendar for 1909, p. 1027.

684 Caucasian Calendar for 1910, p. 1165.

fairs became a subject of interest for everybody, the [question of the] local inhabitants at large and the prosperity of the city becoming very close to everybody's hearts. The City Council aroused respect among the people. In this consists Prince Cherkezov's great service rendered to the city—a great and honourable service that will be unforgettably reflected in the pages of the history of our city autonomy."[685]

ALEXANDRE HOVHANNISSIAN KHATISSIANTS

Alexandre Khatissiants was born in Tiflis on 17 February 1874. His father Hovhannes and his uncle Gabriel were outstanding national and public figures; his mother was known to the contemporary literary circles as Mrs. Maria.[686]

Khatissiants attended the local First Boys' Gymnasium, where he completed his course at the age of 17. He received further education at the Universities of Moscow and Kharkov and was qualified as Doctor in 1897. Between 1898 and 1899, Khatissiants lived abroad: "[He lived] in Berlin and Paris, where he studied the economic problems of autonomies, publishing the results of his inquiries in the *Novoye Obozreniye* progressive newspaper (Tiflis) of the brothers Tumanian."[687]

Khatissiants returned to Tiflis in 1900 and was elected member of the City Council in 1902. On 23 January 1906, he acquired membership of the Municipal Government[688] (he was re-elected on 8 January 1909).[689] Between 7 November 1908 and 15 November 1910, Khatissiants held the post of deputy mayor.[690]

Apart from active participation in the affairs of the autonomous city, in the 1900s, Khatissiants also distinguished himself in other fields: "He also took interest in other areas of public activities, holding membership of a great many non-governmental establishments and societies, and being one of the trustees of Nersissian Armenian Spiritual School. Khatissian is a talented lecturer, his eloquence making the positive scientific discoveries widely available for the public at large."[691]

After visiting the ruins of the medieval Armenian city of Ani, in 1909 Khatissiants published his impressions of the trip.[692]



Alexandre Hovhannissian Khatissiants

Before the mayoral elections, when everybody was concerned to find the individual who would justify the hopes of the different peoples living in Tiflis, many people involuntarily thought of Al. Khatissiants: "We need a representative who will be able to keep the flag of the City Council above ignoble chauvinistic conflicts and minor controversies among classes. ... We think that there should be only a single opinion in this regard: those who have been following the developments in the activities of our City Council in recent years must have noticed that Prince Cherkezov's closest partner was member of the Municipal Government Mr. Alexandre Khatissian, who is endowed with all the necessary skills to properly take up the reins of the governance of the city."[693]

The elections, held on 20 September 1910, were won by Al. Khatissiants with 48 voices against 2,[694] and he entered upon office on 15 November.[695] In his memoirs we read the following about the stance the Georgians held during these elections: "When I was elected mayor in Tiflis, the Georgian newspapers of

685 *Hovit*, no. 19, 1910, p. 300.
686 Ibid., no. 24, 1910, p. 377.
687 Ibid.
688 *Proceedings of the Municipal Duma of Tiflis*, no. 4 (1911), p. 20.
689 Ibid. Also see *Hoviv*, no. 1, 1909, p. 16.
690 Ibid., p. 19. Particularly remarkable was Catholicos of All Armenians Matevos Izmailian II's visit to Tiflis on 14 June 1909 and Al. Khatissiants' speech of welcome addressed to him (*Kavkaz*, no. 135, 1909, p. 2).
691 *Hovit*, no. 24, 1910, p. 377.
692 **Խատիսեան Ա.**, Անիում (ճամբորդական յուշեր) [**A. Khatissian**, "In Ani" (Travel Memoirs)], «Գեղարուեստ» [*Gegharvest*], no. 3 (1909), pp. 145-148.
693 *Hovit*, no. 19, 1910, p. 301.
694 Ibid., no. 24, 1910, p. 383.
695 Ibid., p. 18. On the occasion of Khatissiants' election to the post of mayor, the contemporary press published articles stressing how successful the election of the first person of the city had been: "We welcome it, but not as representatives of the Armenian press who are happy about the fact that an Armenian has been elected to an honorary post of great responsibility. We are happy because the person elected is the meritorious successor of the late Cherkezov, and like him, he will not consider himself a member, a representative, and the protector of the interests, of only this or that part of the population or nation. The past public activities of the new mayor are the best guarantee that he will justify the hopes of not only the deputies who voted for him with full confidence but also those of the entire population of historical Tiflis" (*Hovit*, no. 24, 1910, p. 370).



Alexandre Khatissiants with a group of Armenian intellectuals

nationalistic orientation wrote: "Even if Mr. Khatissian makes the sun illuminate the city at night and paves the streets with marble, we will be opposed to his election because he is an Armenian."[696]

The planned foundation of a Caucasian University in Tiflis was a remarkable event in the life of the city. In 1910 Al. Khatissiants reached some agreement on receiving assistance from the City Hall of Baku for the realisation of this project: "The Municipal Council of Baku has decided to allocate half a million roubles to the Caucasian University; that of Tiflis is known to have provided 250,000 roubles with a plot of 200 dessiatinas for the same purpose."[697]

Pursuing the fulfillment of this plan, in 1911 Al. Khatissiants went to St. Petersburg: "The mayor of Tiflis has telegrammed from [St.] Petersburg that after the coming Easter, a council is to be held under the chairmanship of Minister of People's Enlightenment Kasso and with the participation of Senators Vatatsi and Junkovski. They are going to consider the issue of the Caucasian University."[698]

In April of the same year (1911), the mayor headed the ceremony of the opening of a bridge named Mukhranian: "On 24 April, the solemn opening of Mokhranian Bridge of Tiflis took place. Some Russian clergymen, led by the Holy Exarch, conducted the ceremony before a vast multitude of spectators. The ceremony was also attended by the Right Reverend Yeprem, who had come as a guest. Mayor Khatissian made a speech presenting the history of the bridge. Cutting the ribbon with scissors, Her Grace Countess Elizabeth A. Vorontsova-Dashkova became the first person to cross the bridge in an automobile to the accompaniment of a military melody and bravos, after which she declared movement [via the bridge] free."[699]

In 1912 Al. Khatissiants went to Baku: "Mayor Al. Khatissian reported the results of his trip to Baku to Senator Vatatsi, who expressed his eagerness to see the Polytechnic University [Caucasian University] founded as soon as possible."[700]

Another record states: "The mayor sent the acting mayor of Baku, Harutiunian, a telegram expressing the deep gratitude of Tiflis Duma for their donation to the Polytechnic University."[701]

During the mayoral elections of 1912, Khatissiants was re-elected: "At the session of the Municipal Duma, convened on the 9th of the current month, Al. Khatissian was almost unanimously elected mayor for a four-year term."[702]

Hardly had 20 days passed when he had to leave for St. Petersburg due to a legal case opened against a number of members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Party: "On 30 January, Mayor of Tiflis Alex. Khatissian went to [St.] Petersburg, where he had been summoned because of the case against Dashnaktsutiun [Armenian Revolutionary Federation] Party."[703]

Khatissiants continued his fruitful activities in 1913 as well, although at the end of the year, his health condition worsened: "Mayor of Tiflis Al. Khatissian suffers from acute rheumatism, running a temperature of 38 [degrees] in the daytime and 39 in the evenings. He is being treated by a group of doctors who hope to cure him within a month."[704]

While being confined to bed, Khatissiants was replaced by Al. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*: "Mayor of Tiflis Al. H. Khatissian being ill, his duties are now performed by the Deputy Mayor, Prince A. M. Arghutian."[705]

The year 1914 turned out very hard for Al. Khatissiants, for on 9 February, his mother, literary and public figure Mariam Khatissiants, consigned her soul to God. She had a perfect command of Armenian and worked as a teacher of this language.[706]

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696 **Խատիսեան Ա.**, Հայաստանի Հանրապետութեան ծագումն ու զարգացումը [**A. Khatissian**, "The Establishment and Development of the Republic of Armenia"], «Հայրենիք» [*Hayrenik*], no. 5 (1926), p. 57.

697 *Hovit*, no. 29, 1910, p. 464.

698 Ibid., no. 12, 1911, p. 192.

699 Ibid., no. 17, 1911, p. 272.

700 Ibid., no. 50, 1912, p. 795.

701 Ibid. The plot to be selected for the future polytechnic university gave rise to discord and long-lasting discussions. Eventually, it was decided to start its construction in Navtlugh Quarter, a site favoured by Khatissiants himself. This decision, however, was not unanimously approved of by the public at large. It was particularly severely criticised by some Georgian public figures in the contemporary press. They argued that the foundation of the university in Navtlugh was only in the Armenians' interests, while the rest of the city's population could not benefit from it (*Tiflisski Listok*, no. 292, 1912).

702 *Horizon*, no. 5, 11 January 1912.

703 *Hovit*, no. 5, 1912, p. 79; no. 14, 1910, pp. 210-211; no. 15, 1910, p. 233.

704 Ibid., no. 43, 1913, p. 687.

705 Ibid., no. 44, 1913, p. 703.

706 Ibid., no. 7, 1914, p. 102. The same periodical wrote the following: "The literary works of the late Mariam Khatissiants comprise "Восточный вопрос" ("The Oriental Issue"), «Հեղինէ» ("Heghine"), «Նոր ճանապարհի վրայ» ("On a New Path"),

On 24 June 1915, Al. Khatissiants chaired the contest for the best buildings erected in Tiflis during 1914: "The first prize remained without an addressee; the second was awarded to Bozarjian's house at Gudovicha Street (architect: Ohanjanian), and the third to Shahmuradian's house (no. 52 Olginskaya Street; architect: Ter-Sahakian)."[707]

In the days of World War I, apart from performing his direct duties and obligations, Al. Khatissiants also often addressed his people with urging and encouraging speeches, advising them, for instance, to be more economical in those harsh times: "The mayor of Tiflis has published an appeal to the citizens calling upon them to calmly bear the temporary privations, leave aside profusion and luxuries that are particularly impermissible at present, and curtail their needs and unnecessary expenses."[708]

In 1916 the mayor took an active part in the work of the union set up to support the Western Armenian refugees.[709]

In 1917 on Al. Khatissiants' initiative, the City Council made a decision to name a street and a school in Tiflis after the Polish writer H. Sienkiewicz. For this act, he received a letter of gratitude from the Polish public figure and sworn attorney Lednitskin.[710]

The year 1917 came to mark the end of Khatissiants' mayoralty: "After the Great Russian Revolution of 1917, the Georgian nation decided to gather the reins of the government of the country in their hands so that Mr. Khatissian left Tiflis for Alexandrople, where he held the same post. When the Republic of Armenia was established in 1918, Mr. Khatissian became President and Prime Minister of his free homeland. Armenia and the Armenian people still lived in grave danger, and it was necessary to improve the country's political and economic state by founding a courageous Armenian army and supplying it with arms. The Armenians had defeated their enemies, but the newly-born Republic [of Armenia] was still enclosed within an iron circle. The unexpected Armenian victory in the unequal struggle had stirred up even more bitter envy amidst the neighbouring tribes so that they turned to the Bolsheviks and Kemalists for support in conquering the growing republic. However, thanks to the wise governance of the most honourable



Al. Khatissiants' tombstone in Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris

President and the valour of the [Armenian] army, the mean attempts of the faint-hearted enemy were frustrated, the [Armenian] Government, heroes and Mr. Al. Khatissian receiving new laurels for their courage."[711]

The following words, put down by an envoy of the Pope of Rome who visited the Republic of Armenia, eloquently characterise Khatissiants as Prime Minister of the country: "The President/Prime Minister of the Armenian Republic is a highly developed person endowed with all the superb skills of governance. He can work as President in any European state."[712]

On the second anniversary of the declaration of independence in the Republic of Armenia (28 May 1920), Al. Khatissiants was in Tiflis, where he attended an event in the theatre house of the Artistic Society. Those present showed him a most cordial welcome: "The people who had overcrowded the theatre house greeted Khatissian with an ovation to the accompaniment of the band. The excited Prime Minister responded with a speech presenting the activities of the Armenian working class that had had selfless leaders from Dashnaktsutiun [Armenian Revolutionary Federation] Party. He also pointed out that the Armenians' path to liberation was still covered with thorns."[713]

«Փեսայ որսողներ» ("Hunters for Sons-in-Law"), «Դժբաղդ կին» ("The Unlucky Woman"), etc., all of them published between 1877 and 1878. Thirty years ago, she held a meeting with a group of progressive, intelligent women in her house and became one of the chief founders of the present-day Charity Society of Armenian Women, which she headed for many years, and for which she bequeathed 10,000 roubles."

