

ილია ვადაშორია

გაზეტი `ივერია`- და
საქართველოს ისტორიის
ზოგიერთი პრობლემა
(1886 - 1893 წწ)

თბილისი
2014

naSromi exeba gazeT `iveria-_{Si} 1886_ 1893 wl ebSi gamoqveynebul im saistorio wyaroebisa da sabibl iografio weril ebs, roml ebic feodal uri saqarTvel os istoriis umniSvnel ovanesi sakiTxebis dazustebas isaxavda miznad. im periodis qarTul i istoriul i azrovnebis fonzea warmoceni i ama Tu im mniSvnel ovani movl enebisadmi qarTvel swavl ul Tamidgoma, Sefasebis done da is didi roli, rasac isini farTo sazogadoebaSi saqarTvel os istoriis popul arizaciis mizniT akeTebden.

naSromSi gansakuTrebul i adgil i eTmoba qarTvel mkvl evarTa im damsaxurebas, romel ic gaswies weril obiTi Zegl ebis Segroveba_ gadarCenis saqmeSi. wina pl anzea wamoweul i `qarTi is cxovreba-_{sTan} mimarTebsi qarTvel istorikosTa gansakuTrebul i interesis ganmapirobebel i mizezebi. am umniSvnel ovanesi saistorio Zegl is mecnierul i Rirebul ebisa da wyaroTmcodeobiTi mniSvnel obis Sesaxeb maT mier gamoTqmul i Tval sazrisi. naSromSi didi adgil i aqvs daTmobil i saqarTvel os istoriis gamyal bebel Ta winaaRmdeg qarTvel istorikosTa da publ icistTa damokidebul ebas. dasbuTebul ia, rom Cveni warsul is arakeTil mosurneTa mier gamoTqmul i yovel i mcdari debul eba, qarTvel i istorikosebisa da publ icistebis mxridan, qarTul da ucxour wyaroebze dayrdnobiT gakeTebul i argumentirebul i daskvnebit iqna uaryofil i. naSromSi dasabuTebul ia, rom qarTvel gmir mefeTa da polititur moRvaweTa Sesaxeb gazeT `iveria-_{Si} gamoqveynebul i istoriul i saxis weril ebi, qarTvel xal xSi erovnul _ ganmaTavisuflebel i moZraobis ideis, erovnul saxel mwi foebriobis aRdgenis, qveynisadmi Tavdadebisa da erovnul i TviTmyofadobis gadarCenisatvis brZol is propagandas emsaxureboda.

redaqtori SoTa vadaWkoria
istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori

recenzenti beJan xorava
istoriis doqtori, profesori

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Tbil isi
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Sesaval o

XIX saukunis meore naxevris qarTul presas udi desi mniSvnel oba aqvs im periodis ara mar to sazogadoe- brivi azris, aramed saqarTvel os pol itikuri da so- cial uri istoriis Seswavl isaTvis. mxedvel obaSi maqvs is mdidari da mraval ferovani masal a, romel ic saqa- rTvel os feodal uri istoriis Sesaxeb im periodis presis furcl ebze qveyndeboda. am SemTxvevaSi yura- dRebas mxol od gazeT `iveriaze- gavamaxvil ebT.

rogorc cnobil ia, yovel kvireul ma gazeTma `iveri- am- gamosvl a 1877 wl is 3 martidan daiwyo. xol o 1879_ 1885 wl ebSi Jurnal is saxiT gamodi oda. 1886 wl idan ki yovel dRiuri gazeTis saxiT 1906 wl amde gamodi oda. unda aRini Snos, rom CvenTvis saintereso saki TxTan da- kavSi rebiT gazeTma uamravi masal a gamoaqveyna, am ma- sal ebis Seswavl isa da misi SerCevs safuZvel ze Sevec- adeT gveCvenebina Tu rogor da ra formebsi hpova asa- xva gaz. `iveriis- furcl ebze saqarTvel os feodal uri istoriis ama Tu im mniSvnel ovanma saki Txebma.

gaz. `iveriaSi- gamoqveynebul i saqarTvel os istori- isadmi miZRvnil i masal ebi ZiriTadad Cveni eris wars- ul is wina pl anze wamovevis fonze, qarTvel erSi erovnu- l i TviTSegnebis amaRl ebas isaxavda mi znad. am faqts im etapze Taviseburi gamarTl eba hqonda im Tval sazr- isiT, rom carizmis kol oniuri reJimis periodSi, ruseT- is xel isufal Ta saxel mwifoebri vi pol itikuri kursi, ararusi erebis cnobierebidan erovnul i TviTSegnebis amoSanTvas, warsul is daviwyebas da mis gadagvarebas isaxavda mi znad. am mavnebl uri Canafiqrisadmi dapi ris- pirebis erT_ erT saSual ebad, qarTvel ma istorikoseb- ma da sazogado moRvaweebma, saqarTvel os istoriis um- niSvnel ovanesi movl enebis win wamoveva da farTo pop- ul arizacia pirvel xarixovan amocanad mi i Cni es. am Se- mTxvevaSi maT mizans qarTvel erSi patriotul i su-

IliskveTebis aRdgena_ ganmtkicebis propaganda warmoad-
genda. im periodis presis furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i
istoriul i xasiaTis publikaciebi ara mar to ide-
ol ogiuri datvirTvis xasiaTs atarebda, aramed igi
erovnul i istoriul i mecnierebis ganviTarebasac uwy-
obda xel s. saqarTvel os istoriis Sesaxeb Jurnal _
gazeTebSi gamoqveynebul i Sromebis didi nawil i gazeT
`iveriaSi- ibeWdeboda. es publ ikaciebi, srul ad Tu ara,
zogad warmodgenas mainc iZl eva XIX saukunis meore
naxebris qarTul i historiografiis ganviTarebis don-
is Sesaxeb.

cnobil ia, rom XIX saukunis meore naxebris istori-
kosTa Tavdadebul i da uangaro SromiT, qarTul i ist-
oriografia bevri SesaniSnavi naSromiT gamdidrda. did
Rvawl ad unda CaiTval os iseTi Sromatevadi da rTu-
l i saqmis Sesrul eba, rogoricaa saqarTvel os istori-
isaTvis saTanado masal ebis Segroveba_ gamomzeureba,
wyaroTmcodneobiTi bazis gafarToeba, riTac im peri-
odSi moRvawe qarTvel ma istorikosebma fasdaudebel i
Rvawl i dasdes qarTul i istoriul i mecnierebis Se-
mdgom ganviTarebas. am did saSvil iSvil o saqmes Ta-
vdadebiT emsaxurebodnen: m.brose, d.baqraZe, a.cagarel i,
m.j anaSvil i, a.xaxanaSvil i, s.baraTaSvil i, n.urbnel i, TJo-
rdania, al .garsevaniSvil i da sxvebi, roml ebic Tavian-
Ti istoriul i Tu wyaroTmcodneobiTi xasiaTis Sromebs
umeteswil ad gazeT `iveriis- furcl ebze aqveynebdnen.
swored aman ganapiroba, rom Cveni naSromis ZiriTad
dasayrden wyarod am etapze mxol od gazeTi `iveria-
avirciet. masSi gamoqveynebul i `qarTl is cxovrebis-
ama Tu im nusxidan motanil i zogierTi citirebebi,
sandoobis Tval sazrisiT SeZl ebisdagvarad syauxCiS-
vil is redaqqiT gamocemul `qarTl is cxovrebis- te-
qstTan SevadareT.

rac Seexeba samecniero l itereturas, XIX saukunis
meore naxebris qarTul i historiografiis sakiTxebs
special uri gamokvl eva miuZRvnes: ar.baramiZem,¹ a.io-

sel ianma,² g.nadiraZem,³ r.dodaSvil ma,⁴ S.xanTaZem,⁵ m.dumbaZem,⁶ g.anCabaZem,⁷ S.badriZem⁸, m.l orTqifaniZe⁹ da sxvebma. Tumca dasaxel ebul i avtorebi im periodis qarTul i istoriografiis miRwevebs ZiriTadad qarTvel istorikosTa im Sromebis mixedviT ganxil aven, roml ebic monografi ebisa da broSurebis saxiT Tavis droze iqna gamoqveynebul i. zemoaRniSnul i avtorebi-sagan gansxvavebiT, gaz. `iveriaSi - dabeWdil masal ebs TavianT SromebSi iyenebs q.nadiraZe,¹⁰ d.mal azonia.¹¹ da sxva.

naSromis werisas yuradReba ZiriTadad XIX saukunis meore naxevris qarTvel istorikosTa im Sromebze SevaCereT, roml ebic zemoTaRniSnul avtorebs an sru- l ebiT ara aqvs ganxil ul i, an zogadad exebian mas. wi- namdebare naSromis mizans, swored aseTi masal ebis wina pl anze wamoweva da misi anal izi wadmoadgens.

\$ 1. gazeTi `iveria- saqarTvel os istoriis wyaroebisa da gamoqveynebul i samecniero I literaturis Sesaxeb

gazeTi `iveria- mraVal i wl is ganmavl obaSi iyo qarTu-
l i Jurnal istikis fl agmani, erovnul _ demokratiul i
intel igenciis miswrafebaTa mTavari gamomxatvel i.
i.WavWavaZem Tavis `pirmsos,- miznad Tavidanve dausaxa
qarTvel i xal xis erovnul i da kul turul i TviTmyo-
fadobisaTvis brZol a. erovnul i TviTsemecnebis erT
_erT saukeTeso saSual ebad eris warsul is mecni-
erul _kritikul i Seswavl a, axl ad gamovl enil i xel -
nawerebisa da istoriul i dokumentebis gamomzeu-
reba_popul arizacia iqna miCneul i. dasaxul i miznis
gansaxorciel ebl ad, gazeTsa da mis redaqtors, Tanadgo-
ma qarTvel ma istorikosebma da kul turis istoriis
mkvl evarebma aRmouCines. amas xel i imanac Seuwyo, rom
XIX saukunis meore naxevris qarTul i historiografia
aRmasvl as gani cdi da da misi warmomadgenl ebi pirvel -
wyaroebisadmi gansakuTrebul kritikul damokidebul e-
bas iCendnen. movl enaTa axsnis pragmatul ma midgomam
da mi zez_Sedegobrivi meTodis gamoyenebam, saqarTvel -
os istoriis (kul turul i, ekonomikuri, pol itikuri da
eTnikuri) sakiTxebis axl eburad gaSuqebis SesaZl ebl ob-
is pirobebi Seamzada.¹ aRni Snul probl ematikaZe Seqmn-
il i produqcia, gazeT `iveriis- furcl ebze qveyndebo-
da da eris erTianobis ganmtkicebas emsaxureboda.

gazeT `iveria- _Si gamoqveynebul i masal ebi, Tematuri
Tval sazrisiT ramdenime j gufad SeiZl eba daiyos. erT
_erT maTgans, saqarTvel os istoriis pirvel wyaroebi
warmoadgens. marTal ia, gazeT `iveria- _s 1886_1893 wl ebSi
TiTqmis arcerTi matiane ar gamoqveynebia, magram `bibl -
iografiis- rubrikiT dabeWdil weril ebSi, axl adaRm-
oceni i matianis mokl e Sinaarssa da daxasiaTebas iZl e-
odnen. qarTul i saistorio wyaroebis Sesaxeb aseTi

bibliografiul i rubrika gazeTma 1887 wl idan Sem-oiRo. gansakuTrebul yuradRebas T.Jordani as weril i `axl ad aRmoCenil i gel aTis matiane- iqcevs. igi saz-ogadoebas amcnobs, rom am mniSvnel ovani xel naweris aRmoCena (1829 wel i) da l itografiul i wesiT misi pi-rvel i gamocema, m.broses saxel s ukavSi rdeboda. T.Jo-rdani as azriT, es matiane vaxuSti batoni Svil s gamouye- nebia Tavis Txzul ebaSi. amis damadasturebl ad igi erTmaneTs udarebs `gel aTis matiane- _sa da vaxuSti batoni Svil is `aRwera samefosa saqarTvel oisa- _s im gverdebs, sadac misi msgavseba aSkarad dasturdeba. T.Jo- rdani as mtkicebiT, matiane genaTel i beris mier unda yofil iyo Sedgenil i, romel ic droTa ganmavl obaSi sxva pirebs gaugrZel ebia.²

gal asani as mtkicebiT, aRni Snul i matianesadmi `gel a- Tis matianis- saxel wodebis mikuTvneba, gaumarTI ebe- l i unda iyos, Tundac im motiviT, rom igi mxol od ge- naTel i beris mier ki ar aris Sedgenil i, aramed sxva- dasxva pirebis miera a `ganvrcobil i.-³ am Txzul ebis parizSi dacul xel nawers e.Tayai Svil ima `parizis qr- onika- uwoda. saqarTvel os istoriis mkvl evarTa azriT, `parizis qronika- _s ZiriTadi wyaroebia: 1).gel aTuri qronikoni, 2).mesxuri matiane, 3).ioseb Tbil el is istor- iul i poema `di dmouravi ani, - 4).rostom mefis 1648 wl is guj ari, 5).grigol dodorqel is `cxovreba da wameba qe- Tevan dedofl isa, - 6).farsadan gorgij aniZis Txzul ebis ukanasknel i nawil i.⁴ aRni Snul i faqtebis gaTval iswine- bi dan gamomdi nare, gal asani am gamoTqva mosazreba imi s Sesaxeb, rom `parizis qronika, - anu `gel aTis matiane- sxvadasxva Txzul ebebze damyarebul naSroms warmoad- gens da pi robi Tad XVIII saukunis 30_iani wl ebiT unda daTariRdes.⁵

gazeT `iveriis- furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i masal eb- is Seswavl a adasturebs, rom saqarTvel os istoriis wyaroebisadmi, kerZod, `qarTI is cxovrebisadmi- XIX saukunis meore naxebris qarTvel i istorikosebi gan-

sakuTrebul interess iCendnen. yovel i axal i xel naweris aRmoCenas didi sixarul iT xvdebodnen da amis Sesaxeb Sesabamis informacias gazeT `iveriis- furc- l ebze beWdavdnen. gazeT `iveriaSi- dabeWdil weril Si `axal i wyaro saqarTvel os istoriisa,-⁶ T.Jordania sazogadoebas mesxiSvil is mier 1888 wel s werakiTxvis gamavr cel ebel i sazogadoebisadmi gadacemul xel nawerebSi tyavze daweril `moqcevai qarTI isai-_s d.ba- qraZis mier gamovl enil i xel naweris Sesaxeb auwyebda. am istoriul i wyarosadmi T.Jordanias mier gamoTqmul i Tval sazrisidan gansakuTrebul yuradRebas wmin- da ninos Rvawl isa da cxovrebis srul i aRweris ori reda qciis arsebobis mtkicebis faqti iqcevs. igi orive reda qciis mokl e daxasiaTebas iZl eva. misi azrit, `mo- qcevai qarTI isais- aRniSnul i reda qcia, manamde cno- bil reda qciaTa Soris yvel aze Zvel i iyo, ris gamoc, igi T.Jordanias si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, manamde arse- bul xel nawerTa Soris `ufro SesaniSnavi da Zvirfa- sia.- rogorc weril idan irkveva, T.Jordania, aRniSnu- l i reda qciebidan gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas pirv- el xel nawers aniWebda, radgan igi Sei cavda `di dZal friad saWiro masal as Cveni uZvel esi istoriisas.-⁷ amis dasasabuTebi ad `moqcevai qarTI isais- is adgi- l ebi moyavda, sadac qarTvel mefeTa sia iyo CamoTvl - il i. imave matianeze dayrdnobiT, gaerTianebul i saqa- rTvel os pirvel mefed azos asaxel ebs. misi mtkice- biT, al eqsandre makedonel is mier saqarTvel os dapyr- obis Semdeg, mefed mas azo dausvams. am SemTxvevaSi mk- vl evarma ukritikod mi iRo da sarwmunod mi iCnia `moq- cevai qarTI isaiSi- aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi moTxrobil i ambebi. qarTul istoriografiaSi dRes garkveul ia, rom `moqcevai qarTI isaiSi- dacul i cno- ba, al eqsandre makedonel isgan qarTI is dal aSqvris Sesaxeb, l egendarul ia da wyaroebiT ar dasturdeba.⁸ Tu al eqsandre makedonel s qarTI Si ar ul aSqria da igi ar daupyria, bunebrivia, gaerTianebul i saqarTvel -

os mefed azos ver dasvamda.

am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT gr.qavTaria Semdegs ambobs; `gavr cel ebul i versia, TiTqos azoni mcxeTaSi al eqsandre makedonel s Semohyva, mcdaria, magram diadoxosebis xanaSi misi aq damkvidreba real obad unda CaiTval os. azoni mcxeTaSi movida al eqsandres gardacval ebis Semdeg, Cveni varaudiT I izimaxes I asqarTan erTad. isic dasaSvebia, rom I aSqrobis iniciatorad azoni vigul isxmOT, radgan I izimaxesTan dadebul i SeTanxmeba mas sabrZanebl is gafarTovebas hpirdeboda.-⁹

xel naweris aRwerisas T.Jordania dasZens, rom `moqcevai qarTI isai~_s xel naweri daviT reqtori_ mesxiSvil is bibl ioTekis ganZs warmoadgenda da 1141 erTeul s Seicavda. iqve gul istkivil iT SeniSnavda, rom daviT reqtoris xel nawerebis es bibl ioTekas, misi gardacval ebidan 60 wl is Semdeg ganadgurebul a da mi sgan mxol od 60 xel naweri wigni darCeniI a. aseTive bedi ergo mcxeTis xel nawerTa bibl ioTekas. (7000 xel naweri wigni dan, 6800 ganadgur da). am faqtebis winwamowevi T, T.Jordani as erovnul i xel nawerebis movl a_patronobis aucil ebl obisaken qarTvel i sazogadoebis yuradRebis gadatana sur da. weril is avtoris mier `moqcevai qarTI isai~_dan saqarTvel os warsul is Sesaxeb motanil i cnobebi da misi anal izi iTval iswinebda: 1).saqarTvel os uZvel esi istoriisadmi sazogadoebis yuradRebis mi pyrobas da arsebul i wyaros gacnobas, 2).Cveni eris warsul is, misi kul turis istoriisadmi uZvel esi xel nawerebis mniSvnel obis winwamowevas.

gazeT `iveriaSi- dabeWdil i masal ebidan gansakuTrebul yuradRebas n.urbnel is mier gamoqveynebul i giorgi brwiyinval is samarTI is wigni `Zegl isdeba- iqcevs. aRniSnul dokumentis n.urbnel i Sesabamis ganmar tebas urTavs da amIT ufro sainteresos xdis Tavis weril s. igi `Zegl isdebas- maRal Sefasebas aZl evs, ganixil avs dokumentSi naxseneb samoxel eo terminebs da ganmar tavs maT

funqciebs. zog SemTxvevaSi n.urbnel i ar eTanxmeba `Zeg-
l isdebaSi~ ama Tu im samoxel eo aparatis Sesaxeb mot-
anil cnobas da misadmi aSkarad kritikul damokide-
bul ebas iCens. ase magal iTad: `sakuTrad ixsenieba
mouravi, romel ic darbazs arafers `hkadrebs-, magram
imis brZanebas ki asrul ebs, _ mouravTa pirTa mamul i
eboZoso-. `maSasadame, _ wers n.urbnel i _ mouravi brZa-
nebis aRmsrul ebel ia da amas garda, Tu mar to Zegl is-
debas davemyarebi T, mouravs ara ekiTxeboda ra, magram
es ase rodi iyo, mouravs mra val gvari moval eoba epyra
da amisdagvarad mouravobac sxvadasxvanairi iyo.-¹⁰

n.urbnel i mokl ed aRwers Tu ra funfciebi hqonda
mouravs dakisrebul i, rogori iyo misi statusi da
dasZens, rom `sxva mouravebis msgavsad- mTiul eTis
mouravebic mar to darbazis brZanebis aRmsrul ebel i
ar unda yofil iyo da vgoneb, arc iyo....¹¹

SesaZl oa n.urbnel i sworad msj el obs, magram aq
gasaTval iswinebel ia is faqti, rom mTaSi did ufl e-
bebs xevisberebi fl obdnen. aqedan gamomdinare, mTaSi
mouravis saxel o SezRudul i ufl ebi T rom yofil iyo
warmodgenil i savsebi T Sesazl ebel ia. radenadac im
droisaTvis mTisa da baris mosaxl eoba wes_ Cveul ebe-
bis Tval sazrisi T erTmaneTis gan sxvavdeboda, swored
am faqtorma aiZul a giorgi mexuTe, mTis mosaxl eobi-
saTvis cal ke kanonTa krebul i Seeqmna. yovel ive zem-
oTqmul idan gamomdinare, mTisa da baris mouravTa uf-
l ebrivi Tanasworobis daSveba SeuZl ebl ad unda iqn-
as miCneul i. yuradsaRebia is faqti, rom aRniSnul i
wyarosadmi n.urbnel i metad kritikul damokidebul e-
bas amJRavnebs da misadmi brma ndobas ar iCens, rac
mkvl evaris dadebi T Tvisabad unda CaiTval os. Tavis
vr cel weril s n.urbnel i `Zegl isdebis" teqstis dabe-
Wdvi T asrul ebs. aRniSnul i dokumenti SemdgomSi
i.dol izem gamosca.¹²

gaz. `iveriaSi- saqarTvel os istoriis weril obiTi
wyaroebis Sesaxeb dabeWdil i publ ikaciebidan gan-

sakuTrebul yuradRebas m.j anaSvil is weril i iqcevs. igi sazogadoebas vaxuSti batoniSvil is Txzul ebis `istoria georgisa anu saqarTvel oisa, qmnil i vaxuStis mier bagratovani sa Zisa vaxtang mefisa- axl ad aRmoCenil xel nawers acnobs."¹³ es xel naweri sof. iyal - ToSi vasil mayaSvil is sakuTreba yofil a. m.j anaSvil i gvaZl evs xel naweris srul aRweril obas. Tematuri principiT CamoTvl is TiToeul i kabadonis dasaxel ebas. misive TqmiT, 262 kabadonze aRniSnul i yofil a, rom xel naweri 1817 wel s spiridon iaSvil s gadauweria. m.j anaSvil ma es xel naweri sxva variantebTan Sedara da gaarkvia, rom 1817 wel s gadaweril i zemoaRniSnul i teqstis umetesi nawil i, rogorc saistorio, iseve geografiul i, d.baqraZis redaqtorobiT gamocemul vaxuSti batoniSvil is `saqarTvel os istoriaSi,- da m.br-oses mier 1842 wel s `qarTl is cxovrebi- meore tomSi _`ReoRrafia saqarTvel oisi- saxel wodebiT iyo Setanil i. m.j anaSvil is dakvirvebiT, dabeWdil sa da mayaSvil iseul xel nawers Siris mTel i rigi gansxvavebebi SeiniSneboda. `dabeWdil Si _weri igi _ara Tu mraval i si tyebi damaxinj ebul ad aris moyvanil i, aramed mraval - gan gamotovebul ia mTel i frazebi da periodebi.-¹⁴

