

anal ebi

istoriis, eTnol ogiis, rel igiis
Seswavl isa da propagandi s
samechnero centri

A N A L E B I

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AND PROPAGANDA OF HISTORY,
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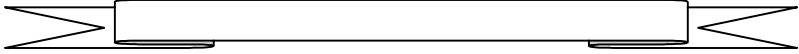
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ერის დაცემა და გატასირება მაშინ
იწყება, როცა ერი, თავის საუბედროდ,
თავის ისტორიას ივიწყებს.

ილია



saqarTvel o-aSS Soris dipl omatiuri
urTierTobis damyarebis 20 wl isTavisadmi
miZRvni I samecniero konferenciis masal ebi



redkol egisagan: 20
wel i Sesrul da saqarTvel o
– amerikis SeerTebul Sta-
tebs Soris dipl omatiuri
urTierTobis damyarebidan.
saqarTvel o aSS-is strate-
giul i partnioria. udide-
sia misi damsaxureba axa-
li – demokratiul i saqar-
Tvel os mSenebl obis saqme-
Si. saqarTvel os mecniere-
baTa akademiis akademiuri
sabWos sxdomaTa darbazSi
2012 wl is 25 april s gai-
marTa saqarTvel os mecnie-
rebaTa erovnul i akademiis
istoriis, arqeol ogiisa
da eTnol ogiis komisiis,

qarTul -amerikul i urTierTobebis xel Semwyobi fondisa
da istoriis, eTnol ogiis, rel igiis Seswavl isa da propa-
gandis samecniero centris erToblivi samecniero konfe-
rencia miZRvni I am istoriul i TariRisadmi. konferenci-
as daeswrnen akademiis prezidenti, akad. Tamaz gamyrel iZe,
akad. mariam I orTqifaniZe, akad. daviT musxel iSvil i, sa-
mecniero centris mecnier-TanamSroml ebi, saistorio sazo-
gadoebriobis warmomadgenl ebi, dainteresebul i pirebi, sa-
qarTvel os sxvadasxva radio da tel ekompaniis warmomad-
genl ebi. konferencia gaxsna akad. daviT musxel iSvil ma.

redkol egia qvemoT aqveynebs am samecniero konferen-
ciaze wakiTxul moxsenebebs.

aSS konstituciuri gamocdil eba da saqarTvel os 1921 wl is konstituciis fuZemdebl ebi

saqarTvel os 1921 wl is konstituciis SemuSavebis dros sakonstitucio komisiis wevrebi yuradRebit ecnobodnen dasavl eTis demokratiul i qveynebis da, maT Soris aSS-s konstituciasac. aSS maTTvis iyo demokratiul i respublikis STambeWdavi modeli da saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebrivi mowyobis safuZvl ebis gansazRvrisas saWi rod miicnies gaeanal izebinaT, Tu risi gaTval iswineba SeiZl eboda aSS-is konstituciuri gamocdil ebidan.

sakonstitucio komisia. saqarTvel os 1921 wl is konstituciaSi gansaxierebul ia is ideebi da miswrafebebi, romel Ta damkvidrebasac cdil obdnen saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis (1918-1921) Tval sacino moRvaweebi. 1921 wl is konstituciis SemuSavebaze muSaobda saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos (saqarTvel os parl amentis) sakonstitucio komisia (1918 w. 6 ivnisi _ 1919 w. 8 marti) da damfuZnebel i krebis sakonstitucio komisia (1919 w. 18 marti _ 1921 wl is 21 Teberval i). SeiZl eba dasaxel oT is pirovnebebic, romel Tac mniSvnel ovani wvl il i Seitanes konstituciis SemuSavebaSi: noe Jordania, pavel e sayvareliZe, sergi jafariZe, samson dadiani, konstantine jafariZe, giorgi gvazava, mixeil rusia, I evan naTaZe, ioseb baraTaSvili, akaki Cxenkeli, giorgi naneiSvili da sxvebi (1).

orive sakonstitucio komisia partiul i principiT iyo dakompl eqtebul i da, saqarTvel os imdroindel i polititur Zal Ta Tanafardobidan gamomdinare, masSi social -demokratebi dominirebdnen. saqarTvel o pirvel i qveyana aRmocnda msofil ioSi, sadac xel isufl ebis saTaveSi social -demokratiul i partia movida. amitom qarTvel i social -demokratebi Taviant misiad miicnevden mTel i msofil iosatvis eCvenebinaT, Tu ro-

gori unda yofil iyo sanimuSo demokratiul i saxel -mwifo, romel ic erTi mxriv daZl evda `burJuaziul i demokratiis SezRudul obas- da, meore mxriv, gaemij -neboda bol Sevikebis antidokratiul eqstremizms. j er kidev 1918 wl is ivnisSi saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos mier sakonstitucio komisiis SeqmnasTan dakav-SirebiT gazeTi `erToba- werda: `ueWvel ia... Cveni konstitucia sanimuSo da misabaZi gaxdeba yvel a qveynis demokratiul saxel mwifosaTvis- (2, 7 VII).

demokratiul i respubl ikis arsebul i model ebis anal izi. 1918 wl is 26 maisis damoukidebl obis aqtiT saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebriv formad arCeul i iqna demokratiul i respubl ika, rogorc `erTaderTi namdvil i da maRal i forma xal xuri mmarTvel obis, Se-Tanxmebul i xal xis interesebTan da mis cxovel myofel saxel mwifoebriv nebisyoTan- (3, 13 II). konstituciaSi ukve konkretul ad unda gansazRvrul iyo, Tu ra saxes miiRebda demokratiul i respubl ika.

1921 wl is konstituciis fuZemdebl ebma yuradRebiT Seiswavl es imdroindel msofli oSi arsebul i demokratiul i respubl ikis samive ZiriTadi tipi, rogorc Tavad uwodebdnen: Sveicariul i uSual o demokratia, amerikul i `xel mwifeba ganawil ebul i- demokratia, frangul i sapaarl amento demokratia.

romel ime maTganis pirdapiri gadmoReba qarTul sinamdvil eSi saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mesveurebma miuRebl ad miiCnies. amasTan, amerikul i `xel mwifeba-ganawevrebul i demokratia-, sakonstitucio komisiis azriT, ufro miuRebel i iyo saqarTvel osTvis `vidre sxva demokratiul i konstitucia-.

sakonstitucio komisiis Tavmj domaris p. sayvareliZis sityviT, amerikul i sistema srul iad gansxvavdeboda saqarTvel os sakonstitucio Cveul ebisagan. `Cven miveCviet imas, rom erTiani saxel mwifo xel isufl eba gvaqvs, erTi saerTo wyaro xel mwifebisa-. 1921 wl is konstituciis fuZemdebel Ta azriT, `xel -mwifebis ganawil eba- ewinaaRmdegeboda `parl amentis

srul xel isufi ebianobis- princips. amasTan dakavSi-
rebiT r.arseniZe aRniSnava: `srul i xel isufi eba
parl amentis xel Si unda iyos, romel ic xal xis nebiT
unda iyos SezRudul i- (4). sakanomdebl o da aRmas-
rul ebel xel isufi ebaTa damoukidebl oba daarRvev-
da `saxel mwifos erTianobas. es iqneboda mudam brZO-
l a sxvadasxva saxel mwifo xel isufi ebaTa Soris-.

saqarTvel oSi ukve damkvidrebul i iyo da, amas-
Tan, xel isufi ebis organizaciis Tval sazrisiT yve-
l aze ufro misaRebad miaCndaT e.w. `frangul i siste-
ma-, rodesac `xal xi kanomdebl obs demokratiul ad
arCeul i parl amentis saSual ebiT, xol o mTavroba
dakavSirebul ia parl amentTan Tavis warmoSobiT da
mis winaSe pasuxismgebl obiT-. magram miuRebl ad miic-
nies wmindasaparl amento demokratiac, radganac mTe-
l i xel isufi eba aq Tavmoyril ia parl amentis xel Si
da misi ganxorciel eba saqarTvel oSi iqneboda `Sez-
Rudva xal xis ufi ebisa-.

zemoTaRniSnul i mosazrebebidan gamomdinare,
konstituciis proeqts safuZvl ad daedo demokratiu-
l i respubl ikis Sereul i, kompromisul i model i: uc-
vl el ad datoves ukve damkvidrebul i saxel mwifoeb-
rivi praqtika _ saparl amento demokratia, e.i. `arCeva
parl amentis mier mTavrobis Tavmj domarisa da Sem-
deg Tavmj domaris mier Sedgena parl amentarul mTav-
robisa-. xol o `xal xis TviTmpyrobel obis- uzrun-
vel yofis mizniT mas SeuerTes pirdapiri demokrati-
is zogierTi instituti. kerZod, referendumi _ `xal -
xis moTxovna, rom mas gadasces kanoni dasadastureb-
l ad- da saxal xo iniciativa _ rom `esa Tu is kanon-
proeqti ganxil ul iqnes-.

masasadame, erTi mxriv, mkvidrdeboda saparl a-
mento demokratia, meore mxriv, referendum-iniciati-
vis sistemis SemoRebiT, mTavrobis Tavmj domaris yo-
vel wl iuri arCeviT, misTvis respubl ikis warmomadgen-
l is rol is miniWebiT, erTi da igive piris mTavrobis
Tavmj domaris adgil ze arCevis SezRudviT da sxva,

konstitucia ramdenadme uaxl ovdeboda Sveicariul i tipis demokratias. rogorc aRni Snavda p. sayvarel iZe, `saqarTvel os konstitucias SeuZl ia SeiTvissos parlamentarul i demokratiis mmarTvel oba. magram man amasTan erTad unda SeiTvissos is konstituciuri garantiebi, romel sac iZl eva Sveicariul i demokratia. am ori tipis demokratiis principebis frTxil i SeTanxmeba da Sezaveba mogvcems saqarTvel os republ iki-saTvis saukeTeso konstitucias. aseTi konstitucia dazRveul i iqneba ori demokratiis uarsayofi da miuRebl i mxareebisagan, matarebel i iqneba orive demokratiis dadebiTi Tvisebebisa- (3, 4 II).

