



**The Population of Tbilisi as Perceived by
Foreign Travellers in the Nineteenth Century**

Irine Natchkebia

Ilia State University

G. Tsérétéli Institute of Oriental Studies Researcher.

3, Acad. G. Tsetereli Str., Tbilisi, 0162, Georgia

+995599453034; irnat@hotmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0009-0005-7022-5031>

Abstract

Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, has long been a cultural and political crossroads between Europe and Asia. Following the establishment of Russian Empire control over Georgia in 1801, Tbilisi underwent a significant transformation in its political function. In this context, the information provided by Europeans regarding the ethno-religious composition of the population of Tbilisi, as observed during their visits to the city in the nineteenth century, is of interest. In order to investigate the question that has been posed, a variety of sources were consulted, including materials from the archives of the Viennese castle (France), information from travellers' notes and the Parisian press. A comprehensive comparative analysis was conducted to elucidate the ethno-religious composition, social affiliation, customary practices, and occupational distributions within the Tbilisi population. The group of European travellers comprised a diverse cohort of educated individuals.

A review of the available evidence indicates that the majority of Tbilisi's population was composed of Armenians and Georgians, with relatively small groups of Muslims, including Tatars and Persians. In the early years of the nineteenth century, Russian military officials and soldiers began to settle in Tbilisi. In the 1920s, Armenians and Germans began to emigrate, prompted by a complex array of factors including military, political, religious, and economic considerations. The accounts of travellers are predominantly constituted by information gathered in a variety of settings, including streets, markets, caravans, and receptions held by local authorities. This material illustrates how the heterogeneous population of Tbilisi, comprising Ossetians, Lezgins, Persians, Circassians, Dagestanis, French, German colonists and numerous other groups, in addition to the multiplicity of languages and costumes, has contributed to the city's distinctive cultural tapestry.

While the data collected from travellers is not entirely devoid of subjectivity, this material serves as an invaluable resource for research. In light of the aforementioned evidence, it can be posted that Tbilisi assumed a significant multicultural role throughout the nineteenth century. This was evidenced by the coexistence of representatives of diverse nationalities and religions, which was a defining feature of the city.

Keywords: Tbilisi; European travellers; ethno religious composition; Georgians; Armenians; Muslims; Germans.

Introduction

The city of Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, has historically served as a nexus of cultural and political exchange between Europe and Asia. During the nineteenth century, when the city was under the control of the Russian Empire, it underwent significant changes. In the nineteenth century, the political function of Tbilisi underwent a fundamental transformation following the establishment of Russian

Empire control over Georgia. From its earliest origins, the city has undergone substantial changes. In this context, the information preserved in the writings of foreigners travelling to Georgia for various purposes about the ethno-religious composition of the Tbilisi population is of interest, as it provides insight into the demographic makeup of the city at the time.

In order to investigate the question that has been posed, a number of different sources have been consulted. These include the published works of European travellers, articles from scientific journals and archival material from the Château de Vincennes. To conduct a comprehensive analysis of materials pertaining to the ethno-religious issue in Tbilisi, a meticulous methodology was employed. This involved a comprehensive examination of the data. The collected material was subjected to thematic classification, comparison and careful analysis with the objective of identifying the ethno-religious composition, social affiliation, customs and occupations of the population of Tbilisi. It is noteworthy that the data collected from European travellers frequently exhibits a high degree of similarity. The findings of our research are presented in the article below.

The city of Tbilisi in the 19th century. On 12 April 1802, the nobility of the Kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti was convened in the Sioni Cathedral to receive the news of the abolition of their kingdom and its incorporation into the Russian Empire. Subsequently, the kingdom was designated a governorate of Georgia, with its capital in Tbilisi. In February 1803, General Pavel Tsitsianov (Tsitsishvili), who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Georgian province (1802-1806), initiated the emigration of members of the royal family of Kartl-Kakheti to Russia. The advent of this new political situation gave rise to ethno-religious shifts within the population of Tbilisi, which was observed by foreigners visiting Georgia for a variety of reasons during the 19th century.

In his work, the Belgian colonel Rottier, who served in Georgia between 1811 and 1818, states that the Russian government relocated

members of the Erekle II family to St Petersburg and other cities in the interior of the empire for the sake of the country's peace and prosperity. The government granted them pensions in accordance with their dignity and political rank. Furthermore, the colonel references the account provided by the priest of St George's Chapel, Onisime Ioseliani, concerning the apprehension of the last queen of Kartl-Kakheti, Mariam Tsitsishvili, and her subsequent exile to Russia with her minor children, at the direction of Prince Paul Tsitsianov⁴⁹. It appears that the news of the protection of the royal honour by the Georgian Queen generated considerable interest in Europe. This section of Rottier's work was published in English in Great Britain in 1829. Subsequently, in 1845, the French historian Frédéric Lacroix incorporated this subject into the concluding chapter of his book, entitled *Russia's Policy towards the Conquered Peoples*⁵⁰.

The process of Tbilisi's development began after the end of the First Russo-Iranian War of 1804-1813, during the reign of General Yermolov (1816-1827). On the General's orders, the Turks and Persians who had been captured dismantled the ruins of the city, and engineers extended and paved the streets in separate sections. The construction of barracks began in the city. According to Sir Robert Kerr Porter, the Governor General – Yermoloff chose his residence on the gentle slope of a hill facing the river, with a beautiful view of the Caucasian mountains. This building, together with the arsenal, the hospital, the churches, and a few villas in the neighbourhood, were the only structures in or near the place that reminded one at all of Europe.

49 Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, par le Colonel Rottiers, commandeur, chevalier de différens ordres, membre de plusieurs académies, etc. (Bruxelles: Czes H. Tarlier-Libraire, 1829), 73-81.

50 *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, Etc*, N 658, 29 August, 1829; Frédéric Lacroix, *Les mystères de la Russie: Tableau politique et moral de l'Empire russe d'après les manuscrit d'un diplomate et d'un voyageur*, Paris, Pagnerre - Editeur, 1845, („Politique de la Russie envers les peuples conquis“) 441-445.

The rest was purely Asiatic, but very different from the European idea of that term – gay minarets, painted domes and gilded trelliswork⁵¹.

In his description of Tbilisi, the French poet Henri Cantel observed that the city was situated indolently on a river between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, effectively serving as a meeting point between Asia and Europe. Twenty distinct religious traditions and twenty different ethnic groups coexist in the city, creating a rich tapestry of cultural and religious diversity. The convergence of these diverse elements offers a unique opportunity for travellers to experience a fascinating blend of contrasts and traditions. In his description of Tbilisi, the French diplomat Jules Patenôtre characterised the city as a hybrid, in which the most diverse elements are juxtaposed but do not blend together. The French writer Gaston Sansrefus described Tbilisi as a notable city with a distinctive character. This can be described as a sort of vast caravanserai where Christian Europe, characterised by its politeness and civilisation, and infidel Asia, which is often perceived as undisciplined and barbaric, converge. In their writings, Pharamond Blanchard and Jean Carol correctly identified Tbilisi as the citadel of the Christian East⁵².