1898 wel s gaz. `iveriis- #203_ Si daibeWda dRiuris formiT Sedgenil i ioane qarTvel ovis xel naweri. teqstis Seswavl idan irkveva, rom mis Sedgenas ioane qarTvel ovi etapobrivad ki ar axdenda, aramed misi dawera 1801 wl is 10 seqtembers dauwyia¹⁵ da 1801 wl is 3 oqtombers dausrul ebia.¹⁶ swored amtom aris, rom mTel i rigi istoriul i movl enebis daTariRebasTan dakavSirebiT igi Secdomebs uSvebs. ase magal iTad; ganj a_ yarabaxze erekl es 1787 wl is l aSqrobis Sesaxeb Semdegnairad wers: `Tvesa seqtembersa wel sa amas Sina (igul isxmeba 1787 wel i i.v) warvida mefe irakl i j arita qarTl isa, kaxeTisa da ruseTisa ganj asa da yarabaxsa zeda.-¹⁷ dReisaTvis istoriografiaSi dadgenil ia, rom aRniSnul i l aSqroba 1787 wl is ivnisis bol os ganx-

orciel da,¹⁸ xol o 1787 wl is seqtemberSi rusTajari saqarTvel odan iyo gasul i. ase, rom seqtemberSi rusTajariT erekl e ganj a_ yarabaxze ver gail aSqrebda. igive xel nawerSi ioane qarTvel ovi aRa mahmad_ xanis saqarTvel oze l aSqrobas da Tbil isis aRebas aRwers da am konkretul SemTxvevaSi momxdar faqts sworad aTariRebs. ioane qarTvel ovis imave dRiurebSi gansakuTrebul i yuradRebaa gamaxvil ebul i rusTajaris saqarTvel oSi meored Semosvl asTan dakavSirebiT da igi 1895 wl is noembriTaa daTariRebul i.¹⁹ am faqts, m.dumbaZe da z.cqitiSvil i azusteben da mas 1895 wl is dekemberiT aTariReben.²⁰

ivane qarTvel ovis es xel naweri imiTaca saintereso da mniSvnel ovani, rom masSi sasaxl is karis cxovrebis detal ebia aRweril i. ramdenadac igi uSual od sasaxl is karze msaxurobda da samefo oj axis cxovrebis Sesaxeb saintereso cnobebis fl obda, mis mier motani- l i faqtebi sandod unda miviCni oT. mi Tumetes, es xel - naweri dakveTiT ar iwereboda da samefo karis mxri- dan mis avtorze raime saxis zewol a ar xdeboda. aqedan gamomdinare, masSi moTxrobi l i ambebi nakl ebad miker- Zoebul ad unda miviCni oT. aRni Snul i xel naweri imi- Tac aris mniSvnel ovani, rom masSi piradi cxovrebis saintereso faqtebis paral el urad, qarTvel ovi sa- qarTvel os istoriis Sesaxebac sakmaod bevrs saubrobs. am xel nawerSi Tanabrad aris warmodgenil i im perio- dis rogorc saqarTvel os pol itikuri istoriis mniSv- nel ovani movl enebi, ise avtoris piradul i gancdebi da is social uri siduxWire, romel Siac saqarTvel o aRa mahmad_ xanis Semosevis Semdeg Cavarda. am mxriv, xel naweri Cveni qveynis istoriis Sesaxeb uaRresad sayuradRebi wyaros warmoadgens.

XIX saukunis meore naxevris qarTul i historiogra- fia, saqarTvel os istoriis Seswavl isas, ZiriTadad `qarTl is cxovrebis- ama Tu im xel nawerebs eyrdno- boda, magram, paral el urad ucxouri wyaroebis moZie-

basa da mis gamomzeurebasac cdil obda. am did saS-
vil iSvil o saqmeSi qarTvel istorikosebs mxarSi gaze-
Ti `iveria- edga. igi periodul ad im axl ad aRmoCeni-
l i wyaroebis mokl e anotirebul monacemebs aqveyneb-
da, roml ebic saqarTvel os warsul is Sesaxeb cnobebs
Seicavda. amis erT_erT ni muSs, gazeT `iveria- _Si 1886
wel s `axl i ambavis- rubrikiT dabeWdil i vrcel i in-
formacia warmoadgens. masSi somexi istorikosis mal a-
qia beris Txzul ebis Sesaxebaa saubari. gazeTi mkiTx-
vel sazogadoebas auwyebda, rom aRniSnul i naSromi,
monRol Ta periodis saqarTvel os istoriis umniSvnel o-
vanes movl enebTan dakavSirebiT sayuradRebo cnobebs
Seicavda da masSi motanil i faqtebis umetesoba `qarT-
l is cxovrebi- _aTvis ucnobi iyo. aseTi preambul is
Semdeg, qarTvel i istorikosebis misamarTiT garkveu-
l i miniSneba iyo gakeTebul i: `saintereso iqneba, Tuki
vinme xel s mokidebs mis qarTul ad gadmoTargmnas.-²¹
aseTi saxis informaciis miuxedavad, Txzul ebis sax-
el wodeba gaurkvevel i rCeboda, radgan zemoaRniSnul
rubrikaSi amis Sesaxeb araferi iyo naTqvami. dRei-
saTvis cnobil ia, rom mal aqia beri, igive grigol akane-
l ia, avtori `moisarTa tomis istoriisa.~ misi qarTul -
ad Targmna da stamburi wesiT gamocema mxol od XX
saukunis 60_ian wl ebSi gaxda SesaZl ebel i.²²

gazeTma `iveria- _m 1886 wel s, mkiTxvel sazogadoebas
romael i istorikosis tacituis (56_117 w.w.) Sesaxeb
miawoda cnoba.²³ Cveni wel TarRicxvis I_II saukuneebis
istoriis Seswavl isaTvis aRniSnul i istorikosis naS-
romis mniSvnel oba srul ad rom warmoeCina, gazeTma
mokl ed, magram sainteresod warmoadgina saqarTv-
el o_somxeTisa da romis urTierTobis istoriis amsa-
xvel i masal ebi. miuxedavad amisa, tacituis `anal eb-
is- da `istoriebis- qarTul ad Targmna im etapze ver
moxerxda. igi mxol od 1973 wel s iqna ganxorciel ebu-
l i.²⁴

wminda istoriul i wyaroebis farTo propagandasTan

erTad, gazeTi `iveria- saqarTvel os istoriasTan dakav-
 Sirebul i ucnobi masal ebis amokrefas, ukidures SemTx-
 vevaSi masze miTiTebas axdenda. amis nimuSad, peterbur-
 gis arqeol ogiuri sazogadoebis aRmosavl eTmcodneo-
 bis ganyofil ebis sxdomaze, s.vesel evskis mier wakiTx-
 ul i moxsenebis (1889 w. 23 marti) Sesaxeb dabeWdil i
 informaciul i xasiaTis cnoba gamodgeba.²⁵ imave ga-
 zeTidan irkveva, rom am moxsenebas iranSi myofi rusi
 el Cebis 1597_1599 wl ebis aRweril oba dadebia safuZv-
 l ad. gazeTisave cnobiT, momxsenebel s dawvril ebiT
 ganuxil avs qarTvel i mefis al eqsandres mier spar-
 seTSi gagzavnil i el Cebisa da misi Svil ebis, qal aq
 yazvinSi rus el CebTan Sexvedris faqtebi. misive mo-
 nacemebiT, qarTvel el Cs Sah_abasisaTvis mSvenieri
 qarTvel i qal i mihyavda, romel ic Sahma col ad SeirTo,
 xol o mefis vaJiSvil i daasaCuqra. igive gazeTi mkiTx-
 vel s auwyebda, rom n.vesel evskis moxseneba aRmosav-
 l eTmcodneobis Sromebis 21_e tomSi dai beWdeboda.
 gazeTi arafers ambobda, Tu romel al eqsandresTan
 gvqonda saqme da ra erqva Sahisadmi gagzavnil Svil ebs.
 arc imis Sesaxebaa miniSnebul i, romel i Sahi iyo ira-
 nis mmarTvel i. sakiTxis gasarkvevad, imave gazeTis mier
 sael Co aRweril obis daTariReba (1598_1599 wl ebi)
 gamodgeba. am monacemebis mixedvit rusi el Cebi, kaxe-
 Tis mefe al eqsandre II_is (1474_1506 w.w.) mier wargzav-
 nil qarTvel el Cebis Sexvedria, romel sac Sah_abas
 pirvel Tan (1487_1529 w.w.) al eqsandre meoris qal iS-
 vil i (saxeli ucnobia) da vaJi konstantine (igi im
 dros 12 wl is iyo) mihyavda.

aRniSnul i masal ebis safuZvel ze SeiZl eba davaskvnaT,
 rom 1886_1889 wl ebSi, gazeTi `iveria- saqarTvel os is-
 toriis weril obiT wyaroebis zogadi monacemebis
 gamoqveynebiTac ki, sasargebl o saqmes akeTebda. igi
 saqarTvel os istoriis mkvl evarT, dasaxel ebul i wyaroe-
 bis arsebobaze mi aniSnebda da mis mecniერul mimოqce-

vaSi Semotanis SesaZl ebl obas qmni da.

gazeT `iveriaSi- gamoqveynebul i masal ebis Seswav-
l am gviCvena, rom qarTvel da ucxoel memati aneTa Tx-
zul ebebis popul arizaciis paral el urad, igi qarTu-
l i saistorio sabuTebis gamoqveynebas, mis propagan-
das gansakuTrebul yuradRebas uTmobda. amis magal -
iTis, saqarTvel os mefis bagrat didis (1510_1565) mier
Sergil aZeTa saxel ze gacemul i sasixl o sigel i warm-
oadgens.²⁶ am dokumentis teqstTan erTad, gazeTma TviT
sigel is aRweril obac dabeWda. gazeTis monacemebiT,
sigel i tyavze iyo daweril i. misi sigrZe `al ab naxe-
ari,- xol o sigane `mesamedi al abi- iyo (erTi al abi
udris 68.8 sm-s.) sigel is Tavze mefe bagratis suraTi
yofil a gamosaxul i warweriT `mefeT_mefe bagrat di di.-
sigel is bol oSi mefis xel mowera iyo darTul i. aseTi
saxis aRweril obis Semdeg, TviT sigel is srul i teqs-
ti iyo dabeWdil i. aRniSnul i dokumentidan irkveva:
1).sigel i gaucia bagrat mefes didad erTgul i aznau-
ris j akva da misi Svil is maTe Sergil aZeebis saxel ze,
maTive Txovnis Semdeg. `dagveaj nes da vismineT aj a da
moxseneba maTni: Seviwyal eT da ubozeT sasixl o sigel
i.- 2).sigel Si mocemul ia Sergil aZeTa oj axisadmi xel -
Seuxebl oba. Tuki vinme Seecdeboda Sergil aZeTa oj axis
wevrebi sadmi odnavi Seuracyofa mi eyenebi na, Seuracmy-
ofel i Sesabamisi gadasaxadiT isj eboda. iqve, CamoTvl -
il i iyo sxvadasxva danaSaul ebebTan dakavSirebiT daw-
sebul i gadasaxadTa raodenoba. 3).sigel i garkveul war-
modgenas gvi qmni s im periodis saqarTvel oSi aznaurTa
wodebis ufl ebebsa da moval eobebze. 4).sigel i dan vge-
bul obT, rom misi gacemis momentisaTvis bagrati mTe-
l i dasavl eT saqarTvel os mefe yofil a. amis Sesaxeb
dokumentSi vkiTxul obT: `daudeviT ese Cvengan boZe-
bul i sigel i da misi wesiTa da rigiTa gasinj eT da
daaurvebdiT aw qristes mier kurTxeul o epi skoposno
qarTl isa da afxazeTisa, kaTal i kosno samcxes mawyver-
el no da aTormetno meudabnoeno, Wyondi del o, cai Se-

l o, moqvel o da bediel o Tqvenca asre daumtkiceT, sxvani karisa Cvenisa Tavadno erisTavTa erisTavo da svanTa erisTavo da mandaturTuxuceso, dadiano, amir spasal aro, guriel o Tqvenca asre daumtkiceT sxvano karisa Cvenisa vezirno amiraT amirao, amil axoro cixisaTa karisa Cvenisasa.⁻²⁷

rac Seexeba sigel is gacemis konkretul dros, imave dokumentis bol oSi vkiTxul obT: `daiwera boZeba da sigel i ese xel iTa karisa Cvenisa divni saTa Tvesa mar tsa ocdacxrasa da mTvaresa moqcevasa ocdaxuTsa indiqtonsa. mefobisa Cvenisasa qronikonsa oras ormocdaorsa.⁻²⁸ e.i.1554 wel s. Tu gaviTval iswinebT im garemoebas, rom imerTa mefe bagrat mesame 1510_1565 wl ebSi mefobda, maSin aRniSnul i sigel i, romel sac bagrati didis saxel iTaa moxseniebul i, bagrat III mier unda iyos gacemul i. rogorc gazeTidan irkveva, es sigel i sof. obuj Si (zugdidis mazra) Sengel aiebis oj axSi aRmouCeni aT. oj axis wevrebs gazeTis reda qci isaTvis mi uwodebia asl i da ara dedani. amasTan dakavSirebiT, gazeTi `iveria- dasZenda: `kargi iqneba b_nma Sengel aiebma es sigel i gaasinjinon Cveni istoriisa da arxeol ogiis mcodne kacebs an droebiT mainc gamougzavnon werakiTxvis gamavrcel ebel sazogadoebas.⁻²⁹ ramdenadac, sigel i araspecial istis mier iqna gadaweril i, gamoricxul i araa, saqme gvqondes gadaweris dros daSvebul SecdomebTan. rac Seexeba TviT sigel is beds, igi gaurkvevelli a. yovel SemTxvevaSi gazeTi `iveria-_s Semdeg, misi publ ikacia sigel guj rebis arcerT gamocemaSi ar moxvedril a.

gazeT `iveriis- furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i saistorio sabuTebidan, Cveni yuradReba `Jurul ianT gvaris guj arma- miiqcia.³⁰ aRniSnul dokumentis win uZRvis reda qciis mier gakeTebul i mokle mimoxil viTi xasatis weril i, roml idanac vgebul obT, rom es guj ari pergamentze iyo daweril i. sigane sam goj naxevari, xol o sigrZe ori arSini qonda. guj aris Tavze macxo-

vari iyo gamosaxuli, xolo mis qvemoT taxtze fexmorTxmiT mj domi giorgi mefe. imave weril idan irkveva, rom es guj ari 1848 wel s frangul ad gamucia m.broses. xolo d.baqraZes, vaxuSti batoniSvil is 'istoriis-SeniSvnebSi gamouyenebia.

dokumentis teqstidan irkveva, rom aRniSnul guj ars mefe giorgi aZl evs winamZRvars Jurul s, mis Zmebs avgarozs da ratis. Jurul ianT STamomavl ebs am dokumentis uaxl ebs giorgis Zmiswul i mefe bagrati. giorgi mefis mier gacemul guj ars 1463 wel i azis, xolo bagratis mier ganaxl ebul s 1472 wel i. es saSual ebas gvaZl evs gavarkvIoT Tu romel i giorgis da bagratis mier aris igi gacemul i. Cvens mier motanil i daTariRebiT Tuki vimsjel ebT, guj ari giorgi VIII (1446_1466 w.w.) mier unda iyos gacemul i,³¹ xolo bagrat VI (1466-1478) mier ganaxl ebul i.³² imave saredaqcio weril Si, gvaris Jurul is warmomavl obis garkvevis mcdel obacaa. gazeTis azriT, `Jurul ni unda iyvnen qsnis erisTavni Sal vasa da l argvisel is erT_tomni da erT sisxl ni.³³ rogorc samecniero l literaturidan irkveva, amJamad gvari Jurul i mxol od axal goris raionis sofel l argvisSi gvxxvdeba.³⁴

saqarTvel os istoriis Sesaxeb gazeT `iveria~_Si dabeWdil i masal ebidan, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas ori dokumenti iqcevs: 1).`mziTvis wigni anuka batoniSvil isa da misi ganmar teba,³⁵ 2).mgal obl iSvil Ta saxel ze erekl e meoris mier gacemul i wyal obis wigni.³⁶ pirvel i maTganis publ ikacia da saTanado gamokvl evl eva mj anaSvil s ekuTvnis. am dokumentis istoriul _eTnografiul i mniSvnel obis garkvevis paral el urad, igi misi Seqmni s ganmapi robebel mi zezebsac Seexo da vaxtang VI_s droinde l i saqarTvel os social ur_ekonomikuri da pol itikuri istoriis suraTi sainteresod warmoaCina. rac Seexeba meore dokumentis, sofel Wal aSi vinme xuccess erT_erT oj axSi karze gakrul i unaxavs, gauwmendia da teqsti gadauweria. dokumentis bol oSi darTul i hqonda Tari-

Ri k wel sa CRJz. rac 1797 wl is april s ni Snavs. igi erekl e meorisa da anton kaTal ikozis xel moweriT da beWdiTaa dadasturebul i. Cven ar SevudgebiT am dokumentebis daxasiaTebas da misi mniSvnel obis garkvevas, radgan amis Sesaxeb gazeT `iveriaSi- sakmaod vr-cl adaa saubari. mxol od avRniSnavT, rom aseTi pirvel adi wyaroebis gamoqveynebam, erovnul i istoriografiis winsvl aSi garkveul i rol i Seasrul a. marTalia, am masal ebis umetesobis publ ikaciis done mecnierEBis maSindel moTxovnebs srul ad ver pasuxobda, magram, saqarTvel os istoriis ukeT Seswavl isa da qarTvel xal xSi erovnul i cnobierebis amaRI ebis Tval sazrisiT, gansakuTrebul i rol s asrul ebda.³⁷

gaz. `iveriis- 1890 wl is #187_ Si dai beWda mRvdel _ monazon kal istrates weril i, sadac aRweril i iyo Zvel l i xel naweri saxareba, romel ic ucxo adami anis xel - Si unaxavs. garegnul i aRweris Semdeg, mRvdel _ mona- zon kal istretes mohyavs teqstis Sinaarsi, romel ic saxarebis bol o or furcel ze iyo daweril i da romel - ic mas gadmouweria. teqstSi naTqvamia: `zeadidnes da daamyarnes RmerTman, Zl ierni da uZl evel ni, TviT xe- l mwifebiT mfl obel ni yovl isa saqarTvel osani, daviT, mefeT mefe da RvTiv gviringvinosani TinaTin mefeTa mefe da dedofal i da warmarTnen auot (?) Zisa maTisa me- foba, umetes yovel Ta mefeTa qveyni saTa da adiden wmi nda mRvdel T_ moZRvari Teodore anCel mTavarepiskoposi da aTormetTa udabnoTa moZRvrebasa maTsa vigul is- modgine me sul iTa sawyal obel ma da naTel gebiT oden qristianeman, didad ganmarisxebel man da Semcodeman RvTisaman sofrom mwignobarman,... odesme RvTisa swor- Ta TviTmPyrobel man... saydrisa anCisa saCinooba... sim- didre da samkaul i saydrisa xrwnil ebasa daenTqes... da kval ad Sekni nebul iyo esreT, rom vikadre saxareb- isa amis mosyidva wmindis udabnos wyarosTaviT da Semsgavsebul ad Zal isa Cemisa movaWedine RvTisa mier kurtXeul s Rirssa oqros mqandakebel sa beqasa... da

dausvene xatsa RvTaebisasa sal ocvel ad Zmisa Cemisa svimoni sTvis... da gamikeTes sal ocavi ioane rkinel man, netarebiT moxseniebul man siwmin des gadayenebasa... da amis saxarebi saTvis Theodore anCel mTavarepi skoposman ganmiweses kedel sa zeda warwera...³⁸

aRni Snul i vr cel i amonaweris aq moyvana aucil ebl obas warmoadgens, radgan is Seicavs istoriul pirTa saxel ebs. saxarebis daweris Tari Ri ucnobia. arc minawerzea qoronikoni. mRvdel i kal istratedil obs daadginos saxarebis daweris Tari Ri da figrobs, rom, radgan mefeT_ mefe daviT kurapal ati (958_ 994) `mfarvel obda qarTul mwerl obas da avrcel ebda Tavis samefoSi aTonel mamaTagan naTargmn wignebs. swored erTi maTgani unda iyos es saxareba.³⁹ rogorc zemoT avRni Sne, saxarebis bol os aris minaweri, romelic eWv-gareSea, rom mogviano xanisaa vidre Tavad saxareba, CvenTvis ucnobia Tu rod is gakeTda es minaweri, Tumca SegviZi ia daaxl oebiT ganvsazRvroT misi daweris Tari Ri. minaweris Tanaxmad saxarebis zanduki siZvel isagan gacveTil _ gaZarcul i iyo, misi Tavidan moWedva ki `oqros mqandakebel ~ beqasTvis miundvia minaweris avtors sofrom mwignobars. Tu vivaraudebT, rom `oqros mqandakebel i beqa~ CvenTvis kargad cnobil i beqa opizaria, maSin, Cveni azriT aRni Snul i minaweri XII saukuneSi unda iyos Sesrul ebul i. mRvdel i kal istrated am faqts gverds uvl is. ufro metic, mas minawerSi naxsenebi daviT mefeT_ mefe daviT kurapal atad miaCnia, xol o vin aris `TinaTan- zustad ver arkvevs, Tumca figrobs, rom is aris giorgi pirvel is mier mokl ul i TinaTini (906 w.)⁴⁰ T.Jordania srul iad gansxvavebiT xsnis am yvel afers. `TinaTini ~_s SesaxeT Jordania pirdapir ambobs `araviTari eWvi ar aris, rom aq moxseniebul ia Tamar (es si tyva kal istrates waukiTxavs `TinaTin-T.J) mefe da qmari misi mefe daviT. sabuTad amisa sakmaoa: 1) arcerTi dedofal i garda di debul is Tamarisa Cvens istoriaSi ar iwodeba mefed, mxol od Tama-

ri iwodeba `Tamar mefed da dedofl ad-, 2) magram ume-
tesad es mtkicdeba imiT, rom aq moxseniebul i ioane
rkinel i, Semdeg anCel _ mTavarepiskoposi, da mqandaki
beqa Tamar mefis dros scxovrobdnen.-⁴¹

T.Jordani as gamoTvl iT, minaweri unda Sesrul ebu-
l iyo 1204_ 1207 wl ebSi, radgan daviTi 1207 wel s gar-
daicval a, l aSas ki pirvel ad 1205 wel s daadges gvir-
gvini. swored am or TariRSi aqcevs T.Jordania sax-
arebaze minaweris gakeTebas. Tumca SesaZl oa aRni Snul
l i minaweri ufro adrindel ic iyos. amis safuZvel s
is gvaZl evs, rom minawerSi giorgis saxel i ar aris mo-
xseniebul i. l aSa_ giorgi rom yofil iyo mefed kurTx-
eul i sofrom mwignobari mas saxel iT moixseniebda,
rogorc es aris 1205 wl is Semdgom warwerebSi. ase
magal iTad: 1205 wl is q. karze l aSqrobis Sesaxeb
T.Jordani as afxazTa qroniki dan mohyavs Semdegi fra-
zebi: `maSin Ze misi (Tamaris) l aSa Tormetis wl isa
iyo-⁴² an ki dev `1207w_ qks :ukz: dasabami Tgan :xyia: amas
wel sa kari aiRes da Tamar dedofal i gardaicval a.
maSin Ze misi l aSa Tormetisa wl isa iyo l aSqaris
pirvel sa gal aSqrebasa.-⁴³ aqedan gamomdinare savsebiT
SesaZl ebl ad mi gvaCnia, rom radgan saxarebis minawer ze
l aSa saxel iT ar aris moxseniebul i is unda gakeTebu-
l iyo 1205 wl amde.