damoki debul eba federal izmTan. demokratiis amerikul i model i 1921 wl is konstituciis fuZemdebl ebisaTvis miuRebl i iyo federal isturi sistemis gamoc. saqarTvel oSi iqmneboda unitarul i demokratiul i republ ika. Cveni qveynis pirobebidan gamomdinare, miuRebl ad miaCndaT federal izmis principi, rasac emyareboda demokratiul i republ ika Sveicariasa da aSS-Si. konstituciis fuZemdebel Ta azriT, saqarTvel os federaciul i mowyoba gaumarTI ebel i iyo `Cveni xal xis an Cveni saxel mwifos teritoriis raodenobisa da sivrcis Tval sazrisiTac~, amas xel s ar uwyobda `arc Cveni istoriul -kul turul i tradicia da ufl ebrivi Semecneba~, federal izms gamoricxavda `Cveni ekonomikuri da pol itikuri mdgomareobac~ (3, 4 II).

aRsani Snavia, rom saqarTvel os unitarul saxel -mwifod Camoyal ibebas cal saxad dauWires mxari federal istebmac. magal iTad, sakonstitucio komisiis 1919 wl is 2 ivl isis sxdomaze, rodesac ganixil eboda sakiTxi `ganuyofel i unda iyos Cveni saxel mwifo Tu ara~, social ist-federal istTa partiis warmomadgenel ma i. baraTaSvil ma ganacxada: `me dRes vuWer mxars unitarul saxel mwifos, Tumca federal isti var~. misi sityiT, es aucil ebel i iyo, `vidre qarTvel i eri ar Camoyal ibebul a da ar igrZnobs Tavis Tav~- (5).

prezidentis institutis sakiTxI. 1921 wl is konstituciis fuZemdebl ebisaTvis demokratiis ameriku-
lli model is miuRebl obas ganapirobebda agreTve
Zl ieri prezidentis institutis arseboba. qarTvel i
social -demokratebisaTvis da saerTod, social istu-
ri partiebisaTvis demokratiis gansaxierebas warmo-
adgenda, erTi mxriv, xel isufl ebis maqsimal uri Tav-
moyra arCeviTi organos _ parl amentis xel Si da, me-
ore mxriv, aRmasrul ebel i xel isufl ebis kol egiu-
robis uzrunvel yofa.

demokratiul obis amgvar gagebas, mraval i socia-
listis azriT, ver uTavsdeboda prezidentis insti-
tutis arseboba. Tumca, social ist-federal istebisa
da eserebisagan gansxvavebiT, social -demokratebs ar
qondaT am sakiTxSi erTiani pozicia. maTi nawil i wi-
naaRmdegi iyo saerTod prezidentis institutis arse-
bobisa, nawil s ki, Zl ieri central uri xel isufl e-
bis saWiroebaze miTiTebiT, SesaZl ebl ad miaCnda ara
prezidentobis amerikul i model is, aramed parl amen-
tis mier arCeul i prezidentis institutis SemoReba.

social isturi partiebigan gansxvavebiT, erov-
nul -demokratiul i partia gadaWriT asabuTebda Zl i-
eri saprezidento xel isufl ebis arsebobis saWiroe-
bas. gazeTi `kl de- j er kidev 1918 wel s werda, rom
saqarTvel os respubl ikaSi nimuSad unda mieRoT aSS
prezidentobis instituti (6).

1920 wel s damfuZnebel i krebis mier konstituci-
is proeqtis ganxil vis dawyebasTan dakavSirebiT,
erovnul -demokratiul ma fraqciam wamoayena Seswore-
bebi, romel Ta miRebis SemTxvevaSic saqarTvel oSi
unda damkvidrebul iyo prezidentis Tanamdeboba.
erovnul -demokratTa Tanaxmad, konstituciis proeq-
tis 74-e muxl i unda Camoyal ibebl iyo Semdegnairad:
`aRmasrul ebel i xel isufl eba ekuTvnis respubl ikis
mTavrobas. respubl ikis mTavrobas Seadgenen: a) pre-
zidenti respubl ikisa da b) pasuxismgebel i ministre-
bi-. 75-e muxl i ki Semdegnairad unda Secvl il iyo:

respubl ikis prezidents irCevs xal xi xuTi wl is vadiT, is unda iyos saqarTvel os mkvidri moqal aqe da Sesrul ebul i unda hqondes aranaki eb 40 wl isa- (7).

prezidentis institutis saWiroebasTan dakavSi-rebiT mimdinare cxare davaSi gadamwyveti aRmoCnda noe Jordaniyas pozicia, roml is azriTac garkveul i vadiT arCeul mTavrobis Tavmj domares unda dakisreboda prezidentis zogierTi funqciis Sesrul eba. noe Jordaniyas azriT, es iyo `kompromisi demokratizmsa da parl amentarizms Soris-, amave dros, aseTi sistema uzrunvel ofda aRmasrul ebel i xel isufl ebis simtkices. 1921 wl is konstituciis Tanaxmad, mTavrobis Tavmj domares erTi wl is vadiT irCevda parl amenti, xol o erTi da imave piris mTavrobis Tavmj domared zedized arCeva mxol od orjer iyo dasaSvebi. es SezRudva, iseve rogorc prezidentis Tanamdebobis uaryofa, imdroindel i social istebis umravl esobis azriT, aucil ebel i iyo maqsimal uri demokratiul obis uzrunvel sayofad.

saqarTvel os demokratiul respubl ikaSi prezidentobis institutis saWiroebis Taobaze mimdinare kamaTis Tavisebur Sej amebas warmoadgenda grigol l ortqifanizis sityvebi, romelic 1925 wel s, suzdalis sapyrobil eSi myofi, aanal izebda ra warsul s, Secdomad miiCnevda 1921 wl is konstituciiT prezidentis Tanamdebobis uaryofas: `unda gadaWriT iTqvas, rom es gadawvyvetil eba metad mwignobrul i da dogmaturi iyo. esaoda TiTqos yvel a demokratiebbe ufro demokratoba dagvemtkebia da Tanac monarqizmis safrTxidan Tavi dagvezRo~. misi sityvebiT, `Tu sadme ki aris saWiro sakmao ufl ebiT aRWurvil i prezidenti, es gaxl avT swored saqarTvel o, romelic dRes imyofeba gamTI ianebis procesSi, sadac gadaWarbebul i partiul -politikuri da sxva saxis partikul arizmi ufro feodal ur-tomobrivaSTis el fers atarebs, vidre kantonal uri demokratiis iers, da sadac saxel mwifos mTI ianobisa da simtkicis em-

bl ema da faqti metis real obiT unda ixatebodes. prezidenti daaxl oebiT amerika-germaniis prezidentis ufl ebebiT aRWurvil i, srul iad aucil ebel i da mizanSewonil ia saqarTvel osaTvis- (8, 275).

daskvna. saqarTvel os 1921 wl is konstituciis fuZemdebl ebisaTvis, romel Tac yuradRebiT Seiswavl es aSS-is konstituciuri gamocdil eba da SeuZl ebl ad miicnies misi ZiriTadi principebis gadmotana sami ZiriTadi mizezis gamo:

_ social isturi partiebisaTvis miuRebel i iyo xel isufl ebis danawil ebis principi da xal xis mier arCeul i parl amentis `srul xel isufl ebianobas` uWerdnen mxars;

_ social -demokratebis da, saerTod, social isturi partiebisaTvis (social ist-federal istebi, ese-rebi) miuRebel i aRmoCnda Zl ieri prezidentis instituti. isini ufrTxodnen xel isufl ebis Tavmoyras erTi piris xel Si da demokratiis ideal Tan yvel aze miaxl oebul ad miicnevden sapaarl amento respubl ikas, romel ic ivseboda uSual o demokratiis zogierTi institutiT. Tumca, social isturi partiebis sapirispirrod, erovnul -demokratiul i partia moiTxovda saqarTvel oSi prezidentis institutis SemoRebas `amerikul i nimuSis- mixedviT;

_ saqarTvel os kul turul -istoriul i da pol i tikuri viTarebidan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os pol i tikuri partiebisaTvis miuRebel i iyo qveynis federal uri mowyobac.

**THE FOUNDERS OF 1921 CONSTITUTION OF GEORGIA
AND US CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE**

Working out the 1921's constitution of Georgia, the members of constitutional commission attentively acquainted with constitutions of the US and western democratic countries. The US was one of the models of democratic republic for them. However, they assumed that introducing its main principles in Georgian circumstances would be impossible because of two main reasons:

– The strong president institute appeared to be unacceptable for social-democrats and other socialist parties (Socialist-Federalists, ESERs). They tried to prevent from concentrating power in one person's hands and assumed that parliamentary republic, directly filled with some instruments of democracy was the closest to the ideal of democracy.

– Following from the current situation, federal arrangement of the country was also undesirable for political parties.

Contrary from socialist parties, national-democratic party demanded establishing president institute in Georgia according to "American model".

There emerged active debates among political powers over the necessity of president institution. Finally, with 1921's constitution, the head of the government elected by the parliament was assigned several functions of president. Later, analyzing the experience of existing democratic republic, the part of social-democrats considered their decision to refuse establishing president institute as a mistake.