707 *Mshak*, no. 138, 1915.

708 *Hovit*, no. 8, 1916, p. 128.

709 *Hambavaber*, no. 36, 1916, p. 1132.

710 *Mshak*, no. 31, 1917, p. 3.

711 *Bazmavep*, no. 9 (1920), p. 261.

712 Ibid., p. 262.

713 *Mshak*, no. 25, 1920, p. 4.

On 16 December 1920, the authorities of Soviet Armenia forced Al. Khatissiants to abandon his homeland. On 20 December, he reached the capital of Georgia, which was still independent, and stayed there for 53 days, until 13 February 1921. The following lines from his memoirs reflect his feelings while he was in the Georgian capital during these days: "Although I was born in Tiflis, had worked in the Municipal Council for 17 years, being the most influential official in the city, I felt that I was but a guest there."[714]

Khatissiants moved abroad from Georgia and took up residence in Paris, France. Between 1920 and 1930, he published his memoirs first in a series of articles and then in separate works.[715]

Alexandre Khatissiants died on 10 March 1945 and was buried in the cemetery of Père Lachaise. His gravestone bears only his and his wife's names in French: ALEXANDRE KHATISSIAN 1874-1945[,] XENIA KHATISSIAN 1894-1975.

Touching upon the changes made in Tiflis during Al. Khatissiants' mayoralty, M. Sulian writes the following in his memoirs: "It should not be forgotten that Tiflis underwent great development and became quite a fine-looking city from the very first days of Khatissian's mayoralty. ... Improvements were made in all the quarters of Tiflis thanks to Khatissian's competent orders."[716]

Giacomo Gorrini, the ambassador of Italy to the Republic of Armenia from 1918 to 1920—prior to this, he was the consul of Italy in Trebizond—remembers Al. Khatissiants with words of high appreciation: "Alexandre Khatissian [proved] a skilled and energetic mayor for Tiflis, a city predominantly inhabited by Armenians that had earned itself the title of the capital of Caucasia."[717]

The addresses of only two of Khatissiants' houses in Tiflis have come down to us: no. 9 Ganovskaya Street (1908)[718] and no. 30 Behbudovski Street (1909)[719]: he also lived in this house in 1911.[720]

While writing his memoirs in 1957, Dmitri Shalikashvili,[721] one of the members of the Government of Menshevik Georgia, said the following about Al. Khatissiants: "That period was remarkable for the fact that the mayor of Tiflis was an Armenian named Khatissov. It should be specially pointed out that he was not a Georgianised Armenian, but a hundred percent Armenian with nothing in common with Georgia and the Georgians. Most presumably, he did everything within his power for his compatriots to occupy the first place in Tiflis taking advantage of their economic superiority."[722]

714 **Khatissian**, "The Establishment and Development of the Republic of Armenia," *Hayrenik*, no. 1 (1926), p. 99.

715 See **Խատիսեան Ա.**, Քաղաքապետի մը յիշատակները [**A. Khatissian**, "The Memories of a Mayor"] «Հայրենիք» [*Hayrenik*], nos. 7-12, 1932; nos. 1-5, 1933 [also in a separate book (Beirut, 1991)]. Also see **Խատիսեան Ա.**, Հայաստանի Հանրապետութեան ծագումն ու զարգացումը [**A. Khatissian**, The Establishment and Development of the Republic of Armenia] (Athens, 1933 & Beirut, 1968).

716 **Սուլեան Մ.**, Թիֆլիսը իմ մանկութեան ժամանակ [**M. Sulian**, "Tiflis in My Childhood"] (unpublished) from: National Archives of Armenia, fund 428, list 2, file 104, p. 20.

717 Quoted from the unpublished work by Giacomo Gorrini kindly placed at our disposal by Alexandre Kananian, p. 14 (the original reads: "...sotto la presidenza di Alessandro Khayissian, gia operoso e abile sindaco della citta di Tiflis, capitale del Caucaso e della Georgia, ma popolata prevalentemente di Armeni, e da essi al piu alto grado valorizzata").

718 Caucasian Calendar for 1909, p. 1026.

719 Caucasian Calendar for 1910, p. 1165.

720 Кавказский календарь на 1912 г. [Caucasian Calendar for 1912] (Tiflis, 1911), p. 804.

721 From January until March 1921, D. Shalikashvili worked as ambassador of Georgia to Turkey. His sons Otar and Malkhaz (John) were generals in the American armed forces.

722 Воспоминания Димитрия Шаликашвили, "Свободная Грузия" ["Dimitri Shalikashvili's Memoirs," *Svobodnaya Gruziya*], 29 January 1994, p. 14 (the original reads: "Характерным для тогдашней эпохи являлось то, что тифлисский городской голова был армянин, Хатисов. Был это к тому же не какой-нибудь огрузинившийся армянин, но армянин стопроцентный, ничего общего с Грузией и грузинами не имевший, и делавший, наверное, все от него зависящее, чтоб земляки его благодаря своему экономическому превосходству играли бы в Тифлисе первую роль...").

CONCLUSION

To create and construct—this has been the sacred mission of the Armenians throughout their history, regardless of their place of residence, be it their homeland or a foreign country where they found refuge under certain historical circumstances.

Through hard work, the Armenians built prosperity wherever they lived—from Asia Minor to Constantinople; from New Jugha to Tabriz; from Astrakhan to Lviv and Crimea; from New Nakhijevan to Armavir, Sourb Khach, Mozdok and Ghezlar; from Baku to Shamakhy, Shaky and Zakatala; from Grem to Telav and Seghnakh; from Dushet to Gori, Akhaltskha and Tiflis.

The history of the mayors of Tiflis, presented in this book, is one of the most eloquent examples to substantiate the aforementioned.

Indeed, the development and progress of any city is closely connected with the activities of its mayors.

Throughout eight centuries, Tiflis, which was located on the borderline of Historical Armenia, was governed by 47 mayors 45 of whom were Armenians. In other words, it was ruled by Armenian mayors during the existence of the powerful Georgian kingdom as well as in the times of Persian, Turkish and Russian domination.

As attested by the available sources, from at least the Middle Ages until the early 19th century, the population of Tiflis was predominantly Armenian (why it was almost purely Armenian-inhabited is the subject of another discussion); therefore, it is but logical that its mayors were Armenians. What is particularly noteworthy, the city continued to be governed by Armenian mayors between 1840 and 1917 as well—a period when the local Armenians did not make up even half of its total population, although they still had a majority in the ethnic composition (see the statistical table on pp. 9-10). This fact needs further analysis and clarification, but it is worth pointing out that throughout the 19th century and until the year 1917, the Armenians largely held mayoral posts and membership of City Councils (Dumas) not only in Tiflis, but also in many other cities in Transcaucasia.

From 1918 onwards, the mayoralty of Tiflis was held by Georgians who had had absolutely no participation in the development of the city handed down to them from their Armenian predecessors. Having no idea about the culture of urban planning and lacking the slightest experience in this field, they proved totally unable to lead the city to any new achievements in the 80 years following 1918 (to put aside some unremarkable projects—such as the Institute of Marxism-Leninism built of thousands of tombstones from the destroyed Armenian cemetery of Khojivank; the new cathedral of the Georgian Orthodox Church, which was erected in the very site of this ruined cemetery, and other similar structures—carried out in accordance with Soviet standards and having almost no peculiarities). What is even worse, they failed to at least preserve what had already been created and built in Tiflis.

Yes, those who are far from creating and building anything do not care for preservation and cannot feel any pain once something is destroyed and lost. In this regard, mention should be made of the clashes between the Georgian authorities and the Opposition, between 22 December 1991 and 6 January 1992, during which a great number of valuable edifices were either totally destroyed or damaged in the centre of Tbilisi. Among them were Michael Aramiants' 5-floor residence (afterwards housing the Majestic (renamed *Tbilisi*) Hotel; architect: G. Ter-Mikeliants); the three-storey house of the benefactor Abiants, the building of the Artistic Society (now: Rustaveli State Drama Theatre) built by Yesayi Pitoyants, etc.[1]

The Georgian mayors who have governed Tiflis (Tbilisi) in the last 8 decades have been just enjoying the fruits of the hard work of their Armenian counterparts. Moreover, they have consigned Old Tiflis to a deplorable state: a lot of buildings that never underwent repairs throughout 80 years or so have now appeared in an emergency condition, while the Georgian mayors address this situation by asking for international aid...

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1 **Կարապետեան Սամուէլ**, Թբիլիսեան ողբերգութիւնը եւ աւերուած ճարտարապետական կառոյցները [**Samvel Karapetian**, "The Tragedy of Tbilisi and the Destroyed Architectural Buildings"], «Ազատամարտ» [*Azatamart*], no. 9, 1992, p. 13.

The table that follows below shows that the gravestones of most of the Armenian mayors of Tiflis were ruined by the decisions of the Georgian mayors (34 in number) who governed the city from 1921 onwards.