T.Jordaniaseul i daTariReba (1205_ 1207 wl ebi), Sei-
Zl eba 1192_ 1204 wl ebiT Cavanacvl oT. rogorc saxare-
bis minaweridan Cans, saxareba wyarosTavis taZridan
wamouRia sofrom mwignobars. cnobil ia, rom beqa opi zar-
ma wyarosTavis saxareba moWeda, amave saxarebaze aris
warwera, saidanac vgebul obT, rom `saxareba... gadaawe-
rina da moaWedvina tbeTis episkoposma, `gl axakma- io-
ane safarel _ mtbeverma. ydazevea beqas xel mowerac:
`qriste Seiwyal e oqromWedel i beqai opizari-... sxva
minawerSi naTqvamia, rom es saxareba gadawera orma
mweral ma_ fukaral isZem da giorgi seTaisZem. `qoron-
ikonsa uie (1195w).-⁴⁴ yovel ive zemoaRni Snul i dan gamom-

dinare Cvens wi naSe i smeba ki Txva; es ori saxareba xom ar aris erTi da igive. iqneb mRvdel _ monazon kal istrates siCqaris gamo wyarosTavis saxarebi s gadamwer-Ta saxel ebi da qoroni koni gamorCa, romel ic 1195 wel s mi ani Snebs? am eWvebis gasaqarwyl ebl ad SegviZl ia moviyanoT ramodenime damaj erebel i argumenti. 1)warwera romel ic kal istrates mier napovn saxarebaSi a, garkvevi Tambobs, rom `simdidre da samkaul i saydrisa xrwnil e-basa daentTqa.⁴⁵ es imas mi ani Snebs, rom saxareba beqas moWedvamde didi xniT adre unda daweril iyo. 2)am ori saxarebi s moWedil oba ar emTxveva erTmaneTs, rac ki dev erT mtkice arguments gvaZl evs. mRvdel _ kal istrates mier napovni saxarebi s Wedur ydaze gamosaxul i yofil a j vrebi da iambiko macxovris Sobisa.⁴⁶ xol o CvenTvis kargad cnobil wyarosTavis saxarebi s ydaze taxtze mj domi qristea gamosaxul i.⁴⁷ rogorc Cans beqa opizars ori saxareba mouWedia da orive wyarosTavidan yofil a gazeTi `iveria~s yuradRebis centrSi, mecxrmete saukunis meore naxevris qarTvel i da ucxoel i istorikosebi s Sromebic moeqca. rubrikaSi `saistorio da sabibl iografi o weril ebi,~ gazeTi xSirad aqveynebda recenzi ebs. ama Tu im naSromis mecnierul SefasebasTan erTad, mis popul arizaciasac axdenda. am mxriv, yuradRebas mj anaSvil is vrcel i recenzia iqcevs. igi d.baqraZis naSromis_`weril ebi saqarTvel os istoriisa da siZvel eTa Sesaxeb,~ Sefasebas i saxavs mi znad. es naSromi oTx samecniero weril s Sei cavs. 1).sad da vin daiwyo saqarTvel os weril obiTi naSTebis Seswavl a, 2).axl ad napovni Zvel i qarTul i matiane, 3).sigel i XI saukunisa, 4).saqarTvel os naSTebi ganxil ul ni akademiis mindobil obiT. `yvel a es weril ebi_wers mj anaSvil i_Tavisi SinaarsiT friad sainteresoa...naTel s hfens saqarTvel os istoriasa da matianes.⁴⁸

aRni Snul recenziaSi mj anaSvil i dawvril ebiT exeba sazRvargareT qarTvel ol ogiis ganvi Tarebas da mis saTaveebs sen_martenis mier parizSi 1822 wel s daarse-

bul aziur sazogadoebas ukavSi rebs. rogorc cnobil ia, es sazogadoeba, aRmosavl eTis qveynebis istoriisa da kul turis Seswavl as isaxavda mi znad. m.j anaSvil i mkiTx-vel s dawvril ebiT acnobs im titanur Sromas, romel - ic sen_martenma, Sul cma, rotiesma, kl aprotma da brosem gaswies sazRvargareT qarTvel ol ogiis ganviTarebi- saTvis. iqve sinanul iT dasZens, rom `im xanebSi, ra xana- sac Cven vexebiT, saqarTvel os Semswavl el ni erTi me- ores Semdeg gardaicval nen da cocxal i daSTa mx- ol od brose, amitom urigo ar iqneba am moRvavezed ramdenime vrcel i cnobebi moviyvanoT.~⁴⁹

recenziis meore nawil Si⁵⁰ dawvril ebiTaa saubari mari broses (1802_1880) cxovrebi sa da moRvaveobis mniS- vnel ovan momentebze. kerZod, mari brosesadmi Teimu- raz batoniSvil is daxmarebaze, ramac m.broses qarTve- l ol ogiis did mkvl evarad Camoyal i bebaSi gansakuTre- bul i rol i Seasrul a.⁵¹ es garemoeba hqonda mxedvel o- baSi m.broses, roca ruseTis saimperatoro akademiis erT_erT krebaze warmoTqmul si tyvaSi (1838 wel i) acx- adebda: `ganucvi frebl ad ar SemiZl ian movixseni o me- fis Ze Teimurazi, romel sac maRal zneobasTan erTad, mohmadl ebia ganviTarebul i Wkua da vrcel i codna, igi mwerl obiTs SromaSi hpovebs keTil Sobil ur sitkboe- bas da si amovnebas. imi si sagania Sromi T ukvdavhyos sa- xel i Tavisi is erisa. gavtydebi da vi tyvi, rom mi si mor- Cil i mowafe var me.~⁵²

m.j anaSvil i imave recenziaSi d.baqraZis meore wer- il s exeba, sadac `qarTl is cxovrebi- SedgenasTan dakavSi rebiT, mecnierTa erT j gufSi Seqmnil gauge- brobazea saubari. d.baqraZis weril idan mas, Sesabami si amonaweri moaqvs, sadac am gaugebrobis Seqmni s ZiriTa- di mizezia axsnil i. `zogierTi xel naweri `qarTl is cxovrebi sa- vkiTxul obT recenziaSi_i wyeba imiT, rom vaxtang VI_em Sehyara swavl ul ni da imaT SemweobiT Seaswora qarTul i matiane da Seavso somxuri da spars- ul i matianeebis cnobebi T...am garemoebam zogierT mec-

nierSi eWvi warmoSva, TiTqos qarTI is cxovreba Sedgenil i yofil iyos vaxtang VI_isagan da igi ar SeiZl e-boda mieCniaT sandoT.-

am Sexedul ebis erT_erTi avtorTagani q.patkanovi iyo. m.j anaSvil is recenzia, sazogadoebas auwyebda, rom aRni Snul sakiTxs d.baqrqZem sagangebod daweril gamokvl evaSi, `qarTI is cxovrebis- nusxebze dayrdnobiT, `qarTI is cxovrebisadmi- skeptikurad ganwyobil mecnierebs daudastura, rom qarTvel ers, `qarTI is cxovreba- vaxtang VI_mde hqonda da igi saqarTvel os istorias XIV saukunemde aRwerda⁵³ Tanamedrove qarTul historiografiaSi garkveulia vaxtang VI_s swavl ul kacTa komisiis mier Catarebuli samuSaoebi. `vaxtangis swavl ul kacTa komisi am_wers prof. s.yauxCiSvil i_erTi mxriT Zveli `qarTI is cxovrebis- damaxinj ebuli adgili ebi gaaswora (`ganmarTes-), xolo meore mxriT, bolosaukuneebis istoria dawera (`aRweres-), radgan Zvel `qarTI is cxovrebaSi- Txroba wydeboda giorgi brwyinval is mefobaze (XIV s. dasawyisi). axlad dasaweri iyo XIV_XVII saukuneebis istoria. es orive daval eba mecnierkacTa komisi as pirnaTI ad Seusrul ebia.⁵⁴

m.j anaSvil ma vrceli recenzia miuZRvna `saeroganaTI ebis saministros Jurnal Si- #7, gamoqveynebul mari broses naSroms: `mosazrebebi saqarTvel os istoriisa da literaturis Sesaxeb- (rusul enaze).⁵⁵ rogorc m.j anaSvil i Seni Snavs, m.brose qarTvel Ta eTnogenezis sakiTxebs leontimrovelis cnobebze dayrdnobiT ganixilavda. `qarTI is cxovrebis- uZveli esinawilis avtoris mier gamoyenebul zepir gadmocemebs, sandod miicnevda. aqedan gamomdinare, qarTI osis, misiSvil ebisada Targamosis istoriul obas aRiarebda. am ukanasknelis STamomavl obaSi calkeul qarTvel tomTaj gufebis gamoyofda. m.broses amosaval safuZvels bibliuri genialoguri principi warmoadgenda.⁵⁶ aRni Snul iTval sazrisis safuZvidan Seswavidan gamomdinare arCil baramiZesamarTI ian daskvnas akeTebis, rom `broses eTnol ogiuri

konceptcia arsebiTad p'triarqal ur_geneal ogiuria da arafers axal s ar Seicavs, rac mas ganasxvavebda mis winamorbed qarTvel istorikosTagan.⁵⁷ saqarTvel os istoriis kvl evisas, m.brosem qarTul i wyaroebis ucxourTan Sedarebis meTodis gamoyenebis aucil ebl obis sakiTxi daayena.⁵⁸ aRniSnul recenziaSi m.j anaSvil i mxol od m.broses ZiriTadi debul ebebis gadmocemiT dakmayofil da da Tavisi pozicia ar daufiqsirebia. es garemoeba gvafiqrebinebs, rom igi m.broseseul Sexedul ebebs iziarebda da farTo sazogadoebaSi mis popul arizacias uwyobda xel s.

m.broses samecniero kvl evis sferoSi, erT_erTi gansakuTrebul i adgil i qarTul i literaturis istoriis sakiTxebs eWira. igi qarTul i literaturidan sam ZiriTad dargs (RvTismetyvel eba, poezia, istoria) gamoyofda.⁵⁹ am principiT ganixil a man qarTul i literaturis istoriis sakvanZo sakiTxebi Zveli droidan XVIII saukunis CaTvl iT. SoTa rusTavel is, besikis da guramiSvil is Semoqmedebas maRal i Sefaseba misca.⁶⁰ imavdroul ad, qarTvel ol og mkvl evarTa sayuradRebod ganacxada: `saqarTvel os siZvel eni el ian bejiT gamokvl evas, rom saqarTvel os moepoveba TiTqmis yovel gvari saukeTeso Txzul ebani, rom saqarTvel o Tavisi geografiul i mdebareobiT da istoriul i cxovrebiT, axl o dgas da urTierTobaSi iyo aziis yvel a udid es erebTan. Tu miviRebT yvel a amas mxedvel obaSi, unda vaRiaroT, rom saqarTvel o iseTi asparezi iyo, rom gasinj vas da gamokvl evas unda mi vmarTod, Tu gvinda avxsnaT bevri sayuradRebo sagani aRmosavl eTis istoriis Sesaxeb.⁶¹

rogorc vxedavT, aq garkveviTaa dasmul i sakiTxi, maxl obel i aRmosavl eTis xal xTa istoriis gaTval iswinebis fonze, saqarTvel os istoriis kvl evis warmarTvis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb. sakiTxis am formiT dasma, SemTxveviTobi dan ar gamomdi nareobda. mecni erul al RosTan erTad, mas qarTvel i eris warsulis yovel mxrivi Seswavl a edo safuZvl ad. mTel i misi sicocxl is manZil ze,

m.brose am kuTxiT ikvl evda saqarTvel os warsul s, riTac fasdaudebel i amagi dasdo qarTvel ers. exebo- da ra am sakiTxs, m.j anaSvil i gazeTi `iveria-`Si gamo- qveynebul weril Si `Sesaval i, `qarTI is cxovreba- m.broses moRvaweoba saqarTvel os istoriis Sesaswav- l ad da Semdgom istorikosebisaTvis- _miuTitebda: `Tuki vinme mogvepoveba, romel ic sindisierad ikvl evs qarTvel i eris istorias, maT Soris erTi maTgani mari brosea, SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom qarTvel Ta ers man daudga saukuno Zegl i. man frangul enaze gadaiRo qarTul i matianis nawil i, agreTve mraVal i sxva qronikebi. amas ar dasjerda da fexiT moiara mTel i saqarTvel o da adgil ebze gamoikvl ia sigel _ guj arni, taZar_ monas- terTa warwerebi, cixeni, nangrevebi, gamoqvabul ni. Sea- grova zogierTi zepiri Tqmul ebani da am gziT mopove- bul i cnobani_ istoriul ni Tu qronol ogiurni Seadara, SeuTanaswora qarTvel mematianeTa Tqmul ebaTa da cno- baTa... ucxo tomTa qronol ogiani Seadara mTel am ma- sal as da amnairaT uaryo mraVal Ta mcdari, ukuRmarTi azri saqarTvel os istoriis Sesaxeb.-⁶² marTal ia, es daxasiaTebs srul ad ver asaxavs qarTvel ol ogiis gan- vi TarebaSi m.broses damsaxurebas, magram aRni Snul i danac naTel i xdeba, Tu raoden didad iyo dafasebul i igi jer kidev XIX saukunis 80_iani wl ebis qarTvel i moR- vaweebis mier.

m.j anaSvil i akritikebs g.wereTel is naSroms. g.wereTel ma Tavis wignSi `drevnosti vastoCnaia-` s 1891 wl is pirvel tomSi ganaviTara azri imis Sesaxeb, rom TiTqos gel aTis taZari daviT aRmaSenebel is mier ar unda iyos aSenebul i, rom misi aSeneba daviTis mefobas uswrebda win. amis dasamtkicebl ad mas taZris kedel ze Zvel i warwera mohyavda: `adi dnes Rmer Tman mefeTmefo- ba, bagrat. dedofl isa el ene da ZeTa maTTa orTave cx- ovrebasa Sina. amin.-⁶³ g.wereTI is mcdari mosazrebis gasabaTil ebl ad m.j anaSvil i, prof. kandakovis gamokv- l evas isvel iebs, sadac naTqvami a, rom XV, XVI da XVII

saukuneSi aSenebul Zegl ebsac ki SeiZl eba hqondes mecxre an meaTe saukunis warwera. garda amisa m.j anaSvil i g.wereTI is mosazrebas abaTil ebs myari argumentiT da iqve dasZens: `g.wereTI is azri usafuZvl oa im garemoebis mixedviT, rom gel aTis kedel ze hxatia gol iaTiseburi surTi daviT aRmaSenebl isa, romel sac xel Si taZris gegma uWeria. xol o bizantiaSi, somxeTsa da saqarTvel oSi saydriS gegmiT mar to ekl esi is maSenebel T hxatavdnen.⁻⁶⁴ ar SeiZl eba ar daveTanxmoT m.j anaSvil s, radgan dReisaTvis ar arsebobs imis utyuari mtkicebul eba, rom gel aTi daviT aRmaSenebl is aSenebul i ar aris.

g.wereTI is kritika kvl av gagrZel da gaz. `iveriaSi- da am konkretul SemTxvevaSi kritikis obieqti gaxda misi naSromi `istoriul _ fil ol ogiuri gamokvl eva.- romel ic g.wereTel ma gaz. `kval Si- dai beWda.

aRniSnul naSromSi g.wereTel i ambobs, rom `Tamar mefis Svil s giorgis l aSa rom erqva, eg si tyva rusul i `l uC-_iao, Tamar ma `l uC-_i iswavl a pirvel i qmr is rusi saganao.⁻⁶⁵ am faqtTan dakavSi rebiT n.xizani Svil i qarTul wyaroebze dayrdnobiT uaryofs g.wereTI is mosazrebas da wers: `matiane pirdapir ambobs, rom l aSa afxazTa enaa, e.i. afxazuri si tyvaa da ni Snavs qvey nis manaTobel sao.⁻⁶⁶ n.xizani Svil i aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSi rebT broses Sexedul ebas iSvel iebs da iqve dasZens: `brose pirdapir ganmartebS, mefe giorgis met-saxel i `l aSa- afxazuri si tyvaa da sakvirvel i aq arafe-ria, radganac im dros afxazeTi saqarTvel os nawil s Seadgenda da imis mefe ebs eqvemdebarebodao.⁻⁶⁷

igive sakiTxs m.j anaSvil i Seexo, romel mac `iveriis 1893 wl is #199_ Si gamoqveynebul weril Si, g.wereTI is `fil ol ogiur gamokvl evaSi- `l aSas" warmoSobis Sesax-eb gamoTqmuli mosazreba mkacrad gaakritika. m.j anaSvil s mohyavs g.wereTI is Sexedul eba, TiTqos: `qarTI is cxovreba aWorebs, rodesac ambobs, rom l aSa afsarTa eniT ganmanaTI ebel s ni Snavso; safiqrebel ia,

rom `afsarTa ena- SesTxzes meTvramete saukunis mema-
tianeTo.-⁶⁸ amasTan dakavSirebiT mj anaSvil i principi-
ul ad svams kiTxvas: `ra kavSiri aqvs meTvramete sauku-
nis mematianes `qarTI is cxovreba- _ sTan?!- da iqve
pasuxobs: `nuTu b.ni giorgi wereTel i dResac im azrze
adgia, rom viTom `qarTI is cxovreba- SeTxzul ia, anu
Sedgenil i XVIII saukuneSi? piriqiT, `qarTI is cxovre-
bis- zedmiwevniT Seswavl a sisrul iT gvarwmunebs, rom
igi Cvenis eris didebul i Zegl ia, rom igi Sedgenil ia
nawil _ nawil ad, droiT_ dro, rom mas Wori arsad ar
Semoaqvs, rom igi araTu azviadebs Txrobas Sesaxeb
qarTvel ebisa, aramed kidec amokl ebs, rom baqiaoba,
trabaxi aravin daswamos.-⁶⁹

rogorc vxedavT g.wereTel s saqmeSi kargad Caxedu-
l i mecnierebi daupirispirda da Rirseul i pasuxi gasc-
es. es is mecnieredia, roml ebic saqarTvel os istoriis
sadaraj oze idgnen da mis augad moxseniebas aravis ar
patiobdnen. swored isini scemdnen sakadris pasuxs
istoriis ganyal bebl ebs da gazeTi `iveriis- saSval ebiT
saqveynod aaSkaravebdnen. unda aRiniSnos, rom mj a-
naSvil is kritika g.wereTel ma sxva mxrivac daimsaxu-
ra. mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs, g.wereTI is mier `kval Si- da-
beWdil i is mcdari Sexedul eba, romel ic afxazeTi-
sa da somxeTis mefeebis damoyvrebis sakiTxs exeba.
`meaTe saukuneSi_ wers g.wereTel i_ bednierma SemTxve-
vam daamoyvra afxazeTis mefis gvari didi somxeTis
mefestan (?), adarnase kurapal atis oj axTan, _ roml is
Svil ma didma daviT mefem taoel ma umemkvidroobis gamo
iSvil a Tavisi Zmiswul i da afxazeTis mefis giorgi
pirvel is Svil isSvil i bagrat mesame.- amasTan dakavS-
irebiT, Sesabamis wyaroebze dayrdnobiT mj anaSvil i
wers: `yvel a istoriul wyaroSi sweria, rom xsenebul i
daviT didi taoel i aris saqarTvel os kurapal atis
adarnases da ara somxeTis mefis adarnases Ze, rom am
daviTma iSvil a ara Tavisi Zmiswul i bagrat mesame,
aramed Tavisi biZiswul i bagrat mesame.-⁷⁰

aRni Snul pol emikaSi CaerTo vaJa_fSavel ac, romel - mac metad sayuradRebo mosazreba warmoadgina `l aSa-_s warmoSobasTan dakavSi rebi T. `Cemis fiqri T_ ambobs vaJa_ am mosazrebaTa Soris arc erTia marTal i da arc me- ore.-⁷¹ vaJa_fSavel a `l aSa--s warmoSobas qarTul fes- vebSi eZebS da iqve dasZens: `afxazur enasTan rad unda gavrbodeT, roca fesvi `l as- TviT qarTul enaSi moi- poveba. avi RoT Tundac si tyva l aSqari, qarTul i gvari l aSauri.-⁷² garda amisa vaJa ambobs, rom fSavSi si tyva `l aSi- aRni Snavs pirs da mohyavs aseTi magal iTi: `bevrs nu l aparakob daayenene l aSni-⁷³ swored `l aSi- dan nawarmoebad mi aCnia mas si tyva l aSqari, radgan `j ari saomrad mudam mReriT gaemarTeboda, pirs a hqarvida, JRavJRuvobda.-⁷⁴ Cveni azriT, vaJaseul i versia damafiqre- bel ia, Tumca mainc SeuZl ebel ia gadaWriT ramis Tqma. zurab WumburiZe `l aSas- Semdegnairad ganmartavs: `l a- Sari sal ocavia fSav_ xevsureTSi, al aSara afxazurad sinaTl es ni Snavs. l aSa kavSi ria am si tyvebTan, igi mo- mdinareobs warmarTul i RvTaebis saxel isagan.-⁷⁵

saqarTvel os istoriis Seswavl aSi wingadadgmul na- bij s a.cagarel is (1844_1929 w.w.) mier rusul enaze daw- eril i gamokvl eva `Zvel i qarTul i Zegl ebi wmin da mi- waze da sinai ze- warmoadgenda.⁷⁶ igi 1888 wel s, `pal es- tinis marTl madi debel i sazogadoebis- IV tomis pirv- el nawil Si dai beWda.⁷⁷ misi gamoqveynebi sTanave, gazeT- ma `iveria-_m m.j anaSvil is vrcel i recenziiT gamoex- maura. recenzentma a.cagarel is qarTvel ol ogi uri saqmi- anoba m.broses damsaxurebis fonze gani xil a da mki Tx- vel sazogadoebas dasaxel ebul i naSromis arqiteqton- ika SesTavaza. a).winasi tyvaoba, b).mogzauroba wmin da qveyanasa da sinai ze g)istoriul i mimoxil va saqarTve- l os mimosvl isa da urTierTobisa wmin da qveyanasa da sinai sTan, d)aRwera qarTul is naSTebisa wmin da qveya- nasa da sinai ze, e).qarTvel i moaxal Seneni pal estinas. wignis damatebaSi, rogorc recenzenti wers, CarTul i iyo: 1).ierusal imi s j vrisa da sinas monasterTa qarTu-