Since the 1820s, European travellers have distinguished between two distinct sections of Tbilisi: the old eastern city and the new Russian-European city. They have characterised it as a city of contrasts. One district may be characterised as European, exhibiting a layout and

51 Jacques-François Gamba, *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale, et particulièrement dans les provinces situées au-delà du Caucase, fait depuis 1820 jusqu'en 1824* (Paris: Chez C. J. Trouvé), II, 156-157; Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821-1822) I, 117.

52 Pharamon Blanchard, "Voyage de Tiflis à Stavropol, par le défilé du Darial (1858)". *Le Tour Du Monde*, II (1860): 114; Henri Cantel, "Le Prince Domentis, scènes de la vie géorgienne", *Revue des deux Mondes*, vol. 40 (1862), 707; Jules Patenôtre, "Un voyage d'hiver au Caucase – De la Mer-Noire à la Mer Caspienne", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, VI (1874), 88-89; Ernest Orsolle, *Le Caucase et la Perse* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1885), 47; Jean Carol, *Colonisation russe, les deux routes du Caucase. Notes d'un touriste* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1899), 25.

architectural style reminiscent of St. Petersburg or Moscow, with wide boulevards and a multitude of official institutions. In contrast, the Asian locale presented a more vibrant and dynamic visual landscape, characterised by its intricate network of narrow and winding streets. The contrast between European and Asian influences in the urban fabric of Tbilisi was a source of fascination for foreigners. Yerevan, or Theatre Square, constituted a neutral space between Eastern and Russian-European cities. Asia was situated in close proximity to this square, which served as the epicentre of Eastern commercial activity, namely the market. Since the 1880s, European travellers have divided Tbilisi into three distinct urban areas: the historic eastern section, and two European-style cities. The two European cities were designated Golovinsky Avenue, along with the adjacent thoroughfares, and Yerevan Square, and the area of the German Colony, which was incorporated into Tbilisi in 1865. The city's division reflected the diversity of its population⁵³.

The population of Tbilisi in the markets, streets and gardens. Throughout the 19th century, foreign travellers described the inhabitants of Tbilisi. The city's diverse ethno-religious composition was most evident where people were constantly on the move – in the city's streets, markets and gardens. The Tbilisi market was an essential tourist route for foreigners. Merchants from various eastern countries – Iran, Turkey, noble Bukhara, Kandahar and other cities – lived in caravanserais – a kind of hotel. Camel caravans brought Persian and Indian goods from Baku and Shemakha, and Turkish goods from Poti and Kutaisi, giving Tbilisi a special look and enlivening the environment.

There you could meet the owner of all Caucasian trade, an Armenian, often already dressed in European clothes; an always cheerful,

53 Jean de Pontevès de Sabran, *Note de voyage d'un hussard — Un raid en Asie* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1892), 59-60; Francis Drouet, *De Marseille à Moscou par le Caucase* (Rouen: Imprimerie de Espérance Cagniard, 1893), 99; Jules Leclercq, *Du Caucase aux monts Alaï, Transcaspie-Boukharie – Ferganah* (Paris: E. Plon, 1890), 6.

wine-loving Georgian face; a red-bearded Tatar in a huge Astrakhan hat; a tall, thin Persian in a long national dress with a high hat on his head; or a stylish Russian lady in new gloves and, according to the latest Paris fashion, an Armenian almost wrapped in black or white chada. A grizinka with a white veil looked impressive; Circassians in Circassian dress, beautifully dressed Ossetians, Dagestanis in turbans with shining weapons, flattering Jews, strong bodies in black felt hats, Lezgins with sharp profiles and aquiline noses, German colonists in old-fashioned suits, Balkans in traditional fustanella skirts, impoverished Greeks, Turks in baggy trousers, Tatars in sheepskin hats, Mingrelians in burkas, Russian uniforms, European civilian clothes, and so on. There were strange, narrow-eyed Tatars and Turkmen from northern Persia everywhere, greeting each other in unknown guttural languages. From sunrise to sunset, everyone was hurrying and bumping into each other in the narrow, crowded market streets. The French industrialist Alfred Koechlin-Schwartz, impressed by what he saw, wrote: "What types in this crowd! What colours! You are ready for exclamation: Give me a palette! For God's sake, a palette! But what can we do? It is all too beautiful to transfer to canvas".

According to data from 1845, 1448 out of 1826 artisans in Tbilisi were Armenians. So, it was not surprising that almost all the Georgians in Tbilisi knew Armenian, and almost all the Armenians knew Georgian, Tatar, Persian and other tribal languages. So, it was not surprising that almost all the Georgians in Tbilisi knew Armenian, and almost all the Armenians knew Georgian, Tatar, Persian and other tribal languages. Later, the British diplomat Augustus Henry Mounsey called the market the Babylon of languages. Georgian and Armenian were the dominant languages, and Tatar was the lingua franca of the Maidan. Russian slowly crept into all areas, especially petty trade and negotiations. The British diplomat Augustus Henry Mounsey called the market the Babylon of languages. Georgian and Armenian were the dominant languages, and Tatar was the lingua franca of the Maidan.

Russian slowly crept into all areas, especially petty trade and negotiations.

In Tbilisi, the key point between Europe and Asia, sometimes merchants from Paris, couriers from St Petersburg, merchants from Constantinople, English military men from India – Calcutta and Madras, Armenians from Smyrna and Yazd, Uzbeks from Bukhara arrived at the same time. After the construction of the Tbilisi-Baku railway (1883), and later (1888) to Samarkand, Tbilisi was visited by many French travellers, who passed through Tbilisi on their way to Persia and Central Asia; the different physiognomies, languages, costumes and weapons of these foreigners were a strange mixture of European customs and Oriental luxuries. According to a Russian diplomat, Ivan Golovin, Tbilisi could be compared to Prague for its general aspect and to Cairo for its concourse and active life. As posited by Belgian traveller Carla Serena, Tbilisi represents a microcosm of the Caucasus, encompassing a multitude of ethnic and cultural groups⁵⁴.

54 Jules Pichon, *Notes sur la Perse*. 1852. Service historique de l'Armée de Terre, Perse 1807-1857, 1M, n°1673, cahier 43; Floriant Gille, *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Crimée*, (Paris: Gide – Libraire-Éditeur, 1859), 262, 267; Jean-Pierre Moynet, "De Bakou à Tiflis 1859", Texte et dessins de M. Moynet. *Le Tour du monde*, Vol. I, Paris (1860), 318; Tinco Martinus Lycklama A Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Perse exécuté pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868*. I (Paris-Amsterdam: Arthus Bertrand, Libraire-Éditeur C. L. Van Langenhuisen, Libraire-Éditeur, 1872), I, 424; Géorges Bell, "Dix jours à Tiflis", *L'illustration Journal Universel*, 1868, 5 septembre, 156; Douglas W. Freshfield, *Travels in the central Caucasus and Bashan* (London: Longmans, Green, & co. 1869), 101-103; Augustus Henry Mounsey, *A Journey through the Caucasus and the Interior of Persia* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1872), 39; Max Franz Guido von Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus, in Persien und in der Asiatischen Türkei von Freiherr Max von Thielmann*, (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humboldt, 1875), 179-180; John Buchan Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia; being the narrative of a journey in the Kouban, in Gouria, Georgia, Armenia, Ossety, Imeritia, Swannety, and Mingrelia, and in the Tauric range* (London: H.S. King & Company, 1876), I, 158-159; Carla Serena, *Mon voyage; souvenirs personnels: De la Baltique à la mer Caspienne* (Paris: Maurice Dreyfous, 1880), 88; Koechlin-Schwartz, *Un touriste au Caucase: Volga, Caspienne, Caucase* (Paris: J. Hetzel & Cie, Editeurs, 1881), 265-266; Walter B. Harris, *From Batum to Baghdad Via Tiflis, Tabriz, and Persian Kurdistan*. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1896), 41; Joseph de Baye, *Tiflis: souvenirs d'une mission*. Extrait de la «Revue de géographie», dirigée par M. L. Drapeyron (Paris: Edition Nilsson, 1900), 12-14, 20, 31.