N	Mayor	Birth and Death Dates	Years of Mayoralty	Duration of Mayoralty	Place of Burial	State of Their Graves
1	Vasak Artsruny	mid-12th century	?	?	Cemetery of Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church, Karin (Western Armenia)	Destroyed since 1915
2	Kurd Artsruny	2nd half of the 12th century	?	?	Haghpat Monastery	Preserved
3	Shadin (Badin)	2nd half of the 13th century	?	?	?	?
4	Melik Enal	17th century	around 1646-1673	around 27 years	Probably, Khojivank Cemetery	Not preserved
5	Melik Bayandur	17th century	from 1650	?	Probably, Khojivank Cemetery	Not preserved
6	Melik Khoja Behbud	?-1662	until 1662	?	Khojivank Cemetery	Not preserved
7	Melik Ashkharbek	17th century	from 1662	?	Khojivank Cemetery	Not preserved
8	Melik Avtandil	17th century	around 1678-1698	around 20 years	Khojivank Cemetery	Preserved
9	Amir Behbudiants	17th century	?	?	Probably, Khojivank Cemetery	?
10	Aslamaz Amirian Behbudiants	17th to 18th centuries		?	Probably, Khojivank Cemetery	Not preserved
11	Giorgi Aslamazian Behbudiants	?-1711		?	Probably, Khojivank Cemetery	Not preserved
12	Zurab Behbudiants	?-1742	1712-1742	30 years	Khojivank Cemetery	Destroyed
13	Ashkharbek Behbudiants	?-1734	?-1734	?	Khojivank Cemetery	Destroyed
14	Agha Ashkharbekian Behbudiants	?-1768	1734-1768	34	Khojivank Cemetery	Destroyed
15	Anton	18th century	1746-1751	5	Probably, Khojivank Cemetery	Not preserved
16	Sahak Shergiliants	18th century	1751-1760	9	Probably, Khojivank Cemetery	Not preserved
17	Avetik Aghayan Behbudiants	?-1795	1768-1795	27	Khojivank Cemetery	Destroyed
18	Darchi Avetikian Behbudiants	1764-1832	1795-1801	6	Khojivank Cemetery	The grave is not preserved; the tombstone has been broken in two pieces
19	Hovhannes (Ivan) Izmiriants	?-1850	1840-1843	3	Tiflis	Not preserved
20	Stepan Gabrielian Khatissiants	??-??	1844-1845	2	Tiflis	Not preserved
21	Movses Ter-Grigoriants (Ter-Grikurov)	??-??	1845-1846	2	Cemetery of Holy Bethlehem Church	Destroyed
22	Hovhannes Simoniants Shadiniants	??-??	1847-1848	2	Tiflis	Not preserved
23	Tovma Davtian Pridoniants	??-??	1848-1849	2	Tiflis	Not preserved
24	Zakaria Stepanian Amiraghiants	??-??	1850-1851	2	Tiflis	Not preserved
25	Hovsep Afanassian Mirimaniants	??-??	1851-1852	2	Tiflis	Not preserved

26	Avetik Astvatsatrian (Bogdan) Svechnikov	??-??	1853-1856	3	Tiflis	Not preserved
27	Soghomon Davtian Sarajev	??-??	1856-1857	2	Tiflis	Not preserved
28	Andrei Davtian Mananov	??-??	1857-1858	2	Tiflis	Not preserved
29	Vardan Astvatsatrian Arshakuny	?-1862	1858-1860	2	Tiflis	Not preserved
30	Soghomon Zakarian Abisoghomiants	??-??	1860-1861 & 1865-1866	4	Cemetery of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church	Destroyed
31	Soghomon Mirimanian Mirimaniants	??-??	1861-1862	1	Tiflis	Not preserved
32	Gevorg (Yegor) Grigorian Pridoniants	1816-1892	1862-1864	2	Cemetery of Norashen's Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church	Destroyed during the "renovation" of the church grounds in 1973
33	Galust Harutiunian Shermazan-Vardaniants (Shermazan-Vardanov)	1814-1892	1864-1865	1,5	Cemetery of the church of Zalesnoye Village, Oryol Region	?
34	Yeremia Gevorgian Artsruny	1804-1877	1866-1868	2	Armenian cemetery of Vera Quarter	Destroyed
35	Nikoghayos Hovhannissian Aladatiants	?-1875	1868-1869	1,5	Tiflis	Not preserved
36	Dmitri Tumaniants	??-??	1869-1870	1	Tiflis	Not preserved
37	Yazon Dmitrian Tumaniants	1827-1883	1870-1874	4	Family cemetery in the yard of Sourb Karapet (Holy Precursor) Church	Destroyed in 1881
38	Dmitri Ivan Ghipiani	1814-1887	1875-1879	4	Cemetery of the Georgian church of St. David	Preserved
39	Anton Soghomonian Ghorghaniants (Korganov)	1838-1902		He did not hold office	Cemetery of Jgrashen's Sourb Avetyats (Holy Annunciation) Church	Destroyed in 1938
40	Alexandre Stepanian Matiniants	1843-1909	1879-1891	12	Cemetery of Vank Cathedral, the Primate's residence	Destroyed in 1936
41	Nikoghayos Barseghian Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	1845-1916	1891-1893, 1895-1896, 1903-1904	5	Family cemetery around Sanahin Monastery	Preserved
42	Poghos Alexandrian Izmailiants	1852-1895	1893-1895	2	Cemetery of Vank Cathedral, the Primate's residence	Destroyed in 1936
43	Gevorg Grigorian Yevangueliants	1843-1901	1897-1901	4	Khojivank Cemetery	Destroyed in 1936
44	Alexandre Michaelian Arghutian the *Long-Armed*	1860-?	1902	He did not hold office	?	Not preserved
45	Christapor Avakumian Vermishiants	1863-1933	1904-1905	1	Armenian cemetery of Pyatigorsk	Not preserved
46	Vasili Nikolai Cherkezov	1857-1909	1907-1909	2	Cemetery of the Georgian church of Didube Quarter	Preserved
47	Alexandre Hovhannissian Khatissiants	1874-1945	1910-1917	7	Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris	Preserved

As is apparent from this table, the tombstones of only two mayors are preserved, and unfortunately, not by chance: they belong to D. Ghipiani and V. Cherkezov, who were Georgians. In contrast to this, the graves of all those Armenian mayors who were buried in Tiflis have been mostly destroyed. The surviving tombstones belong to those mayors (Emir Kurd, N. Arghutian the *Long-Armed*, Al. Khatissiants) whose remains were not interred in Tiflis.

Regretful as it is, the Georgian mayors have shown absolutely no respect for the memory of their Armenian counterparts who actually built the city over 800 years, using the Armenian capital. The houses where the Armenian mayors once lived as well as most of the buildings and monuments erected by them have been either demolished or altered, without any memorial plaques mentioning their founders or pointing to their historical value.

At this point, we cannot help citing Grigor Nikoghossian's painful, but ever truthful words from the article he wrote after the publication of Al. Matiniants' will, in which the late mayor had bequeathed almost all his property to Tiflis: "And after all this, should we bless or curse the memory of an Armenian who has handed down his entire wealth or most of it to a city like Astrakhan, where the Armenians constitute a very insignificant part of the population, ... or Tiflis, where they form a *certain*, but not an *overwhelming* percentage?"[2]

In 1914 a correspondent of the *Hovit* similarly criticized the acts of charity performed by the outstanding Armenians of Tiflis: "National and municipal interests are completely different. To me, a school and bath-house in the remotest small Armenian village are far more important than all the Armenian members of the Municipal Government of Tiflis and their deputies."[3]

Yes, whatever you create outside your homeland is built on sand.

Learning absolutely nothing from the lessons taught by history, today the Armenians mostly continue working and wasting their efforts in foreign countries. Trapped in the temptation of passing welfare, they squander their time and financial means on cultivating foreign soil, while their own land remains untilled and uncared for. How many Tiflises are we still going to turn into Caucasian Parises only to the pleasure and enjoyment of foreign peoples? How many stories of futile devotion—such as the present work—are we still going to summarize and record?

2 **Nikoghossian**, "Bequests to Cities," pp. 614-615.

3 *Hovit*, no. 18, 1914, p. 284.

PERSONAL NAMES

A

Abbas Junior (Sany Abbas), shah 8, 28
Abely 83
Abiants 95
Abisoghomiants (Abisalamiants) Zakarian Soghomon (Abesalomov Solomon) 11, 14, 24, 48-49, 97
Abisoghomov Gasparov Harutiun 7
Abisoghomov Hasratov Stepan 7
Abisoghomov Shakarov Soghomon 7
Abisoghomov Shakarov Stepan 7
Abovian Kh. 51
Abraham of Crete 32-33
Adlerberger, count 46
Agha Mohammad Khan 36
Aghajaniants Gigol 15
Aghayev 86
Aghounakiants H. Hovh. 17
Agrippina 59
Akhsharoumiants H. D. 16-18
Akhverdian G. 52
Akhverdov, governor 11
Aladatiants Baghdasar 13
Aladatiants Hovhannissian Nikoghayos 11, 15, 61-62, 97
Aladatiants Stepanian Hovhannes 12
Alaverdiants Karapet 15
Aldatov N. see Aladatiants Hovhannissian Nikoghayos
Alexeyev Y. A. 16
Alkhaziants 39
Alkhaziants P. Gh. 16
Alkhaziants P. L. 16
Amilakhvarov Georgi 13
Amir, melik 30
Amiraghiants Stepanian Zakaria (Amiraghov Z.) 11-12, 44, 96
Amiraghiants Yesayi 44
Amiranashvili J. 23-24
Amiriants P. H. 17
Amiranov 7
Ananiants N. H. 16
Ananiants Stepanian Hovsep 12, 15
Andriadze Onissim Irakli 24
Andrioletti 81
Anton, melik 32, 34, 96
Antoniants Sargis 15
Apov, shop owner 30
Aramiants, doctor 57
Aramiants Michael 23, 76, 95
Aramiants S. G. 20-22
Arapian Poghos 35
Araratian A. 51
Araratiants Avetikian Christapor 14-15
Arghun 27
Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed)* Barseghian (Vasil) Nikoghayos (Argutinski Nikolai) 74-77, 80, 97-98
Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed*) Michaelian Alexandre 20-22, 24, 83-85, 90, 92, 97
Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed)* N. B. 20, 22
Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed)* N. V. 22
Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed)* N. Ye. 22
Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed)* Poghossian Movses *14-16, 20*
Arghutian *Yerkaynabazuk* (the *Long-Armed*) Soghomon 39
Arghutiants Hovhannissian (nee Mirzayanats) Mariam 77
Arshakuny 45
Arshakuny Astvatsatrian Vardan 11, 13, 46-48, 97
(the) Artsrunies, princely family 6, 27, 58
Artsruny Andreas 59
Artsruny G. 51
Artsruny Gevorg 59
Artsruny Gevorg Agha 58-59
Artsruny Grigor 59, 78
Artsruny Kurd 6, 25-27, 96, 98
Artsruny Sargis, Grigor Artsruny's brother 59
Artsruny Sargis 25
Artsruny Sadun I 27
Artsruny Sadun II 27
Artsruny Sherbarok 27
Artsruny Vahram 25
Artsruny Vasak 6, 25, 96
Artsruny Gevorgian Yeremia 11, 14-15, 51, 58-62, 97
Arvaniants A. K. 21-22
Arvanitaky N. F. 21-22
Arvanov K. T. 16-17
Arzukhatun (*Arzu Khatun) 26-27*
Asaturov Geurg 7
Asaturov Izhan 7
Ashkharbek, melik 29-30, 96
Ashurov 86
Askilov Grigol 15
Aslamaz, mamasakhlis 28
Aslamaziants H. J. 16
Aslan, Melik Ashkharbek's brother 29-30
Aslanian Sandukht 81
Astvatsatriants Harutiun 67
Astvatsatriants Vahramian Stepan 14
Atabekian M. 23
Atabekiants M. N. 22
Avaliants Hovhannissian Poghos 15
Avalishvili N. 66
Avetissiants Gabrielian Yeghia 15
Avtandil, melik 30, 96
Avtandil, Zurab Behbudiants' son 31
Aziziants Alexandrian Hovhannes 15