I i wignebis katal ogebi, 2).pal estinis qarTul i warw-
erebi, 3).erekl e meoris weril i. sarecenzi o wignze dayrd-
nobiT, m.j anaSvil i Tanmimdevrul ad gadmoscems siria-
Si, pal estinasa da sinas mTaze qarTvel Ta moRvaweobis
TxuTmet saukunovan istorias. a.cagarel is aRniSnul
naSroms, sagangebo recenzia miuzRvna st.Wrel aSvil ma
saTauriT `saqarTvel os naSTni pal estinaSi da sinas
mTaze.⁻⁷⁸ avtorma, m.j anaSvil is mier yuradRebis miRma
datovebul i sakiTxebi wamoswia wina pl anze, sazoga-
doebas a.cagarel is naSromze darTul i, ierusal imisa
da pal estinis monastrebis 946 cal i qarTul i xel -
nawerebis katal ogi gaacno. a.cagarel is naSromidan
motanil masal ebze dayrdnobiT, st.Wrel aSvil i daskv-
nis saxiT dasZenda: `es mcireodeni cnobebi am weril -
isa sakmarisia dainaxos kacma, Tu ra mdidari yofil a
Zvel i mwerl oba saqarTvel osi.⁻⁷⁹

gazeT `iveriaSi- dabeWdil i weril iT n.urbnel i mie-
sal ma axaxanaSvil is mier gamocemul i `guj rebi-
s krebuls (1891w quTaisi). mas kargad esmis sigel _ guj re-
bis roli istoriaSi da aRniSnavs; `visac qarTul i
matiane `qarTl is cxovreba- waukiTxavs, Seni Snavda, rom
iq Cvenis warsul is Sinaurs wes wyobil ebazed metad
cotaa naTqvami da naambobi. matiane ufro pol itikur-
sa da garegnuls cxovrebas mogviTxrobs, amitom Seu-
Zl ebel ia samSobl os istoriis Semsawl el i qarTvel
i, marto `qarTl is cxovrebas- dasj erdes. aseTi Sroma
nakl ianic iqneba da unayofoc, radgan matiane uyurad-
Rebod stovebs Sinaurs cxovrebas, im wessa da rigs,
romelic warsul is namdvil i sul ia da romelic imis
gamacxovel ebel s Zal as Seadgens.⁻⁸⁰ aRniSnul sferoSi
arsebul i xarvezebidan gamomdinare n.urbnel i gul ist-
kivil iT werda: `warsul is Sinauris cxovrebis codna-
as... j er fexic ar audgams⁻⁸¹ aqedan gamomdinare axa-
xanaSvil s erT_ erT im istorikosad mi aCnevda, vinc yu-
radReba saqarTvel os Sinaurs cxovrebas mi aqcia da am
cxovrebis Sesasawl ad mokl e xanSi sakmao Sroma gaswia.

`exl ac Tavisi guj rebi_wers igi_im azriT daubeWdia, rom masal a misces mkiTxvel s da daexmeros warsul is Sinauris cxovrebis Seswavl aSi.⁸² misi samarTI iani mtkicebiT, axaxanaSvil is `guj rebi- did samsaxurs gauw- evda qarTvel mecnerebs. isic sayuradReboa, rom si- gel _ guj rbis Seswavl is gareSe, istorias nurbnel i arasrul fasovnad mi iCnevda. aRsani Snavia is faqti, rom axaxanaSvil is naSromis gamoqveynebiT dRis wesrigSi saqarTvel os istoriis `Sinauri cxovrebis- Seswavl is aucil ebl obis sakiTxi dadga.

erovnul i cnobierebis amaRl ebas isaxavda miznad m.j anaSvil is weril i, romel ic daibeWda gazeT `iveri- aSi- `saistorio da sabibl iografio weril ebi-_s ru- brikiT. m.j anaSvil i qarTvel sazogadoebas acnobs erT xel nawers, romel ic `wera_ kiTxvis gamavr cel ebel i sazogadoebis bibl ioTekaSi- #1489 nomriT iyo dacu- l i. Tavixel nawerSi `moTxroba qcevaTa da Cveul e- baTaTvis qarTvel Ta-_Si fanaskertel _ ciciSvil i yura- dRebas amaxvil ebs qarTvel Ta zne_ Cveul ebebze da dadebiTad afsebs Zvel wes_ Cveul ebebs. misi mtkice- biT, `yvel a es wes_ Cveul eba arsebodbnen 1800 wl amde, _ ambobs fanaskertel _ ciciSvil i _ am wl idgan movi dnen mraVal ni ucxo Tesl ni da daeSvnen saqarTvel osa. ma- Sin qarTvel T daiwiwes Tavisi qcevani da yovel iveSi wahbaZes ucxoel T. moiZul es bunebiTini Cveul ebani da TviT ena da ubnoba Tvisni esreT, romel garda moxuc- Ta, ukeT romel ime qarTvel i ubnobs qarTul sa enaTa... qarTul i wi gni enis daviwyebis gamo `egonebi sa ucxos qveyni sa, - gani ryvnen Zvel ni zneni da Semoxdnen urcx- vinoeba, ficxel i moqrTameoba....⁸³

aRniSnul i weril i pirdapir Seaxsenebs qarTvel o- bas Tu ro gorebi iyvnen isini 1800 wl amde da ro gorebi gaxdnen XIX saukuneSi. msgavsi datvirTvis aris m.j a- naSvil is mier gamoqveynebul i meore publ ikacia, romel - ic aseve ekuTvnis fanaskertel _ ciciSvil s da wera_ kiTxvis gamavr cel ebel i sazogadoebis bibl ioTekaSi

#1490 nomriT iyo dacul i. Fanaskertel _ ciciSvil i Tavis xel nawerSi `qarTul i enis l iteraturisaTvis-yuradRebas amaxvil ebs qarTul i enisa da misi Rrsebis dacvis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb.⁸⁴

rogorc ukve avRniSneT, gaz. `iveria- aqveynebda saqarTvel os istoriis masal ebs, magram ar gvisaubria im wyaroze, roml is meSveobiTac xdeboda Zvel i sisto-rio masal ebis moZieba da gadarCena. qarTul i weril o-biT i wyaroebis gadarCenaSi didi rol i Seasrul a `qarTvel Ta Soris wera_ kiTxvis gamavrcel ebel ma sazogadoebam.- gaz. `iverias- mier Zvel i xel nawerebis gadarCenis, misi movl a_ patronobis aucil ebl obis Sesaxeb gaweul ma farTo propagandistul ma saqmi anobam dadebiTi Sedegi gamoiRo. mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs qarTul oj axebSi Semonaxul i xel nawerebis wera_ kiTxvis sa-zogadoebis saTvis gadacemis faqtebi. magal iTad, iason daviTis Ze ciciSvil i acxadebda, rom mas surda wera_ kiTxvis sazogadoebisTvis gadaeca Tavisi bibl i oTeka, sadac mravl ad iyo dacul i Zvel i xel nawerebi. am faqt-Tan dakavSirebiT mas moaqvs aRniSnul xel nawerTa vrcel i sia romel Ta Soris yofil a: `mokl e istoria qarTvel T mefeT bagratovanT STamomavl obisa-, `isto-ria al eqsandres didis makedonel isa- da mraval i sxva.⁸⁵ Zvel i xel nawerebis SegrovebaSi aqtiurobda Tav. gr-igol daviTis Ze guriel i, romel mac mraval i xel nawe-ri Seagrova da gadasca wera_ kiTxvis gamavrcel ebel sazogadoebas.⁸⁶ msgavsi uamravi magal iTis moyvana aris SesaZl ebel i. am etapze mxol od am mcirediT Semovi-fargl ebiT. Cvenda samwuxarod, saqarTvel oSi iyo ada-mianTa iseTi kategoria, romel ebsac ar adardebdaT da pativs ar cemdnen Zvel xel nawerebs. gaz. `iveriaSi- _Si mravl ad SexvdebiT iseT gul dasawyvet gamonaTqcamebs rogoricaa: `Zvel i qarTul i xel nawerebi saxev qa-Ral dad uxmariaT.- mraval i cnobaa imis Sesaxeb, Sav ba-zarze Tu rogor iyi deboda ama Tu im oj axebi dan gamo-tanil i Zvel i qarTul i xel nawerebi. qarTvel i mec-

ni erebi ver axer xebdnen maT Sesyi dvas da amasTan dakav-
SirebiT mxol od wuxil s gamoTqvamdnen. gaz. `iveria-
sazogadoebas erovnul i kul turis dacvisa da gadar-
Cenisken mouwodebda. imavdroul ad, miZinebul erSi
erovnul i meobis gaRviZebas cdil obda. `iveria-
qarTvel obas warsul is si amayi T avsebda da samomavl o
gzas usaxavda. igi qarTvel obas Seaxsenebda Tu visi
gorisani yvnen.

amrigad, 1).axl ad gamovl enil i saqarTvel os istoriis
wyaroebisa da samecni ero l iteraturis Sesaxeb gazeT
`iveria- Si gamoqveynebul i mimoxil viTi xasiaTis pub-
likaciebi, pirvel rigSi, saqarTvel os istoriis mkvl -
evarta da mkiTxvel i sazogadoebis yuradRebis miapy-
robas iTval iswinebda. 2).warsul is RirsSesani snavi
faqtebisa da movl enebis fonze, istoriul i pirovnebe-
bis naRvawis popul arizaci iT, gazeTi `iveria- qarTve-
l i xal xis erovnul i TviTSegnebis amaRI ebas da war-
sul isadmi pativiscemis gacocxl ebas isaxavda mi znad.

\$ 2. gazeTi `iveria- saqarTvel os istoriis gamyal bebel Ta wi naaRmdeg.

saqarTvel os istoriis Sesaswavi ad umTavres pirvel - wyaros `qarTli is cxovreba- wadmoadgens. ami tom iyo, rom jer kidev XIX saukunis 30_iani wl ebidan Cveni erovnul i istoriis gayal bebis msurvel TmTavari ierisi `qarTli is cxovrebaze- mihqondaT. am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiTi.WavWavaze wers: `somexTa mecniერთა და მათა amqarTa oi nebi karga xnis ambavia. sxva rom ara vTqvaT_ramTel i samoci wel iwadi mainc aris mas aqet.... rac erTi da igive Weqa_ quxili erTisa da imave tendenciisa Cvens vinaobas erCis da dRemudam ufro metis kadnierebiT, ufro metis gabedviT, metis sil aRiT tyavs azRobs da warRvnas uqadis.-¹ i.WavWavaZis asTi gul iswyroma imiT iyo ganpirobepul i, rom saqarTvel os istoriis weril obiTi wyaroebis fal sifikatorebi yal b versias qmnidnen `qarTli is cxovrebis- XVIII saukuneSi Setxzvis Sesaxeb. kerZod, `qarTli is cxovrebaSi - moTxrobil adrindel ambebs mogonil ad miicnevden. gamyal bebel avtorTa Soris yuradRebas peterburgis universitetis profesorebi_ osip senkovski da qerope patkanovi iqcevs. osip senkovski qarTli is cxovrebas zRaprad Tvl ida da askvni da, rom `qarTvel ebi al eqsandre makedonel idan vidre petre didamde mSvidad cxovrobdnen yovel gvare matianebebs gareSe.-² senkovis am mcdar mosazrebas pasuxi mari brosem gasca, romel mac mecniერთად დაამტკიცა, რომ `vaxtangis dros Sedgenil i saistorio Txzul eba, romel sac `qarTli is cxovreba- ewodeba, Zvel saistorio Txzul ebebze da sxva wyaroebze dayrdnobiTiyo daweril i. mari brose aRni Snavda, rom vaxtangamde arsebobda ara mxol od cal ke cnobebi saqarTvel os Sesaxeb, aramed iyo qarTul i matianebebc, romel sac ewodeboda `qarTli is cxovreba- ewodeboda.³ mari broses mecniერთი მტკიცებულები მიუხედავად,

qerope patkanovma (1833_1889 w.w.), 1883 wl is dekember Si Jurnal `ministerstvo prosveScenie~_Si gamoaqvey na statia `qarTul i qronikis Sesaxeb.- patkanovi amtkicebda, TiTqos qarTvel ebs ar qondaT Zvel i istoria. misi azriT, amas adasturebda Turme, ara mar to mwerl obis, aramed zepiri Tqmul ebebis ararsebobac saqarTvel os Zvel istoriaze. q.patkanovis `mtkicebiT,- Tuki arsebobda weril obiTi istoria, isic erTaderTi `somxur qronikaSia dacul i.- marTal ia, es qronika qarTul idan iyo naTargmni, magram misi dedani SeTxzul i, anu Sedgenil i unda yofil iyo `uswavl el isa da umecaris somxisagan meTormete saukuneSi, rodesac qarTvel ebma istoriis saWiroeba igrZnes.- rac Seexeba cnobeb saqarTvel os Zvel i istoriis Sesaxeb, q.patkanovi Tvl ida, rom Tu aseTi ram saerTod arsebobda, isic mxol od somxur istoriul wyaroebSi.⁴ igi kategoriul ad uaryofda qarTvel tomTa pirvel i sacxovrisis Sesaxeb arsebul cnobeb. patkanovis am fsevdomecni erul `mtkicebul ebebs- i.WavWavaZem Semdegi pasuxi gasca: `vinc gangeb gonebadaxSul i ar aris an gangeb Tval e bze xel afarebul i, vinc kiTxva icis da gageba wakiTxul isa, gana ikadrebs Tqmas, rom `vefxis_ tyaosni- Semqmel i eri imdenad briyvi iyo, rom istoriis saWiroebis grZnobac ar hqoniao. vis mouva amis Tqma fiqrad Tu ara somexTa fil osofosebsa da profesorebs.-⁵

maSindel ma qarTvel ma istorikosebma da publ icistebma uaryofiTi Sefaseba misca q.patkanovis aramecni erul `koncefcias.- cnobil ma qarTvel ma istorikosma dimi tri baqraZem da il ia WavWavaZem safuZvl ianad gaarCies patkanovis Sexedul ebani da maTTvis damaxasiaTebel i mecni erul i sabuTianobiT cxadyves patkanovis mosazrebaTa mcdaroba. Tu ra konkretul i miznebi amoZravebda q.patkanovs, amis Sesaxeb ar.baramize samarTl ianad SeniSnavs: `peterburgis universitetis profesors ar swamda mis dros dasavl eT evropis mecni erTa Soris gabatonebul i azri qarTvel tomTa naTe-

saobis Sesaxeb istoriul i armeniis teritoriase mcx-ovreb urartuel ebTan. Tu q.patkanovi SeZl ebda imis damtkicebas, rom `qarTl is cxovrebis- uZvel esi nawil i qarTvel tomTa Tavdapirvel i sacxovrisis Sesaxeb yal bi, sicruis Semcvel i da unayofoa, romel ic SeTxzul ia XII saukuneSi uvici somexi beris mier, maSin, arapirdapiri gziT, SeiZl eboda uaryofil iyo XIX saukunis evropel oriental istTa azri qarTvel da urartuel tomTa genetikur naTesaobaze.”⁶

`qarTl is cxovrebis- uZvel esi nawil isadmi q.patkanovis cal mxrivma da tendenciurma damokidebul ebam, igi istoriul i sinamdvilis srul gayal bebamde mi iyvana. patkanovis winaaRmddeg qarTvel mecnierta argumentacia ki dev ufro safuZvl iani gaxada dimi tri baqraZis mier 1884 wel s aRmoCenil ma `qarTl is cxovrebis- XVII saukunis xel nawerma, `mariamiseul ma- nusxam, romel ic mis mierve 1636_1646 wl ebiT iqna daTariRebul i. prof. k.grigol iam aRniSnul i TariRi daazusta. misi azriT, xel naweri 1633_1645 wl ebSi unda yofil iyo gadaweril i.⁷ mariam dedofl iseul i `qarTl is cxovrebis- nusxis aRmoCenam da d.baqraZiseul ma daTariRebam, romel ic vaxtang VI_ is saxel iT cnobil `qarTl is cxovrebas- (1703 wel i) 57 wl iT win uswrebda, d.baqraZes SesaZl ebl oba misca q.patkanovis sawinaaRmdego pasuxi imave wel sve gamoeqveynebi na: `profesori patkanovi da qarTul i istoriis wyaroebi, ~ romel ic 1884 wel s cal ke wig nad, xol o Semdeg rusul adac gamoica. qarTul da ucxour wyaroebze dayrdnobiT d.baqraZem, q.patkanovis yvel a mcdari debul eba safuZvl ianad uaryo.⁸

qarTul i erovnul i istoriis dacvas gazeTma `iveria- _m 1886_1893 wl ebSi garkveul i xarki gadauxada. am SemTxvevaSi ganvixil avT mxol od im Sromebs, romel ebic gazeTis furcl ebze gamoqveynda da pirdapir Tu arapirdapir patkanovisa da mis msgavs mecnierta mimarT pasuxs war moadgenda. am mxriv yuradRebas iqcevs aaa...n. fsevdonimiT gamoqveynebul i weril i `qarTl is

cxovreba- rumi ancevis muzeumi sa.⁹ igi zogadad ganix-
il avsq.patkanovis Sexedul ebebs, qarTl is cxovrebi-
`mariami seul ~ da `rumi ancevi seul ~ nusxebze dayrdno-
biT da qarTl is cxovrebaSTan- mimarTebaSi patkano-
vis ZiriTad debul ebaTa mcdarobas asabuTebS.

gazeTma `iveria~_m, imave probl ematikas sagangebo
rubrika `icvne igini_karavsa Sensa sxdomisagan ena-
Tasa-_ miuZRvna. gansakuTrebul yuradRebas, `s.bara-
TaSvil is da agol ovinis wignisagan Sedgenil i `saqa-
rTvel os mokle istoriis- avtorisa da sxva `axal i
modis- meistorieTa winaaRmdg.¹⁰ dabeWdil i statia
iqcevs. masSi kritikis maxvil i im istorikosTa winaaRm-
deg iyo mimarTul i, roml ebic qarTl is cxovrebaSi
motanil i cnobebis siyal bed da zRaprad gamocxade-
bas brmad, wyaroTa Sejerebis gareSe cdil obdnen.
`saqarTvel os istoria, rac matianeSia moTxrob-
il i_werdnen isini_mogonil i ambavia. arc Tamari gyo-
liaT, arc arcil i, arc vaxtangi da arc erekle.¹¹ aqedan
gamomdinare, weril is avtori, q.patkanovis mimarTgul isw-
yromiT Seni Snavs: `gamoCnda erTi vinme haosiani ararat-
is mwverval ze da gaiZaxis: arc qarTl is cxovreba-
gqoniaT, arc qarTvel i yofil a dedamiwazeo. yovel i
piri dedamiwaze somxebseWirat. qarTvel ebi da sxva
erebi axl oxanebSi gaCndnen~_o.¹²

qarTvel istorikosTa mier, patkanovisa da mis mimde-
varTa Tval sazriss safuZvl ianad uaryofis miuxeda-
vad, saqarTvel os istoriis sakiTxebze aramecni erul i
da yal bi informaciis Semcvl el i publ ikaciebis beWd-
va rusul i presis furcl ebze kvl avac grZel deboda.
am faqtma, patkanovisa da mis mimdevrebi sadmi, damaj er-
ebel i pasuxis gaecema aucil ebel i gaxada. gazeTma `iv-
eria~_m am mxriv gansakuTrebul i aqtiuroba gamoiCina.
mxedvel obaSi, aRni Snul probl ematikasTan mimarTeba-
Si gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebi gvaqvs. gansakuTrebul
yuradRebas mj anaSvil is statia `gl ovis wesi saqa-
rTvel oSi¹³ iqcevs. avtoris mtkicebiT, erovnul i cno-

bierebis srul ad Camoyal ibeba da warsul is gacno-
bisadmi moTxovnil eba, mxol od ganviTarebis maRal
safexurze mdgom erSi warmoiqmneboda. aseTi preambu-
l is Semdeg, igi kanonzomierad svamda kiTxvas; ra gza
aerCiAT istorikosebs, roml ebsac xel T pirvel wyaroe-
bi ar gaaCndaT da erovnul i istoriis dawera hqondaT
ganzraxul i. erTad_erT gamosaval saSual ebad, m.j a-
naSvil i mezobel i qveynebis istorikosebis cnobebis
moSvel iebas da winaparTa Sesaxeb eris tradiciul i
gadmocemebis gaTval iswineba miaCnda aucil ebl obad.¹⁴
aseTi saxis gadmocemebis igi uxvad xedavs herodotes,
titus Liviusis, mose xoronel is da sxva avtorTa
istoriul SromebSi, maT Soris `qarTI is cxovreba-
Sic-. kvl evis sferoSi aseTi saxis masal is SemotaniT,
m.j anaSvil is azriT, `qarTI is cxovrebiS- Sesaxeb yal -
bi Sexedul ebebis uaryofasTan erTad, imis mtkicebis
SesaZI ebl obac Sei qmneboda, rom qarTvel i eris `dasawy-
isi istoria gamogonil i ki ar aris erTi kacisagan, ro-
gorc hgonia prof. patkanovs, aramed damyarebul ia eris
gadmonacemebzed.¹⁵ am Tval sazriss igi `qarTI is cx-
ovrebiS- `rumiancevis sa- da `mariami seul i- nusxebidan
motanil i Sesabamisi faqtobrivi masal ebiT asabuTeb-
da. saqarTvel os warsul is Sesaxeb, `qarTI is cxo-
vreba- Si arsebul i faqtebis sisworis damadastureb-
l ad, ucxoel avtorTa monacemebze da TviT qarTul i
nivTierikul turis Zegl ebze dayrdnobiT, m.j anaSvil ma
qarTvel i xalxis kul turul i ganviTarebis evol uci-
uri procesis warmocenas uZvel esi periodidan Seeca-
da. am mi zans emsaxureboda gazeT `iveriaSi- gamoqveyne-
bul i misi rva weril i saTauriT_ `istoriul i mimox-
il va.¹⁶