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saqarTvel osa da ameriki s SeerTebul i Statebi s
urTierTobis istoriidan 1918-1921 wl ebSi

j er kidev 1889 wel s il ia WavWavaZe SeniSnavda: `eris simdidre da keTil dReoba ameriki s Statebisa imdenad sj obnis evropisas, rom vaWrobasa da mrewvel obaSi Statebi yovel isfrit warmatebul ni arian evropaze da TandaTan imorCil eben evropas. Tu saqme amgvarad wavida, imedia, rom Statebi ekonomikurad sul erTianad daimorCil eben evropas-, da rom `msofl io meTaurobasac daimkvidrebs amerika- (1).

didi qarTvel i mwerl isa da moazrovnis es winaswarganWvreta misi gamoTqmidan sul raRac ori aTeul i wl is Semdeg real oba xdeboda. pirveli msofi io omis damTavrebisas ameriki s SeerTebul i Statebi ukve `zesaxel mwifod- mogvevl ina. igi aqturad ereva msofi io pol itikaSi da prezident vil sonis `14 punqtis- saxiT, gamarj vebul Tu damarcxebul saxel mwifoebis `axal i wesrigis- sakuTar model s karnaxobs. cxadia, rom saerTaSoriso pol itikur asparezze ameriki s SeerTebul i Statebis saxiT axal i mniSvnel ovani faqtori ikveTeboda.

saqarTvel oSi, samxreT kavkasi asa da mTel axl o aRmosavl eTSi am periodisaTvis (1918 wl is oqtombris mudrosis zavis Semdeg) mokavSire saxel mwifoTa umaRlesi sabWos egidit didi britaneTi dominirebda. regionSi britanel i meomrebit dakompl eqtebul i samxedro Zal is Semosvl am, ingl isi am vrcel i sivrcis meTval yured, faqtobrivad ki patronad, aqcia. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mesveurebs SiSi gauCndaT, rom britanel ebi qveynis suvereni tets xel yofdenen, amitom noe Jordaniam ganacxada, rom qarTul i saxel mwifo mzad aris Tavisi kursi gamarj vebul saxel mwifoTa pol itikas Seusabamos da ganaxorciel os maT mier dekl arirebul i principebi. amastan, saqar-

Tvel os mTavrobam 1919 wl is damdegs parizSi oficia-
l uri del egacia miavl ina da sazavo konferenciis
monawil ebs saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis
damoukidebl obis aRiarebis TxovniT mimarTa.

rac Seexeba TviT mokavSire saxel mwifoebis, maT
regionis mowyobis Tav-TavianTi gegmebi gaaCndaT
(zogjer urTierTsawinaaRmdegoc), roml ebsac jer-
jerobiT saj arod ar axmovanebdnen. ingl isis, saf-
rangeTisa da amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis meTaure-
bi saqarTvel os sakiTxs saerTaSoriso pol itikis
Wril Si ganixil avdnen, gansakuTrebul angariSs uwev-
dnen ruseTis real ur interesebs da iq samoqal aqo
omis damTavrebamde mniSvnel ovani gadawyvetil ebebis
miRebas ar Cqarobdnen.

saqarTvel osadmi amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis
mTavrobis damokidebul ebis sail ustraci od sayurad-
Rebo wyaroa 1919 wl is ianvarSi Sedgenil i `winaswari
angariSisa da winadadebebis proeqti, momzadebul i
sainformacio ganyofil ebis mier instruqiaTa Sesa-
bamisad, prezidentisa da srul ufl ebiani warmomad-
genl ebisaTvis-, roml iTac amerikis del egacias pari-
zis sazavo konferenciaze unda emoqmeda. aSS-s sa-
xel mwifo departamentis am direqtiul i xasiaTis do-
kumentiT, somxeTs mudmivi damoukidebvl oba unda mi-
niWeboda, azerbaij ansa da saqarTvel os ki _ droebi-
Ti suvereniteti. saqarTvel o da azerbaij ani moma-
val Si federaciis formiT SeuerTebodnen somxeTis
respubl ikas. amgvarad unda Seqmnil iyo vrcel i ame-
rikul i samandato zona sazRvreb iT kaspis, Sav da
xmel TaSua zRvebs Soris (2, 19-20). al baT am direqti-
vidan gamomdinareobda is uaric, romel ic qarTvel ma
dipl omatebma SveicariaSi aSS-s sael Cosagan miRes
Txovnaze, rom amerikas xel i Seewyo saqarTvel os de-
l egaciisaTvis, gamgzavrebul iyo parizis samSvidobo
konferenciaze (3, 1).

mokavSire saxel mwifoTa zusti gegmebi da mis-
wrafebebi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebisaTvis ucnobi

iyo. es kargad Cans im droindel i qarTul i periodu-
l i presis masal ebidan da sxva pirvel wyaroebidanac.
magal iTad, gazeTi `saxal xo saqme- 1919 wl is noem-
berSi miuTiTebda, rom saqarTvel os damoukidebl o-
bis cnobis Tval sazrisiT gamarjvebul i saxel mwifo-
ebi garkveiT arafers am boben. gansakuTrebiT sayu-
radReboa ingl isis, safrangeTisa da amerikis pozi-
cia. ukve wel iwadia, `rac CvenSi es sami Zal a tria-
l ebs sxvadasxva misiebisa Tu generl ebi saxiT, mag-
ram mainc aqamde ar viciT ra danamdvil ebiT: ra azrs
adganan es saxel mwifoni saqarTvel os Sesaxeb-. gaze-
Tis redaqqiis azriT, saqarTvel om aucil ebl ad unda
daainteresos didi saxel mwifoebi Cveni qveyniT, rad-
gan dRevandel mdgomareobaSi did xans darCena Zne-
l ia (4, 14 XI).

unda aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvel os demokratiul -
ma respubl ikam am mxriv garkveul i nabij ebi gadadga.
axl ad Seqmnil i saxel mwifos mTavrobis Zal isxmeva
upirvel esad mimarTul i iyo saqarTvel os saerTaSo-
riso aRiarebis miRwevisaken, magram arsebobda al -
ternatiul i proeqtic: im SemTxvevisaTvis, Tu parizis
konferencia uars ityoda saqarTvel os demokratiu-
l i respubl ikis suverenitetis cnobaze, evropasi
gagzavnil oficial uri del egaciis xel mZRvanel s
karl o CxeiZes mTavrobis Tavmj domare noe Jordani sa-
gan micemul i hqonda instrucia, mieRoT ingl isis an
safrangeTis mfarvel oba saqarTvel os Sinaur saqmeeb-
Si Caurevl obis pirobiT (5, 143).

qarTul ma del egaciam am sakiTxze 1919 wl is 23
marts parizSi kerZo TaTbiri gamarTa. saqarTvel o-
saTvis `Zl ieri- mfarvel is gamonaxva del egaciis wev-
rebma aucil ebl ad miicnies, uxerxul obas mxol od is
iwvevda, Tu rogor miwodebinaT Tavisufl ebisaTvis
mebrZol i qarTvel i xal xisaTvis mandatis idea (2, 39).

damarcxebul i germaniisa da misi mokavSire osma-
l eTis imperiis samfl obel oebze mandatis dawesebas
erTa ligis wesdebis 22-e punqti iTval iswinebda. mar-

Tal ia, wesdeba j er damtkicebul i ar iyo, magram mo-
kavSire saxel mwifoTa warmomadgenl ebi am kuTxiT
praqtikul i moqmedebis dawyebas ar eridebodnen.

1919 wl is 22 marts amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis
konsul i Tbil isSi fel iqs uil oubi smiT i da samxreT
kavkasiaSi amerikis pol itikuri dazvervis xel mZRvane-
l i benJamin b. muri saqarTvel os mTavrobis wevrebs
evgeni gegeWkorsa da noe ramiSvil s ewviven.

e. gegeWkorma stumrebs ganucxada, rom saqarTve-
l o ukve Semdgari saxel mwifoa. `xal xi damfuZnebel
krebamde mi viyvanET, Camoyal ibda mTavroba, gvyavs ad-
ministracia-. oRond gvawuxeba qveynis finansur
mdgomareoba da sasursaTo sakiTxis perspeqtiva. mza-
da varT mokavSireebTan samuSaod. `mzada varT Sevas-
rul oT SeTanxmebiT nakisri val debul ebebi, magram
Cvenc unda vicodeT ra ufl ebebi gvaqvs- (6, 48).

smiTma saqarTvel os xel isufl ebi warmomadgen-
l ebi daamed, rom amerikis SeerTebul Statebis
`gul wrfel ad surs saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba-,
Tumca dasZina: saqarTvel o patara saxel mwifoa, ami-
tom igi ver SeZl ebs arseboba garedan daxmarebis
gareSe. `migiTiTeT forma, roml iTac gamoixateba
daxmareba Cvenis mxridan-.

noe ramiSvil ma ganmarata, rom axl ad Seqmnil
saxel mwifos esaWi roeboda daxmareba armiis organi-
zaciis saqmeSi da kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o sfe-
roSi. ministris sityviT, mniSvnel ovani iyo aseve,
`amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi Tavisufal i gasvl is
SesaZl ebl oba-.

konsul ma saubari mandatis Temaze ganagrZo. qar-
Tvel ministrebs auwya, rom erTa l iga awesebs rome-
l ime didi saxel mwifos mandats kvl avaRmocenebul
saxel mwifoze da rom mandati ar aris proteqtorati.
smiTma mi aniSna, rom amierkavkasi isaTvis, misi ekonomi-
kuri interesebis erTianobis gamo, umj obesia dawes-
des erTi saerTo mandati.

e. gegeWkorma SiSi gamoxata, rom mandati qveynis pol itikur damoukidebl obas mospobda, ris gamoc garkveul i piroba wamoayena: `Tu Cveni xal xis bed-i-R-bal Si aqtiuri monawil eobis garantia gveqneba, dav-TanxmdebiT mandatis arsebobas-. n. ramiSvil is azric aseTive iyo. manac ganacxada, rom araferi eqneboda amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis mandatis sawinaaRmdego, Tu saqarTvel o SeinarCunebda saxel mwifoebriw damoukidebl obas (6, 49).

marTalia, amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis misia Cikagos universitetis profesor is jedsonis meTau-robot saqarTvel oSi pirvel ad 1918 wl is dekemberSi Camovida, masze adre Tbil issa da baTumSi, konstantinopol Si aSS umaRlesi komisari, admiral i mark I amber bristol ic imyofeboda (7, 48), magram amerikis SeerTebul Statebsa da saqarTvel os demokratiul respublikas Soris saqmian kontakts saTave swored zemoxsenebul i Sexvedridan daedo.