The writings of travellers contain very interesting information about the clothing, characteristics and lifestyle of the main population of Tbilisi at that time.

Georgians. In her account of Tbilisi during the years 1811-1812, Frederika von Freygang, wife of the Russian diplomat Wilhelm von Freygang, observed the significant role of the bathhouse in the lives of women in the city. As in other Eastern European countries such as Persia, Turkey, Moldavia and Wallachia, women were subjected to specific cosmetic procedures following their bathing in Tbilisi baths. She notes that a session in the bathhouse vaults, followed by an hour of sleep and a bowl of fruit, is a highly agreeable experience, even for Europeans. Despite the bathhouse's lack of aesthetic appeal, she has developed a fondness for it, at the risk of becoming somewhat Georgian. In this way, she associated the custom of Georgian or Armenian Christian women going to the bathhouse with Eastern, Muslim culture, and emphasised her belonging to Western culture. In his account, Staff Captain Maurice Kotzebue notes that men in Tbilisi would typically spend their Saturdays at the bathhouse, where they would engage in various leisure activities, including smoking tobacco, feasted on wine and cheese feasts, and playing the guitar. For women in Tbilisi, the bathhouse served as a kind of beauty parlour, while for men it functioned as a tavern.

From the outset of the 19th century, the Russian government in Tbilisi endeavoured to integrate itself into the local upper echelons of society. The writings of European travellers indicate that this process commenced with the incremental adoption of European fashion and the organisation of balls. As recorded by Frederica of Freygang, wife of General Paulucci, commander-in-chief in Georgia (1811-1812), every evening local noblewomen were received in Georgian dress, including Erekle II's daughter, Orbelian's wife Tekle, who conducted herself with the dignity befitting her status. The general attempted to encourage the Georgian ladies to adopt a more European style of dress. Freygang notes that the general expressed a desire to replace the

traditional costume with clothing more akin to that worn by women in Europe. Some Georgian ladies have already begun to experiment with this new style.

In the late 1830s, the Englishman Thomas Alcock noted: “They adopt partially European habits, and are divided in this manner, as well as geographically, between the Persians and Russians: they sit cross-legged, but not on the ground like the Persians, having a sort of sofa; they do not eat without knives and forks, but have one perhaps between two or three; a single plate also frequently serves the whole party. Their dress is not the large flowing robe of the south, nor is it the tight coat of the north; it is a medium, and a very pretty costume—a full frock coat with large open sleeves, a sash round the waist, a long waistcoat reaching nearly down to the knees, closed in front, and a Persian cap and slippers”.

During the tenure of the Russian governors of Georgia and the Viceroy of the Caucasus, representatives of the former Georgian royal family and wealthy Georgian and Armenian princely families such as the Eristavs, Tumanovs, Chavchavadze, Karganovs, Andronikovs and Orbeliani gathered around senior Russian civilian and military officials. At the balls held in the palaces of the Russian rulers, the Georgian and Armenian ladies who danced the mazurka and the quadrille were dressed to the highest Parisian standards. The chiefs of the various Tatar and Circassian tribes invited to these balls, dressed in magnificent clothes and adorned with the most expensive weapons, stood out from this social circle where the dominant language was French and the clothes were black tails.

Throughout the 19th century, they paid special attention to describing the clothing of Georgian women and men, which they associated with their ethnic identity. When describing women's clothing, many travellers focused particularly to the women's headdress – thavsakrawi (თავსაკრავი). Some travellers considered Georgian women beautiful, while others thought that such classically beautiful faces became banal when repeated in every person.

French Lieutenant Camille-Alphonse Trézel observed that the courageous Georgians shared the French notion of honour, demonstrating their capacity for engaging in a duel. The French artist Jean-Pierre Moynet compared Georgian men to the Belvedere of Apollo. Bold and chivalrous, Georgian men loved to show off, to indulge in luxury, to carry well-decorated weapons, and they had a taste for horses and Kakhetian wine. According to the English journalist Walter B. Harris, the Georgian's pleasantness and dandyish manner made him a likeable person wherever he went. However, their love of pleasure often led them to spend more than they could afford, and they fell into the hands of Armenian usurers. The Georgian nobility consisted mainly of military men, some of whom also held government posts. At various parties and balls, noble Georgian men and women appeared in European clothing, and their original and elegant national costume was gradually being supplanted by European fashion – it became good style to appear European.

European travellers have mostly given us descriptions of the upper classes of Tbilisi, with whom they had relations, but they also give us information about the lower classes. If a man spent his life outside the home, a woman took care of the family, and her greatest pleasure was to go to the bathhouse once a week with her numerous friends and relatives and take part in family celebrations. Important events in the life of a Tbilisi family were baptism, marriage and funeral⁵⁵.

55 Camille Alphonse Trézel, Notice sur la Géorgie, Château de Vincennes, Service historique de l'Armée de Terre (SHAT), 1M n°1486, Russie jusqu'en 1811, 31.05.1809, doc. 13, fol. 31-32; Freygangs, Lettres sur le Caucase et la Géorgie, suivies, d'une relation d'un voyage en Perse, en 1812 (Hambourg: Chez Treutter & Wurtz, 1816), 117-120; 151-153; Moritz Kotzebue, Reise nach Persien mit der Russisch Kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft im Jahre 1817 (Weimar: Hoffmannsche Hofbuchhandlung, 1819), 36-37; Thomas Alcock, Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece, in 1828-9 (London: E. Clarke and son, 1831), 29-31, 33-34; Dubois de Montpéroux, Voyage autour du Caucase, III, 252-253, 257-258; Moynet, Voyage de Bakou à Tiflis 1859, I, 326-327; Cantel: "Héraklés, scènes de la vie géorgienne", Revue des deux mondes, vol. 46 (1863): 451-454; Lycklama A Nijeholt, Voyage en Russie, I, 415-417, 429-430, 452; Orsolle, Le Caucase, 47-48; Pontevès de Sabran, Note de voyage d'un

Armenians. Situated on the left bank of the Kura River, the suburb of Avlabari, connected to Tbilisi by a bridge, was inhabited by poor Tatars, Kurds and a colony of Armenians who had fled mainly from the Yerevan area during the first Russian-Iranian war of 1804-1813. Colonel Rottier considered the Armenians to be the most suitable subjects for the Russian Empire.

In 1817, an English officer John Johnson provided a comprehensive account of a dinner he attended at the residence of Prince Bebutov. The guest was treated to a variety of Caucasian and Georgian dances, performed by both men and women. Johnson offered a scathing critique of the attire and cosmetics of the women in attendance, asserting that their silken garments were anachronistic and their headdresses lacked elegance. The women's footwear, characterised by high heels, was in green and blue, and their facial features, defined by arched eyebrows, were particularly striking. Furthermore, he observed that the women's demeanour was characterised by reserve and aloofness. Johnson noted that such behaviour was not uncommon among the inhabitants of a country that had long been under Muslim rule.