gansakuTrebul interess iwvevs saqarTvel os warsul -
is fal sifikatorebis m.j anaSvil iseul i xedva. man da-
wvriT ebiT ganxil a eris istoriaSi qristianobis, xel -
ovnebis, xuroTmoZRvrebis da a.S. mniSvnel oba da iqve
im avtorebzedac miuTiTa, roml ebic qarTvel i eris

kul turis TviTmyofadobas uaryof dnen. mas asureTi dan, saberZneTi dan, arabeT_sparseTi dan Semosul ad acxadebdnen. aseTi mecneri_vul garizatorebis misamarTiT m.j anaSvil i werda: `r atom iviwyebT batonebo...rom awindel i evropis kul turac TavisiT ar dabadebul a, rom igi RviZli Svilia italiis Zveli kul turisa...Tqveni logikiT dRes xom unda uarvyoT evropis yvela erTa kul tura?~¹⁷

aseTi preambul is Semdeg m.j anaSvil i oponentebis misamarTiT dasZenda: `qarTvel ma kacma, romel mac 2000_3000 wel iwadi icxovra, nuTu am drois manZil ze uqmad iyo da veraviTari sargebl oba ver moutana ara Tu kacobriobas, TviT Tavis qveyanasac ki?...ramdenadac mowinaaRmdegeebis ar swamT `qarTli is cxovrebaSi- mocemul i faqtebis, Cven mxol od qarTul i civil izaciis sakiTxebTan dakavSirebiT mi vmarTavT ucxoel avtorebs.~¹⁸ momdevno statiebSi, m.j anaSvil ma ucxoel avtorTa Sromebze dayrdnobiT saqarTvel os istoriis mniSvel ovani momentebi_uZveli esi droidan XVIII saukunis CaTvliT warmoaCina. damaj erebl ad aCvena qarTvel i eris roli da damsaxureba saerTo civil izaciis ganviTarebis saqmeSi. imave probl ematikas exmaureba gazeTi `iveria-_s furcl ebze gamoqveynebul i al eqsandre xaxanaSvil is weril ebis seria `kval i saero poeziisa qarTli is cxovrebaSi.~¹⁹ igi sapol emiko xasiaTisaa da patkanovis mcdari Sexedul ebebis dasabuTebul uaryofas Seicavs. `qarTli is cxovrebis- Sesaxeb qpatkanovis Sexedul ebebsa da romis istoriasTan mimarTebaSi avgustvil hem Spengleris `Teorias- Soris, axaxanaSvil ma paral el i gaavlo da mecnierebisatvis maTi miuRebl oba safuZvl ianad daadastura.²⁰ somxebis mier `qarTli is cxovrebis- avtorobis uaryofis fonze, axaxanaSvil ma qarTvel Ta genealogiis, misi gvartomobis sakiTxi dawvril ebiT ganixil a. qarTvel Ta warmomavl obis `qarTli is cxovrebi seul i- sqema mogonil ad gamoacxada da misi warmoSobis mizezebic axsna. `es genea-

Ilogia, wers axaxanaSvil i, mogonilia mxol od imisaTvis, rom qarTvel ebisa da somxebis STamomavl oba dauaxl ovon `dabadebis- gadmocemas...visi mogonili unda iyos es fuWigenial ogia, ginda somxebisa da ginda qarTvel ebisa, visac unda mieTvisos Semdeg es tyuili varjisi, mainc da mainc amas araferi mniSvnel oba ara qvs saero gadmocemisaTvis, tradiciisaTvis. qristianobis miRebis Semdeg istoriuli mweralni cdil obdnen Taviantieris gvartomoba daekavSirebinaT `dabadebisaTvis- Taviseris gasapatisnebl ad da gansadi debl ad. es iyo survili berebisa da amasi wili ar udevs TviTers da imis gulis Tqmas.²¹ am debul ebis dasadasturebl ad, axaxanaSvil ma dasavl eT evropis saistorio mwerl obas mimarTa da dasavl eT evropis erTa Soris anal ogiuri miswrafeba Sesabamisi faqtebit daadastura.

yovel ive zemoarNiSnulis Semdeg, axaxanaSvil ma `qarT- l is cxovrebis- daweris datariRebis sakiTxic ganixil la. misi azrit, igi warmarTul periodsi, qristianobis miRebande unda daewerat. rac Seexeba Txzul ebis teqstol ogiur cvl il ebebs, axaxanaSvil s qristianobis Semdgomi periodis `narvawad- miacnda.²² es mosazreba pingoroyvam da r.baramiZem gaizares da arNiSnuli debul ebis sasargebl od damatebiti masal ebic moitanes.²³ pingoroyvas dakvirvebit, `qarTl is cxovrebaSi- `gadarCenilia fragmentebi warmarTul i xanis Zveli qarTul i mwerl obisa.~ misi mtkicebit, leonti mroveli is Txzul eba sagmiro romanebis Janris gavl enas ganicddida. `saero mwerl obas, werda pingoroyva, adridanve SeuTvisebia tradiciebi Zveli fal auri sagmiro eposisa.~ am mosazrebas mxars uwers mkvl evari r.baramiZe. `eWvs ar iwvevs mosazreba, wers igi, rom leonti mrovelis Txzul ebaSi fragmentebis saxiT SemorCenilia adreuli Zegl ebis eqscerptebi.²⁴ Tuki am Sexedul ebas gavizarebT da variarebT, rom qarT- l is cxovrebaSi Zveli warmarTul i qarTul i mwerl o-

bis damadasturebl i saTanado fragmentebi namdvil ad arsebobs, maSin savsebiT sworad unda mi viCni oT a.xaxanaSvil is mosazreba. yuradReba unda mi vaqci oT im garemoebas, rom aseTi fragmentebis aRmoCenam da Semdgo-mi periodis `qarTI is cxovrebaSi- Camatebebis Ziebam, a.xaxanaSvil i qarTI is cxovrebis garkveul i nawil is warmarTul epoqaSi Seqmnis SesaZl ebl obis daskvnamde mi iyvana. `qarTI is cxovrebis- am uZvel es nawil Si eZebda igi Zvel i saero poeziis kval s.

`qarTI is cxovrebis- XI_XII saukuneebis naRvawad gamocxadebis paral el urad, masSi motanil cnobebs q.patkanovi, firdousis Sahnamedan aRebul ad acxadeb-da. am mosazrebis uarsayofad, a.xaxanaSvil s myari ar-gumentebis moSvel iebis SesaZl ebl oba `qarTI is cx-ovrebaSi- warmarTul i epoqis droindel i fragmenteb-is mikvl evam misca. q.patkanovis `mtkicebas,- `qarTI is cxovrebaze- firdousis Sahnamedan zegavl enis Sesaxeb, a.xaxanaSvil ma mil eris Sexedul eba_ `qarTI is cxovre-ba- Tavisi cnobebs firdousis dauxmarebl ad poul obs-daupiri spira,_ `Cvens matianes da firdouss,_ wers igi,_ aqvs erTi da igive wyaro, roml idanac erTmaneTis daux-marebl ad amoqvT Tavisi cnobebl. es wyaro aris saer-To tradicia, xal xSi dacul i ambebi Zvel i droisa, is ambebi, roml ebic erTnairad iqneboda gavrcel ebul i rogorc sparseTSi ise saqarTvel oSi.-²⁵ am SemTxvevaSi, a.xaxanaSvil ma zogadad miuTiTa `qarTI is cxovrebi-s-da firdousis saerTo wyaroze da igi xal xSi gavrc-el ebul tradiciaSi dai naxa. aRni Snul sakiTxze, konkre-tul i pasuxis gacemas g.mamul ia Seecada. man `qarTI is cxovrebis- wyarod `fal auri eposis- is versia mi iCnia, romel ic firdousis l eqsad gawyobil `fal aur eposTan- SedarebiT axl os idga.²⁶

`qarTI is cxovrebis- XI_XII saukuneebSi Seqmnis Sesa-Zl ebl obis uarsayof argumentad, a.xaxanaSvil i imave `qarTI is cxovrebi dan- Sesabamis amonawers i Svel ieb-da, sadac garkvevi Taa naTqvami, romA`wi gni ese qarTvel -

Ta cxovrebi sa, vidre vaxtangi samde (gorgasal i,) aRi w-
ereboda JamiTi_ Jamad, xol o vaxtang mefidan, vidre
aqamomde aRwera j vanSeriman j vanSerianman, Zmi swul is
qmarman wmi ndi sa arCi l isaman, naTesavman revisman, mur-
manis Zisagan da amieriTgan SemdgomTa naTesavTa aRw-
eron vi Tarca ixil on da wi namdebareman Jamman uwyebad
mosces gonebasa maTsa, RvTiv ganbrZnobel sa.-²⁷ am mo-
nacemebze dayrdnobiT, axaxanaSvil i j uanSers VIII sauku-
nis istorikosad acxadebda, xol o Txzul ebas `qarT-
l is cxovrebi- pirvel kompil aci ad. aqedan gamomdi nare,
XI_XII saukuneebSi misi Sedgenis yovel gvari saxis
mtkicebas anaqronizmad Tvl ida.²⁸

amrigad, Cvens mier gazeT `iveria-_dan motanil i
masal ebis gacnobam da anal izmma daadastura, rom, pirvel
l adi wyarobis srul ad aRmouCeni obis mi uxedavad, XIX
saukunis meore naxevris qarTul ma istoriografi am, im
etapze xel misawvdom qarTul da ucxour wyarobze
dayrdnobiT SeZl o; 1).`qarTl is cxovrebi- rogorc
istoriul i wyaros sandoobisa da misi mniSvnel obis
dasabuTeba, 2).`qarTl is cxovrebi- garSemo warmoqm-
nil ma diskusi am da qarTvel i istorikosebis Sromebma,
`qarTl is cxovrebi- aRmoCeni l i nusxebis Seswavl as
da farTo sazogadoebaSi popul arizacias Seuwyo xel i.

axl a davubrundeT sakiTxs qarTvel tomTa Tavda-
pirvel i sacxovrisis Sesaxeb. rogorc zemoT vTqviT
evropaSi gavrcel ebul i azris Tanaxmad qarTvel i
tomebi istoriul i armeniis teritoriaze cxovrobd.
am sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT aRsaniSnavia il ia oqromW-
edl iSvil is mier naTargmni weril i, romel ic gaz. `iver-
iaSi- gamoqveynda. es aris fransua l eronmanis wer-
il i de l oriesadmi. fr. l eronmani l ursmul warw-
erebs kiTxul obda, frangi armenol ogi de l orie dain-
teresda l ursmul warwerebSi napovni cnobebiT arme-
niis Sesaxeb. swored am mizniT man fr.l eronmans sTx-
ova, raTa mi sTvis armeniis Sesaxeb cnobebi mi ewodebi-
na. sapauxo weril Si fr.l eronmani ambobs, rom l ursm-

nul warwerebSi, roml ebic aRmoCnda armeni is terito-
riaze, marTI ac aris cnobebi armeni is Sesaxeb da iqve
aRniSnavs: `Cvenis azriT, armeni aSi napovn l ursmnul
warweraTa ena metad emsgavseba qarTul s enas, Tu yura-
dRebas mi vaqcevT sagnis gamokvl evas imdenad, ramdena-
dac Cven es SegviZl ian axl a. imedi maqvs momaval Si,
rodesac exl andel i Cemi gamokvl eva win wai wevs, bl o-
mad warmovadgino Seuryevel ni sabuTni, am msgavsebi sa.
axl a ki warmogidgenT mar to erT Seuryevel sabuTs,
dafuZnebul s arsebiTi saxel is brunvazed.-²⁹ aqve
fr.l eronmans Sesabamisi magal aTebi mohyavs. garda
arsebiTi saxel ebis brunvisa, fr.l eronmani l ursmul
warwerebSi amokiTxul si tyebSi da qarTul si tyebSi
di d msgavsebas poul obs ris Sedegadac akeTebS Semdeg
daskvnas: `amnairad fil ol ogia, es metad Zl ieri da
maRal i saSual ebaa aRmadginebel i Zvel is eTnografi-
isa, romel ic gvimtkicebs, rom pirvel ni memkvidreni im
miwisa, romel sac armenia ewodeba, iyvnen qristianobis
win meSvi de saukunis bol omdis, imave naTesavis a, rasi sa
romel sac ekuTvnian qarTvel ebi.-³⁰ aqve fr.l eronmani
ambobs: `gTxovT mi aqci oT gansakuTrebiTi yuradReba
im garemoebas, rom armeni is l ursmnebrivi warweraTa
ena ararigad, arafriT, ganSorebi Tac ara hgavs haosi an-
Ta enas. im xal xs, romel sac gamouWria es warwerani da
qristianobis win meeqvse saukunemdis umefnia armenia-
Si, ara hqonia ararigi Tvi seba somxebTan, haosi anTan,
rogorc Tavisi s STamomavl obi T, rasi T, ise eni T: haosi-
anni Semovidnen armeni aSi vanis sul bol ondel warwe-
ris gamoWris Semdeg, im dros, rodesac Tvi T warweris
gamomWrel ma xal xma, Sesustebul ma ramdeni same sauku-
nis ganuwyvetel brZol iT... ninevi isa da babil onis
mfl obel obasTan, daiwia Crdil oeTisaken, swored im
miwebisaken, romel sac Zvel eTi uwodda iverias da exl a
uwodeben saqarTvel os.-³¹

aRni Snul i daskvna mkveTrad ewi naaRmdegeba patkano-
vis mosazrebas da, rac mTavaria, wmi nda mecni erul anal -

izzea dafuZnebul i. aqve unda aRiniSnos is faqti, rom fr.l eronmani ar iyo qarTvel ol ogi da amitomas ar amoZravebda rai me interesi somxebis winaaRmdeg da misi daskvnac ar unda miviCniOT subieqturad. fr.l eronmani am SemTxvevaSi qarTvel i mecnierebis wisqvil ze asxamda wyal s. is undobl obas ucxadebda Zvel somxur saistorio mwerl obas, gansakuTrebiT ki mose xorenel is `somxeTis istorias.~ `yvel am WeSmaritad unda miviRoT,~ ambobs fr.l eronmani,~ somxebs ar abadiaT ararigi nacional uri gadmocema pirvel tigranamde, romel ic kirosis Tanamedrove iyo. rac ki Seexeba amazed wina dros, yvel a moTxroba somexTa mwerl obisa momdinareobs mose xorenel is wignisagan da es wignic, rogorc TviT xorenel i gvemowmeba, aris ubral o axl o (kopia) mar_ abas katinis crusityvaobisa. es batoni katini scxovrobdacristianobis pirvel saukunes, adga l iteratorobis xel ovnebas, ...man Seadgina kompilacia, saca simarTI eze ufro meti sicruve Seitana.~³²

rogorc vxedavT fr.l eronmanisaTvis l ursmul warwerebze win araferi dgas, miTumetes mose xorenel i. swored l ursmul ma warwerebma miivyana igi im daskvnamde, rom istoriul i armenis adgil as qarTul i tomebi cxovrobdnen. aq Cndeba paral el ebi CvenTvis kargad cnobil i `moqcevi qarTI isai--s cnobasTan. rogorc aRniSnul i matianidan viciT, azo wavida Tavisi mamis samkvidroSi da `arian qarTI idan~ wamoiyvana Tavisi saxl eul oba. dRemde ucnohia Tu ra geografiul i areal i moiazreba `arian qarTI i~Si.

sj anaSia cdil obs gaarkvios, Tu ras warmoadgens sityva `arian.~ piri saxelia es Tu ara. sabol ood mkvl evari midis im daskvnamde, rom `msazRvrel i `rianmiekuTvneba rogorc qveyanas, ise mis mcxovrebtac.~³³ `arian qarTI is~ Sesaxeb ki askvnis, rom `rogorc ar unda gadawydes `ariana~_s sakiTxi, Cven vfiqrobT, rom `qarTI is moqcevis~ Txrobis arian qarTI i warmoadgens mogonebas hari qveynis, rogorc qarTvel Ta uZve-

I esi sacxovrisis Sesaxeb. real urad aq SesaZl ebel ia igul isxmebodes rogorc, mi Tani, ise urartuc, vanis tbis mi damoebi, radganac, rogorc vnaxeT, hari_qveyana Seicavs erTsac da meoresac.³⁴

g.mel iqi Svil i `arians- `sparsul s- (`ariul s-) ukav-Sirebs, garda amisa g.mel iqi Svil i `arianis- axsnis sxva variantebsac ganixil avs. `Cven_ ambobs g.mel iqi Svil i `arianis- axsnis ki dev sxva SesaZl ebl obebi gvesaxeba. raki Zvel samyaroSi esoden popul arul i iyo azri espanetis (pirineis) iberiidan kavkasiis iberiaSi xal xis gadmosaxl ebis Sesaxeb, xom ar SeiZl eba `arian- `pere-neis- damaxinj eba iyos? Cveni yuradReba ki dev sxva SesaZl ebl obam miqcia. pontos samefos damaarsebel i `dariosis satrapi miTridate-, romel ic mose xorenel is cnobit, al eqsandre makedonel ma daayena iberTammartvel ad (qarTul i wyaroebis arian qarTl is mefis Ze azo), rogorc cnobil ia iTvl eboda- kirosisa da arrinas mefed-; kirosis adgil samyofel i cnobil ia, xol o `arrina-_ ze Cven araferi viciT. xom ar SeiZl eba, rom romel ime l iteraturul i wyaros safuZvel Ze am `arrina-_ dan qarTul i `ariani- warmomdgariyo?³⁵

arian qarTl ias geografiul i mdebareobis Sesaxeb angariSgasawevi Tval sazrisi aqvs gamoTqmul i gr.qavTarias. igi `moqcevai qarTl isai-_s arian qarTl s, istoriul i saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi moiazrebs da konkretul istoriul geografiul areal Si aqcevs.³⁶ `moqcevai qarTl isai-_s arian qarTl i, _wers gr.qavTaria, _ mdebareobda saqarTvel os samxreT nawil Si. es sakiTxi qarTul mecnierebaSi davas arasodes iwvevda. `moqcevai qarTl isai- werda ise, rogorc esmodaT da damkvidrebul i iyo azonis xanaSi misi mSobl iuri mxaris saxel i. I eonti mrovel is epokaSi arian_qarTl i gaugebari termini iyo mkiTxvel isaTvis da mas uwodebda im saxel s (kl arj eTs), roml iTac icnobdnen misi Tanamedroveni. eWvs ar iwvevs, rom istoriul i kl arj eTi moicavda im teritorias, romel ic Sedioda aqemeni de-

bis imperiis Semadgeni obaSi. saxel wodeba arian_qarTI i, rogorc miTiTebul ia istoriul literaturaSi, ixmareba `irani qarTI is- Sesatyvisad.-³⁷

mraVal i mcdel obis miuxedavad dRemde dauzustebe- l ia `arian qarTI is- adgil mdebareoba. fr.l eronmanis mier Catarebul i kvl evis Semdeg Cndeba eWvi imis Sesaxeb, rom 'moqcevai qarTI isai--s `arian qarTI i- xom ar aris iverTa is Zvel i samkvidrebel i, romelic l ursm- nul warwerebSi `armeni ad- ixseni abe. iqneb `arian qarT- l i- `armenul i qarTI is- an `armin qarTI is- igiveoba aris, romel mac saxecvl il eba gani cada gadamwerTa mier an sxva mizezTa gamo. Tu es marTI ac asea, maSin `arian qarTI i--s mdebareobac advil i dasadgenia.

aRmoCenil i l ursmul i wyaroebis miuxedavad somx- uri istoriografia isev agrZel ebda qarTul i miwebis `mecnierul ad- mitacebas. aRniSnul i tendecia damaxa- siaTebel ia rogorc Zvel i ise axal i somxuri istori- ografiisaTvis. xSir SemTxvevaSi msgavsi gamoxtomebi srul iad usafuZvl o da aramecnierul i iyo, Tumca yov- l ad usafuZvl o mtkicebul ebasac unda gaeces sakadrisi pasuxi. es ar eSl eboda gaz. `iveriis- irgvl iv drazmul qarTvel mecnierTa j gufs, isini yovel Tvis mowodebis simaRl eze iyvnen da Rirseul pasuxs aZl evdnen isto- riis gamyal bebl ebs. swored `iveriis- meSveobiT m.j anaSvil ma istoriis gayal bebaSi amxil a somexi istori- kosebi. man argumentirebul ad uaryo Zvel i somexi ist- orikosebis cnoba, rom TiTqos Woroxis, Ral is, mtkvris da al aznis xeobebi somxebis iyo. somexi istorikosebs m.j anaSvil ma daupirispira qarTul i dokumenturi da pal eografiul i wyaroebi. mraVal wyaroTa ganxil vis Sedegad mopovebul i myari argumentebis safuZvel ze m.j anaSvil i dasZens, rom `yvel a zemore CamoTvl il i sabuTi amtkicebs. rom aq somxebis Soreul i gavl enac ki ar yofil a ara Tu Zvel ad, aramed qristianobis drosac.-³⁸ yovel ive zemoaRniSnul idan gamomdinare m.j anaSvil i iqve wers: `miuxedavad amgvaryi sabuTebisa,

somxis istorikosebi al aznis xeobas somxebis samefos nawil ad hxdian. am azrs amtkicebs mag. p_niana (patkani-ani) viTomda adgil obrivi saxel ebis somxur si tyvebT-an monaTesaveobi T.³⁹ patkanovis aRniSnul arguments m. j anaSvil i pasuxobs gaterianos si tyvebi T: `gateriano tyuil ad ki ar ambobs: `qarTul isa da somxuri enis Seswavl am damarwmuna, rom didi nawil i qarTul i si tyvebi sa da yvel a fesvni am eni sa ekuTvni an gansakuTrebul s qarTul j gufsao. Tu mraval i ricxvi am fesvTa moi poveba somxurSiac, es imas amtkicebso, rom somxurs miuRia isini qarTul isaganao, romel ic odesme did armeniis umetes nawil ze unda yofil iyo gavr cel ebul io, sanam iq ariel ebi movidodneno.⁴⁰ rogorc vxe davT, aq isev is azria ganviTarebul i, rom istoriul i armeniis teritoriaze qarTvel uri tomebi cxovrobdnen. saqarTvel os istoriis somex gamyal bebel Ta wi naaRmdeg, evropel i mecnierebis Teoriebis gamoyeneba metad momgebi an pozici as uqmni da qarTvel mecnierebs da isinic si amovnebi T iyeneben mas.