Sexvedris Sedegi iyo Tbil isSi `omisagan dazaral ebul Ta daxmarebis amerikis komitetis- komisiis Camosvla. amoqmedda special uri programa, romlis Tanaxmad, saqarTvel os puriT momarageba saqonel gacvliT principis unda dafuZneboda. Tbil isSi daarsda amerikis komiteti, romelic saqvel moqmedo saqmianobas eweoda da qal aqis Rarib mcxovrebt purs urigebda (8, 25 X), ganxorciel da Semowirul oba 5000 wyvil i amerikul i Ceqmis saxiT da sxv. amave komitetma 1919 wels Tbil isSi moawyo saqsovi fabrika, sadac ZiriTadad somexi I tol vil ebi dasaqmdnen (9, 635).

`amierkavkasiis xal xebi arasodes daiwiwyeben amerikul komitets, romel mac dagvanaxa ara marto humanuri qvel moqmedeba SeerTebul i Statebis, aramed isic, Tu rogori gansacvifrebel i siswrafiT, bejiTad da uxmaurod akeTeben didad sapsuxismgebl o samusaos Tqveni moqal aqeni-, _ xazs usvamda saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis Tavmj domare noe Jordania amerikul i gazeTs `Cikago

tribunis- korespondentTan interviuSi 1921 wl is no-
emberSi (10).

saqarTvel os dedaqal aqSi 1917 wl idan arsebobda
amerikis sakonsul o, roml is muSaoba, gansakuTrebIT
ekonomikuri kuTxiT, mas Semdeg gaaqtiurda, rac sa-
konsul o saxel mwifo departamentis nacvl ad somxeT-
Si mokavSireTa umaRl esi sabWos gansakuTrebul ko-
misrad daniSnul i amerikel i pol kovnikis haskel is
daqvemdebarebaSi gadavida (11), xol o konsul ad dip-
l omati dul iTl i dainiSna (1919 wl is zafxul i). sa-
konsul o gamodioda Suamavl ad dainteresebul ameri-
kul kompaniebsa da adgil obriv saqmian wreeps So-
ris, xel s uwyobda saqarTvel oSi amerikul i nawarmis
Semotanas, aqedan ki nedl eul is gatanas da sxv. ga-
zeT `saqarTvel os respubl ikis- cnobiT, `amerikis ge-
neral uri sakonsul o Tbil isSi acxadebs, rom niui-
orkis eqsportis da importis sazogadoeba kisru-
l obs yovel gvare nedl i masal is gavrcel ebas ameri-
kis bazrebze. igive sakonsul o acxadebs, rom niuior-
kis firma `treting da komp-. kisrul obs sxvadasxva
fexsamosis, windebis, rkineul obis, tyaveul obis, qa-
Ral dis da saTamaSoebis miwodebas fil adel fiidan.,
niuiorkis firma `foreign prodaqti da amx.--s SeuZl ia
tanisamosis, sursaTis da sasofl o-sameurneo iaraRis
gacvl a kakl is xeze, bewweul ze da sel ze- (8, 29 X).

gazeTi `saxal xo saqme- ki mkiTxvel s amgvar in-
formacias awvdida: `mit j ordver--is firma iuwyeba,
rom mas SeuZl ia yvel as miawodos avtomobil ebi da
sxvadasxva saavtomobil o masal ebi ganusazRvrel ra-
odenobiT. msurveT T cnobebisaTvis unda mimarTon
amerikis sakonsul os- (4, 25 X).

iyor qveyanas Soris ekonomikuri kavSirebis
damyarebis mcdel obac, amerikis bizneswreebis war-
madgenl ebma saqarTvel os xel isuflebas ramdenime
ekonomikuri proeqti warudgines, kerZod, koncesiuri
SeTanxmebebi wiari seul is mopovebaze imereTSi, SeTan-
xmebebi xe-tyis saxerxi qarxnis mSenebl obaze l ago-

dexSi da sxv. sayuradRebo iyo amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis satransporto samsaxuris SeTavazeba, romelic saqarTvel osatvis 3500-4000 tona wyal wyvis xis gemebis SeZenas iTval iswinebda. erTi gemis fasi 30 milion maneTs Seadgenda. proeqtiT, gemebis Rirebul ebis naxevari unda gadaxdil iyo maTi miRebisTanave, danarCeni ki 18 Tvis ganmavl obaSi. saqarTvel os mTavrobam proeqti daiwuna misi siZviris da gemebis masalis gamo (12, 221). amerikel ma mewarmeebma interesi gamoxates aseve saqarTvel os marganecisa da cel ul ozisadmi. saqarTvel os mTavroba cdil obda mieRo krediti amerikis SeerTebul i Statebisagan (13, 683) da kidevac miaRwia winaswar Tanxmobas daaxl oebiT 25 aTasi aSS dol aris odenobis sesxis gamoyofis Taobaze, romelic humanitarul i saqonl is SesaZenad iyo gankuTvnil i (14, 1-19).

1919 wl is 17 april s aSS prezidentma v. vil sonma parizSi miRo somxeTis respublikis del egacia da ganucxada, rom mis qveyanas ganzraxul i hqonda mandatis aReba somxeTze (15, 344).

cnobil ia, rom antantis saxel mwifoebma jer kidev pirvel i msofil io omis dasrul ebamde SeimuSaves rogorc germaniis kol oniebis, ise osmal eTis imperiis danawil ebis gegma. saiduml o xel Sekrul ebebis Tanaxmad, ruseTs unda mieRo somxuri vil aieTebi aRmosavl eT anatoliaSi, aseve konstantinopol i da sruiteebi (16), magram ruseTi oms mis damTavrebamde da Tanac separatul ad gamoeTisa (brest-l itovskis zav). gamarj vebul ma saxel mwifoebma `mokavSireTa interebis Ral atisaTvis- ruseTi dasajes da misi `wili- amerikas Sestavazes. 1919 wl is 14 maiss aSS-m mokavSireTa umaRlesi sabWosagan oficial urad miRo mandati somxeTsa da Savi zRvis sruteebze (2, 31).

1919 wl is maisis bol os vil soni Sexvda parizis konferenciaze myof azerbaijanis del egacias, romlis wevrebsac aRuTqva, rom Tavisufl ebisa da damoukidebl obis wminda saqmeSi azerbaijanel i xal xi

amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis saxiT saimedo damcvel s hpovebda (17, 367). amasTan, prezidentma azerbaijanel ebs mianiSna: umj obesi iqneba Tu ganimswval ebiT kavkasiaSi federaciis Seqmnis ideiT da mas mfarvel obas gauwevda romel ime saxel mwifo erTa l igis daval ebiT (15, 349; 18).

aqve aucil ebel ia aRniSnos isic, rom amerikis kontrol qveS mTel i kavkasiis moqcevis gegma inglis intereseb s nakl ebad pauxobda. gasaTval iswinebel ia isic, rom parizSi myofi azerbaijanis del egacia eswrafvoda mandati azerbaijanze l ondonisaTvis eTxova. saqarTvel os del egacia mandatis sakiTxze Tavsi kavebda, magram inglisTan daaxl oebas ki gansakuTrebul mniSvel obas aniWebda (32, 34).

am droisaTvis inglis mTavrobas, marTal ia, ukve gadawyvetil i hqonda ksavkasiidan jarebis gayvana, magram baTumis datovebas jer-jerobiT ar apirebda. 1919 wl is martis Sua ricxvebSi, parizSi daiwyo inglis-italiis konsul taciebi saqarTvel oze mandatis italiisaTvis gadacemis Taobaze. imave wl is 26 april s mokavSire saxel mwifoTa `oTxTa sabWom- daamtka italiis mandati saqarTvel oze (19, 66, 69). italiis premieri vitorio orlando aqtiurad dainteresda saqarTvel oTi, gadawyvetil ic hqonda Tbilisi saeqspedicio korpusis gagzavna, magram italiel Ta gaaqtiurebas regionSi aSS-s uaryofiti damokidebul eba mohyva (19, 246). orlandos Semcvel ma nittis mTavrobam 1919 wl is ivniSi am wamowyebaze uari ganacxada.

`oTxTa sabWom- 1919 wl is 21 maiss daadgina: `Tu amerikis senati daamtkebs aSS-s mandats kil ikiasa da somxeTze, maSin Sesazl ebel ia mandatis moqmedebis gavr cel eba saqarTvel oze, azerbaijan sa da Crdil oet kavkasiaze (20, 149). rogorc vxedavT, aq garkveul idatqmaa, magram rusi istorikosi b. Steini am winadadebas sxvagvarad ganmartavs. misi sityvit: 21 maiss oTxTa sabWom amerikis mandati somxeTze, azerbaijan sa da mTel kavkasiaze ganavrc (21, 339).

l oid j orj is azriT, mandatis statusi dominio-
nis statusze dabal i unda yofil iyo, erTa l igis
mmarTvel oba ki arsebiTad im meTodebs daefuZneboda,
roml ebsac britaneTis imperia Tavis kol oniebTan mi-
marTebaSi iyenebda. aSS prezidentis vil sonis
mrCevl s, pol kovnik hauzs mandati proteqtoratis sa-
fuZvel ze damyarebul mmarTvel obis SezRudul for-
mad warmoedgina (22, 151-153). rac Seexeba vudro vil-
sons, igi acxadebda, rom mandati ufro tvirti iqneba,
vidre priviligia (23). amerikis prezidents, al baT,
mxedvel obaSi zogadad e. w. `TeTri adamiანის tvirti-
unda hqonoda da ara piradi pasuxismgebl obis simZime.

prezidentma v. vil sonma saWirod miicnia ufro
detal urad Seeswavl a vitareba amerikis SeerTebul i
Statebis mandatis zonad SerCeul regionSi, ristvi-
sac osmal eTsa da samxreT kavkasiaSi senatorebi kin-
gi da kreini, xol o Semdeg, general j eims harbordis
meTaurobiT, sagangebo misia gamogzavna.