The most important figure in the Armenian emigration to Tbilisi was Nerses, the Patriarch of the Armenians, who escaped from the Etchmiadzin monastery in 1822. He was well aware of the Russians' plans and ensured that they were carried out. He tried to revive the national character in all parts of his diocese by spreading education. Thanks to his efforts, a large caravanserai was built in the new part of Tbilisi in 1820 and a school for Armenians in 1824.

hussard, 65, 392-393; Armand Pierre de Cholet, *Excursion en Turkestan et sur la frontière russo-afghane par le comte de Cholet* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie, 1889), 22-23; Leclercq, *Du Caucase aux monts Alaï*, 11; Jules Verne, Claudius Bombarnac, carnet d'un reporter à l'inauguration du grand Transasiatique (Paris: J. Hetze et Cie, 1892), 6, 9; Victor Dingelsted, "La population du Caucase et la ville de Tiflis". Extraits d'une communication faite à la Société de géographie de Genève le 27 janvier 1894. *Le Globe. Revue genevoise de géographie* 33 (1894), 83-85; Harris, *From Batum to Baghdad Via Tiflis*, 38-39, 49-51, 78-79; Gaston Sansrefus, *De Paris à Tiflis. Impressions de route* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, Editeur, 1897), 445.

In the 19th century, Georgia's weakness was the absence of an intermediate class between the nobility and the peasantry, which was filled by the Armenians. The Armenians formed a significant part of the population of Tbilisi, and travellers unanimously described them as calm, quiet, obedient, intelligent and persevering people. They were undoubtedly the most capable of conducting business among the inhabitants of the East. All the trade of Transcaucasia and Tbilisi was in the hands of active and enterprising Armenians. They clearly understood that money was the greatest power in modern society. Through diligence and hard work, and sometimes by dishonest means, they often amassed great fortunes. Armenians took care of their children's education, employing Swiss governesses.

A less beautiful and less lazy Armenian woman was a much better housewife than a Georgian woman, and therefore Armenians usually managed the family better. The French writer Henri Cantel writes in his story "Erekle, Scenes of Georgian Life": "Asians are only looking for a reason to be happy, Armenian weddings are celebrated with great pomp in rich families, and almost with luxury in poor ones". In this story he describes the wedding of Tamara, daughter of Pitsurkhan, a distinguished Armenian from Tbilisi, which was attended by Ivane Mirzoev - a famous Tbilisi industrialist, merchant of the first guild, titled adviser and philanthropist.

Marriage to an Armenian woman was considered a mesalliance by Georgians, but this did not prevent many impoverished and bankrupt princes from marrying the daughters of wealthy money-lenders in order to improve their financial situation. In one of his short stories, "Tavadi Domenti, Scenes of Georgian Life", Henri Cantel also touched on this subject.

Lady Mary Leonora Sheila was surprised to find that the high post of military governor of Tbilisi was held by a 'Georgian-Armenian' general, Bebutov, who had distinguished himself in the Turkish and Persian campaigns. According to them, Russia was more cosmopolitan than England. According to her, the Georgian man was bold, wild,

reckless, extravagant, and the Armenian was mean, submissive, timid, always looking for profit. Armenians held very high positions in the civil and military administration of Russia, as well as in industry, trade and finance⁵⁶.

Muslims. Jules Leclerc noted that Tbilisi had been under Persian rule for a long time and that the old part of Tbilisi retained a distinctly Persian appearance. The Persians there could be recognised by their long, dark clothes and black conical hats. In addition to merchants, many Persians from western and northern Iran came to the Caucasus each year in search of fortune. Every year at least 50,000 subjects of the Shah of Iran came from the west and north of Iran to seek their fortune in Transcaucasia. Among them were real craftsmen, especially excellent stonemasons.

According to Frederica von Freygang, Jafar Qoli Khan of Sheki accepted Russian citizenship and held the rank of lieutenant general. He resided in Tbilisi and attempted to adopt European rules, while simultaneously maintaining Persian traditions. According to Charles Belanger, in 1825 the ambassador of Fath Ali Shah, the Beglarbegi of Tabriz, Fath Ali Khan, was in Tbilisi to ratify the Treaty of Gulistan,

⁵⁶ John Johnson, *A Journey from India to England*, 243-244; Charles Paulus Bélanger, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par le Nord de l'Europe, les provinces du Caucase, la Géorgie, l'Arménie et la Perse, suivi de détails topographiques, statistiques et autres sur le Pégou, les îles de Java, de Maurice et de Bourbon, sur le cap de Bonne-Espérance et Sainte Hélène pendant les années 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828 et 1829* (Paris: Authus Nertrand, Libraire-éditeur, 1838), II, 103-105; Lady Mary Leonora Sheil, *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia. – With Notes on Russia, Koords, Toorkomans, Nestorians, Khiva, and Persia. With Illustrations* (London: John Murray, 1856), 61-63, 65; Cantel, “Le Prince Doment”, vol. 40, 707-732; Lycklama A Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie*, I, 413-414, 423, 430-431; Bell, “Dix jours a Tiflis”, 155-157; Thielmann, *Le Caucase, la Perse*, 80; Koechlin-Schwartz, *Un touriste au Caucase*, 269-270; Orsolle, *Le Caucase*, 48-49; Napoléon Ney, *En Asie Central à la vapeur: La mer Noire, la Crimée, Le Caucase, la mer Caspienne, les chemin de Fer Transcaspien, l'Asie centrale, Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand. Notes de voyage* (Paris: Garnier Frères - Editeurs, 1888), 441; Dingelstedt, “La population du Caucase”, 76, 86; Carle Lefèvre-Pontalis, *De Tiflis à Persépolis: Ériwan, Tabriz, Téhéran, Ispahan* (Paris: Librairie, Plon, 1894), 9-10; Albert Ponset, *Volga-Caucase-Géorgie. Notes de voyage* (Montpellier: Imprimerie Gustave Firmin et Montane, 1899), 14; Joseph de Baye, *Tiflis: souvenirs d'une mission. Extrait de la «Revue de géographie»* (Paris: Edition Nilsson, 1900), 12.

prepared by General Yermolov. The Khan was well acquainted with European customs, having lived for a long time in St Petersburg, where his father held the rank of colonel in the Russian army until his death. From 1828, Persians who emigrated from the province of Yerevan were Russian subjects and volunteered to serve in the Russian army and administration. Their knowledge of Oriental languages made them useful helpers in the Asian provinces of the empire. Most of them often reached important positions. They were, however, excellent gentlemen, many of whom spoke excellent French. In 1848, Bahman Mirza, the fourth son of Abbas Mirza, who had emigrated from Persia for political reasons, was resident in Tbilisi.

The Turkic-speaking Muslim population, known to travellers as the Tatars, were a poor, intelligent and hardworking people. They worked as porters, using heavily loaded camels and mules, which were the traditional means of transport for trade between the Caspian Sea and Iran. Some Tatars were involved in agriculture and livestock breeding, which was of great importance to Tbilisi, as they supplied the city with almost all its wheat, butter, eggs and other necessities.