erT_erT sapol emiko sagnad, gazeT `iveriis- furcl ebze im etapze qarTul i anbani sa da enis warmoSobis sakiTxi iqca. mecniertarT i nawil i acxadebda, rom `qarTul i anbani farnavazma ki ara, adamma Semoi Rovo.⁴¹ meoreni Tvl idnen (q.patkanovi), rom `Tavdapi rvel ad qarTvel ebis ena somxuri iyo, xol o farnavazma brZaneba gasca, raTa yvel as, mTel s saqarTvel oSi qarTul ad el aparaka.⁴² mecniertarT mesame nawil i miicnevda, rom xucuri damwerl oba qarTvel ebs TiTqos mesrofma Seuqmna.⁴³ aRniSnul i sakiTxebi, il .oqromWedl iSvil ma dawvril ebiT ganixila `iveriaSi~ 1881 wel s gamoqveyn ebul weril Si `vin moigona qarTul i anbani.~ man qarTul i anbani s Seqmna farnavazs daukavSira. `farnavazma, werda igi_saqarTvel oSi Semoi Ro zenduri (fehl euri) anbani sparsul isagan. amas gvimtkicebs saocar i msgavseba qarTul _zendur anbanebisa. magal i Tebr, 25 zenduri aso srul ad miagvanan qarTul sa.⁴⁴

il .oqromWedl iSvil i qarTul i anbanis warmoSobis aRniSnul Tval sazriss, mxedrul anbanis ukavSirebda. mas mxedrul i ufro Zvel ad miacnda, vinem asomTavrul i da nusxuri. cxadia, il .oqromWedl iSvil is `Teoria-qarTul i anbanis warmoSobis Sesaxeb aradamaj erebel i iyo. mis mizans, aRniSnul sakiTxTan mimarTebaSi zogerTi mecnieris mcdari Sexedul ebebis gabaTil eba warmoadgenda. erovnul i mizandasaxul obis miuxedavad, man kvl evis araswori gza aircia, ramac igi qarTul i anbanis warmoSobasTan dakavSirebiT araswor daskvnamde miyvana. 1).il .oqromWedl iSvil ma mxedrul i ufro adreul ad gamoacxada vinem asomTTavrul i da xucuri, 2).qarTul i anbanis warmoSobis saTaveebi srul iad usafuzvl od zendur_sparsul i damwerl obis j gufs daukavSira.

qarTvel mkvl evarTagan qarTul i anbanis warmoSobis mecnierul doneze Seswavi dimetri baqrazem daiwyo. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT prof. m.dumbaZe Seni-Snavda: `d.baqrazem safuzvel i Cauyara Cveni istoriis damxmare disciplinas_qarTul pal eografias... marTalia, d.baqrazes qarTul i pal eografia saTanado mecnierul simarI eze ar auyvania, es mxol od akad. ivane j avaxiSvil ma gaakeTa, magram d.baqrazis mier mopovebul ma masal am da misma pirvel ma dakvirvebebma es sagani Taviseburad gaaformes.-⁴⁵

qarTul i anbanis warmoSobis Sesaxeb, Tavisi Sexedul eba d.baqraqzem rusetis arqeol ogTa mexute yril obaze (1881 wel i) gaketebul moxsenebaSi `qarTul i pal eografia- Camoayaliba. es naSromi, arqeol ogTa yril obis masal ebSi 1887 wel s daibeWda. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT, gazeTma `iveriam- 1888 wel s mj anaSvil is vrceI recenzia gamoaqveyna saTauriT `qarTul i pal eografia- weril i d.z.baqrazisa.-⁴⁶ d.baqrazis naSromis Sinaarsis da ZiriTadi debul ebebis Tanmimdevrul gadmocemasTan erTad, mj anaSvil ma misi mecnierul i Sefasebac mogvca. `d.baqrazis sapal eografio Sromis

gamoqveynebis Semdeg_ vkiTxul obT recenziaSi_ qarTul i pal eografia mkvidr safuZvel ze damyarebul ad unda CavTval oT.-⁴⁷ d.baqraZem aRni Snul gamokvl evaSi safuZvl ianad daarRvia qarTul i anbanis warmoSobis il .oqromWedl iSvil iseul i Sexedul eba. qarTul i damwerl obis sawyisad asomTavrul i, xol o Semdeg safexurad ki nusxa xucuri mi iCnia. maTi ganviTarebis momdevno safexurad mxedrul i gamoacxada. qarTul _berZnul i anbanis urTierT SedarebiTma anal izmma, d.baqraZe qarTul i anbanis berZnul idan warmomavl obis mtkicebamde mi iyvana.⁴⁸

qarTul i anbanis warmoSobis sakiTxs Seexo m.j anaSvil i gazeT `iveriaSi- gamoqveynebul weril Si `ra dros da saidan SemoiRes qarTul i anbani .-⁴⁹ igi il .oqromWedl iSvil is zemoaRni Snul i naSromSi gamoTqmul i mosazrebebis pasuxs warmoadgenda. faqtobrivi masal aze dayrdnobiT, man il .oqromWedl iSvil is Sexedul ebebis safuZvl ianad uaryofis paral el urad, kritikis maxvil i koriunis `Teoriis- winaaRmdeg_mesrof maStocis mier TiTqosda qarTul i anbanis Seqmnis uarsayofad mimarTa. qarTul i wyaroebidan aRebul i masal ebisa da imave koriunis monacembze dayrdnobiT, roml is mi xedvi Tac mesrofi qarTul i enis ucodinari Cans, am `Teoriis- damcvel TamisamarTiT, m.j anaSvil i kanonzomierad svamda kiTxvas: `rogor moigonebda mesrofi qarTul anbanis, rodesac man srul iad ar icoda qarTul i ena, saWi ro ki iyo, rom zedmi wveni T scodnoda am SemTxvevaSi yovel i xma ucxo enisa.-⁵⁰ aqedan gamomdinare, gamoricxavda mesrofisagan qarTul i anbanis Tundac Sevsebis raime cdas da daaskvni da: `qarTvel ebs anbani hqondaT ara mesrofis zRaprul mogzaurobis dros saqarTvel osada al baneTSi da farnavazis dros, ara mesame saukunis dasawyisSi qristes win, rogorc amas amtkicebs il .oqromWedl iSvil i, aramed farnavazis mefobis ramdenime saukunis uwinares.-⁵¹

zemoaRni Snul i sakiTxis Seswavl is saqmeSi didi wv-

I il i Seitanes ramaz patarizem da Tamaz gamyrel izem. maTi gamokvl eveli safuzvl ianad uaryofs mesrop maStocis mier qarTul i anbanis Seqmni s Teorias. T.gamyrel - iZe erTi martivi magal iTiTac ki acamtvereb s aRniSnul Teorias. `mesrop_ maStoci, _ wers T.gamyrel iZe, _ TviT ar iyo daufl ebul i qarTul s, rac srul iad gamoricxavs SesaZl ebl obas mis mier qarTul i anbanis Seqmnisas. axal i damwerl obis Seqmna... axal i grafikul i simbol oebis gamogoneba_ SeTxzvas ki ar niSnavs mxol od; igi gul isxmobs uwinares yovl isa enis Rma l ingvinisturi anal izis Catarebas, enis fonetikuri sistemis danawevrebas cal keul bgeriT erTeul ebad, rom l ebi c unda gamoixatos saTanado grafikul i niSnebi T. es aris swored axal i damwerl obis Seqmni s procesSi l ogikurad pirvel i da ZiriTadi etapi, rasac arsebiTad emyareba mTel i Semdgomi procedura bgeraTa grafikul i gamoxatvisa da maTi anbanTrigSi gawyoba. yovel ive es SeuZl ebel s xdis konkretul i enisaTvis damwerl obis Seqmnas iseTi piri s mier, romel ic Rmad ar aris daufl ebul i, romel sac winaswar am enis Taviseburi l ingvinisturi anal izi ar Catarebia.⁵²

r.patarize siRrmiseul ad ganixil avs qarTul i anbanis warmoSobisa da misi monaTesaveobis probl emas somxur anbanTan mimarTebaSi. igi xasgasmiT aRniSnavs im gansxvavebebs rac qarTul s ganasxvavebs somxurisagan. 1).asoTa moxazul oba, 2).aso_ niSnebi s anbanuri rigi, anu Tanmi mdevroba, 3). aso_ niSnebi s ricxvi Ti mni Svel oba, 4). qarTul i da somxuri enisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i aso_ bgrebis anbanuri rigi, 5). qarTul i da somxuri enisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i aso_ bgerobis grafikul i safuzvel i da 6). qarTul i da somxuri asoebis saxel ebi.⁵³ r.patarize mxol od garegnul sxvaobebze ar Cerdeba da ufro siRrmiseul i gamokvl evis safuzvel ze akeTeb s Sesabamis daskvnas.

r.patarize l eonti mrovel is cnobas qarTul i damwerl obis SemoRebis Sesaxeb angariSgasawevad Tvl is.

`qarTul istoriul matianeSi_wers r. patariZe dacu-
l ia udidesi mniSvnel obis cnoba qarTul i damwerl o-
bis SemoRebis Sesaxeb, risi xel aRebiT uaryofa Seu-
Zl ebel ia. kidev erT garemoebas unda gaewios angari-
Si: XI saukuneSi moRvawe qarTvel mematianes_ l eonti
mrovel s miaCnia, rom qarTul i damwerl oba SemoRebu-
l ia warmarTul xanaSi da warmarTul i kul turis Zeg-
l ia da ara qristianul isa. qarTul i damwerl oba rom
qristianul i kul turis Zegl i yofil iyo, gana mrovel
episkoposs da qarTvel mematianes es ar unda scodno-
da?~⁵⁴

somexi istorikosebis Teoriebs qarTul i anbanis Se-
qmnis Sesaxeb ewinaaRmdegeba TviT somexi istorikosi,
XIII saukunis moRvawe mxiTar airivaneci. mxiTar airi-
vaneci Tavis istoriaSi wers, rom: `pirvel i qarTvel i
mefe farnavaz, romel mac eqvsi enidan Seqmna qarTul i.
manve Seqmna maTi damwerl oba~.⁵⁵ ucnobia Tu ra wyaroze
dayrdnobiT wers amas mxiTar airivaneci. safiqrebe-
l ia, rom mas ar uxel mZRvanel ia l eonti mrovel is
Txzul ebidan, radgan l eonti arsad ar wers, rom far-
navazma eqvsi enidan qarTul i Seqmnao. rogorc Cans
mxiTar airivaneci sxva wyaros eyrdnoba, romel sac Cve-
namde ar mouRwevia. rogorc vxedavT, XIX saukunis somex
istorikosTa usafuZvl o Teoriebs Tavad somexi is-
torikosi mxiTar airivaneci abaTil ebs.

amrigad, qarTul i damwerl obis sakiTxebTan dakav-
SirebiT, gazeTi `iveriis~ furcl ebze gamoqveynebul
SromebSi motanil i yvel a debul ebebi, marTal ia ma-
Ral mecniერul i mtkicebul ebebiTa da doniT ar gam-
oirCeoda, magram, im etapze mas garkveul i praqtikul i
da istoriul i Rirebul eba gaaCnda. 1).qarTvel istori-
kosTa mier qarTul i damwerl obis sakiTxebze gamo-
qveynebul ma gamokvl eebma, qarTul i pal eografiis me-
cniერul i Seswavl isaTvis garkveul i safuZvel i moamza-
da, 2).gazeTi `iveriaSi~ dabeWdil ma samecniერo wer-
il ebma, koriunis mcdari Sexedul ebis_mesrof maSto-

ci sagan qarTul i anbanis Seqmnis Tval sazrisis das-
abuTebul uaryofas Seuwyo xel i, 3).qarTul i damwer-
l obis Sesaxeb armenofil uri Tval sazrisis uarmyo-
fel i weril obiTi da epigrafikul i masal ebis samec-
niero brunvaSi Semotanas da mis popul arizacias, ga-
zeTma `iveria~_m udidesi amagi dasdo.

\$ 3. feodal uri saqarTvel os pol itikuri da social uri istoriis sakiTxebi gazeTi `iveriis~_s furcl ebze.

gazeT `iveriis~_s mier gamoqveynebul i publ ikacie-
bidan, mniSvnel ovani adgil i feodal uri saqarTvel os
pol itikuri da social uri istoriis sakiTxebis Ses-
wavl as uWiravs. am probl ematikisadmi miZRvnil i statie-
bi saqarTvel os istorias ama Tu im mefis an romel ime
gamoCenil i saxel mwifo moRvawis saqmianobis fonze
ganixil avda. mi uxedavad amisa, XIX saukunis meore nax-
evris qarTul i historiografia, gamoCenil pirovnebaTa
istoriis Seswavl iT ar kmayofil deboda. misi mesveurebi
istoriis Semoqmedad cal keul pirovnebebs ki ar miC-
nevden, aramed prioritets xal xs aniWebden. amis dam-
adasturebel ia `qarTl is cxovrebisadmi~ d.baqraZisa
da i.WavWavaZis kritikul i damokidebul eba. poema `aCr-
dil Tan~ dakavSirebiT, 1872 wel s daviT erisTavisadmi
miweril erT_erT weril Si il ia WavWavaZe xazgasmiT
aRniSnavda: `am `aCrdil ma~ tyavi gamaZro. istoriul s
nawil zed Sevdeg da erTi nabiji win ver wavedi, ar
vici ra vqna? vambob am `aCrdil s~ Tavi davanebo meTqi.
eg oxeri Cveni istoria...marto omebisa da mefeebis is-
toriaa, eri arsada sCans, me ki aseTis agebul ebis ada-
miani var, rom mefeebisa da omebis saxe ar mizidavs xo-
l me. saqme xal xia da xal xi ki Cvens istoriaSi ar
Cans.-¹

60_ianel ebis mier `qarTl is cxovrebis~ mimarT way-
enebul i es pretenzia, ZiriTadad XX saukunis histori-
ografiamac gaiziara. aRniSnul sakiTxTan dakavSire-
biT akad. n.berZeniSvil i savsebiT samarTl ianad SeniS-
navda: 'dimi tri baqraZe, il ia da sxva samocianel ebi, ra
Tqma unda, ar iyvnen marTal ni `qarTl is cxovrebis~
Sefasebisas. maT aviwydebodaT, rom `qarTl is cxovre-
ba~ samociani wl ebis ideebis saqadagod ki ar iyo daw-

eril i, aramed Tavisi droisaTvis, romel sac is didis warmatebiT emsaxureboda...asevea TiTqmis dResac...zogi rasa sTxovs, zogi rasa da aravin fiqrobs, Tu rogori unda yofil iyo `qarTI is cxovreba,~ rom mas qarTul i feodal uri sazogadoebis, qarTvel i xal xis momsaxureba SeZl eboda.~²

saqarTvel os istoriis kvl evisas, samocianel ebs mar-Tal ia ZiriTadi yuradReba xal xze gadahqondaT, magram, istoriul pirovnebaTa damsaxurebas da Rvawl s ar iviwyebdnen. Tu ramdenad did mniSvnel obas aniWebdnen pirovnebis popul arizaciis aucil ebl obas da misi Rvawl is win wamowevas, kargad Cans gazeTi `iveriaSi-dabeWdil i daviT aRmaSenebl is xsovnisadmi miZRvnil i i.WavWavaZis weril idan. `eri Tavisi gmi rebSi_wers i.WavWavaZe_hpoul obs Tavisi sul sa da gul sa, Tavisi mwvrT-nel sa, Tavisi Rones da SemZl ebl obas, Tavisi xatsa da magal iTs,...ami tomac saWi roa imaTi xsovna, imaTi dauviwyaroba.~³ am SemTxvevaSi i.WavWavaZe garkveul i mosazrebebiT xel mZRvanekl obda. prof. aiosel ianis sityvebiT rom vTqvaT, i.WavWavaZes da samocianel ebs, carizmis rusifikatorul i pol itikis fonze, didi pirovnebebis damsaxurebis winwamoweva da misi popul arizacia xal xSi `erovnul i siamayis grZnobis Casanergad esaWi roebodaT.~⁴

qarTvel xal xSi erovnul _ganmaTavisufli ebel i mo-Zraobis aRorZinebisa da qarTvel i eris gamoRviZebis erT _erT saSual ebad, i.WavWavaZe erovnul i istoriis ardaviwyebas da mis popul arizacias mi iCnevda. `ar vici sxva rogor fiqrobs_ambobda didi il ia_da Cven ki ase gvgonia, rom eris dacema da gaTaxsireba maSin iwyeba, roca eri Tavisi saubedurod, Tavisi istorias iviwyebis, rogorc kacadar ixsenieba is mawanwal a bogano, vi sac aRar axsovs vin aris, saidam modis da sad midis, isec erad saxsenebel i ar aris igi, romel sac RmerTi gaswyromia da Tavisi historia ar axsovs.~⁵ istoriis cnebis ganmar tebis da misi dani Snul ebis winwamowevis fonze

i.WavWavaZe iqve dasZenda: `istoria Tavis gul is fi-
carzed iWedavs marto sul isa da gul is moZraobas
erisas da am daWdeviTa, rogorc sarke, gviCvenebs im
Rones da sagzal s, romel ic momadl ebul i aqvs ama Tu
im ersa dRegrZel obisaTvis da gaZl ierebi saTvis.-⁶ aseTi
preambul is Semdeg, pirvel wyarobze dayrdnobiT igi
sazogadoebis juradRebas eris winaSe daviT aRmaSene-
bel is damsaxurebaze miapyrobda da dasZenda: `dRes
Tu Cven, Cvens binazed varT, es, iqneba imisi Rvawl i, imisi
samsaxuric ufro iyos, dideba saxel sa missa.-⁷

daviT aRmaSenebel is mier qveynisadmi gaweul i Rvawl -
isa da damsaxurebis CamoTvl is paral el urad, araqarTve-
l i erebisa da maTi sarwmunoebis Semwynarebl obaze-
dac miuTiTebda i.WavWavaZe. `amistana sxva eris Rirse-
bis Tayvanismcemel i im droSi_werda il ia_roca kaci
kacs SesaWmel adac ar zogavda, amistana kacTmoyvrul i
pativiscema sxvis erovnebis sa, sxvis sarwmunoebis sa nuTu
sakvirvel i ar aris meTormete saukunis kaci sagam?...gana
meti did bunebovneba moeTxoveba XII saukunis kacs
maSin roca dRes mecxramete saukunis dasasrul s,
sakvirvel ebad migvaCnia gl adstoni, romel ic irl an-
diis erovnebas da sarwmunoebas esarCl eba imave kacT-
moyvareobiT, ra kacTmoyvareobiTac daviT aRmaSenebe-
l i sxva ers pativsa scemda.-⁸ marTal ia, aRniSnul i wer-
il i zogadi xasiaTisaa, magram Rrma Sinaarsis momcv-
l el ia. i.WavWavaZem qarTvel i politikuri moRvawis
Semwynarebl uri politikuri kursi XIX saukunis msotl
lio istoriis sinamdvil is Wril Si ganixil a. mkiTxv-
el sazogadoebas auwya, rom XIX saukunis meore nax-
evris moRvawis uil iam gl adstonis (1809_1898) daTmobe-
bi da Semwynarebl oba,⁹ Tuki izul ebi dan gamomdi nareobda
da irl andiel i xal xis erovnul _ ganmaTavisuflebe-
l i moZraobis zewol iT iyo ganpirobetul i, gl adsto-
nis reformamde Svidi saukuniT adre, bevrad ukeTesi
da humanuri reformebi daviT aRmaSenebel ma piradi
iniciativiT ganaxorciel a. samocianel Ta mier daviT

aRmaSenebel is am kuTxi T Sefasebas ivane j avaxi Svil ic iziarebda. qarTul da ucxour wyar oebze dayrdnobiT, daviTis pirovnebas da mis Sinagan Tvi sebebs Semdegnairad wamosaxavda: `di debul i gvirgvinosanis sul ieri Tvi seba yovel mxrivi da farTo yofil a; TviT mefe xom keTil morwmune da uerTgul esi marTI madidebel i qristiane iyo; magram mainc mas sxva moZRvrebisa da sj ul is kacic uyvarda da pativsa scemda. amitomac iyo, rom mahmadian istorikosTa si tyviT igi ucxo erovnebis Svil ebsac Tavis ganaTI ebul s da Zl iers mfarvel obas ar akl ebda; mas, qristianes mahmadianTa poziciisa da mecnierebisadmic uZgerda siyvarul iT gul i.¹⁰

daviT aRmaSenebel is moRvaweobas gazeTma `iveriam-sagangebo publ ikaciebi miuZRvna. gansakuTrebul interest iwvevs T.Jordani as `saxsovr ad wmi ndi sa saqar Tvel os mefis daviT aRmaSenebl isa¹¹ da gr.yi fSiZis `daviT aRmaSenebl is Rvawl i,¹² `saqarTvel os mefe daviT aRmaSenebel i 1089_1125¹³ statiebi. am SemTxvevaSi yuradRebas mxol od bol o maTganze gavamaxvil ebT. gr.yi fSiZis es naSromi daviT aRmaSenebel is gardacval ebis dRisadmi a miZRvnil i. istoriografiaSi garkveul ia, rom daviTi 1125 wl is 24 ianvars gardaicval a. imave wl is 26 ianvars ekl esiam igi wmindanad Seracxa. am dRidan moki debul i, yovel i 26 ianvari mis mosaxsenebel dReT iTvl eba. rac Seexeba TviT statias, giorgi II_ is droindel i saqarTvel os Znel bedobis aRweris fonze, avtori giorgis gadadgomis da daviTis gamefebis ZiriTad mi zezebs wamosacens da iqve sdasZens: `Ronemi xdil ma erma giorgis uari aTqmevina mefobaze da aiZul a sicocxl eSive gadaeca gvirgvini 19 wl is Svil isaTvis daviT mesami saTvis.¹⁴ am SemTxvevaSi gr.yi fSiZe or Secdomas uSvebs: 1). qarTul istoriografiaSi dadgenil ia, rom daviTi gamefda 16 wl is asakSi 1089 wel s.¹⁵ 2). igi iyo ara daviT III, aramed daviT VI.¹⁶ aRni Snul is miuxedavad, qarTul i da ucxouri wyar oebis gamoyenebi T, gr.yi fSi Zem ZiriTadad sworad gaaSuqa daviT aRmaSenebel is moR-

vaweoba. maRal i Sefaseba misca mis mier ganxorciel ebul administraciul da saekl esio reformebs. aq erTi sayuradRebo momenticaa gasaTval iswinebel i. kerZod, daviT aRmaSenebel is pirovnebis ukeT warmocenis da sazogadoebis yuradRebis miqcevis mizniT, gr.yi fSi Zem SedarebiTi meTodis gamoyenebas mimarTa. roca igi daviTis samxedro reformebs da mis mier Catarebul brZol ebs Seexo, daviTi rogorc samxedro strategi da saxel mwifo mmarTvel i napol eon bonapartes Seadara. misi azriT, `iseve rogorc napol eoni iyo didi mexsierebis, aseve daviTic iyo didi mexsierebis, romel sacaxsovda ukanasknel i meomris saxel i da gvaric ki.⁻¹⁷ aseTi saxis anal ogi iT, gr.yi fSiZe sazogadoebis winaSe daviT aRmaSenebel is, rogorc didi saxel mwifo moRvawis ukeT warmocenas isaxavda mi znad. meore mxriv, igi mkiTxvel s am didi pirovnebis ukeT gacnobierebis SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda. `Tu saqarTvel os gauxaria odesme_werda igi_Tavis Sav_ukuRma dReTasvl aSi, Tu mis RvawliT mosil marj venas nayofi umkia, amgvar droT unda CaiTval os dro daviT aRmaSenebel is mefobisa...TviT brwyinval e mefoba Tamarisa sxiv mokl ebul i iqneboda daviTis Rvawli win rom ar wasZRol oda.⁻¹⁸ Cvens mier motanil i es faqtebi imis damadasturebel ia, rom XIX saukunis meore naxebris qarTvel istorikosTa mier gazeT `iveriaSi- gamoqveynebul Sromebsi, qarTvel i eris winaSe daviT aRmaSenebel is Rvawli sworad iqna gagebul i da Sefasebul i.