B

Babanassian 81
Babanassiants Grigorian Alexandre 14-15
Babanassiants Grigorian Harutiun 15
Babanassiants P. N. 16-17
Babanassiants Yegorian Artem 13, 16
Babanasov Chaolan 7
Babayants A. 14
Baghi, Melik Enal's grandson 28
Bagration-Mokhranski S. K. 85
Bagrationy Vakhushty 9
Bagratuny David 25
Bagratuny Kyurike 25
Bakradze Minas Valerian 24
Baratashvili Iese 35
Baratov Germanoz Leonid 14

Baratov Leonid 14
Barkhoudariants S. 16-17
Bastamiants B. Ye. 15
Bastamiants Yeghian Stepan 15
Bastamov 7
Bayandur, melik 8, 28-29, 96
Baysogholiants Gabrielian Soghomon 13
Baysogholov 7
Baysogholov Artem 55
Bazel 56
Bazhbeuk-Melikiants Atarbegian Michael 15
Bazhbeuk-Melikiants O. 14
Behbud (Bebout, Bebouda), khoja, melik 28-31, 96
Behbudian K. A. 78
Behbudiants Agha (Aqa Bek), Behbudiants Ashkharbek's son 31-35, 96
Behbudiants Amir 30-31, 96
Behbudiants Ashkharbek (Ashkhal Bek) 31-32, 96
Behbudiants Aslamaz 30-31, 96
Behbudiants Avetik 34-36, 96
Behbudiants (Behbudian) Avetikian Darchi 6-7, 10, 30, 36-37, 39-41, 96
(the) Behbudiants (Behbudians, Behbudov) 6-8, 28-30, 32, 40
Behbudiants Behbud, Behbudiants Ashkharbek's son 32, 34
Behbudiants Giorgi 30-31, 96
Behbudiants Haykazn 7
Behbudiants Hovhannes 34
Behbudiants Hovsep 32, 34
Behbudiants *Ivane* (Hovhannes) *35*
Behbudiants Khaty, Behbudiants Ashkharbek's son 32
Behbudiants L. M. 16
Behbudiants Stepan, Behbudiants Ashkharbek's son 32, 34
Behbudiants Zada, Behbudiants Ashkharbek's son 32
Behbudiants Zurab (Zurab Giorgi) 31-32, 96
Behbudov, general 66
Behbudov, prince 47
Behbudov Avet 37
Behbudov Darcho see Behbudian(ts) Darchi
Bek F. I. 20-22
Beloy 42
Beloy Nikit. Tim. 15
Beloy Ye. T. 16
Beriyev Hovsep Dmitri 14
Bezirghanian 7
Bibilaury Abram 15
Bochkovski V. F. 17
Bolkvadze Bezhan Ivane 24
Botsshik A. M. 22
Bouniatiants M. M. 16-17
Bourhart 21
Boyakhchiants Poghossian Hovhannes 15
Bozarjian 93
Buchkiyev Boris Ivan 15
Bujiashvili Dimitri Kote 24
Bukhrashvili Eprem Shota 24
Butkevich K. 81-82
Buzgulov 7

C
Charukhchian Barseghian Kospar 51, 59
Chekhov 72
Chelokayev 18
Chemeshkian M. 55
Chemeshkiants Ye. A. 16
Cherkezov V. M. 83, 85
Cherkezov Vasili Nikolayevich 21-24, 88-91, 97-98
(the) Cherkezovs 88
Chernishevski 82
Chikoany G. A. 17
Chikvaidze I. Philip 14-17
Chilyayev, major general 46
Chitakhov 7
Chkhetia Sh. 8, 11, 54
Chrelayev S. F. 21, 42

D
Dandouriants S. A. 22
Daniel, Melik Enal's grandson 28
David 34
David, assistant headman 30
David, catholicos 37
David, king 25
David, *natsval 28*
Davidov L. L. 17
Davidov S. V. 17
Davtiants Grigorian Zakaria 15
Deduniants Sargissian Shakar 15
Dementev Tim. Mikhail 14
Demetre, king 25
Demuriants Poghossian David 15
Didariants Melk. Gevorg 14
Didariants Minassian Yeghia 14
Didariants S. Ye. 16-17
Dilakberov 7
Ditogh, correspondent's pen-name 90
Dizhyevitsa-Kovvach A. O. 14
Dolgorukov, prince 58
Doloukhaniants M. Ye. 16-17
Dolukhanian I. M. 87
Dondakov-Korsakov, prince 71
Dumbadze Elizbar Vladimer 24
Dzamoyants Michaelian Hakob 12
Dzamoyants Michaelian Hovsep 12
Dzeliyev P. Isaac 15

E
Elch Boughda Bek 31
Elimirziants L. K. 16
(the) Elimirzovs 72
Enal, melik 28-30, 96
Enfiajiants T. H. 21-22
Enfianjiants (Enfenjiants) Nikita Hambardzum 13-14
Enkitsiants (Enfiajiants?) Ambartsum Tigran 24
Erivantsov 64

F
Finki Nicolaus Franz 54
Flavian, patriarch 83
Fyodorov Fyodor Mikhail 13-14

G
Gabashvili Vladimer Constantine 24
Gabunia Dimitri Gurami 24
Garsoyev 7
Gaspar, assistant headman 30
Gegejkori Alexandre Alexandre 24
Gegeshidze Andreas Giorgi 24
Georgi, prince 36
Gerasimov A. G. 16
Gevorg, archbishop 80-81
Gevorg, farrier 35
Gevorg, Melik Enal's grandson 28
Ghaitmaziants Davtian Ghorkhmaz 14-15
Ghamazov 7
Ghambarov 7
Gharabaghtsy Poghos, archbishop 51
Gharan, shop owner 30
Ghipiani (Kipiani) Ivan Dmitri 16-17, 24, 65-68, 82, 97-98
(the) Ghipianies 65
Ghoghoberidze David Levan 24
Ghorghanian And. 68
Ghorghaniants A. S. 17, 24
Ghorghaniants Adam 68
Ghorghaniants G. H. 17
Ghorghaniants N. H. 17
Ghorghaniants Pridonian Soghomon 67
Ghorghaniants (Korganov) Soghomonian Anton 67-68, 97
Ghouliants G. G. 18, 20-21
Ghukas Karnetsy, catholicos 35-36
Giorgi, headman 30
Giorgi, king of Kartli 77
Giorgi III, king 25-26, 31
Gochashvili Alexandre Giorgi 24
Gogebashvili 19
Gogoberidze I. Z. 17
Golitsin 83, 88-89
Golovin Yev. Al. 11
Gorrini Giacomo 94

Gothardt P. K. 18
Gozalov Gevo 55
Grigor, archimandrite 26
Grigor, from Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Norashen 35
Gulakov 7
Gulaspiants Minassian Zakaria 12-13
Gulibashov 7
Gululov 7
Gurgenbekov 7
Gvishiani Mikheil Mikheil 24
Gyanjetsian Levon 54
Gzirbezhoyev 7

H
Hajjiyev 86
Hakhnazariants Hakobian Grigor 14
Hakhnazarov 7
Hakhverdiants Alexei Avtandil 12
Hakhverdiants Avtandil 12
Hakob of Jugha, catholicos 30
Hambardzumiants Hovhannissian Petros 12-14
Harutiunian, mayor of Baku 92
Hazir 81
Hejoubiants A. H. 16-17
Hejoubiants Gabrielian Hejoub 12
Hejubov 7
Hekim Agha 77
Hekimian (Akimov) 77
Heracle II, Teymuraz II's son 33-36
Hovhannes, carpenter 26
Hovhannes, prior 26
Hovhannissian Vahan 23
Hovnanian H. 51
Hovsep 35
Hovsepiants Martirossian Khecho 15

I
Iasov 7
Ignatev P. P. 17
Imam-Ghuli, khan 31
Iprumov 7
Isad (Isak) Pasha 32
Iskandariants Sargissian Tovma 12
Israeliants S. B. 18
Istamaniants Movsissian Soghomon 13-14
Ivanenko Afanasyevich Apolon 20-21, 76, 81, 83, 85-86
Ivanov 78
Ivanov, architect 48-49
Izanshadinov 7
Izdanov 7
Izmailian Matevos II, catholicos 91
Izmailiants (Izmailov Pavel) Alexandrian Poghos 16-18, 69, 75-82, 97
Izmiriants Hovhannes (Izmirov Ivan) 11, 24, 42, 96
Izmiriants (Izmirov) Hovhannissian Grigor 13, 55-56, 62
Izmirov 7
Izmirov Daniel 55
Izmirov Ivan see Izmiriants Hovhannes

J
Jabar M. A. 22, 85
Jaghatiants Andrei Stepan 12
Jalaliants Sargis 56
Jamaspiants Hovhannes 15
Janaghov Y. F. 22
Janelidze Basarion Tamazi 24
Janiants Youzbashian Petros 15
Janshiants Grigorian Avetik 13
Javakhishvili Dimitri Givi 24
Javjavadze I. 19, 86
Javjavadze Nikolai 54
Jesus Christ 26
Jilashvili Giorgi 66
Jinjaradze Giorgi 24
Joseph, Melik Enal's grandson 28
Jugheli Pilat Simon 24
Junkovski, senator 92

K
Kagarov Soghomon 15
Kalamkariants Harutiunian Barsegh 15
Kalinaani 7
Kanakertsy Zakaria 28
Kananian Alexandre 94
Kananiants G. Z. 21-22
Kanyevski A. Y. 17
Kapanakov 7
Karakhaniants Alexandre 15
Karapet Bagratuny, archibshop 52
Karapet, Melik Enal's grandson 28
Karev G. I. 22
Kariniants Hakob 43
Kartsov V. Dm. 16
Kasoumiants Mkrtich 12
Kasso, Minister of People's Enlightenment 92
Kaykhosro, assistant headman 30
Kaykhosro, D. Ghipiani's brother 65
Kaykhosro, Melik Enal's son 28
Kepinov 7
Ker Porter Robert 10-11
Kerion, bishop 67
Ketkhudiants Nikoghossian Mariam 67
Ketkhudiants T. Tovma 15
Ketkhudov 7
Khachatriants V. 16
Khachaturov Nasghid 7
Khakhanov 66
Khakhutov 7
Khalatiants Cyrilian Asatur 12
Khampervan, Giorgi Behbudiants' wife 31
Khanjiyev I. N. 16
Khankalamov 7
Kharaziants A. Gh. 21-22
Kharazov 7
Khatissian Xenia 94
Khatissiants Mariam 92
Khatissian Stepanian Alexandre 63, 85-86
Khatissiants, Honorary Citizen Khatissov's son 56
Khatissiants Hovhannissian Alexandre 22-23, 91-94, 97-98
Khatissiants D. G. 16-17
Khatissiants Gabriel 56, 91
Khatissiants Gabrielian Stepan (Khatissov S.) 11-12, 16, 24, 42, 96
Khatissiants Hovhannes 91
(the) Khatissiants (Khatissovs) 42
Khatissov 7
Khatissov, honorary citizen 56
Khechumiants Davtian Artem 13-14
Khlebnikiants 15
Khojaminasazov 54
Khosrovian (Khosroyev) Ye. Ye. 17-18, 20-21, 83, 85
Khrimian Mkrtich (Khrimian Hayrik), catholicos 48, 61, 84, 90
Khubov Ivan 43
Khudadov 7
Kikodze Dmitri Mikhail 14-15
Kishmishev 7
Knorring, lieutenant general 6, 37
Kochariants M. A. 16-17
Kockchayev N. P. 21-22
Kojlamazashvili Ioseb Dimitri 24
Kolubanski P. 19-20
Koniyev Bezhan. Grigor 15
Korintely S. D. 17
Kotrin Andr. 15
Kugler Christian. Carl 15
Kukujaniants Avtandil 8
Kukujanov 7
Kunfer, real state counsillor 48
Kuzanov Geurgov David 7
Kuzanov Geurgov Karapet 7
Kuzanov Geurgov Michael 7
Kviatkovski Andr. Adam 15