According to Armstrong (1828), during the Second Russo-Ottoman War the pashas of Kars and Bayazid were kept in Tbilisi on their word of honour. Between 1,600 and 1,800 Turkish prisoners were held in and around the city and given various tasks. Bodenstedt's most revered literary companions were the Circassian singers and theologians of Tbilisi, including the poet Mirza Shafi Vazeh, known as the 'Sage' of Ganja, the sage Mirza Yusuf of Baghdad and the scholar Abbas Kuli Khan.

Baron de Baye provides information on Abdoussalam-Akhounde-Zadé, the spiritual leader or Sheikh al-Islam of the Transcaucasian Shiites. He was appointed to this position by the ruler of the Caucasus. The Sheikh al-Islam exerted considerable influence over his co-believers. Among the numerous Muslims in Tbilisi, there were also Sunnis, whose spiritual leader was titled Mufti of Transcaucasia. Mosques for both the Shiites and Sunnis were located in Tbilisi. Baron de Baye

posited that the more civilised Tatars could act as a counterweight to the imperial government against other local elements whose power sought to dominate.

George Bell noted that Tbilisi was a city in the Caucasus where conflict and violence were rare, despite their almost constant presence in such close proximity, especially when different religions and cultures were involved⁵⁷.

Catholics. The Catholic population. Gamba and Bélanger observed that in Tbilisi, a city with a diverse population of individuals from numerous nationalities residing under the governance of Russia, which was renowned for its tolerance, there existed a remarkable assortment of religious edifices. The religiously diverse population of Tbilisi included adherents of Greek, Catholic, Muslim and Armenian faiths, who were able to practise their respective religions without restriction. In a manifesto issued by Alexander I on 12 September 1801, it was stated that “every inhabitant of Kartl-Kakheti will retain his rank, religion and personal security”.

In the initial decades of the 19th century, Philippe da Forano, the Prefect of the Missions in Georgia, resided in Tbilisi for a period exceeding twenty years. He was well versed in the characteristics of the Georgian and Armenian populations, which contributed to the growth of the Catholic community. In 1825, the number of Catholics of both sexes in Tbilisi was 600. By 1834, this figure had decreased to 341. Nicholas I adopted a negative stance towards the activities of the Capuchins. According to Countess Suzanne, an Orthodox woman who had converted to Catholicism prior to her demise, she had previously

⁵⁷ Freygangs, *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Géorgie*, 143-149; Bélanger, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, II, 49, 95-96, 100-105, 121; Friedrich von Bodenstedt, *Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient* (Berlin: Verlag der Deckerschen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei, 1850), I, 245-247, 297; Friedrich von Bodenstedt, *Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient* (Berlin: Verlag der Dederschen Gebeiiinen Ober – Hofbuchdruckerei, 1854), II, 149-151; Lycklama A Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie*, I, 350-351, 440; Bell: 1. “Dix jours a Tiflis”, 157; 2. “Dix jours a Tiflis”, 171-172; Orsolle, *Le Caucase*, 48-49; Leclercq, *Du Caucase aux monts Alaï*, 9; Lefèvre-Pontalis, *De Tiflis à Persépolis*, 10; Baye, *Tiflis*, 23, 26.

renounced her religion and died a Catholic. Despite the clandestine nature of the endeavour, the authorities eventually became aware of it and informed the priest that any further involvement would result in his deportation to Siberia. The Russian government sought to establish a single religion, and those who resisted this were regarded as adversaries. On 1 January 1845, Friedrich Bodenstedt himself observed the removal of the elderly Capuchin monks from Tbilisi by the Cossacks and the police⁵⁸.

German colony and other Europeans. The text is incomplete. In the period between 1817 and 1820, General Yermolov, acting on the orders of Alexander I, established eight colonies of Württemberg Germans in the province of Tiflis. The Germans were provided with land, housing, livestock and seeds. It was anticipated that their presence would have a beneficial impact on the local agricultural sector and on the development of various handicrafts. Furthermore, it was hoped that the people of the East would share the secrets of European culture through interaction with them. In 1830, there were 35 families residing in the German colony of New Tiflis (Neu-Tiflis), located near Tbilisi. By 1840, this number had increased to 40 families. The one-storey wooden houses and gardens of the settlers exhibited a frugality and respectability that characterised the people. Additionally, they were proficient craftspeople, deriving sufficient income from their work to support the pastor and the Lutheran church at their own expense. The activities of the colony were overseen by a family council, which collaborated with the governor of the province to ensure the collective interests of all members were upheld. The Germans who emigrated from Württemberg retained their language and customs,

58 Rottiers, *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*, 105; Gamba, *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale*, 168-169; Bélanger, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, II, 31; Dubois de Montpéroux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, III, 243, 236, 261; Le Comte de Suzannet, "Les Provinces du Caucase sous la domination russe. La Géorgie, le Daghestan, le littoral de la mer Caspienne et les rives du Kouban", *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 4/26 (1841): 92-93; Friedrich von Bodenstedt, *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen* (Berlin: Verlag der Dederschen Geheimen Ober- und Hofbuchdruckerei, 1855), I, 20-21.

intermarried and spoke almost no Russian. Their homes were clean and comfortable. They traded food products in the Tbilisi markets, had a brewery, and there were skilled craftsmen among them. Friedrich Bodenstedt likened the German colonists to the "broad-shouldered Argonauts of the Neckar", who settled in the vineyards on the fertile banks of the Mtkvari, maintaining their language and customs. In Avlabari, on the Sands, the German Salzman had a residence of notable aesthetic appeal and comfort, which was utilised to receive travellers. In 1864, 1,100 individuals of German nationality were recorded as residing in the city of Tbilisi. By 1876, this figure had risen to 2,000, and by 1899, it had reached 2,000 persons.

The European colony of Tiflis was predominantly French. One of the initial settlers in Tbilisi was a former soldier of Napoleon's army, Jean-Paul, who was a prominent figure in Tbilisi. He was captured in 1812 and subsequently accompanied the Russian general to Tbilisi as a cook. Following the general's departure, he remained in the city and operated a highly successful restaurant for several years. In the 1830s, a French colony was established in Tbilisi by individuals from France who were invited by Jacques-François Gamba, the inaugural French consul in the city. The objective of their arrival was to facilitate the development of the extensive Imereti region, which had been bestowed upon Gamba by the Russian government. The majority of these individuals were engaged in commercial activities, primarily the silk trade, jewellery, hairdressing and sewing. A notable proportion were milliners. The Russian nobility resident in Tiflis had access to a diverse array of French fashion items, which were gaining traction among the Georgian and Armenian aristocracies. The French and Swiss who settled in the recently developed area of Tbilisi were involved in the production of wigs and confectionery for the aristocracy. Among the largest and most prominent commercial establishments in this newly established city were those belonging to Messrs. Delsolmes, a prominent trading company specialising in novelties. The three principal hotels were managed by French nationals. The Hotel d'Europe,

situated on Place d'Erivan, was owned by Barberon; the Hotel du Caucase was managed by Delalande; and the Hotel de Londres was owned by the Lecomtes. On 14 July 1889, a young French student, Auguste Lacoïn de Vilmorin, attended a convivial banquet in the Barberon's gardens, where more than sixty individuals had assembled. In commemoration of this festivity, the military orchestra performed the Russian anthem "God Save the King", the French "Marseillaise", and, in recognition of the Belgian attendees, the Belgian national anthem "Brabançonne". By 1858, the French colony in Tbilisi had reached a population of over 150 individuals. By 1864, this number had increased to 200, and by 1876, it had grown to 300. By 1899, the population had reached 400.