1919 wl is 11 agvistos saqarTvel os warmomadgen-
nel oba konstantinopol Si Sexvda axl o aRmosavl eT-
Si Casul amerikel senatorebs kingsa da kreins. sena-
torTa sityviT: `qarTvel eba ganacxades ... rom maT
esaWirobebaT finansuri da ekonomikuri daxmareba da
imedovneben, rom didi saxel mwifoebi nebas darTaven
maT, darCnen ruseTisagan gamocal kevebul ebi, radgan
maTi wesCveul ebani sxvadasxvaa- (16).

harbordis misia parizSive Seudga muSaobas. misi
eqspertebi Sexvdnen am qal aqSi myof saqarTvel os de-
l egaciis wevrs zurab aval iSvil s da misgan sxvadas-
xva sakiTxze sagul isxmo informacia miRes (24, 287).

kavkasiaSi gamgzavrebis win amerikis SeerTebul i
Statebis warmomadgenel ma parizis sazavo konferen-
ciaze special uri gancxadeba gaavrcel a da ganmarta,
rom misiis gagzavna aSS-is mTavrobis mier samxreT
kavkasiis qveynebis oficial ur cnobas ar niSnavda
(15, 350). general i j . harbordi, roml is misias Tan ax-
l dnen msxvil i evropul i gazeTebis korespondentebi

(25), Tbilisi 1919 wli is 3 oqtombers Camovida. harbords saqarTvel oSi sapatio daxvedra mouwyves da didi banketic gaumarTes. Amerikis warmomadgenel i esaubra saqarTel os sagareo da Sinagan saqmeTa ministrebs, damfuZnebel i krebis prezidiumis wevrebsa da sxv. magram man ver SeZl o Sexedra demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis Tavmj domare noe Jordaniastan am ukanasknel is avadmyofobis gamo (gazeTebis cnobiT, SeuZl od myofi premieri 29 seqtembridan ver eswreboda mTavrobis sxdomebs (8, 10 X).

saqarTvel odan amerikaSi dabrunebul ma general -maj. harbordma 1919 wli is 14 oqtombers vaSingtonidan noe Jordaniastan Semdegi depeSa gamougzavna: `saqarTvel os premier-ministrs baton noe Jordaniastan. Cemi yofnis dros Tqven dedaqal aqSi da mTavrobastan me vwuxdi Tqveni avadmyofobis gamo, romel mac momakli o TqvenTan Sexvedris siamovneba.

Mme Tqveni werili miviRe baton RambaSiZis xel iT da Zlier gmadl obT im werilSi gamoTqmuli grZnobebisaTvis.

CemTvis Zlier sasiamovno iyo orjer naxva qartuli sazogadoebisa, xolo Cemi Sexvedra Tqvens ministrebTan, gansakuTrebit saintereso da sasargeblio iyo Cveni misiis Tval sazrisiT.

vimedovneb, rom Tqveni janmrTel oba saSual ebas mogcemT male daubrundeT Tqvens Tanamdebobas. gTxovT gadasceT Tqvens kol egebs, rom me Zlier madlobeli var im mraval daxmarebisaTvis, romelic Tqvenma xal xma aRmomiCina da Zlier vafaseb im interest, romelic maT gamoiCines Cveni muSaobisadmi.

gul wrfel ad Tqveni harbordi, amerikis generaluri Stabis general -maiori- (8, 15 X).

misiis erTTviani mogzauroba regionSi mTlad usafRTxo rodi aRmoCnda. somxeTis teritoriaze amerikel Tarandenime manqana qurTebma tyviebit dacxriel es. del egaciisaTvis aseve cecxli gauxsniat azerbaijanSic (26, 10). arsebobs cnoba, rom saqarTvel oSi

yofnis dros amerikul i misiis yvel a wevri gauZar-cvavT. Aamas 2007 wel s Tbil isSi amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis sael Cos TanamSromel i rovena gros-najafi wers (27, 4). vfiqrobT, es cnoba swori ar unda iyos. marTal ia, imdroindel saqarTvel oSi iSviaTi rodi iyo adamanTa Zarcvis, gatacebisa Tu mokvl is faqtebi (presa savsea amgvari xasiaTis informaciIT), kavkasiaSi mokavSireTa umaRI esi komisris pol kovnik haskel is sadgomis win (petre didis quCaze) misi qonebis dasacavad mudmivad jariskacta razmi idga da sxv. (8, 4 X), magram harbordis misias saqarTvel os fargl ebSi gansacdel i ar Sexvedria. winaaRmdeg SemTxvevaSi, faqti misiis angariSSi aisaxebodya. harbordi Tavis memuarebSi aRniSnavs, rom saqarTvel os mTavrobas prevenciisaTvis miumarTavs da Tbil isidan baTumSi matarebl iT mimaval i misiis vagonis win usafrTxoebis dacvis mizniT, samanevro l okomotivi Caubams (26, 10).

general ma harbordma mogzaurobis dasrul ebis Tanave amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis saxel mwifo mdivans robert l ansings vrcel i moxseneba warudgina. masSi aRniSnul ia: samxreT kavkasiis (harbordi samxreT kavkasiis ruseTis amierkavkasiis uwodebs) samive respubl ikis xel isufl eba, am cnebis dasavl uri gagebiT, axl a srul iad araefekturia, isini ndobiT ar sargebl oben da korumpirebul ni arian. somxeti nangrvebadaa qceul i da nawil obriv SimSil obs. azerbaijans ara hyavs ganaTl ebul i adamiანი, rom l ebic SeZl ebdnen karg martvas. saqarTvel os mTavroba bol Sevizmis safrTxis qveS imyofeba. saqarTvel osa da azerbaijans denikinis SemoWris SiSi aqvT. matze did gavl enas axdens aseve bol Sevizmis siaxl ovec. amerikel general s SeumCnevel i ar darCenia isic, rom Tbil isSi sasaxl is Tavze erovnul i droSis gverdiT revol uciis wiTel i droSac iyo aRmarTul i (26, 4, 13).

droSis sakiTxs j. harbordi memuarebSic ubrun-
deba da aRniSnavs: `bol Sevizmis siaxl ovis ... niSani
iyo wiTel i droSa, romel ic mTavrobis saxl ze fria-
l ebda. mTavrobaSi Cven gviTxres, rom es ar aris
bol Sevizmis wiTel i droSa, aramed droSa revol u-
ciisa, romel ic manam ar damTavrdeba, vidre samSvi-
dobo konferencia ar cnobs am mTavrobas. ... Cven nam-
dvil ad darwmunebul i viyaviT, rom es wiTel i droSa
mxol od garemoebaTa gamo frial ebda, rogorc droe-
biTi daTmoba da mal e iqneboda daSvebul i- (16).

ucxoel i stumris SeniSvna droSasTan dakavSire-
biT qarTul ma opoziciam marj ved gamoiyena xel isuf-
l ebis kritikisaTvis. social ist-federal istTa parti-
tis l iderma samson fircxal avam gazeT `saxal xo
saqmeSi~ sagangebo weril i moaTavsaxel wodebiT
`erovnul i droSa-. statiaSi vkiTxul obT: erovnul i
droSa eris suverenobis, damoukidebl obisa da Tavi-
suflebis niSania. `Cven saxel mwifoebriV cxovrebaSi
amas ver mivaqcieT saTanado yuradReba ... da pirvel
xanebSi gabedul ad verc ki gamovaCendiT Cven erov-
nul droSas. mTel i wl is ganmavl obaSi sasaxl is
Tavze ar iyo aRmarTul i eris suverenobis droSa.
TavisTavad amit saxel mwifo arc aSendeba da arc da-
iqceva, magram Zier xSirad patara movl ena bevr
rasme aaSkaravebs da marTal ni arian amerikel ebi,
romel Tac miaqcies yuradReba sasaxl eze aRmarTul
droSebs da erTnairi uxerxul oba dainaxes.

adamianebi, roml ebic savse gul iT ver daendobian
Tavis erovnul saxel mwifoebriV droSas, ver aRmarTa-
ven mas Tavis saxel mwifoebriV dawesebul ebaze _ mtki-
ce saxel mwifos ver Seqmnian, vinaidan ara aqvT mtkice
rwmena am saxel mwifosi~, dasZenda publ icisti (4, 8 X).

mTavrobam amerkel Ta SeniSvna yurad iRo, gaiT-
val iswina aseve opoziciis kritika da wiTel i droSa
Seacvl evina, mal e sasaxl is Tavze erovnul i samfe-
rovani droSa aRmarTa.

j. harbordma saqarTvel os xel isufli ebaze bol - Sevizmis gavli enis niSnad miicnia agreTve qveyanaSi ganxorciel ebul i agrarul i reforma, rom `mTavrobam moaxdina miwis nacional izacia, CamoarTva ra igimis Zvel mfl obel s ukompensaciოდ da gadasca gl exobas- (16).

qarTul real obaSi `bol Sevizmis gavli enaze- ganxvavebul i Sexedul ebisa iyo meore amerikel i samxedro, kerZod somxeTSi mokavSireTa komisari pol kovniki haskel i, romel ic ufro xangrZl ivad imyofeboda TbilisSi. samxreT kavkasiaSi general harbordis stumrobis TiTqmis Tanadrul ad, 1919 wl is noemberSi haskel i parizis sazavo konferenciis monawil eebis arwmunebda: `politikuri pirobebi saqarTvel oSi kargia. bol - Sevizmi ar aris. wesrigi dacul ia- (24, 286).

general i harbordi amerikis saxel mwifo administracias urCevda: xel isufli ebam, romel ic aiRebs mandats somxeTze, misi areal i unda ganavrcos aseve anatoliaze, rumeliaze, konstantinopol sa da samxreT kavkasiaze. da rom, erTi saerto mandati osmal eTis imperiisa da amierkavkasiisaTvis iqneboda yvelaze ekonomikuri gadawyvetil eba (26, 16).