L
Lasha Giorgi 27
Lazarev, major general 36-37
Lazariants Grigorian Michael 15
Lednitskin, Polish public figure 93
Lekishvili Mikheil Nikoloz 24
Lelashvili Mikheil Mikheil 24
Leo 59
Leonid, bishop 67
Litanishvili Anton Otar 24
Lobzhanidze Tedore Bakhva 24

M
Machabely I. 18
Machaidze Timothy Bagrat 24
Madatian P. (Sayat) 51
Maghradze Kondrat Mekheil 24
Makar, bishop 55
Maklakov V. A. 87
Malakov 7
Malama, general-adjutant 86
Malinin 21
Mamikoniants Hovhannes 14
Mamikoniants K. 14
Maminov I. 14
Mananov Davtian Andrei 7, 11, 13, 46, 97
Mandenov 7
Mangoyants Hovsep 34
Mangoyants Movses 34
Mangoyants Ohanes 34
Mangoyants Petros 34
Mangoyants Stepan 34
Mangoyev 7
Mantashian Alexandre 23, 76, 86
Mantashiants H. 14
Mantashiants Simeon 15
Margariants Grigorian Hovhannes 15
Margariants H. P. 14
Maria, Alexandre Khatissiants' mother 91
Mariam, Agha Behbudiants' wife 34
Markossiants H. N. 18
Markossov 67
Martirossiants Galust 15
Mateos, catholicos 61
Matevos, catholicos 48
Matiniants (Matinov) Stepanian Alexandre 16-18, 68-75, 79, 82, 97-98
Matinov 7
Matosov Hakob 7
Maysuriants Hovhannissian Isaac 12
Meburnutiants Stepan 14
Mehrabiants Hovsepian Michael 15
Mehty Agha Hyusein Oghly 43
Meladze Erast Alexandre 24
Meladze Giorgi Pavle 24
Melik-Beglarian A. 81
Melik-Beglariants A. A. 18
(the) Melik-Sahakians 34
Melikiants A. H. 14-15
Melikiants (Melikov) Bazhbeuk 13, 54-55
Melikiants Hovsepian Grigor 13-15
Melikov Hasan Bey 86
Melikov Zurab 30
Melikset-Bek L. 53
Melko, fishmonger 51-52
Mesantlov 7
Meskhia (Meskhi) S., editor 78
Meskhishvili Shio Zaur 24
Mghebriants Davtian Simon 13
Mghebriants L. Y. 16
Michaeliants 51
Mickeliants Barseghian Hakob 13
Mikeladze Data 78
Mikeliants Hakob 14
Mikhailov Mikh. Platon 15
Milov N. I. 14
Miraghian G. 78
(the) Mirimaniants, family 49
Mirimaniants (Mirimanov) Afanassian Hovsep 7, 11-12, 44-47, 96
Mirimaniants G. G. 14
Mirimaniants Gerasim Zakaria 13
Mirimaniants Mirimanian Soghomon (Mirimanov Soghomon) 14, 49, 97
Mirimaniants Miron Soghomon 12
Mirimanov, ex-mayor 56
Mirimanov I. see Mirimaniants Afanassian Hovsep
Mirzoyan G. 51
Mirzoyev 7
Mirzoyev, landowner 81-82
Mkrtumiants Nikoghayossian Grigor 15
Mkrtumiants Nikoghossian Grigor 13-14
Mnatsakanian As. 52
Moisyev V. S. 17
Molière 67
Morij Karl 44
Muntoyev 7
Muradian P. 49
Muradiants Sargis 13
Muravyov, general 44, 47, 49
Mushribov 7

N
Nadir, shah 33
Nalbandiants Isahakian Michael 14
Nalbandiants Yesayan Michael 14
Narimaniants Sargissian Zakaria 14-15
Narin David Z. 27
Nazar, headman 30
Nazar, khoja 32
Nazarbegov Nazar 55
Nazarbekov 7
Nazarian David 59
Nazariants N. Z. 16-18, 20-21
Nazariants S. 51
Nerses 59
Nerses Ashtaraketsy, catholicos 39-40, 47, 50
Nikoghossian Grigor (*Magda Neyman) 72, 98*
Nikoladze Niko, editor 78
Nikoladze N., politician 18, 20-21,
Nikolai I, emperor 48, 58-59
Nikolayevich M., vice-roy of Caucasia 13
Nikolayevich Mikhail, emperor 67
Nino, Giorgi Jilashvili's daughter 66
Nioradze Tripon Mikheil 24
Nomikos I. S. 17

O
Ohanesov Gabriel 7
Ohanjanian, architect 93
Okoyev 7
Onikov A. N. 14
Opochinin 21
Orbelian G. (Grigol), vice-roy 54
Orbelian Liparit 26
(the) Orbelians (Orbelies) 25-26
Orbeliany Papuna 34
Orlovski, district governor 78
Otiants G. M. 22
Otten F. 80
Ozerov A. G. 17
Ozerov A. Ye. 18

P
(the) Pachavian-Artsrunies 58
Palasanian 82
Pap, headman 30, 34
Pap, Giorgi Behbudiants' son 31
Papunashvili Samadavle 34
Parsadan, headman 30
Papiants N. A. 16-18
Parakov Ilar. 15
Parkuzatov 7
Paron-Sargissiants N. A. 16-17
Parunbekiants Gabrielian Soghomon 13
Paskevich 58
Patkanian Gabriel 44
Patkaniants 82
Petrossian Stepan 15
Petrossiants Zakaria 15
Pirov 7
Pishnov Artem Yegor 15
(the) Pitoyants 71
Pitoyants-Yaghouyants N. Sh. 18
Pitoyants Yesayi 95
Pitoyev 7, 67
Pondoyants Gabrielian Hovsep 14
Pondoyev H. G. 16
Porakov 7
Poughiniants Hovhannissian Yeghia 14
Pouginov Ye. I. 16
Pridoniants 67
Pridoniants Davtian Tovma 12, 44, 96
Pridoniants Grigorian Gevorg (Yegor) 49-50, 97
Pridoniants Grigorian Yeghia 14, 24
Pridonov 7
Pridonov F. 11

Pridonov Yegor 55
Proshian Perj 53, 55, 62
Pughiniants Nikita Isaac 12
Pughinov 67
Pughiyev 7
Pushkin 72

R
Rahimov I. 16
Rakin A. G. 17
Rakovich Ivan Vasili 12
Ramusio Battista Giovan 9
Ratiyev 67
Reiter K. N. 21
Retishchev, governor 40
Revazov Revaz Agha 12
Roslavlev, chief of police 54
Rostom, Melik Enal's son 28
Rotiniants 55-56
Rotinov 7
Rusudan 27
Rusudan, Vakhtang VI's wife 31

S
Saatsazov I. H. 21-22
Sahakiants Isahakian Gaspar 15
Sahakov 7
Saharuni S. 51
Saibiants T. G. 16
Saipov Hovsepian Hovhannes 14
Saltukh 25
Sanasarian 81
Sanvelov Osep 7
Sanvelov Soghomon 7
Sarajev 7
Sarajev Davtian Soghomon 11, 13, 24, 46, 97
Sarajev Davtian Zakaria 12
Saralidze Erast Boris 24
Sargissiants Hayrapetian Grigor 13
Sargissiants Petrossian Grigor 13
Sargissiants Petrossian Soghomon 12
Serebriakiants L. L. 16
Servandztiants G. 57
Shaburiants Hovhannissian Soghomon 14-15
Shadin (Badin) 27, 96
Shadiniants Avel Gabriel 14
Shadiniants Gabrielian Nikoghayos 15, 17
Shadiniants H. A. 11, 16, 24
Shadiniants M. H. 14
Shadiniants Nikoghayossian Alexandre 15
Shadiniants Simonian Hovhannes (Shadinov Ivan) 43, 96
Shadinov, house owner 84
Shadinov I. see Shadiniants H. A.
Shah-Azizian 81
Shahamirian Shahamir 36
Shahbudaghov 7
Shahmuradian 93
Shahruban, Behbudiants Aslamaz's wife 30
Shahumian St. 87
Shahverdian 78
Shahverdiants A. M. 16-17
Shakespeare 66-67
Shalikashvili Dmitri 94
Shalikashvili Malkhaz (John) 94
Shalikashvili Otar 94
(the) Shamkharovs 72
Shaniants N. N. 16
Shanshiants N. N. 17
Shanshiyev Pyotr (Petros) 56
Sharimaniants Simeonian Grigor 15
Shelkoezov Step. Sogh. 15
Shergiliants David 34
Shergiliants Estat 34
Shergiliants Gevorg 34
Shergiliants Khaty 34
Shergiliants Melko, 34
Shergiliants (Shergilian) Sahak 32, 34, 96
Shergiliants Shakar 34
Shergiliants Shermazan 34
Shergilov 7
Shermazan-Vardaniants Harutiunian Galust (Shermazan-Vardanov Kalust) 11, 13-14, 24, 50-58, 97
Shermazanov 7
Shestakov M. S. 21-22, 83-85, 89
Shestakov Sergo Mikheil 24
Shimkevich A. P. 18
Shioyev 7, 67
(the) Shioyevs 72
Shiukov K. M. 17
Sholkoyev S. S. 14
Shoshitaishvili Shalva Badri 24
Sienkiewicz H. 93
Silyander A. L. 17-18
Simeon, catholicos 30, 34
Simoniants Petros (*Petrus,* Pyotr*)* 55-56
Skudiery 42
Sokolov P. Dm. 16
Sokolovski Vasili Pyotr 12
Soladov 55
Sonin 42
St. Nina 43
Stepaniants Gerasimian Stepan 15
Stepaniants Harutiun 15
Stepaniants Michael 62
Stepaniants P. 16
Stepanos the Archdeacon 32
Stepanov Alexei 7
Strakhov I. Ye. 16
Sukhishvili Pavle Vladimer 24
Sukhotin A. 35
Suleyman, shah 6
Sulian M. 94
Sultaniants Davtian Hovhannes 12
Sundukian Gabriel (Gavrilo) 55-57
Sundukiants Nikoghayossian Michael 15-16
Surghunov Mkrtum, *natsval* 37
Suvorov 77
Svechnikov Astvatsatrian (Bogdany) Avetik (Avet) 12-13, 44-46, 97
Svechnikov Astvatsatur 11, 13
Syulyuk 12