In Erivan Square, part of Galavinsky Boulevard and some of the streets leading to it, there were numerous shops and even some large stores run by Europeans, Russians, French, Germans, Italians and Greeks. Some were very well stocked and decorated with all the luxuries of great European cities. Mr. Glaser, a luxury ironmonger, an excellent Wurtemberger, and the great German bookshop. There were also music shops very well stocked with pianos, which were rented as in Europe.

The works of European travellers contain information about notable Europeans who visited Tbilisi during the nineteenth century. Joseph Camberlain, a Belgian national, resided in Tbilisi from 1816 to 1821 and was subsequently appointed as an architect in Georgia. The Swiss merchant Castellasi was granted a ten-year privilege by the Russian government to improve silk yarn. In 1848, the French magician Rudolf was invited to Tbilisi, and in 1888, the famous Foss, a German Hercules with incredible strength, performed in the Tbilisi Circus. The curator of the Tbilisi Museum of Natural History was the renowned German scientist Gustav Radde. The Italian artist Ludwig Longo resided in Tbilisi for an extended period.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Kotzebue, *Reise nach Persien*, 41; Lyall, *Travels in Russia*, I, 507-508; Gamba, *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale*, 51, 56, 154; Jean-Charles de Besse, *Voyage en Crimée au Caucase*,

Russians in Tbilisi. The Russians in Tbilisi consisted of families from the military and civil bureaucracy, as well as soldiers' families. The significantly lower cost of living in Tbilisi compared to St. Petersburg and Moscow prompted many officials of various ranks to request transfers to the city.

On the occasion of St. George's Day in the autumn of 1856, the French artist Pharamond Blanchard was present at a banquet held by the Viceroy of the Caucasus, Alexander Baryatinsky, in the palace garden. All those who had been awarded the Order of St. George were in attendance, numbering approximately seven hundred individuals, comprising generals, officers, and soldiers. Given the frequency of military operations in the Caucasus, this figure was not unexpected.

Viktor Dingelstedt noted that Russia had succeeded in Russifying the upper classes of the former Georgian capital, at least in appearance. Moreover, Russians themselves formed a significant part of this new class. In contrast to the English system, the Russian bureaucracy employed Tbilisi natives at all levels of civil and military service. This situation was described as an infusion of new blood into the Russian bureaucracy, with the implication that the most capable individuals were more useful to the government because of their superior understanding of local idioms and customs. In his view, it was up to Russia

en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure, et à Constantinople, en 1829-1830 (Paris: Delaunau-Libraire, 1838), 376; Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux: 1. Voyage autour du Caucase, III, 238; 2. Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée. Avec un Atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique etc. (Paris: Librairie de Gide, 1840), IV, 223-224; Bodenstedt, Die Völker des Kaukasus, I, 115-117; Ida Pfeiffer, Eine Frauenfahrt um die Welt: Reise von Wien nach Brasilien, Chili, Otahaiti, China, Oft – Indien, Persien und Kleinasien von Ida Pfeiffer, geb. Neyer, Verfasserin der „Reise einer Wienerin ins heilige Land“ und der „Reise nach Island und Scandinavien“. Wien: Verlag von Carl Gerold, Pfeiffer, 1850), 265-266; Ivan Golovin, The Caucasus (London: Trübner & Co., 1854), 92; Lycklama A Nijeholt, Voyage en Russie, I, 350-351, 440; Thielmann, Streifzüge im Kaukasus, 179; Telfer, The Crimea and Transcaucasia, I, 146, 154; Orsolle, Le Caucase, 48-49; Pontevès de Sabran, Note de voyage d'un hussard, 390; Auguste Lecoin de Vilmorin, De Paris a Bombay par la Perse. Illustrations d'après les photographies rapportées par auteur (Paris: Libraire de Firmin-Didot et Cie imprimeurs de l'Institut, 1895), 26.

to assimilate the disparate nations of the Caucasus, a process so successfully undertaken by ancient Rome in its conquered provinces 60.

Holidays in Tbilisi. Travelers give us information about religious holidays. As observed by Pharamond Blanchard (1857), Jean-Pierre Moynet (1859) and Tinco Martinus Lycklama à Nijeholt (1866), on the day of the consecration of the water, individuals attired in a plethora of Asian costumes populated Mtkvari River Beach. This was a stark contrast to the black robes of the clergy and the brilliant uniforms of civil and military officials. Upon the sounding of the noon bell from Metekhi Castle, a cannon was fired, prompting an immediate rush into the icy stream by the populace, some of whom were mounted on horses. A variety of vessels were used to collect the baptismal water. The people of Tbilisi believed that this cleansing ritual would remove their sins. This scene is depicted in Blanchard's painting.

As reported by Jean-Pierre Moynet, the entire city of Tbilisi was engaged in celebratory activities in observance of Christmas. From the streets, from windows, and from balconies of residential buildings, men discharged rifles; such incidents occasionally resulted in casualties, yet they were largely ignored.

In accordance with the account provided by Lycklama à Nijehol, the streets of Tbilisi were particularly vibrant on the day of St. Nino's name. Nino was a common name among Georgian women belonging to noble families, and carts would traverse the city at considerable speed, bearing men who sought to extend their greetings to acquaintances named Nino on this occasion.

In their respective accounts, Pharamond Blanchard (19.04.1857), French writer Henri Cantel (15.04.1860), Count Jean de Pontevès de Sabran (6.05.1888), French scientist Madame Belloni Chantre (13.04.1890) and English journalist Walter B. Harris (14.04.1895) describe the Easter celebration as observed in different years in Tbilisi.

60 Blanchard, "Voyage de Tiflis...", I-II. Paris. 1860, 115. Lycklama A Nijeholt, Voyage en Russie, I, 447-448; Ney, En Asie Central à la vapeur, 441; Dingelstedt, "La population du Caucase", 86.

As evidenced by the reports, the table was set in each residence on Easter. In a gesture of equality before God, in full view of all, the men kissed their servants three times and uttered the sacred phrase, "Christ is risen!" In response, they affirmed, "Indeed risen!" Blanchard posits that individuals bestowed one another with red eggs crafted from a variety of materials, including wood, porcelain, and other more costly substances. In the words of Henri Cantel, Easter was a "holiday of holidays" for Eastern Christians, particularly for Georgians. This assertion is supported by Cantel's own account in his narrative, "Ereklé, Scenes of Georgian Life."