`amerika TurqetSa da samxreT kavkasiaSi ukve xarjavs milionebs mSieri mosaxl eobis gadasarCenad-, _ xazgasmul ia harbordis moxsenebaSi. iqve naTqvamia, rom saqvel moqmedo saqmianobam, daxmarebam ltol vil ebisadmi da sxv. amerikis SeerTebul Statebs aq didi simpatia moupova da adgil obrivi mosaxl eoba amerikel ebisadmi keTil ganwyobiT gamoirCeva. harbordis azrit, regionze amerikis kontrol is pirobebsi daxmareba ufro efeqturi iqneboda. misive gamoangariSebit, Tu amerikis mandati osmal eTsa da samxreT kavkasiaze minimum 5 wel i mainc imoqmedebda, xarji am xnis ganmavl obaSi daaxl oebiT 760 milion dol ars gautol deboda. `umj obesia gaviRoT milionebi mandatSi, vidre mil iardebi momaval i omisTviso-

(` Better millions for a mandate than billions for future wars-), das-
Zenda general i (26, 2).

osmal eT-samxreT kavkasiaze erTian mandats dau-
pirispirda somxeTis damouki debl obis amerikul i komi-
teti. am ideis winaaRmdeg gamovida aseve amerikis
sazogadoebis araerTi Tval saCino warmomadgenel i,
romel Ta azriT, maxl obel aRmosavl eTze saerTo
mandatis SemTxvevaSi `mTavari beneficiarebi gaxde-
bodnen Turqebi~, isini isargebl ebdnen amiT, gaZl ier-
debodnen da mandatis damTavrebis Semdeg winandel
Zal momreobas gaagrZel ebdnen (28).

sayuradRebo iyo adgil obrivi periodul i pre-
sic mosazrebac. magal iTad, 1920 wl is 4 april s ga-
zeT `niu-iork taimsSi~ gamoqveynda statia, romel Sic
xazgasmul i iyo, rom mandatis aReba amerikis SeerTe-
bul Statebs gaxvevda `aRmosavl ur avantiuraSi~ mi-
nimum erTi Taobis manZil ze (29).

amerikul i misiis saqarTvel oSi mogzaurobis
ganmavl obaSi j. harbords Tan axl da saqarTvel os
mTavrobis oficial uri warmomadgenel i daviT Ramba-
SiZe. amerikel i general i maRal i warmodgenisa darCa
qarTvel maspinZel ze. RambaSiZe `mSvenieri ingl isu-
riT mol aparake, mimzidvel i da Wkviani, Tavaziani da
yuradRebiani, energiul i, magram zedmiwevniT taqtia-
ni, gul Ria j entl meni da friad kompetenturi ymawvi-
l i kaci~ iyoo, aRniSnavs harbordi (16).

amdenad, SemTxveviTi ar aris, rom saqarTvel os
demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobam Tavis warmom-
madgenl ad amerikaSi swored daviT RambaSiZe daniSna
(8, 21 X). opoziciuri speqtri am gadawyvetil ebas mo-
wonebit Sexvda, Tumca imazec miuTiTa, rom `es saWi-
ro iyo aqamdisac momxdariyo~ (4, 31).

xel isufl ebam gadadga praqtikul i nabij ebi ame-
rikis SeerTebul StatebSi sakuTari warmomadgenl is
misavl inebl ad. saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis sa-
gareo saqmeTa komisi am 1919 wl is 21 oqtombers qveynis
umaRl esi sakanomdebl o organos pl enarul sxdomaze

dasamtkicebl ad waradgina dekreti sagareo saqmeTa ministris gankargul ebaSi 3 milioni maneTis gadadebis Sesaxeb. am Tanxis fargl ebSi gaTval iswinebul i iyo xarj ic aSS-Si del egaciis gasagzavnad (30, 2-6).

periodul i presis cnobiT, daviT RambaSiZe imave wl is 23 noembers amerikis kontinentze gamgzavrebula (4, 25 XI), mkvl evari b. kobaxiZe SeniSnavs, rom FRambaSiZe amerikaSi ar wasul a, Tumca raime wyaros ar miuTitebs (31, 285). qarTvel i dipl omatis amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi Casvl is damadasturebel masal as jer-j erobiT verc Cven mi vakvl ieT. Tu daviT RambaSiZe marTI ac gaemgzavra okeanis gaRma, rogorc Cans, iq didxans ar darCenil a. yovel SemTxvevaSi, igi 1919 wl is bol osa da 1920 wl is gazafxul is CaTvl iT evropasi (parizsa da l ondonSi) imyofeboda (24, 355).

azerbaj anis demokratiul i respubl ikis parl amentis Tavmj domaris, parizis samSvidobo konferenciaze Aam qveynis del egaciis xel mZRvanel is a. ToFCibaSevis cnobiT, saqarTvel os mTavrobas miuRia gadawyvetil eba amerikaSi g. maCabl is mi vl inebis Sesaxeb (32, 53). ufro savaraudoa, ToFCibaSevs amerikaSi gasagzavnad SerCeul i qarTvel i warmomadgenl is gvari eSl ebodes da d. RambaSiZis nacvl ad maCabel s miuTitebdes.

amerikis SeerTebul i StatebSi samxreT kavkasiis axl ad warmoSobil respubl ikebs Soris yvel aze ukeT somxeTis sakiTxs icnobdnen. amas didwil ad am qveyanaSi mcxovrebi somexTa Zl ieri da mdidari diasporis arseboba ganapirobebda. amerikasTan urTierTobaSi qarTvel ebi da azerbaj anel ebi Tavs `Rarib naTesavad- grZnobdnen. saqarTvel osTan SedarebiT upiratesoba azerbaj ansac hqonda, radgan baqos navTobiT dainteresebas gamoxatavda iseTi msxvil i amerikul i navTobkompania, rogoricaa `standart oil i-. amitom saqarTvel os mTavrobas ufro qmediTad unda emoqmeda amerikis politikuri da sazogadoebrivi wreebis keTil ganwyobis mosapovebl ad.

am mxriv sagul isxmoa qarTvel i dipl omatis konstantine gvarj al aZis erT-erTi weril i noe Jordani-asadmi, romel Sic aRniSnul ia: `amerika mTI ad mitovebul ia. ... mxol od l ondonis biul etenebs ugzavniT amerikaSi senatis wevrebs da Jurnal -gazeTebS. mara es ar kmara. ... amerikis Sesaxeb karl os (k. CxeiZe, _ o. j.) ukve mouweria TqvenTvis. ... amerikaSi vinmes ggzavnis Sesaxeb Cxenkel sac (akaki Cxenkel i, _ o. j.) mouweria TqvenTvis- (2, 29).

1918-1921 wl ebSi amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi l obisturi momsaxurebis servisi j er kidev nakl ebad arsebobda. dipl omatebisa da mTavrobis saerTo Zal isxmevis Sedegad, parizis samSvidobo konferenciaze myofma saqarTvel osa da azerbaijanis samTavrobo del egaciebma l obisti aSS warmomadgenl obiT organoSi gamonaxes. es iyo kongresmeni niu-iurkidan uol -ter marion Cendl eri. Cendl eris garkveul i Tanxis safasurad azerbaijan-saqarTvel os interesebis dacvisa da maTi damoukidebl obis aRiarebis misaRwevad unda emuSava (15, 365-368).

sainteresoa, rom amave kongresmens mindobil i hqonda amerikaSi bal tiis sami respublikis _ litval atvia-estoneTis mxardaWerisaTvis zrunvac.

saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis arqivSi dacul ia u. Cendl erisa da parizis sazavo konferenciaze myofi qarTul i del egaciiS wev rTa mimowera. Cendl eris weril ebidan irkveva, rom igi mondomebiT asrul ebda l obistis funqcias, saqarTvel o-azerbaijanis miswrafebebs acnobda amerikel senatorebsa da kongresmenebs, eweoda propagandas, gaz. `niu-iork TaimsSi- 1920 wl is 25 dekembers stiac gamoaqveya bal tiis respublikebisa da saqarTvel o-azerbaijanis damoukidebl obis aRiarebis moTxovniT, cdil obda amerikis viza moepovebina zurab aval iSvil isa da zemoT xsenebul i al i ToFciba-SevisaTvis da sxva, magram es saqme aRemateboda erTi adamianis Sesazl ebl obebs. amastan, rogorc erT-erT

weril Si Cendl eri amerikidan ityobinebobda, mas Turme muSaobaSi xel s uSl idnen somxeTis mxardamWeri Zal ebi (32, 55-56). Aaqve aucil ebel ia iTqvas, rom amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi saqarTvel osa da azerbaijanis respublikebis sasargebl od saqmianobda aseve sagangebod SerCeul i finansuri agenti robinovi, magram mas mindobil i hqonda am qveynebisatvis mxol od kreditis moZiebis sakiTxi (32, 53).

amerikis administraciastan kavSiris damyareba ufro iol ad SeZl o somxeTis respublikam. cnobil i qarTvel i istorikosi ivane javaxiSvili jer kidev 1919 wl is april Si SeniSnavda: `somxebma, sazogadod, gamoiCines didi unari dasavl eT evropaSi da amerikaSi sazogadoebrivi azris somxeTis sasargebl od SemuSavebisa- (33, 13). somxeTis del egacia mTavrobis yofili Tavmj domaris ovanes qaCaznunis xel mZRvanel obiT operatiul ad gaemgzavra amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi. periodul i presis cnobit, miRebas TeTr saxl Si daeswrnen amerikis vice-prezidenti, gareSe saqmeTa ministri, senatori loji da sxv. `mopyroba keTil Sobil uri iyo. didi imedebi gvaqvso, atyobinebda del egacia gazeT `aSxatavors- (4, 31 X).

amerikaSi myofma somxeTis warmomadgenl ebma xel Sekrul eba dades Cikagos erT-erT did firmastan, romel mac somxeTsi 50 milioni dol aris saqonl is gamogzavna ival debul a fasis nawil obriv gadaxdit- (4, 8 X). somxeTisaTvis daxmarebis sakiTxze msjel oba gaimarta amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis senatsic. amerikis mTavrobas gadawyvetili hqonda somxeTis respublikisaTvis 25 milioni dol aris sexxis gamoyofa (2, 65). magram somxeTisaTvis ufro arsebiti mniSvnel oba hqonda osmal eTisagan mosal odnel i agresiisagan dacvisa da mandatis sakiTxs, ris Sesaxeb amerikis xel isufl ebas oficial uradac mimaTa (34).