T
Taghiyev Hajji Zeynal Abdin 86
Takoyev 7
Tamamshev 7
Tamamshian Michael 90
Tamamshiants (Tamamshev) A. A. 16-18, 69
Tamamshiants Gabriel 42
Tamamshiants Hovsepian Alexandre 12
Tamamshiants Petrossian Zakaria 12
Tandoyants Martin Isaac 13
Tandoyants Mkrtchian Isaac 12
Tarkhaniants Avetik 12
Tarkhaniants Rostomian Avetik 15
Tatoyev 7
Taveldarov 7
Ter-Abrahamiants Arakelian Gevorg 15
Ter-Alexandriants Ye. D. 17
Ter-Asatriants N. Gabriel 15
Ter-Asaturov 7
(the) Ter-Asaturovs 8
Ter-Ghazariants H. A. 14
Ter-Ghazarov 7
Ter-Ghukassian Arshak 81
Ter-Ghukassov, landowner 81-82
Ter-Grigorian (Vano) 50
Ter-Grigoriants (Ter-Grigorov, Ter-Grikurov) Movses 11, 24, 42-43, 96
Ter-Hovhannissiants Hovhannissian Hovsep 12
Ter-Isayev Shmavon 7
Ter-Melkisetiants S. A. 14
Ter-Mikeliants I. H. 17-18, 20-21
Ter-Mikeliants (Ter-Mikelov) Gabriel 46, 95
Ter-Minassiants Gh. A. 22
Ter-Nikoghossiants N. Hovhannes 15
Ter-Poghosov 7
Ter-Sahakian, architect 93
Ter-Sargissiants N. G. 17-18

Ter-Stepanian S. T. 21
Ter-Stepaniants H. I. 16
Ter-Stepaniants I. S. 18, 20-22
Terjaniants Hajji-Serob 15
Terouniants Ye. I. 17
Teymuraz II 33-34
Tigraniants H. T. 18
Tikheyev I. I. 85
Todria Essi Silibistro 24
Topchibashev Ali Mardan Bey 86
Tretyakov A. S. 17
Tsatriants Hovhannissian Avetik 12
Tsereteli Giorgi 20, 78, 80
Tsitliyev P. R. 16-17
Tsoviants Geo 15
Tsoviants Martirossian Alexandre 15
Tsugaduzov 7
Tsurinov 7
Tsurinov N. Ye. 18
Tugurelov Avetikian Michael 13
(brothers) Tumanian 91
Tumaniants Dmitri (Tumanov D.) 62, 97
Tumaniants (Tumanov) Dmitrian Yazon 11, 16, 24, 62-64, 69, 82, 97
Tumaniants G. 82
Tumanov Ignat 39
Tverdokhlebovich Khariton Nikolai 15
Tyurian K. 19
Tyutchev 72

U
Ulun David E. 27

V
Vakhtang, king 6
Vakhtang II of Khachen 27
Vakhtang V Shahnavaz 28
Vakhtang VI 31-32
Valling Herman 15
Vardan-Babiants Shakar 15
Vardaniants Abrahamian Ghazar 12-13
Vardaniants Art. Barsegh 15
Vardaniants H. D. 14
Vardaniants Harutiun 50-51
Vardaniants Vardanian Ghazar 12
Vashadze Mikheil Tamaz 24
Vasilev, assistant prosecutor 87
Vasili 34
Vatatsi, senator 92
Veidenbaum 6
Velichko 19, 89
Vermishev Ch. 83
Vermishiants H. A. 18
Vermishiants (Vermishov) Avakumian Christapor 20-22, 24, 85-90, 97
Virtemberg, prince 47
Von Eichwald Karl Eduard 11
Von Kotzebue Moritz 10
Vorontsov Michael Semyon, vice-roy 12, 42-44, 48
Vorontsova-Dashkova Elizabeth A. 92
Voskiyev Grigor 7

W
Weimann V. L. 20-22
William George 56

Y
Yakimov P. M. 21-22
Yazikov, captain 9
Yedisubov Gabrielian Yedis. 13
Yeganiants Harutiun 15
Yeganiants Sargis 12
Yenfiajiants Avetik 54
Yenfiajiants Hambardzum 54-56
Yenikolopiants Stepanian Jhangir 14-16
Yenikolopiants Zakarian Bezhan 15
Yeprem, Right Reverend 92
Yeremian A. 52, 61
Yeritsian Agh. 59
Yermishiants T. G. 21-22
Yermolov, general 10
Yevanguliants Grigorian Gevorg 21, 82-84, 88, 97
Yevanguliants Shermazan 28
Yevangulov 7
Yezov G. 82
Youzbashev Isayev Mkrtum 7
Youzbashev Isayev Soghomon 7
Youzbashev Shakarov Gabriel 7
Youzbashev Shakarov Gevorg 7
Youzbashev Shakarov Yesayi 7
Youzbashiants P. P. 16

Z
Zaaliants Zakarian Zaal 12
Zablotski P. N. 16
Zakarbekov 7
Zakaria, archimandrite 34
Zakarian Ivane 26
Zakarian Sargis 26
Zakarian Zakare 26
Zalenski A. A. 16-17
Zaliyev Stepan Kuzan 7
Zambakhidze Nikopor Giorgi 24
Zarapiants Hovhannes 31
Zargariants Yeghian Simeon 15
Zaza 34
(the) Zeydles 8
Zherebtsov N. N. 17
Zhuruli G. D. 22
Zisserman K. L. 14
Zodelava Ivane Ivane 24
Zubalov 18, 80
Zurabov 7
Zohrabov 7
Zubalov Nikoghayos Ye. 14-15, 70
Zurab, Giorgi Behbudiants' son 31

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

A
Abas-Abadian Square 51
Abasabat 58
Abashi 65
Agulis 51
Akhalkalak District 85
Akhaltskha City 95
Akhaltskha District 85
Alaverdi 67
Alexandrople 93
Alexandrovski Street 85
Alexandrovski Square 44, 47
Ani City 25, 91
Armavir City 95
Armenia 13, 25, 93
Arsenali Street 67
Artsakh (Karabakh) 67
Artsruny's Caravanserai 58-59, 61
Asia Minor 95
Astrakhan 46, 72, 95, 98
Avjala 80

B
Baku 58, 85-87, 92, 95
Basel 56
Batum 80, 85
Behbudovski Street 94
Berlin 91
Bessarabia 77
Bolshoi Vodovozni Street 71, 84
Borchalu District 84
Borzhom Gorge 65
Botanical Garden of Tiflis 8
Bozarjian's house 93
Bozhi Promisel 48

C
Caspian Sea 11
Caucasia 11-13, 23, 42, 57-58, 65, 72, 77, 80-81, 83, 85-86, 94
Caucasian mountains 10
Chaylur Village 88
Chughuret 54
Constantinople 48, 95
Crimea 59, 95

D
Dadivank Monastery 26
Danube, river 58
Deghomy Door 8
Didube Quarter 90, 97
Dilijan 53
Dorpat 56
Dubelira 78
Dushet 95
Dzneladze (Velyaminovskaya) Street 51

E
Eastern Gate of Tiflis 8
Eastern Georgia 19
Echmiatsin (Holy See) 29-31, 34, 47-48, 55-56, 72
Erzrum 82
Estates Bank of Tiflis 61
Europe 10, 52, 78

F
First Blind Alley of Mughni 51
First Republic of Armenia 77
France 78, 94

G
Gandzak 8
Ganja see Gandzak
Ganja Door see Southern Gate of Tiflis
Ganovski (Ganovskaya) Street 84, 94
Gartiskarski (Gartiskarian) Station 47
Georgia 6, 9, 11, 13, 19, 25, 27, 31, 36, 39, 46, 65, 94
Georgian-Imeretian Province 48
Germany 52, 54
Gharachinar Village 67
Ghezlar 95
Golovinian (Golovinski) Avenue (Palace Street) 49, 77
Goltati Village 68
Gori City 67, 95
Gori District 65
Graphski Street 67
Grem 95
Gudovicha Street 93
Gyulistan District 67

H
Haghpat Monastery 27, 96
Halvabar Door see Northern Gate of Tiflis
Hamadan 58
Havjala 71
Havlabar District 35, 53, 70, 74, 90
Heracle's Bath-House 84
Historical Armenia 95
Holy Bethlehem Church of Tiflis 96
Holy Zion Church in Tiflis 59

I
India 61
Italy 94
Izmail, fortress town 77
Izmailovski Street 81

J
Jerusalem 51, 59
Jgrashen 68
Jipin 8
Jkrashen Church 8
Jugha 53

K
Kakheti 19, 88
Karin 25, 96
Kars (Ghars), city 31, 34
Kartli 19, 77, 88
Karvajar District 26
Khachen 27
Kharpukh District 70
Khojivank (Khoja's Monastery) 29, 34
Kiroghni Street 90
Kirpichnaya Street 81
Komendatski Street 67
Kuki 54
Kukia Quarter 67
Kur, river 43
Kusanats (Virgins') Chapel 34
Kusanats (Virgins') Convent of Tiflis 32, 37
Kutayis Province 66, 68
Kvishkheti Village 65-66

L
Leipzig 52
Lermontov (Mets Tsur) Street 51
Lviv 95

M
Mahkanaberd 6, 25-27
Makhat, mountain 29

Manjuria 72
Melikents (Melik's) Bath-House 7, 30
Melikents Inn 7
Meret Village 65
Metekh Caravanserai 8
Mets (Major) Enaget Village 68
Mets Tsur (Lermontov) Street 51
Metskhet 48
Middle Asia 72
Mikhailovski Bridge 43
Mnatsakanovs' Bridge 69
Moghni 37
Monastery of Sevan Island 25
Morodzor (Moro Ravine) Monastery 26
Moscow 59, 61-62, 84
Mozdok 50, 95
Mughan 33
Mughni 51
Mukhranski (Mukhranian, Mokhranian) Bridge 90, 92

N
Nagornaya Street 64
Nakhalovka 81
Nakhijevan 50, 53
Nakhijevan-on-Don 56
Navtlugh District (Quarter) 71, 92
New Jugha 95
New Nakhijevan 95
Nikolayevski Street 87, 90
Noblemen's Meeting Hall 47
Nor Getik (Goshavank) Monastery 26
Norashen 30, 32, 35, 37, 50, 55, 97
Northern Gate of Tiflis 8
Novaya Basmannaya Street 62
Novaya Blind Alley 81
Novaya Golandskaya Street 81
Novorosiysk 80

O
Okroghana 34
Old Jugha 50
Old Nakhijevan 51
Old Tiflis 95
Olginskaya Street 93
Orlov, region 58
Ortajala 53
Oryol Region 97