In his publication, Count Jean de Pontevès de Sabran noted that women and girls from Tbilisi were attired in white garments adorned with lace and ribbons on Easter. Meanwhile, civil servants and military personnel were clothed in their respective parade uniforms. Individuals attired in festal garb held a customary pie or a symbolic lamb in their hands. In accordance with the information provided by Count Jean de Pontevès de Sabran, following an exquisite lunch at Mr. Richard's, which brought together the most prominent French individuals in Tiflis around a lavish Easter cake, he proceeded to attend the solemn Easter reception held at the palace of Prince Dondoukow-Korsakow, the governor of the Caucasus. Additionally, he observed that individuals who engaged in the act of kissing in the morning were subsequently involved in a conflict that resulted in the splitting of skulls at night; at ten o'clock in the morning, the valet of the French consul, Eichen, was observed to be covered in blood. According to traveller, this was not an uncommon phenomenon among the Caucasian population, since men were armed every day, as was the case in France during the mobilisation.

In accordance with Belloni Chantre's account, the Tbilisi market was replete with lambs and sheep, an assortment of breads and pies of varying dimensions and shapes, and other assorted items on Easter. In the Armenian households, the table was lavishly set with an array of meats and fish. Walter Harris attended the Easter service at the Sioni

Temple. In his subsequent written account, he noted: “Easter Sunday was High Holiday; every man, woman, and child in their best clothes, intent upon pleasure and enjoyment, and the public gardens were thronged, while military bands made music. What an echoing and re-echoing of congratulations! what a bowing to the revered ikons at the church doors and street corners! and, as the day progressed, what a number of men who had enjoyed themselves a little too much! But there was no fighting, no roughness, and the police are lax upon this great feast, and, as long as no fighting takes place, do not interfere. The streets are full of hurrying droshkies, with their burdens of officers in uniforms and ladies, paying their visits of congratulation, or driving to the palace. Ay! Easter Sunday in Tiflis is a sight to be seen, and never have I witnessed, in spite of its various nationalities, a better-behaved crowd—though sometimes far from sober—than thronged the streets and gardens on this feast-day”⁶¹.

Conclusion

As a result of the conducted research, it became obvious that if at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries the permanent population of Tbilisi consisted of Georgians, Armenians and a small number of Muslims, then in the first years of the 19th century Russian military officials and soldiers joined the population of Tbilisi. In the 1820s Armenians and Germans began to emigrate for military, political, religious and economic reasons. Apart from them, several hundred Persians, several dozen Greeks, French and Jews lived in Tbilisi. The people of different nationalities whom foreign travellers encountered in the streets, markets and caravanserais of Tbilisi should therefore be

61 Blanchard: 1. “Prazdnik sviatova crestchenia. Yordann. 6/18 Janvier à Tiflis et Sainte-Petersbourg. Sainte-Petersbourg 7/19 janvier, 1858”. *L'illustration, Journal Universel*, N 782, XXXI, 1858: 115; 2. “Voyage de Tiflis”, II (1860): 116; Moynet, *Voyage de Bakou à Tiflis* 1859, I, 327; Cantel, “Héraklés, scènes de la vie géorgienne”, vol. 46 (1863): 451; Lycklama A Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase*, I, 429; Pontevès de Sabran, *Note de voyage d'un hussard*, 392-393; Belloni Chantre, *A travers l'Arménie russe. Ouvrage contenant 151 illustrations gravées d'après les photographies prises par M. Chantre et 2 cartes* (Paris, Imprimerie Hachette, 1893), 4; Harris, *From Batum to Baghdad Via Tiflis*, 49-51.

distinguished from the permanent residents. For Russian military and civilian officials, staying in Tbilisi was a long-term migration; for merchants of various nationalities, craftsmen from different parts of the Caucasus, Iran and Turkey, and those who came to look for work, it was a seasonal migration; for those who came to trade in the markets from the outskirts of Tbilisi, it was a daily or pendular migration.

The population of Tbilisi was comprised of individuals belonging to four principal religious communities. These were: the Orthodox Church, which included Georgians, Russians, and Greeks; the Armenian Apostolic Church, which was followed by Armenians; the Muslim faith, which was practised by Tatars and Persians; the Catholic Church, which was adhered to by Italians, French, and a small contingent of Georgians and Armenians; and the Protestant Württemberg Church, which constituted a distinct community.

For numerous travellers, Tbilisi represented a locale where the Eastern and Western hemispheres intersected, not merely in a geographical sense, but also in terms of cultural and political divergences. The accounts of travellers about Georgia, regardless of the length of their stay, are not entirely immune to a certain degree of subjectivity. Nevertheless, this is precisely the information about Georgia that the educated European reader received. The significant corpus of materials collected by these travellers constitutes an invaluable resource for research, and this is why their writings are so important. In light of the above evidence, it became evident that Tbilisi played a significant multicultural role throughout the nineteenth century. This was evidenced by the coexistence of representatives of different nationalities and religions, which constituted an integral aspect of the city's identity.

References:

Alcock, Thomas. (1831). *Travels in Russia, Persia, Turkey and Greece, in 1828-9*. London: E. Clarke and son.

- Baye, Joseph de. (1900). Tiflis: souvenirs d'une mission. Extrait de la «Revue de géographie», dirigée par M. L. Drapeyron. Paris: Edition Nilsson.
- Bélangier, Charles Paulus. (1838). Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par le Nord de l'Europe, les provinces du Caucase, la Géorgie, l'Arménie et la Perse, suivi de détails topographiques, statistiques et autres sur le Pégou, les îles de Java, de Maurice et de Bourbon, sur le cap de Bonne-Espérance et Sainte Hélène pendant les années 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828 et 1829. II. Paris: Authus Nertrand, Libraire-éditeur.
- Bell, Géorges. (1868). "Dix jours a Tiflis", L'Illustration Journal Universel, pp. 155-157, 171-172.
- Besse, Jean-Charles de. (1838). Voyage en Crimée au Cavcasse, en Géorgie, en Arménie, en Asie-Mineure, et à Constantinople, en 1829 - 1830. Paris: Delaunau-Libraire.
- Blanchard, Pharamond. (1860). "Voyage de Tiflis à Stavropol, par le défilé du Darial (1858)". Le Tour Du Monde. II. pp. 317-336.
- Blanchard, Pharamond. (1857). "La Géorgie. – Tiflis". L'Illustration, Journal Universel. N 765, XXX, pp. 275-278.
- Blanchard, Pharamond. (1858). "Prazdnik sviatova crestchenia. Yordann. 6/18 Janvier à Tiflis et Sainte-Petersbourg. Sainte-Petersbourg 7/19 janvier, 1858". L'Illustration, Journal Universel. N 782, XXXI, 115-118.
- Bodenstedt, Friedrich von. (1850). Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient. I. Berlin: Verlag der Deckerschen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei.
- Bodenstedt, Friedrich von. (1854). Tausend und Ein Tag im Orient. II. Berlin: Verlag der Dederschen Gebeiinen Ober – Hofbuchdruckerei.
- Bodenstedt, Friedrich von. (1855). Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpf gegen die Russen. Berlin: Verlag der Dederschen Geheimen Ober – Hofbuchdruckerei.