saqarTvel os Suasaukuneebis istoriis probl ematikisadmi miZRvnil i publ ikaciebidan, romel ic gazeTma `iveria-_m dabeWda, gansakuTrebul yuradRebas n.urbnel is (xizaniSvil i) metad sayuradRebo naSromi `giorgi brwyinval e mefe saqarTvel osi- iqcevs. igi Txrobas l aSa giorgis mefobidan, saqarTvel oSi monRol Ta pirvel i gamocenidan iwyebis. am faqtTan dakavSi rebi T, kerZod, monRol Ta pirvel i Semosevis TariRis dazustebis mizniT, Tanmi mdevrul ad gani xil avs vaxuS-

tis, broses, da sxvaTa mosazrebebs. mi uxedavad ami sa, sakiTxis dakonkretebas ar axdens da mas Riad tovebs. qarTul istoriografiaSi garkveul ia, rom monRol Ta 20000 j ari saqarTvel os sazRvrebTan pirvel ad j ebe da subudais meTaurobiT 1220 wel s gamoCnda da maTTan brZol aSi qarTvel ebi damarcxdnen.¹⁹

saqarTvel os istoriis mniSvnel ovani momentebis gadmocemis fonze, n.urbnel i Seecada mkiTxvel i saTvis eCvenebina monRol Ta mier saqarTvel os dapyrobiT, monRol - Ta batonobiT da saqarTvel oSi ormefobiT warmoqmni - l i uaryofiTi Sedegebi. aseTi preambul is Semdeg, man dawvril ebiT ganixil a giorgi brwyinval is saxel mwi - foebrivi saqmianoba. misi daxasiaTebiT, `im didsa da grZel sivrceze, romel ic mongol ebis mfl obel obas uWiravs, giorgi mexuTe ganmar toebiT sdgas da aRmosavl eTis varskvl aviviT hbrwyinavs, el vare sxivsa hfens winaparTa samefo gvirgvi ns. mTel s oc darva wel s samefo taxtidan es varskvl aviaciskrovnebda samSobl os da am drois ganmavl obaSi TviT samSobl oc feni qsebr ganaxl da, gaspetakda, pativi da dideba moixveWa ...krZal viTa da mowiwebiT vumzerT am did bunebovani s mefis cxovrebas, imis moRvaveobas da ar viciT, ra ufro metad unda gvakvirvebdes_ imisi Zl iereba, Tu `sibrZne goniereba- da mecniereba...mTel i saukuneebis ganmavl obaSi giorgi mexuTes swori da tol i ara hyavda da mis moRvaveobasa da moqmedebas Tavisi msgavsi ar moepoveboda.-²⁰ es amonaweri saukeTesod axasiaTebis giorgi brwyinval es, rogorc pirovnebasa da saxel mwi fo moRvaves. meore mxriv, gamokveTil ad moCans giorgi brwyinval isadmi n.urbnel is gansakuTrebul i simpaTia. saxel mwi foebriv sarbiel ze giorgi brwyinval is warmatebebi, misi azriT, mimdinare istoriul ma procesebma ganapiroba. igi `mefis niWi erebis gamovl inebis- xel Semwyobi istoriul i situaciis warmocenas aucil ebl obad miiCnevda.²¹ saxel mwi foebrivi moRvaveobis sferoSi giorgi brwyinval is saqmianobis anal ogs n.urbnel i,

daviT aRmaSenebel Tan eZebda. `bevri saerTo Tvi seba da Rir seba moi poveba maT Soris. didad mogvanan igini erTmaneTs, TiTqo gangebamac erTnairi xvedri arguna am or Sesani Snav mefes, TiTqo bedis weram erTsa da imave garemoebaSi Caayena da moaTavsas es ori sakvirvel i adami ani.~²²

Tu ramdenad mi zanSewoni l ia am ori pirovnebis erTmaneTisadmi Sedareba, amis gasarkvevad aucil ebl obas warmoadgens Tval i gavadevnoT giorgi brwyinval is mier gatarebul RonisZiebebs. istoriografiaSi garkveul ia, rom giorgi brwyinval em gamefebis pirvel ive dRidanve daiwyo brZola saqarTvel os saxel mwifosaTvis XII saukunis droindel i saerTaSoriso avtoritetis dasabrunebl ad, gareSe mtris winaaRmdeg moqnil i da mra val mxrivi daxvevil i pol itikis gasatarebl ad, Sinauri mtrebis asal agmavad, samarTl i anobisa da kanonierebis aRsadgenad. Tuki am fonze ganvixil avT am ori pirovnebis saqmi anobas, maT Soris msgavseba aSkara gaxdeba. am saki TxTan dakavSirebi T gnadiraZe samarTl i anad Seni Snavs; `Znel i araa, aRni Snul mefeTa epoqebis Seswavl isas mkvl evarma maT moRvaweobaSi msgavseba aRmoacinos, saerTod ki, giorgi brwyinval es gansakuTrebul i adgil i uWiravs saqarTvel os pol itikur istoriaSi da am mxriv aqac n.urbnel is mier miniSnebul i misi msgavseba daviT aRmaSenebel Tan marTebul i unda iyos.~²³

n.urbnel is dasaxel ebul naSromSi mniSvnel ovani adgil i giorgi brwyinval is bavSvobas, aRzrdas da mis gamefebas aqvs daTmobil i. vaxuSti batoniSvil ze dayrdnobiT, giorgi brwyinval is gamefebis TariRad n.urbnel i 1318 wels asaxel ebs.²⁴ am mosazrebas mxars ivj a-vaxiSvil i²⁵ da v.kiknaZe uWers.²⁶ saqarTvel os istoriis narkvevebSi da qarTul sabWoTa encikl obediaSi giorgi brwyinval is gamefebis TariRad 1314 wel ia dasaxel ebul i.²⁷

rac Seexeba giorgi brwyinval es saxel mwifoebriv mo-

Rvaweobas, n.urbnel i dawril ebiT gadmoscems im Roni sZ-
 iebebs, romel ic saqarTvel os gasaerTianebl ad da urCi
 feodal ebis asal agmavad gaatara giorgi V brwyinval em.
 yovel ive amas, rogorc qarTul istoriografiaSi caa
 dadasturebul i, giorgi brwyinval e frTxil i da moxe-
 rxebul i pol itikis Sedegad aRwevda, romel sac saxel
 l mwi fos marTvis maRal i niWi ereba gansazRvravda. `gi-
 orgi brwyinval e_ wers n.urbnel i_ uxvad iyo cxebul i
 saxel mwi foebrivis niWi T, saxel mwi fo asparezzed man
 Semoqmedebi Ti Zal a gamoi Ci na da, rasakvirvel ia, sakuT-
 ari mi marTul ebac hqonda, sakuTars sistemas mi sdevda.
 es mi marTul eba da sistema ori si tyvi T gamoi Tqmi s:
 j er si brZne_ goniereba da mere moqmedeba. mefe garem-
 oebas akvirdeboda, droebis Sesafersad iqceoda. imi s
 gamWriaxi da frTxil i goneba swrafad swvdeboda dr-
 oisa da Jami s vi Tarebas da mefe mkl avs maSin aamuSavebda,
 roca samj obino iyo, roca saqmis xel idan gaSveba ar
 SeiZl eboda. am gamWriaxobaze da si fxizl eze aris aS-
 enebul i da damyarebul i mTel i moRvaweoba giorgi br-
 wyinval isa.²⁸ dadasturebul ia, rom giorgi brwyinval e
 mar to saqarTvel os pol itikuri gaerTianebi T da qvey-
 anaSi mSvidobis damyarebi T ar i fargl eboda. mas karg-
 ad esmoda, rom saqarTvel os normal uri ganvi Tarebi sa-
 Tvis, monRol Ta batonobis Sedegad qveyanaSi Sel axu-
 l i kanonebisa da samarTl is dauyovnebl ivi aRdgena
 aucil ebl obas warmoadgenda. am mi marTul ebi T pi rve-
 l i nabij i man, samarTl is wignis `Zegl isdeba-_s Seqm-
 ni T gadaidga. am faqtTan dakavSi rebi T akad. iv.j avax-
 iSvil i werda: `es samarTl is wigni giorgi brwyinval -
 isagan mowveul i saxel mwi fo darbazis sakanonmdebl o
 krebisagan aris Sedgenil i da aragvisa da qsnis xeo-
 bis mTiel Ta TemebisaTvis iyo gaCenil i.²⁹ aRni Snul
 dokumentis n.urbnel ma sagangebo naSr omi `Zegl is dadeba
 mefe giorgi brwyinval esi.³⁰ mi uZRvna. sakanonmdebl o
 aqts n.urbnel ma maRal i Sefaseba misca. imavdroul ad,
 giorgi brwyinval is Semdgomi Taobebis misamarTi T

sayveduri gamoTqva, rom didi mefis brZnul i Segoneba 'drois Sesaferisad moiqeciTo- daiviwyes. 'samwuxar-od, _wers igi_ mefis cxovreba mal e daaviwydaT, mis mcnebas yuradReba ar aTxoves. pol itikuri `sibrZne_ gonierebas'- TiTqos aRaravin saWi roebda, nayofic mal e aRmocenda.³¹ `nayofis aRmocenebaSi- n.urbnel i saqarTvel os samefo_ samTavroebad daSl as gul isxmobda.

n.urbnel is naSromebi: `giorgi brwyinval e mefe saqarTvel osi- da `Zegl is dadeba mefe giorgi brwyinval esi,- maSindel i qarTul i istoriografiis mniSvnel ovan SenaZens warmoadgenda. aRniSnul naSromebSi, giorgi brwyinval is pirovneba da misi sakanonmdebl o saqmi- anoba, avtorma XIV saukunis pirvel i naxebris saqarTvel os istoriis fokusSi moaqcia da mTel i misi moRvaweoba, epoqis saerTo fonze ganixil a. sakiTxisadmi aseTi formiT midgomam, n.urbnel s giorgi brwyinval is naRvawis obieqturad Sefasebis SesaZl ebl oba misca. g.nadiraZis si tyvebiT rom vTqvaT, istoriaSi pirovnebis rol is gansazRvrisas n.urbnel i TiTqmis ar cdeboda, riTac ver daikvexnis ara mar to XIX saukunis, aramed Tanamedrove istoriografiac ki.³² Tuki es asea, n.urbnel is progresul i istoriul i Sexedul ebebis pirvel propagandistad gazeTi `iveria- unda CaiTval os.

gazeTi `iveria- _Si gamoqveynebul i masal ebis Seswavl isas, Cveni yuradReba mj anaSvil is statiam `zogier- Ti cnobebi da mosazrebani Sesaxeb saqarTvel os istoriisa-³³ miiqcia. avtorma, iranel i dampyrobli ebis winaaRmdeg qarTvel i xal xis brZol a uZvel esi droidan ganixil a. gansakuTrebul i yuradReba XVII saukunis saqarTvel os istoriis monakveTze gaakeTa. iran_ osmal Ta mier saqarTvel os dasapyrobad Catarebul i Zal - datanebiTi RonisZiebebi win wamoswia. `sparseTs da osmal eTs gamocdil ebam daanaxva_ vkiTxul obT wer- il Si_ rom Zal iT saqarTvel os damorCil eba ar Sei- Zl eboda da gamonaxes axal i gza, es iyo SefarviTi TavazianobiTi, mzakvrobiT RvarZl _ Suris Tesva

saqarTvel os mkvidrTa Soris da mahmadianobis gavr-
cel eba am qveyanaSi.³⁴ aseTi moqnili politikis ga-
tarebit, sparseTma da osmal eTma, saqarTvel os samefo
samTavroebis urTierTdapirispireba, erTmaneTSi SuR-
lisa da mtrobis Camogdeba SeZlo. ZmaTa Soris Si-
naaSi il obam, saqarTvel oze sparseTisa da osmal eTis
zegavl enis gaZliereba daaCqara. dasaxel ebul weril-
Si mjanaSvili saqarTvel oSi Sah abasis Semosevebze
amaxvil ebs gansakuTrebul yuradRebas. dawvril ebit
aRwers qarTvel Ta modgmis amosaZirkvavad mis mier
qarTisa da kaxeTSi gatarebul RonisZiebebs. gadamw-
yvet momentSi, qarTvel Ta marcxis Ziritad mizezebs
igi Semdegnairad xsnis: `Tumca gonebiTac da simxni-
Tac qarTvel ni Warbobdnen mters, magram maTgan mainc
xSirad izi eodnen. amis mizezi ra Tqma unda iyo sim-
ravle mtrisa da qarTvel Ta Zal is aramTlianoba (Sin-
auri SfoTi, dayofa saqarTvel os da sxva). mtris la-
Sqari simravli TerTi_orad da erTi aTad Warbobda
qarTvel Tajars mudam.³⁵ am werilis Ziritad daniSnul
lebas saqarTvel os istoriis warsulisadmi mkiTxvel Ta
yuradRebis mi pyroba da mis fonze, qarTvel Tadmi Tav-
damtydari ubedurebis mizezebis axsna warmoadgenda.
mjanaSvili miznad isaxavda; warsulis mdidari gamo-
cdil ebidan gamomdinare, qarTvel ierisaTvis Seexsene-
bina, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis misaRwevad,
eris sul ierad da fizikurad gadasarCenad, Zal TTa
konsolidacia iyo saWi ro. qarTvel xal xs 60_ianel eb-
isaTvis mxari unda aeba da gaertianebuli Zal ebit
karismomdgar mters dapirispirebodnen. am SemTxvevaSi,
mas carizmis rejimis winaarmddeg brZola hqonda mxed-
vel obaSi.

msgavsi daniSnul ebis funqcias atarebda `egeri~_s
fsevdonimit gazeT `iveriaSi~ dabeWdili werili, `da-
diani cotne da misi vinaoba.³⁶ werilis avtori sazoga-
doebas cotne dadianas gmirobis ambavs acnobs. am fonze
igi aRwers xobis monastris freskebis saval alo mdgoma-

reobas da misi dauyovnebl iv aRdgenis aucil ebl obis sakiTxs ayenebs. mis mier dasmul i moTxovnis Sesrul ebis aucil ebl obis erT_erT argumentad, am monastris freskebis unikal urobas da istoriisaTvis gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel obis Rirebul ebas asaxel ebda. `zemox-senebul ni suraTni_ vkiTxul obT weril Si_ metad sayuradRebo da Zvirfasi unda iyos Yyvel asaTvis, vinc afasebs warsul s da gonieris Tval iT uyurebs awmyos. imedi unda viqoni oT, rom am Cvenis istoriis moRvaweTa suraTebis da sxvaTac, romel nic srul ad moi poveba saqarTvel oSi, Cveni sazogadoeba ar dahkargavs; es suraTni j er kidev sCanan, magram SesaZl oa mal e gahqrnen, rogorc bevri sxva gahqra samudamod Cvenis daudevrobiT.³⁷ rogorc vxedavT qarTul i sazogadobebis Segnebul i nawil i sworad afasebda saqarTvel os istoriis kul turul i memkvidreobis gadarCenis mniSvnel obas da yovel Rones xmarobda momaval i TaobebisTvis mis SesanarCunebl ad. qarTvel xal xSi erovnul i cnobierebis gasaRviZebl ad, istoriul i movl enebis winwamoweva da sazogadoebaSi wi naparTa damsaxurebis Sesaxeb, samocianel Ta ideologiuri saqmianobis erT_erT mZl avr iaraRs warmoadgenda.

gazeT `iveriaSi- dabeWdil i publ ikaciebidan, Cveni yuradReba a.fedaevის werl ma miiqcia. igi saqarTvel os ukanasknel dedofal s mariams Seexeba. weril is avtori gansakuTrebul yuradRebas mariam dedofl is ruseTSi gadasaxl ebaze amaxvil ebs. rogorc cnobil ia gen. I azarevi mariam dedofl is ruseTSi Zal iT gadasaxl ebas Seecada da am mcdel obas kidec Seewira. gen. I azarevi TviTon mariam dedofal ma mokl a. am faqtTan dakavSirebiT a. fedaevi Semdegs gvacnobs: `sazogado azri_ ki romel ic friad dasaj erebel ia, imas ambobs, rom I azarevi dedofal ma ki ar mohkl a sakuTaris xel iT, aramed misma mxl ebel ma, kaxel ma ximSi aSvil ma, romel sac dedofal ma gadasca xanj al i da ubrZana generl is mokvl ao. brZanebis Sesrul ebis Semdeg mariam-

ma mkvl el obis bral i TiTon ikisra, rom amiT daexsna namdvil i mkvl el io. ambohen, amgvaradve l aparakobda mcxeTaSi dasafl avebis dros, (mariam dedofl is mcxeTaSi gadmosvenebis dros i.v) dedofl is moZRvario. man ganacxada, rom dedofal ma aRsareba miTxra, general i me ar momikl avso da miTxra gamomeqveynebina es ambavi misi sikvdil is Semdegao⁻³⁸ am konkretul SemTxvevaSi Cven imis garkveves ar daviwyebT Tu ramdenad Seesabameba es monaTxrobi simarTI es. yuradRebas mxol od aRniSnul weril Si gatarebul tendenciaze SevaCerebT. Cvens mier am publ ikaciis safuZvl ianad Seswavl idan irkveva, rom a.fedaevma am weril iT Seecada, mariam dedofl isTvis gen. l azarevis mkvl el obis bral deba moexsna da wina pl anze mefisa da dedofl is erTgul i adamiანis saxe kaxel i ximSiaSvil is saxiT win wamoewia. garda amisa a.fedaevi ruseTis xel isufal Ta im agresiuლ kurs xatavs romel ic mariam dedofl is gadasaxl ebis dros warmoCnda. msgavsi saxis masal a bunibrivia protestis grZnobas uRvi Zebda miZinebul ers. ruseTis xel isufl ebis saxiT daanaxvebda real ur mters da mis winaaRmdeg sabrZol vel ad ganawjobda. zemoT aRniSnul weril Si a.fedaevi erT Secdomas uSvebs. is giorgi XII_s moixseniebs rogorc giorgi XIII_s. unda aRiniSnos, rom giorgi XII gaz. `iveria-Si- xSirad aris moxseniebul i rogorc giorgi XIII. dRevandel qarTul istoriografiaSi kaxeTis ukana sknel mefed giorgi XII aris miCneul i da am azrs iziarebs m.dumbaZe³⁹ da a.kikviZ⁴⁰ aRniSnul i xarvezis miuxedavad a.fedaevის weril i mniSvnel ovania imdenad ramdenadac igi samocianel Ta ideebis ganxorciel ebas emsaxureboda.

imave probl ematikas exeba al .garsevaniSvil is statia `nadir_ Sahi da saqarTvel o.⁻⁴¹ evropel istorikos-Ta Sromebze dayrdnobiT, igi nadir_ Sahis gamefebis, mis mier gatarebul i reformebis, qarTI _ kaxeTisadmi damokidebul ebis da indoeTis l aSqrobaSi erekl e

meoris meTaurobiT qarTvel Ta monawil eobis mni Svnel o-
van momentebs aRwers. sagangebod gamoyofs aRni Snul
I aSqrobaSi qarTvel Ta Seyovnebis ZiriTad mizezebs.
faqtobrivi masal is safuZvel ze damaj erebl ad uary-
ofs samxedro saqmeSi qarTvel Ta gawvrTnis nadir_
Sahiseul motifs.⁴² Tuki iran is mbrZanebel i qarTvel
mxedrobas sagangebod gawvrTni da, mis piri spir ZI ieri
mowinaaRmdege aRmoCndeboda, romelic imdroindel i
iran is xel isufal Ta sagareo politikaSi ar Tavsde-
boda. savsebiT sworad Seni Snavs al .garsevani Svili, rom
im etapze `Sahs ar undoda male daebrunebina qvey-
nisTvis iseTi gmiri da warCinebul i sardali, rogoric
iyo irakli batoni Svili.-⁴³am SemTxvevaSi, meore mxare-
sac unda mi vaqciot yuradReba. istoriografiaSi da-
dasturebul ia, rom indoeTis I aSqrobaSi nadir Sa-
hisadmi erekl es xleba mZevlobis xasiaTs atarebda.
miuxedavad amisa, erekl em `nadirTan I aSqrobaSi...kargi
samxedro da dipl omatiuri gamocdil eba mi iRo...Zier
dampyrobels Tavisi niWi da unari ucvena, nadir_Sahis
iran ic safuZvl ianad gaicno.-⁴⁴ mas Semdeg rac nadir_
Sahma indoeTis I aSqroba daamTavra, 1744 wels erekl e
kaxeTSi, xolo Teimuraz meore qarTl is mefed daamt-
kica. `mama_Svili is gamefeba qarTl _kaxeTSi uaRresad
mni Svnel ovani movl ena iyo damouki debl obisaTvis brZ-
ol is didgzaze. Teimuraz is mefed kurTxevisa da erekl
I es kaxeTSi mefed damkvidrebi s Semdeg, damouki debl o-
bisaTvis brZola axal, ufro xel sayrel fazaSi Sevi-
da.-⁴⁵ amas xel i 1747 wl is ivniSi nadir_Sahis sikvdil -
mac Seuwyo. Sahis mkvlel obis ZiriTad mizezad al .ga-
rsevani Svili mis xel qveitebisadmi gansakuTrebul si-
sastikes asaxel ebda.⁴⁶

erekl e meoris samxedro niWi erebaze mogviTxrobs
gazeTi `iveria~_Si gamoqveynebul i T.Jordani as statia
`samagal iTo omi mefe erekl esi sparseTis Sah azatxan-
Tan erevnis axlos 1752 w. ivni si.-⁴⁷ avtori dawvril ebiT
aRwers brZol is mimdinare momentebs. gansakuTrebiT

erekl es samxedro sazrianobas da didi sardl isadmi
damaxasiaTebel i Tvissebebis warmocenas usvams xazs. rac
Seexeba brZol is 1752 wl is ivl isiT daTariRebas, si-
namdvil es ar Seesabameba. qarTul istoriografiaSi
dadgenil ia, rom es brZol a 1751 wl is 27 ivl iss gaim-
arTa.⁴⁸ erekl e meoris saxel mwifoebri vi saqmianobis
probl emisadmi miZRvnil i gazeTi `iveria~_Si dabeWd-
il i al .garsevaniSvil is statia: `20 april i 1770 wl isa
anu sakvirvel i omi aspinZisa.⁴⁹ qarTl _ kaxeTis pol i-
tikuri mdgomareobis fonze igi ruseTTan urTierTo-
bas, general totl ebenis meTaurobiT 600 kaci ani kor-
pusis saqarTvel oSi Camosvl as da gansacdel is winaSe
myofi erekl esadmi Ral atis Sefasebas iZl eva. al .ga-
rsevaniSvil is mier motanil i faqtebis si swores Tana-
medrove qarTul i istoriografiac adasturebs. am mxriv
prof. v.maWaraZis naSromi_ `aspinZis brZol a- gamoirCeva
masSi general totl ebenis yvel a avantiuristul i na-
bij ia dawvril ebiT ganxil ul i⁵⁰ da saTanado kval ifi-
kaciiTaa Sefasebul i.