P
Palace Street (Golovinian Avenue) 49
Paris 72, 77-78, 91, 94, 97
Persia 52, 58
Poti 49
Pyatigorsk 88, 97

R
Republic of Armenia (Armenian Republic) 93-94
Republic of Artsakh 26
Royal Garden of Tiflis see Botanical Garden of Tiflis
Russia (Russian Empire) 7, 19, 23, 39-40, 46, 72, 87-88

S
Sadovaya Street 77
Saguramo 80
Salian 45-46, 49
Sanahin Monastery 26, 77, 97
Sapyornaya Street 71, 81, 84
Sardarapat 58
Seghnakh 82, 95
Sergeyev Street 50, 77
Sevan Island 25
Seydabad 9
Shahmuradian's house 93
Shaky 95
Shamakhy 46, 63, 95
Shermazans' Gate 52-53
Shirvan 58
Shorapan 68
Shulaver (Shahumian) 81
Shushi 56
Siberia 54, 72, 87
Soldatski Bazaar 54
Sololak District 50
Sorbon University 78
Sourb Amenaprkich (Holy Saviour) Church of Sanahin 26
Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Bethlehem (in Tiflis) 43
Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Karin 25, 96
Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Nor Getik (Goshavank) Monastery 26
Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Norashen 32, 35, 50, 55, 97
Sourb Avetyats (Holy Annunciation) Church of Jgrashen 68, 97
Sourb Karapet (Holy Precursor) Church of Tiflis 64, 97
Sourb Khach 95
Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church of Gharachinar Village 67
Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church of Haghpat Monastery 27
Sourb Nshan Sourb Nikoghayosi [Holy Sign of St. Nicholas] Church of Tiflis 30-31, 49, 97
Southern Gate of Tiflis 8
Soviet Armenia 94
St. David Church 66, 97
St. Gevorg (George) Church 36
St. Gevorg (George) Church of Mughni 51
St. Petersburg 46, 48, 56, 58-60, 77-80, 86, 88, 90, 92
Stavropol 49, 66
Svyatopolsk-Mirskaya Street 90
Svetitskhoveli Cathedral 83
Syunik 23

T
Tabriz 31, 52, 95
Tayk 52
Tbilisi, kingdom 8
Teatralnaya Street 84
Telav 95
Teodupolis (Karin) 25
Tiflis (Tbilisi, Tpghis, Tpilis, Tpkhis) city 6-13, 15, 17, 19-21, 23-37, 39-44, 46-59, 61-74, 77-88, 90-98
Tiflis District 68
Tiflis Province 6, 9, 65, 76, 81
Transcaucasia 13, 46, 48-49, 84, 89, 95
Trebizond 94
Tsavkis Door see Western Gate of Tiflis
Tsiranavor Sourb Astvatsatsin (Khojivank) Church (Cloister) of Havlabar 29, 35
Turkey 72, 94

V
Van 51, 58
Vank Cathedral of Tiflis 51, 72-74, 77, 80-82, 84, 97
Varag Monastery 48, 61
Vaspurakan 58
Velyaminovskaya (Velyaminovski, Dzneladze) Street 51, 54
Vera Bridge 69, 80
Vera Quarter in Tiflis 48, 61, 74, 97
Vodovoznaya Street 84
Vologda 65

W
Western Armenia 25, 96
Western Gates of Tiflis 8
Western Georgia 65

Y
Yashpaz-Khan Street 30
Yelisavetskaya Street 67, 90
Yerevan 8, 53, 58, 77
Yerevan Door of Tiflis see Eastern Gate of Tiflis
Yerevan Square 11, 54, 70, 77, 81
Yevangulovskaya Street 84

Z
Zakatala 95
Zalesnoye Village 58, 97
Zrkiniants Sourb Karapet (Holy Precursor) Church of Tiflis 75

SUBJECT LIST

A

"A Description of Certain Affairs of Bishop Karapet, the Primate of the Armenian Resettlers from Tayk," play 52
A Few Words about the Trade-Unionists, booklet 56
"A National Wedding," play 52
A Persian-Indian Repository, work 57
Aramiants Hospital 90
Ararat, weekly 44
Arghutians' family cemetery 97
Armenian Apostolic Church 34, 40, 72
Armenian cemetery of Pyatigorsk 97
Armenian Cemetery of Vera Quarter 48, 61, 97
Armenian Diocese of Georgia 39, 72-73
Armenian Dramatic Theatre 50
Armenian Government 93
Armenian Land (Artsruny's Arcade) 60
Armenian Library of Tiflis 61
Armenian Parish School of Mozdok 50
Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaktsutiun) Party 87, 92-93
Armenian Theatre in the Shermazans' Gate 52
Armenian Theatre of Tiflis 62
Armenian Theatrical Committee 50
Arshaluys Araratian, Turkish Armenian newspaper 57
Art Museum of Tbilisi 49
Artisans Training College 49-50
Artistic Society of Tiflis 93, 95
"Asribek and Giki," play by Galust Vardaniants 51
Auction Board of Tiflis 15, 17

B

Baku, newspaper 87
Board of Directors of Hovnanian School 63
Board of Ghukassian Museum 84
Board of Trustees of Gayanian School 82
Board of Trustees of Hovnanian School 63
Board of Trustees of Nersissian School 61, 82
Board of Trustees of the Armenian Theatre of Tiflis 46
Board of Trustees of Tiflis School for Children Deaf and Dumb from Birth 77
Boys' Gymnasium of Tiflis 77
Bozhi Promisel, company 46
British Museum 78
Bureau of Patriots attached to the Municipal Government 85

C

Caucasian Agricultural Society 85
Caucasian Censorial Centre 81
Caucasian Military Corps 11, 53, 58
Caucasian Military District (Okrug) 83
Caucasian Museum 53, 61
Caucasian Surveyors Training School 43
Caucasian (Polytechnic) University in Tiflis 92
Cemetery of Holy Bethlehem Church of Tiflis 96
Cemetery of Jgrashen's Sourb Avetyats (Holy Annunciation) Church 97
Cemetery of Norashen's Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church 97
Cemetery of Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church of Karin 96
Cemetery of Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church of Tiflis 97
Cemetery of the church of Zalesnoye Village 97
Cemetery of the Georgian church of Didube Quarter 97
Cemetery of the Georgian church of St. David 97
Cemetery of Vank Cathedral 97
Centre of Preventive Inoculation against Rabies 71
Charity Society of Armenian Women 93
Charukhchian Will 51
City Assembly 20
City Council of Tiflis 15, 17-19, 20-21, 23, 50, 61, 63-64, 66-70, 72-76, 79-93, 94-95
City Hall of Baku (Municipal Council of Baku) 92
Civic Statutes see Statutes of Public Governance
Civil Office of the Governor 65
Commercial Bank of Tiflis 19, 85
Commercial Court of Tiflis 44
Committee of Inquiry 55-57
Committee on Housing Issues 15
Committee on Purchases at Tiflis City Council 89
Committee on the Accomplishment of the Armenian School of Tiflis 48
Committee on the Caucasian Exhibition of Farming Tools and Machinery 85
Committee on the Renovation of Nersissian Armenian School 59
Council of Aldermen 11, 15
Council of Citizens 50
Councils of Masters 50
Council of Mokalaks 43, 46
Council of the Caucasian Agricultural Society 85
Council of the General Department 65
Council of the General Department of the Transcaucasian Region 65
Council of the Vice-Roy of Caucasia 65
Court Chamber 81
Court Department 82
Court of Orphans' Care Attached to the Municipal Government 13-14, 16-17, 44
Court Theatre 42, 48
Craftsmen's Club of Tiflis 63
Crimean war 59, 66
Criminal Code 87-88

D

Department of Construction within the Municipal Government 85
Department of Means of Communication at Petersburg University 88

Department of Mines at Petersburg University 88
Don Artillery Division no. 7 47
Dorpat University 56
Droeba, newspaper 78
Drosha, newspaper 78

E
Echmiatsin Synod 55
Eighth District Department 43
Executive Exploitation Department of Georgia's Supreme Governance attached to the Civil Office of the Governor 65

F
Fifth Volunteer Squad 44
First (Boys') Gymnasium of Tiflis 68, 82, 91
First Volunteer Squad 46
Fourth Volunteer Squad 49

G
G. Tsereteli & Comp. Publishing-House 78
Gayanian Girls' School 62, 82
Georgian Chronicon 29, 31
Georgian Dramatic Society 67
Georgian Kingdom 39, 95
Georgian Society of Literacy 67
Georgian Theatre 78
Gevorgian Spiritual Seminary 72
Ghukassian Museum 84
Girls' School of Norashen's Sourb Astvatsatsin (Holy Virgin) Church 50
Government of Armenia 77
Government of Menshevik Georgia 94
Government of the Vice-Roy 82
Governor's Civil Office 65

H
Headquarters of the Caucasian troops 48
"Heghine," literary work by Mariam Khatissiants 92
House of Municipal Government 23
Hovit, Armenian periodical 23, 98
Hovnanian School 63
"Hunters for Sons-in-Law," literary work by Mariam Khatissiants 93
Hunters' Exhibition 71
Hyusisapayl, periodical 62

I
Imperial University of Moscow 61
Institute of Marxism-Leninism 95
Insurance Agency Against Fire 19
Ivanov Library 78
Iveria, newspaper 67
Izmirian Prize 57-58

K
Kaspi, newspaper 86
Kavkaz, newspaper 19, 42, 53, 88
Kavkazskoye Slovo, periodical 83
Kharkov University 91
Khojivank Cemetery 34, 40, 53-55, 84, 95-97
Krebuli, magazine 78
Kvali, magazine 80
Nor-Dar, periodical 80

M
Majestic (*Tbilisi*) Hotel 95
Manuscript Department of Tübingen University 54
Mariamian Girls' School 62
Masis, Turkish Armenian newspaper 57
Materials for Armenian National History, research work 57-58
Order of St. Vladimir 65
Meghu Hayastani, periodical 55-56, 82
Mekhitarist Congregation 23
Michael Aramiants' residence 95
Michaelian Craftsmen's School 63
Michaelian Trade Centre (Trade School) 64
Military Headquarters 60, 66
Ministry of Finances of the Russian Empire 58
Ministry of Internal Affairs 48
Mnatobi, magazine 66
Moambe, magazine 66
Moscow University 91
Moscow University of Law 68
Mshak, periodical 59, 78, 82
Municipal Council of Baku 92
Municipal Council of Tiflis see City Council of Tiflis
Municipal Credit Company of Tiflis 19, 67
Municipal Duma of Tiflis see City Council of Tiflis
Municipal Government of Caucasia 11
Municipal Government of Tiflis 11-18, 20, 22-23, 44, 50, 53-54, 56, 63, 68, 70, 72-73, 78-79, 83, 85-86, 89-92, 98
Municipal Orphanage 15
Municipal Statutes see Statutes of Public Governance
Municipal Theatre of Tiflis 44, 62
Municipal Treasury 19, 23, 55, 67
Mutual Credit Company 19
"My Fiancee is Araz," play 52