- Cantel, Henri. (1862). "Le Prince Domenti, scènes de la vie géorgienne", *Revue des deux Mondes*. Vol. 40, pp. 707-732.
- Cantel, Henri. (1863). "Héraklés, scènes de la vie géorgienne", *Revue des deux mondes*. Vol. 46, pp. 451-274.
- Carol, Jean. (1899). *Colonisation russe, les deux routes du Caucase. Notes d'un touriste*. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie.
- Chantre, Belloni. (1893). *A travers l'Arménie russe. Ouvrage contenant 151 illustrations gravées d'après les photographies prises par M. Chantre et 2 cartes*. Paris: Imprimerie Hachette.
- Cholet, Armand Pierre de. (1889). *Excursion en Turkestan et sur la frontière russo-afghane par le comte de Cholet*. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.
- Dingelsted, Victor. (1894). "La population du Caucase et la ville de Tiflis". Extraits d'une communication faite à la Société de géographie de Genève le 27 janvier 1894. *Le Globe. Revue genevoise de géographie*. Vol. 33, pp. 61-89.
- Dubois de Montpéreux, Frédéric. (1839). *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée. Avec un Atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique etc. III*. Paris: Librairie de Gide.
- Dubois de Montpéreux, Frédéric. (1840). *Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tscherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée. Avec un Atlas géographique, pittoresque, archéologique, géologique etc. IV*. Paris: Librairie de Gide.
- Drouet, Francis. (1893). *De Marseille à Moscou par le Caucase*. Rouen: Imprimerie de Espérance Cagniard.
- Freshfield, Douglas W. (1869). *Travels in the central Caucasus and Bashan*. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.
- Freygangs. (1816). *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Géorgie, suivies, d'une relation d'un voyage en Perse, en 1812*. Hambourg: Chez Treutter & Wurtz.

- Gamba, Jacques-François. (1826). Voyage dans la Russie méridionale, et particulièrement dans les provinces situées au-delà du Caucase, fait depuis 1820 jusqu'en 1824. II. Paris: Chez C. J. Trouvé.
- Gille, Floriant. (1859). Lettres sur le Caucase et la Crimée. Paris: Gide – Libraire-Éditeur.
- Golovin, Ivan. (1854). The Caucasus. London: Trübner & Co.
- Harris, Walter B. (1896). From Batum to Baghdad Via Tiflis, Tabriz, and Persian Kurdistan. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons.
- Johnson, John. (1818). Lieutenant Colonel. A Journey from India to England, Through Persia, Georgia, Russia, Poland, and Prussia, in the Year 1817. By Lieut. Col. John Johnson, C.B. London: printed for Longman, hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.
- Ker Porter, Sir Robert. (1821-1822). Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820. I, London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.
- Koechlin-Schwartz, Alfred. (1881). Un touriste au Caucase: Volga, Caspienne, Caucase. Paris: J. Hetzel & Cie, Editeurs.
- Kotzebue, Moritz. (1819). Reise nach Persien mit der Russisch Kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft im Jahre 1817. Weimar: Hoffmannische Hofbuchhandlung.
- Lacroix, Frédéric. (1845). Les mystères de la Russie: Tableau politique et moral de l'Empire russe d'après les manuscrit d'un diplomate et d'un voyageur. Paris: Pagnerre - Editeur.
- Leclercq, Jules. (1890). Du Caucase aux monts Alaï, Transcaspié-Boukharie – Ferganah. Paris: E. Plon.
- Lecoin de Vilmorin, Auguste. (1895). De Paris a Bombay par la Perse. Illustrations d'après les photographies rapportées par auteur. Paris: Libraire de Firmin-Didot et Cie imprimeurs de l'Institut.
- Lefèvre-Pontalis, Carle. (1894). De Tiflis à Persépolis: Érivan, Tabriz, Téhéran, Ispahan. Paris: Librairie, Plon.

- Lycklama A Nijeholt, Tinco Martinus. (1872). Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Perse exécuté pendant les années 1866, 1867 et 1868. I. Paris-Amsterdam: Arthus Bertrand, Libraire-Editeur C. L. Van Langenhuysen, Libraire-Editeur.
- Mounsey, Augustus Henry. (1872). A Journey through the Caucasus and the Interior of Persia. London: Smith, Elder & Co.
- Moynet, Jean-Pierre. (1860). "De Bakou à Tiflis 1859". Texte et dessins de M. Moynet. Le Tour du monde, Vol. I, Paris: pp. 305-336.
- Ney, Napoléon. (1888). En Asie Central à la vapeur: La mer Noire, la Crimée, Le Caucase, la mer Caspienne, les chemin de Fer Transcaspien, l'Asie centrale, Merv, Bokhara, Samarkand. Notes de voyage. Paris: Garnier Frères - Editeurs.
- Orsolle, Ernest (1885). Le Caucase et la Perse. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie.,
- Patenôtre, Jules. (1874). "Un voyage d'hiver au Caucase – De la Mer-Noire à la Mer Caspienne", Revue des Deux Mondes, VI, pp. 509-535.
- Pfeiffer, Ida. (1850). Eine Frauenfahrt um die Welt: Reise von Wien nach Brasilien, Chili, Otahaiti, China, Oft – Indien, Persien und Kleinasien von Ida Pfeiffer, geb. Neyer, Verfasserin der „Reise einer Wienerin ins heilige Land" und der „Reise nach Island und Scandinavien“. Wien: Verlag von Carl Gerold.
- Pichon, Jules, Lieutenant. (1840). Notes sur la Perse. 1852. Service historique de l'Armée de Terre, Perse 1807-1857, 1M, n°1673, cahier 43.
- Ponset, Albert. (1899). Volga-Caucase-Géorgie. Notes de voyage. Montpellier: Imprimerie Gustave Firmin et Montane.
- Pontevès de Sabran, Jean de. (1892). Note de voyage d'un hussard — Un raid en Asie. Paris: Calmann Lévy.
- Rottiers, (1829). Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople, par le Colonel Rottiers, commandeur, chevalier de différens ordres, membre de plusieurs académies, etc. Bruxelles: Czes H. Tarlier-Libraire.

- Sansrefus, Gaston. (1897). *De Paris à Tiflis. Impressions de route*. Paris, Ernest Flammarion, Editeur,
- Serena, Carla. (1880). *Mon voyage; souvenirs personnels: De la Baltique à la mer Caspienne*. Paris: Maurice Dreyfous.
- Sheil, Lady Mary Leonora. (1856). *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia. – With Notes on Russia, Koords, Toorkomans, Nestorians, Khiva, and Persia. With Illustrations*. London: John Murray.
- Suzannet, le Comte de. (1841). “Les Provinces du Caucase sous la domination russe. La Géorgie, le Daghestan, le littoral de la mer Caspienne et les rives du Kouban”, *Revue des Deux Mondes*. 4/26, pp. 50-106.
- The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, Etc. (1829). N 658, 29 August.
- Telfer, John Buchan. (1876). *The Crimea and Transcaucasia; being the narrative of a journey in the Kouban, in Gouria, Georgia, Armenia, Ossety, Imeritia, Swannety, and Mingrelia, and in the Tauric range*. I. London: H.S. King & Company.
- Thielmann, Max Franz Guido von. (1875). *Streifzüge im Kaukasus, in Persien und in der Asiatischen Türkei von Freiherr Max von Thielmann*. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humbolt.
- Trézel, Camille Alphonse. *Notice sur la Géorgie, Château de Vincennes, Service historique de l'Armée de Terre, 1M n°1486, Russie jusqu'en 1811, 31.05.1809, doc. 13*.
- Verne, Jules. (1892) *Claudius Bombarnac, carnet d'un reporter à l'inauguration du grand Transasiatique*. Paris: J. Hetze et Cie.