erTa ligis mandati samandato sivrcis araxol od saerto kontrols, aramed mis samxedro mfarvel obasac iTval iswinebda. amitom saqarTvel os demok-

ratiul i respublikis interesSi Sedioda, rom somxeTze amerikis mandats gavlena saqarTvel os teritoriazec hqonoda. miuxedavad amisa, saqarTvel os xelisuflebas amerikis daxmareba ufrosxvagvarad hqonda warmodgenili, kerZod, finansuri Tanadgomisa da diplomatiuri mxardaWeris saxiT. magram aSS-is xelisuflebas saqarTvel os swrafvas Tavisuflebas ken imTavitve undobl ad uyurebda. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mtavrobas amerikis SeerTebul i StatebisaTvis sakuTar qveyanaze mandatis dawesebalar utxovia. „Cven ara varT samandato, saopekuno xalxi, Cven varT Cveni Tavis mandatori, Cveni opekuni, Tavis Tavis batoni - _ acxadebda noe Jordania saqarTvel os damfuznebel krebaSi gamosvlisas (5, 144). igi mandatsi saxel mwifoebriვი დამოუკიდებლობისთვის დადგინდა, Tumca moeloda, rom somxeTis amerikis mfarvelobaSi Sesvla saqarTvel osac garkveuli ad waadgeboda.

es mol odini amao gamodga, radgan vilsonis gegma TviT aSS-s politikus wreebSic srul ad ar gaziars. miuxedavad imisa, rom vudro vilsonმა სამსვიდობო ჯალისხმევისთვის 1919 წელს ნობელის პრემია დაიმსახურა, senatma ar daamtKica arc versalis xel Sekruli eba da arc erTali giswesdeba. A1920 წლის 1 ივნისს senatsi uaryofiTad gadawyda aseve somxeTze amerikის mandatis dawesebis sakiTxic (35, 5).

Tu ratom Tqva senatma uari mandatze, amis Sesaxeb mkvlevarTa ორის აზრთა სვდასხვაობა arsebobs. zogi miicnevs, rom amis mizezi mokavSire saxel mwifoTa politikusuri manevrebi iyo, zogis azrit, es amerikas i xanad gabatonebul მაიჯორიტეტის მხარეა. ამის დასაბუთებას ამერიკის დიპლომატიის მინისტრმა გამოიყენა ამერიკის საგარეო ურთიერთობების დეპარტამენტის მხარე, რომელიც ამერიკის საგარეო ურთიერთობების დეპარტამენტის მხარეა. ამერიკის საგარეო ურთიერთობების დეპარტამენტის მხარეა. ამერიკის საგარეო ურთიერთობების დეპარტამენტის მხარეა.

1920 წლის იანვარში მოკავSire saxel mwifoTa umaRl esma sabWom saqarTvel os suvereniteti de faq-

tod aRiara. erTaderTi didi saxel mwifo, romel ic amis Semdegac Tavs ikavebda, ečno saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebrioba, iyo amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi. man 1920 wl is 9 Teberval s oficial urad ganacxada uari azerbaijanisa da saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis cnobaze (36, 354). rac Seexeba somxeTs, igi aSS-m de faqtod 1920 wl is 23 april s aRiara (37, 6).

1920 wl is 10 agvistos gamoqveynda aSS saxel mwifo mdivnis beinbrij kol bis pasuxi itali iis mTavrobis SekiTxvaze Tu rogor afasebs amerikis xel isufleba ruseT-pol oneTis gamwvavebul urTierTobas. kol bis nota pol oneTis garda exeboda ruseTis yofil i imperiis fargl ebSi warmoqmnil sxva politikur erTeul ebs, maT Soris samxreT kavkasiis qveynebsac da acxadebda: amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi ar iwonebs parizis umaRi esi sabWos gadawyvetil ebas e. w. respublikebis _ saqarTvel osa da azerbaijanis cnobis Sesaxeb. amastan, iziarebda ra ruseTis mTlianobis ideas, aSS-is administracia saertod eWvqveS ayenebda politikuri damoukidebl obisaken saqarTvel os l tol vis kanonierebasac da cnobda mxol od finetis, pol oneTisa da somxeTis Tavisuflebas (38, 299-305).

beinbrij kol bis nota mas Semdeg gamoqveynda, rac metropol iam _ ruseTma upirobod cno daSl il i imperiisagan yofil i kol oniis _ saqarTvel os CamoSoreba da misi saxel mwifoebrivi damoukidebl oba aRiara (1920 wl is 7 maisi).

kol bis notis gamoqveynebis gamo saqarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebis Tavmj domaris amxanagma al eqsandre I omTaTiZem 1920 wl is 15 seqtembers umaRi esi sakanonmdebl o organos tribunidan ganacxada: am ramdenime dRis winaT presam vaSingtonidan mosul i cnoba gaavrcela _ Crdil o amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi ruseTis Zvel s, revol uciis wina sazRvrebSi aRdgenas uWeren mxarsao. Tu es dipl omatiuri enis wanacdeni, l apsusi araa, ... Tu aseTia, marTla, azri Crdil o-amerikisa, unda saqveynod ganvacxadoT, rom

es dacinva, udidesi Seuracxyofaa mTel i saqarTvel
l osi. dee icodes yvel am, da upirvel es yovl isa
mTel ma saerTaSoriso demokratiam, miaqcios amas j-
rovani yuradReba, rom demokratiul i saqarTvel o
Tavis Rirsebis axdis nebas, sanam cocxal i iqneba,
aravis ar miscems- (39, 5).

kol bis notis winaaRmdeg AsaqarTvel os damfuZne-
bel i krebis sxdomaze mkacrad gail aSgra erovnul -de-
mokratiul i partiis sapatl amento fraqciis Tavmj do-
mare giorgi gvazavamac: misi sityviT, `amerikis nota
aris uaryofa mTel i istoriisa evol uciis da umTav-
resad omis da revol uciis im monapovarta, romel ze-
dac unda aSendes axal i evropaa, axal i saerTaSoriso
ganwyobil eba, damyarebul i ufl ebase da sindisze.

... amerikis notiT darRveul ia ... uxeSad Sel axu-
l i da uaryofil ia saqarTvel os erovnul i ufl eba.
imis magivrad, rom damyardes ufl eba da moispoxe-
Si Zal momreoba erTa Soris, amerika moiTxovs ruse-
Tis aRdgenas Zvel sazRvrebSi. maS sad aris principi
erTa TviTgamorkvevisa, an pativiscema xel Sekrul ebi-
sa? ... qarTvel ers da gansakuTrebiT damfuZnebel
krebas ar SeuZl ian ar aRimaRl os xma amerikis gamos-
vl is winaaRmdeg- (39 10).

kol bis nota ar darCenil a arc qarTul i perio-
dul i presis yuradRebis miRma. gazeTi `saxal xo saq-
me- Tavis mowinaveSi werda: `yvel a imperial istur sa-
xel mwifos, miuxedavad miswrafebaTa da miznebis
sxvadasxaobisa, buneba erTi aqvT: isini ar dagideven
eris ufl ebas, samarTI ianobas, Tuki es ukanasknel i
maT politikur angariSebsa da kombinaciebSi ar Se-
dis. sityviT isini iRwian mSvidobianobisaTvis, ufl
lebrivi mdgomareobisaTvis, simarTI e-samarTI iano-
bisaTvis da saqmiT ki srul iad sawinaaRmdegos scadi-
an. amis saucxoo nimusia amerika, romel ic demokra-
tizmis samosel iT evl ineboda qveynierebas da saqmiT
ki mowadinebul ia dabrkol ebani aRumarTos erebs sa-

ukeTeso momavl isaTvis, erovnul i srul yofisaTvis swrafvaSi~.

gazeTis redaQciis azriT, `Znel i dasaj eria, amerikis mxriv Cveni qveynis ufl ebaTa ugul vebel yofa avxsnAT imiT, rom vaSingtonis mTavrobas sakmao informacia ar hqonda Cvens Taobaze. pol kovniki haskel i kargad icnobda amierkavkasiis saqmeebs da kerZod saqarTvel os. amistvis mis xel T sakmao dro, masal a da dakvirvebani iyo. al baT arc general harbordis mogzauroba da mis mier Sekrebi i masal a iqneboda datovebul i yuraduRebl iv SeerTebul i Statebis mier. SeiZl eba haskel sac, harbordsac da vaSingtonis mTavrobasac SeumCnevel i darCaT mxol od erTi ram _ is, rom saqarTvel o, ganurCevl ad mimarTul ebisa da mdgomareobisa, mzad aris yovel is Zal iT daicvas eris ufl ebani da amas Caidens maSinac, Tugind iseTi saxel mwifoebis risxvac da datuqsvac daimsaxuros, rogoric aris amerika. es rom scodnodaT, al baT maSin baton kol bis gauZnel deboda kal mis erTi mosmiT qarTvel i eris saukunoebiT nakurTxi ufl ebebis ganiaveba. yovel SemTxvevaSi amerika Tavs Seikavebda aseT kategoriul formebsi Tavis msj avris gamotanis dros- ... (40, 16 X).

amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis mkveTrad uaryofiTma damokidebul ebam qarTul i saxel mwifos arsebobis mimarT wyena gamoiwvia saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis mTavrobis wevrebSic. im xanad italliaSi vizitad myofi saqarTvel os sagareo saqmeTa ministri evgeni gegeWkori romis gazeT `tribunisaTvis- micemul interviusi aRniShavda: `moval ed vracx Tavs ganvaxado Cemi Rrma protesti amerikis notaSi gamoTqmul saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis samtro azrebis winaaRmddeg. ... saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba udavo faqtia. Tu zogierTi saxel mwifo dRes amas angariSs ar uwevs, ama Tu im mosazrebiT, xval gauwevs, vinaidan aseTia patara, magram sul iT Zl ieri xal xis neba- (40, 21 IX).