zemoarNiSnul statiaSi al .garsevaniSvil i mkiTxve-
l is gansakuTrebul yuradRebas erekl es, rogorc sardl
l is maRal niWi erebaze amaxvil ebs. didi si amayiT aRwe-
rs aspinZis omSi erekl es gamarj vebas da mas did sam-
xedro strategad warmogvidgens. imavdroul ad, mtris
dasamarcxebel ad erekl es mier winaswar gatarebul i
RonisZiebebis, TiToeul i sardl isadmi dakisrebul i
funqciebis maRal doneze Sesrul ebis Sefasebis mniS-
vnel obasac iZl eva. am fonze, augad ixseniebs giorgi
batoniSvil s, romel mac SeWirvebis Jams, mi sive si tyve-
biT rom vTqvaT, mamas ar daexmara da Ral atis tol fa-
sovani qmedeba Cai dina. amis damadasturebl ad imowmebs
el izbar fal avandiSvil s, zaal baraTaSvil s (erekl es
mdivanbegi), al eqsandre orbel ianis weril s `aspinZis
omi,~ zaal orbel ians, daviT orbel ians da erekl es
mdivans oman xerxeul izes.

erekl e meoris Sesaxeb bevri daiwera gaz. iveriaSi

amaTgan aRsani Snavia m.j anaSvil is `mefe erekl e,⁵¹ al .
 garsevaniSvil is `yaraTafis omi,⁵² Teimuraz batoniS-
 vil is `aRa mahmad_ xanis mier Sepyroba Tbil isisa,⁵³
 erekl e mefis pol itikur moRvaweobas ramdenime wer-
 il i uZRvna p.cxvil oel ma. man aRwera erekl es cxovre-
 bis istoria gamefebidan mis gardacvel ebamde.⁵⁴ yura-
 dRebas iqcevs misi weril ebi: `istoriul i masal a mefe
 irakl is cxovrebisa,⁵⁵ `yvarl is cixe da nursal begi,⁵⁶
 'general _ maiori totl ebeni genrixis Ze grafi tot-
 l ebeni da irakl i mefe,⁵⁷ `gmiri aspinZis omisa,⁵⁸ aRni S-
 nul masal aTa ganxil va metad Sors wagviyans. Cven
 mxol od imas avRni SnavT, rom erekl e meoris istoriis
 TiToeul detal s qarTvel i moRvaweebi farTod aSu-
 qebden. maT sworad hqondaT gaazrebul i erekl es droin-
 del i istoriul i sinamdvil e da arcerTi maTgani ar
 Zraxavda erekl es 1783 wl is georgievskis traqtatis
 gamo. TiToeul i avtori erekl es warmoaCenda gmir mefed,
 romelic mtris gasanadgurebnad da Tavisi qveynis
 Tavisufl ebis dasacavad saocar samxedro strategias
 mimarTavda. zemoT CamoTvl il avtorTa weril ebi erekl
 e mefis Sesaxeb metad vrcel informacias iZl eva da
 igi uaRresad mniSvnel ovania dRevandel i dRisTvisac
 ki. cal ke unda aRiniSnos oman mdivanis (xerxeul iZe)
 saistorio Txzul ebis `mefoba irakl i meorisa-_ s
 dabeWdva. aRni Snul i Txzul eba dReisaTvis wignas sax-
 iTac aris gamocemul i.⁵⁹

Tanamedrove qarTul i historiografiis miRwevebis
 fonze Tuki ganvixil avT T.Jordani asa da al .garsevani S-
 vil is weril ebs, davrwmundebi T, rom XVIII saukunis meore
 naxebris saqarTvel os pol itikur mdgomareobas isini
 sworad asaxaven. am publ ikaciebis mniSvnel oba imaSi
 mdgomareobs, rom erekl e meoris pirovnebis wi na pl an-
 ze wamovevi T, qarTvel sazogadoebas misi pol itikuri
 moRvaweoba gaacnes da qarTvel i eris gadarCenis saqmeSi,
 erekl e meoris gadaxdil brZol ebs Tavisi adgil i mi-
 uCines. meore mxriv, erekl e meores rogorc sardal sa

da saxel mwifo moRvawes farTo popul arizacia gaukeTes.

saqarTvel os pol itikuri istoriis paral el urad, gazeTi `iveria- social uri probl ematik iTac iyo dainteresebul i. am mxriv, yuradRebas imave gazeTSi 1889 wel s gamoqveynebul i axaxanaSvil is naSromi `batonymoba saqarTvel oSi ruseTTan SeerTebamdis- iqcevs. rogorc prof. d.gvritiSvil i SeniSnavda, axaxanaSvil i `evropul i feodal uri institutebis mza sqemebis mixedviT swavl obda qarTul feodal ur urTierTobas, magram misi Sromis gamosvla mainc didi mniSvnel obis movlena iyo, ramdenadac qarTul i saTanado sabuTebi evropul ad ganaTlebul mecnieris xel Si sul sxvanairad ametyvel dnen.⁶⁰ axaxanaSvil ma, romelic saukeTesod icnobda evropis batonymuri urTierTobis formebs, qarTul Tan misi SedarebiTi anal izis Sedegad, bevri saerTo msgavseba aRmoacina. aRni Snulis gaTval iswi nebi dan gamomdinare, igi dasZenda: `baton_ ymobas0saqarTvel oSi hqonda mraval i saerTo mxare, amgvarsave wyobil ebasTan evropasa da ruseTSi.⁶¹ SedarebiTma anal izmma axaxanaSvil i swor, original ur daskvnamde miyvana. misi mtki cebi T, `batonymoba yvel gan da yovel Tvis iyo pirvel ad aSenebul i mamulis mfl obel obis niadagze. mas edo sarCul ad ekonomiuri damokidebul eba mamul - is patronTa da mis mkeTebel Ta, SemmuSavebel Ta Soris, igi aSenda pirvel ad material urs ufl ebebzed da mxol od Semdeg Cveul ebad miRebul i deda_ azrni ganmtki cebul iqnen iuridiul is sanqci iT.⁶² ekonomikuri safuZvl is garda, axaxanaSvil i batonymobaSi pol itikur mizezsac eZebda. misi azriT, igi SemdegSi mdgomareobda: 1).omSi damarcxebul i saxel mwifosgan ayvani l i mZevl - is _monad an ymad gadaqceva, 2).tyved ayvani l i kacis yidva_ gayidva, 3).patronis mfl obel obis qveS nebayofl obiT Sesvla (aseT nabij s, ucxo tomTa warmomadgenl ebi an sxva mxridan mosul i umi wawyl o adami nebi dgamda).⁶³ mebatonis qonebis Semadgenel i nawil ebis ganxil vis

fonze, a.xaxanaSvil i gl exTa sakiTxis ganxil visas dasZenda: `feodal ur saqarTvel oSi sxvis mamul zed mosaxl e gl exebi ganiyofodnen sam saxed, anu kl asad: saxel mwifo anu saxaso, sabatono anu sapatrono, saek- l esio anu samonastro.-⁶⁴ gl exTa kategoriaSi igi gamor- Ceul adgil s msaxur gl exobas akuTvnebda. misi azriT, isini nasyidi, naboZebi, val _ gadauxdel i, Tavis nebiT misul i da a.S. rTul i tipis ymebs ganekuTnebodnen.⁶⁵ a.xaxanaSvil i cdil obs gansazRvros CamoTvl il i kat- egoriebis ufl eba moval eobani. naSromis mi xedvi T Tuki vimsj el ebT, masSi ZiriTadad sworadaa ganmartebul i gl exTa kategoriebi da maTi ufl eba moval eobebi. ma- gal iTad, nasyidi gl exis warmoSobis safuZvel s a.xa- xanaSvil i val is gadauxdel obis gamo, gl exis mier ba- tonisadmi Tavisi Tavis gayidvaSi xedavda. gl exi meba- tones ufl ebas aZl evda moexmara igi rogorc nasyidi yma. am SemTxvevaSi mebatone gl exs saukunod yidul ob- da. nasyidobis dros gl exi Tavisufl ebaze xel isaReb- is da batonis ymad gaxdomis pirobas debda. amitom, nasyidi gl exi batonis srul sakuTrebas warmoadgen- da.⁶⁶

gl exTa kategoriebis gansazRvris, misi ufl eba_ mov- al eobis dadgenisaTvis, iuridiul Zegl ebSi motanil i gl exTa ufl ebrivi normebi, a.xaxanaSvil ma sigel _ guj rebiT naCveneb mdgomareobas pirvel ma Seudara. aqedan gamomdinare, is ZiriTadi mizezebi gaarkvia ram- ac, samarTI is Zegl ebiT dakanonebul i gl exTa ufl eb- ebi fiqciad aqcia, xol o gl exoba uki dures gaWirveba- Si Caagdo. `kanonmdebl oba da Cveul eba_ werda igi _aZl evda ymas bevrs garantias, TavdebobiT sabuTebS, rom ymis pirovneba, qoneba da pativi kanoniT dacul ia da gansazRvrul ia moTxovnil eba batonisa ymisagan. cxovrebam humanursa da brwyinval e mxares vaxtangis samarTI isas piri ubruna, Tav_ dauWerel ma TviTnebobam Semusra kacuri Sexedul eba ymis Sesaxeb, gaavrcel a ukanono damokidebul eba batonTa da ymaTa Soris da

Savi dRe daayena.-⁶⁷ a.xaxanaSvil i samarTI i anad Seni Snavda, rom `cxovrebam da praqtikam didi Zal a misca batons ymazed, igi gamefTa ymis pirovnebaze, qonebasa da Sromaze. kanonmdebl oba xSrad aviwydebodaT, roca praqtika imis Svel as iTxovda. maT Sua SemaerTebel i Zafi gawyda da sagraZnobl ad Sors darCa erTmaneTzed kanoni da cxovreba.-⁶⁸ aRbuRasa da vaxtang meeqvsi s kanonebis urTierT SedarebiTi anal izis safuZvel ze, a.xaxanaSvil i gl exTa kategoriebis ufl ebrivi mdgomareobis TandaTanobiTi dakargvis suraTs iZl eoda, xsni-da ymebis yi dva_ gayi dvis warmomSob Ziri Tad mi zezebis. `am areul s, daul agebel s cxovrebaSi_ werda a.xaxanaSvil i_ ymoba da ymaTa gacem_ gamocema warmoadgenda saSinel s suraTs kacobriul Rirsebis damcirebisas. ymis aReb_ mi cemobis sagnad gaxdoma amtkicebs gonebi-Ta da zneobiT dacemul obas maSindel s sazogadoebis-sas.-⁶⁹

qarTul i, dasavl eT evropul i da rusul i batonymuri urTierTobebis formebis Sedarebisas, a.xaxanaSvil i upiratesobas erovnul s aniWebda, radgan. masSi met humanurobas xedavda. `Tumca vaxtangis ymas_ werda igi_daetyo berZenTa gavlena da gavr cel da saerTod ymazed berZenTa Sexedul eba, mainc Cveni yma darCa bevrad ukeTes mdgomareobaSi, vi dre berZenTa `nasyi di - da rusebis yma. Cveni gl exi mainc_da_mainc ar hkargavs pirovnul sa da qonebriv s ufl ebas. imas SeuZl ian batonis TanxmobiT mamul is gayidva, sakuTrebad SeZena samkvidro qonebisas...batons aq qonda ufl eba, wi naaRmdeg rusTa mebatoneTa, ymis sisxl is dasj isa, igi iyo mxol od `mfarveli da patroni.-⁷⁰

marTalia, dasaxel ebul naSromSi garkveul i wi naaRmdegobebi Seini Sneba, magram, mi uxedavad amisa, rogorc profesori d.gvritiSvil i Seni Snavda, masSi motanil i bevri debul eba `dResac ar kargavs mniSvnel obas da, rac mTavaria, a.xaxanaSvil is Sromas erTgvari istoriul i mniSvnel obac eniWebda, Tundac im mxriv, rom igi

erTi pirvel Tagani iyo, romel ic gl exTa sakiTxiT
dainteresta.⁷¹ amiT, axaxanaSvil ma qarTul istoriogra-
fiaSi, saqarTvel os social uri istoriis kvl evis sak-
iTxebS Cauyara safuZvel i.

daskvnebi

XIX saukunis 80_90 iani wl ebis qarTvel i xal xis sazogadoebriv_ pol itikur cxovrebaSi gansakuTrebul rol s gazeTi `iveria- asrul ebda. mis furcl ebze dabewdil i publ ikaciebi, imdroindel i epoqisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i moTxovnis Sesabamis Tematikas Seicavda. ramdenadac im etapze saqarTvel o, ruseTis kol onias warmoadgenda, qarTvel i xal xis denacional izaciis procesi winaswar ganzraxul i meTodebiT xorciel deboda.

rusifikatorul i pol itikisadmi dapirispirebisa da eris TviTmyofadobis SenarCunebis erT_ erT saSval ebad, qarTvel ma swavl ul ebma, saqarTvel os istoriis aqtual uri sakiTxebis winapl anze wamoweva, sazogadoebaSi misi farTo propaganda da gamyal bebel Tagan qarTvel i xal xis warsul is dacva pirvel xarixovan amocnad daisaxa. am uaRresad sapasuismgebl o da mamul isvil uri saqmis ganxorciel ebas, gazeT `iveriis- meSveobiT axdendnen.

naSromSi Cems mier motanil i masal ebis Seswavl isa da misi anal izis safuZvel ze irkveva:

1) gazeT `iveria-_ASi dabewdil i dokumentebi, saqarTvel os istoriis Sesaxeb iseT siaxl es Seicavda, rom igi mecnierTa garkveul i j gufisTvisac ki ucnobi iyo. imave gazeTis meSeobiT xdeboda axl ad aRmoCenil i dokumentebis saj iro ganxil va da sxva istoriul wyaroebTan Sej ereba. am mxriv, gansakuTrebul i aqtiuri moRvaveobiT gamoirCeodnen: T.Jordania, m.j anaSvil i, n.urbnel i da sxvebi.

2) saqarTvel os istoriis wyaroebis Sesaxeb gazeT `iveria-_Si gamoqveynebul i publ ikaciebidan, naSromSi gansakuTrebul i yuradRebaa gamaxvil ebul i axl ad aRmoCenil i `gel atis matianisa- da `moqcevai qarTI - isai- _ s xel nawerTan mimarTebaSi T.Jordani as damokidebul ebaze. Tanamedrove historiografiis miRwevis

safuZvel ze is ZiriTadi mi zezebia axsnil i, ramac aRni Snul i matianeebisadmi T.Jordani as mxridan zogierTi mcdari daskvni s gakeTeba ganapi roba. mi uxedavad ami sa, wina pl anzea wamoweul i T.Jordani as Rvawl i da dam-saxureba saqarTvel os istoriis wyaroebis moZiebi sa da publ ikaciis saqmeSi. am mimarTul ebiT gaweul i fasdaudebel i Sromis gamo, naSromSi gansakuTrebul i adgil i eTmoba qarTul i historiografiis winaSe m.j anaSvil is Rvawl is warmoCenas. am fonze, yuradReba gvaqvs gamaxvil ebul i mis mier gazeT `iveria~_Si dabeWdil i fanaskertel ciciSvil is or xel nawerze: `moTxroba qcevaTa da Cveul ebaTaTvis qarTvel Ta~ da `qarTul i enis l iteraturisaTvis.~ am xel nawerebis ganxil visas m.j anaSvil i im saval al o Sedegs exebe, romel Siac qarTul i zne_ Cveul ebebi da qarTul i ena aRmoCnda ruseTis kol oniuri mmarTvel obis period-Si. m.j anaSvil is weril ebi qarTul i enisa da kul tur- is arakeTil mosurneTa winaaRmdeg mimarTul pirda- pir ierisS warmoadgenda. naSromSi saTanado adgil i eTmoba gazeT `iveria~_Si m.j anaSvil is mier vaxuSti batoniSvil is Txzul ebis axal i redaquiis Sesaxeb gamoqveynebul weril ebs. aRni Snul i publ ikaciebiT irkveva, rom m.j anaSvil ma, vaxuStiseul i Txzul bis axal i redaquia, m.brosesa da d.baqraZis gamocemebs Seudara. am samuSaos CatarebiT iseTi xarvezebi aRmo- aCina, romel ic teqstis Sinaarsze garkveul gavl enas axdenda. aRni Snul i faqtiT m.j anaSvil ma, vaxuSti ba- toniSvil is Txzul ebis m.brosesa da d.baqraZis gamo- cemebiT sargebl obis SemTxvevaSi, qarTvel istoriko- sebs si frTxil isken mouwoda da maT winaSe, nabeWdi teqstis xel nawerTan Sedarebis aucil ebl obis saki- Txil daayena.

3) Zvel i xel nawerebis gadarCena Segrovebis mi zniT gazeT `iveria~-s furcl ebze gaweul i farTo propaga- ndistul i saqmianoba, dadebiTi Sedegis momtani aRm- oCnda im Tval sazrisiT, rom saqarTvel os istoriis

wyar oebisa da dokumenturi masal is movl a_ patrono-
bis aucil ebl obis Segnebam, qarTul sazogadoebaSi
fesvi Rmad gaidga. gazeTis furcl ebze farTodaa
saubari individual ur pirTa mier wera _kiTxvis gam-
avr cel ebel i sazogadoebisaTvis gadacemul i xel naw-
erebis Sesaxeb.

4) gazeT `iveria~_s furcl ebze saqarTvel os istori-
is gamyal bebel Ta winaaRmd eg dabeWdil i publ ikacie-
bi, qarTul da ucxour wyar oebze dayrdnobiT, patka-
novisa da misi mimdevrebis yal bi `Teoriebis- winaaRmd-
eg mecnierul ad dasabuTebul pasuxs war moadgens. ga-
zeTis Semokrebi ma saRad moazrovne qarTvel ma mec-
nierebma da publ icistebma, saqarTvel os istoriis umni-
Svnel ovanes sakiTxebTan mimarTebaSi, gayal bebi sagan
Rirseul ad daicves Cveni eris warsul i. am kuTxiT
Tuki SevxedavT maT mier gaweul Sromas, isini pativis-
cemas udaod imsaxureben.

5) qarTvel erSi minel ebul i erovnul i TviTmyofa-
dobisa da siamayis amaRI ebas isaxavda mi znad gazeT
`iveria~_Si gamoCeni i qarTvel i saxel mwi fo moRvawee-
bis da sxva istoriul i pirovnebebis Sesaxeb dabeWd-
il i statiebi. qarTvel i istorikosebi da publ icistebi,
yovel mxriv cdil obdnen, sazogadoebaSi farTo pro-
paganda gaewiaT daviT aRmaSenebl is, giorgi brwyinva-
l is, erekl e meoris, cotne dadianisa da sxvaTa Sesax-
eb, roml ebsac qarTvel i eris winaSe udi desi damsax-
ureba mi uZRviT. amiT qarTvel erSi erovnul _ ganmaT-
avisufi ebel i moZraobis ideis, erovnul i saxel mwi-
foebri obis aRdgenis, qveyni sadmi Tavdadebis da erovnu-
l i TviTmyofadobis gadarCenisatvis brZol is aucil
ebl obis_ gar kveul i formiT propagandas eweodnen.

damowmebul i wyaroebi da l i t e r a t u r a

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Ilia Vadachkoria,

**Newspaper “Iveria” and some problems of Georgian History
(1886-1893)**

Summary

The work is about those historical sources and bibliographical letters that were published in the newspaper “Iveria” in 1886-1893. These publications aimed to define more precisely the most significant issues of the history of feudal Georgia. On the background of those days’ historical thinking the attitude of Georgian scholars,

their evaluation of this or that significant event, their activity in propagation of the history of Georgians shown in the work. The special attention is paid to those Georgian researchers who did a lot together and rescue the written historical sources. The reasons that determined Georgian scholars’ special interest towards “Kartlis Tskhovreba” (the Georgian chronicle) are also underscored in the work together with their viewpoints about scientific value and source study significance of this most important historical source. The attitude of Georgian historians and publicists towards falsifiers of the history is much discussed in the work. It is also shown that based on Georgian and foreign sources all false evaluations of our past by malevolent authors was reasonably disproved by Georgian historians and publicists. It is proved that the articles of historical character about Georgian hero kings published in “Iveria” were serving the propagation purpose of the ideas of: national liberation movement, restoration of the national statehood, devotion to the country and saving national identity among population.

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ილია SoTas Ze vadaWkoria

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(1886 - 1893 წწ)

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