N
National Archives of Georgia 81
Nersissian National Spiritual School 42, 48, 50-51, 59, 61-62, 82, 91
Noblemen's Bank of Tiflis 66-67
Noblemen's State Land Bank 71
Noblemen's College (First-Class Gymnasium) 65
Novoye Obozreniye, newspaper 88, 91

O
Office of the Commander General of Georgia 65
Office of the General Department 65
Office of the Vice-Roy of Caucasia 65
Ognir Hayastanin (*Help Armenia*), newspaper 88
"On a New Path," literary work by Mariam Khatissiants 92-93
Order of St. Anna 39, 65
Order of St. Stanislaus 46, 65
Order of St. Vladimir 71
Oxford University 56

P
People's House in Havlabar District 74, 76
Père Lachaise Cemetery 94, 97
Persian embassy in Tiflis 47
Petrovsk Academy of Farming and Silviculture 85
Police Forces of Tiflis 81
Printing-House Association 55
Provincial Court of Tiflis 81
Provincial Gymnasium of Tiflis 65

R
Railway Department of Transcaucasia 84
Real School of Tiflis 84
Regional Government 78
Research Institute of Physics in Petersburg 48
Royal Theatre 52
Russian Revolution of 1917 93
Russo-Persian war 58
Russo-Turkish war 44, 46-47, 49, 58, 67
Rustaveli State Drama Theatre (Artistic Society) 95

S
Sahak-Mesropian Awards 58
Sanasarian School of Erzrum 82
Sasoplo, newspaper 78
Second Police Station of Tiflis 68
Second Volunteer Squad 49
Secondary School after Baryatinski 69

Shahparoniants Pharmacy 64
Shermazan-Vardanovs' house 47
Sixth District of Gendarme Corps 57
Special Commissions Section attached to the Civil Office of the Governor 65
Special Section of the Chamber of Judgements 87-88
St. Petersburg University 56, 82
State (Public) Library of Yerevan 77
State Theatre of Tiflis see Municipal Theatre of Tiflis
Statutes of Nersissian School 61
Statutes of Municipal Autonomy see Statutes of Public Governance
Statutes of Municipal Governance (1866) 61
Statutes of Public Governance (1840, 1866, 1870, 1892) 11-13, 18, 20, 23, 42, 68, 75-76
Statutes of the Civic Department see Statutes of Public Governance
Statutes of the Caucasian Museum 53
Statutes of the Orphan Court attached to the Municipal Government of Tiflis 44
Statutes of Trade-Unions 53
Surveyors' Chamber of Transcaucasia 49
Surveyors Training College 71

T
Tbilisi Provincial Council 55-56
Technical Society of Tiflis 61
"The Issue of the Railway to India," report 61
"The Man and the Lion," poem 52
The Merchant of Venice, work by Shakespeare 66
"The Oriental Issue," literary work by Mariam Khatissiants 92
"The Unlucky Woman," literary work by Mariam Khatissiants 93
"The Woe of Jugha Armenians," song 52
"The Wolf and the Blacksmith's Dog," fable 52
Third Volunteer Squad 44
Tiflis Company of Loans 82
Tiflis Gymnasium 65
Tiflis Merchants' Society for Mutual Support 87
Tiflis School for Children Deaf and Dumb from Birth 77
Tiflisski Listok, periodical 81
Tiflisski Vestnik, periodical 78
Town Hall (House of the City Council) of Tiflis 69-70, 77, 80-81
Trade Police (1847) 12
Transcaucasian Branch of the State Bank of Farming 88
Transcaucasian Pawn-Shop 60
Tsarist (Russian) Government 53-54, 57, 72
Tübingen University 54
Tumaniants' Family Cemetery 64, 97
Turkmenchai Treaty 58

U
Ulanian Detachment 58
Union of Noblemen 66
Union of Noblemen of Tiflis Province 88
Union of Tiflis Artisans 15

V
Vologda's Office of Provincial Governance 65

W
Water supply system of Avchalian 74
"Woe Betide My Lost 50 Pieces of Gold," play 61
Women's Charity Society 43
World War I 21, 93

Z
Zakavkazski Vestnik, periodical 65

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THE MAYORS OF TIFLIS

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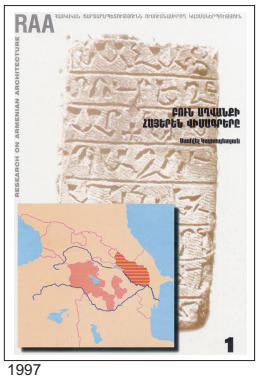
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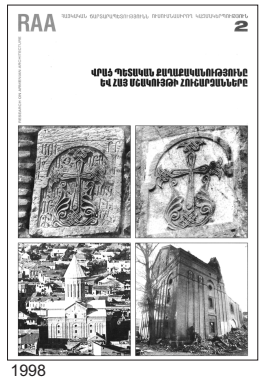
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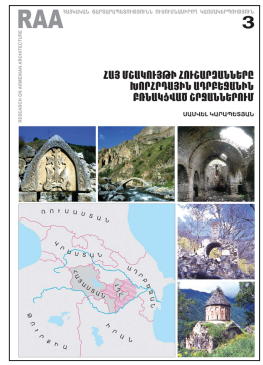
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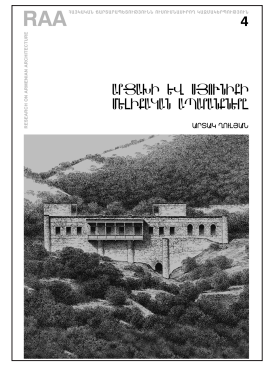
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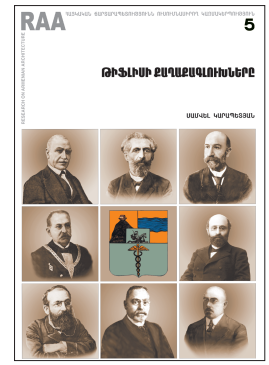
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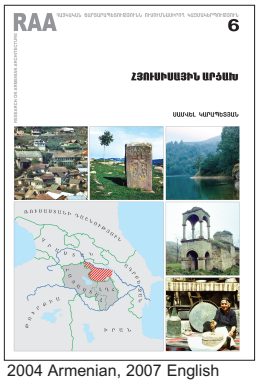
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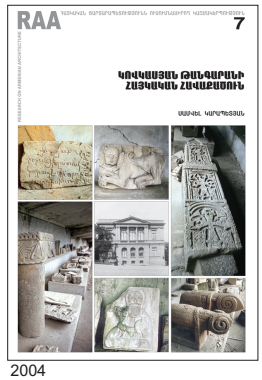
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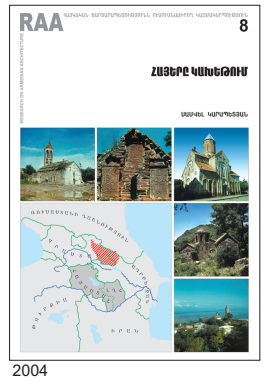
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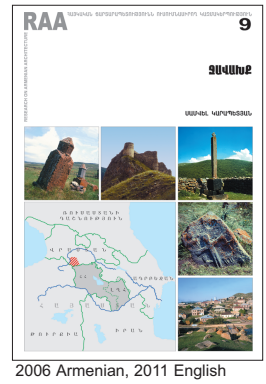
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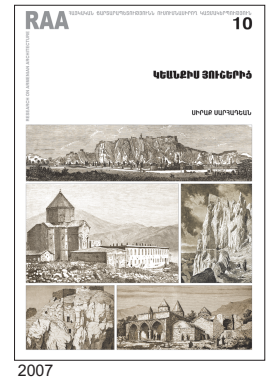
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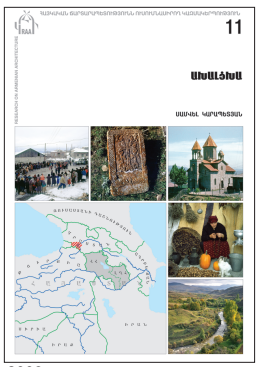
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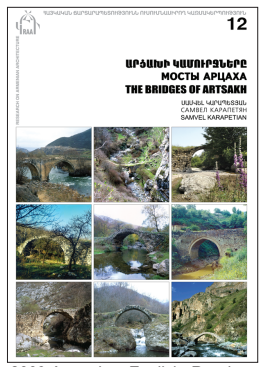
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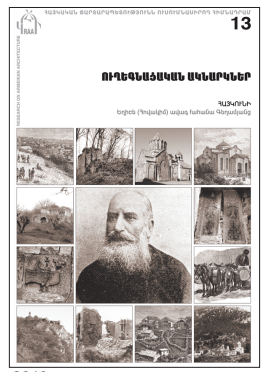
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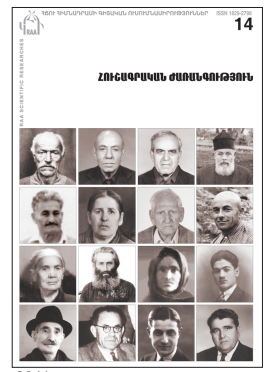
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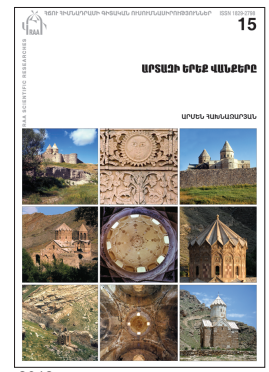
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2010



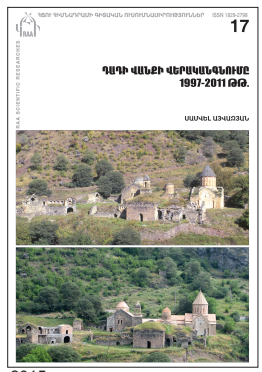
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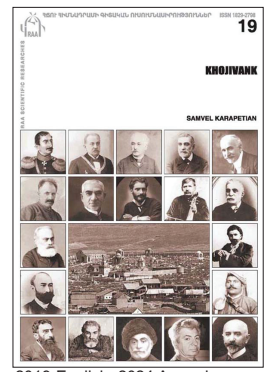
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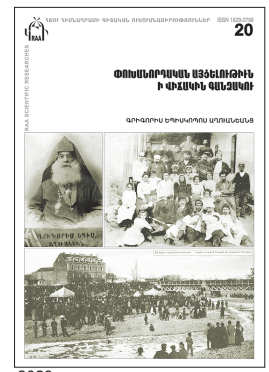
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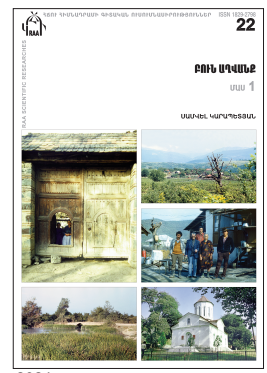
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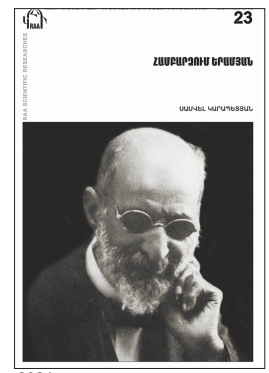




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