amerikis administracia saqarTvel os damouki deb-
 l obisaken miswrafebas ar cnobs, radganac, Tvl is
 rom, saqarTvel o 120 wl is win nebayofl obiT Seuer-
 Tda ruseTs _ ganumartavda qarTvel i ministri ucxo-
 el mkiTxvel s da iqve dasZenda: `samarTI ianad mimaC-
 nia vikiTxo: Seiwuxa ki Tavi kol bma, rom gascnoboda
 ruseTTan saqarTvel os SeerTebis pirobebs; Tu amis
 gagebaze man Tavi Seiwuxa, ecodineba, rom saqarTvel o-
 sa da ruseTs Soris daido urTierT xasiaTis xel Sek-
 rul eba, romel ic saxel mwifos saxel mwifosTan Se-
 Tanxmebas warmoadgenda. es xel Sekrul eba ruseTs
 aval debul ebda saqarTvel os winaSe, rom saqarTvel os
 saxel mwifoebri vi damoukidebl oba da misi teritoria
 daecva ucxoetis safrTxisagan. es xel Sekrul eba ru-
 setma didi xania daarRvia. ... qarTvel xal xs darCa
 mxol od erTi saSual eba _ xel axl a Sesdgomoda Ta-
 vis saxel mwifoebri v cxovrebis Senebas-. evgeni gegeW-
 kori darwmunebiT acxadebda: `roca SeerTebul i Sta-
 tebi gaecnobian am faqtebs, aRiareben Cvens ufl ebas
 damoukidebl obaze, rogorc scnobda mas ruseTis
 mTavroba da rogorc icnobs erTa l iga- (40, 21 IX).

kol bis notis sapasuxod, saqarTvel os oficia-
 l urma del egaciam safrangeTSi amerikis SeerTebul i
 Statebis el Cs val ess memorandumi gadasca. masSi ru-
 setis imperiis teritoriul i mTal ianobis idea `usa-
 fuZvl o doqtrinad-, `Zvel meqanikur Teoriadaa- mox-
 seniebul i (41, 110-111) da dasabuTebul ia suverenul i
 saxel mwifoebri vi formiT cxovrebis qarTvel i eris
 kanonieri ufl eba.

amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis uaryofITi damo-
 kidebul eba abrkol ebda qarTul i saxel mwifos saer-
 TaSoriso aRiarebas, magram dauZI evel winaaRmdego-
 bas aRar warmoadgenda. prezidenti vil soni mokavSi-
 reTa umaRI es sabWoze Zvel eburad veRar zemoqmede-
 da, radgan mis mTavrobas rwmunebis vada ewureboda.
 samwuxarod, vada ewureboda da sakuTari istoriis
 bol o Tveebis iTvl ida saqarTvel os demokratiul i

respubl ikac, romel sac erTa l igam uari uTxra Tavis wevrad miRebaze. es arsebiTad sabWoTa ruseTis pirispir martod datovebul i qveyanis ganwirvis tol fasi aRmoCnda. kreml mac aRar daayovna da 1921 wl is Teberval -martSi samxedro agresiiis gziT saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis arsebobs bol o mouRo.

amrigad, 1918-1921 wl ebSi amerkul -qarTul i urTierTobebi saqarTvel osaTvis sasurvel i mimarTul ebit ver warimarTa. amerikis SeerTebul ma Statebma ar gaiTval iswina saqarTvel os erovnul -saxel mwifoebriwi interesebi, ar daamyara dipl omatiuri urTierToba saqarTvel os pirvel respubl ikasTan, gaemijna misi damouki debl obis aRiarebas, uari Tqva aeRo mandati samxreT kavkasiazec da regionSi ZiriTadad saqvel moqmedo saqmianobiT Semoifargl a. meti Zal isxmeva marTebda saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis mesveurebsac, roml ebmac amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis roli da adgili Tanadrul saerTaSoriso urTierTobebSi saTanadaod ver Seafases. qarTvel ma politikosebma okeanisaRmel i qveynis faqtors nakl ebi angariSi gauwies, ver SeZl es aSS administraciasTan mWidro daaxl oeba da saqarTvel oTi misi Sesabamisi daiintereseba.

**FROM THE HISTORY OF THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN US AND GEORGIA
IN 1918-1921 YEARS**

After the first world war, a new important factor in the form of the US was highlighted on the international political arena. In the same period, the recently established Democratic Republic of Georgia was struggling for finding its place and joining the big family of civilized nations.

The paper intends to show, to what extent Georgian political elite took into account the factor of America. the opinion that existed in the US about the Democratic Republic of Georgia and how the US-Georgian relations developed in 1918-1921 years.

In the instructions of the state department of The United States on Paris Peace Conference, it was indicated that the independence of Georgia would be temporary. In the future, Georgia together with Azerbaijan should have joined the Republic of Armenia as a federation. All of this space was intended to be a mandate area of the US.

The efforts of the government of Georgia was directed to getting international recognition of the country, but if the Paris Peace Conference refused to approve the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, then it would be possible to accept the patronage of France or Great Britain as long as the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of Georgia was guaranteed.

The US officially got the mandate on Armenia and the strait of Black Sea by the Supreme War Council on 14 May of 1919, but the administration of the country had started to consider this issue much earlier. Even in the end of 1918, the special mission headed by the rector of Chicago University-professor Judson visited Tbilisi. Earlier than that, admiral Mark Lambert Bristol, the highest commissar of the US in Constantinople, was in Tbilisi and Batumi. In the March of 1919, F. Willoughby Smith, the US consul in Tbilisi and Benjamin B. Moore, the director of the US political intelligence in the South Caucasus met the members of Georgian government. In the October of 1919, the mission of general James Harbord, on the instruction of president Wilson, traveled in Georgia.

Harbord had introduced a big report to the state secretary of the US expressing a view that setting up a common mandate on Ottoman Empire and South Caucasus would be the best economic solution. However, the US senate didn't approve Wilson's plan and refused to ratify it. Therefore, The issue of mandate was removed from the agenda.

The US restrained itself from recognition the sovereignty of Georgia. Moreover, the note of Bainbridge Colby on 10th of August in 1920, doubted the legitimacy of the country's striving for political independence. This fact caused dissatisfaction among Georgian political circles and this was clearly shown on the constituent assembly. Also, the official delegation of Georgia in France addressed the US embassy with announcement of protest.

Despite all of this, US hadn't stopped its relations with Georgia. US consulate was functioning in Tbilisi. Also, the local structure of "US committee of helping the victims of war" that was founded here, conducted wide range of charitable activities.

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qevan qarTvel i Svi i

amerikis pirveli sakonsulo Senobis idontificirebis sakiTxi

saqarTvelo da amerikis SeerTebuli Statebi strategiuli partniorebi arian. aSS-is administraciამ დიდი რილი TamaSaxალი saqarTvelos მსენებლობის procesSi და qarTvelი xალ xის მაღლიerebac დამსახურა. Cემზე win გამომსვლი ებმა warmoadგინეს saqarTvelos პირელი respublikის (1918-1921 ww.) saqarTvelo-amerikის ურTierTობის საინტერესო პერიტეები. ამას ცენ დავუმატებდით, რომ saqarTvelოsa და ამერიკას Soris არსებობდა მნიშვნელოვანი სატრანსპორტო სექტორები გამეზობილნი ვართ. Tბილისი ფუნქციონირებდა aSS-ს ალიო არმოსავლითის დამარების კომიტეტი, რომელიც Tბილისის მაქოვრებლებს ემარებოდა, aSS საკვებით ამარაგებდა ახალ ჯალ აკის მარას², დაარსებული იყო aSS-saqarTvelos მაღნული სერტოლივი კომპანია³, იგეგმებოდა ამერიკისათვის სასუმრო „დარილის“ გადაცემა⁴ და aSS-ს მისიისთვის ჯალ აკის ბინების რეკვიზიცია⁵. ეს aSS-saqarTvelos Soris არსებული ტანამსრომლობის მცირე მაგალიტებია. xოლო, ტურამდენად ნაყოფიერი იყო ორ ქვეყნას Soris ურTierTობის განვითარება, ამის ტაობაზე, უკვე იყო საუბარი. ყოველივე არნიშნული გატვივინებით, საინტერესოა უფრო მეტის ცოდნა saqarTvelოსი aSS-ს დიპლომატიური მისიის, მატ Soris მატი ადგილსმყოფელი სესახე, სადანაც ამერიკის warmომადგენელ ტა საკმიანობა ხორციელდებოდა.

რა ტყმა უნდა ამ საინტერესო და ნაყოფიერი მუშაობის ეპიცენტრი aSS-ს Tბილისის საკონსულიო გაღიდატ. ამერიკის პირელი კონსული, რომელიც ამ საკონსულოს სენობასი განტავსდა იყო ვილიუბი სმიტი, რომელიც კარგად იყო გატვიტნობიერებული სამხრეთ კავკასიის საკიტხების, იცნობდა qarTულ გარემოს და ალიო ურTierTობა ზონდა qarTულ პოლიტიკურ ურთიერთობებში.

smitma dadebiTi rol i iTamaSa saqarTvel os pirvel i respubl ikis dipl omatiur cxovrebaSi. smiti aqtiur rol s asrul ebda amerika-saqarTvel os Soris urTierTobis damyarebaSi da aSS-s sagareo prioritetebis ganxorciel ebaSi samxreT kavkasiis regionSi da gansakuTrebiT saqarTvel oSi. 1919 wel s smiti Secval a Carl z mozerma. misi saqmianobis Sesaxeb bevri informacia ar arsebobs, Tumca cnobil ia is, rom moRvawebis bol o wl ebSi mozers ar hqonda kargi damokidebul eba qarTvel pol itikosebTan-magal iTad adgil i hqonda konfl iqts massa da saqarTvel os sagareo ministrs evgeni gegWkors Soris. Sedegad, mozeri pol itikaze saubars erideboda da pirad cxovrebas met interest uTmobda. mis winamorbedTan SedarebiT, mozeris urTierTobebi da pol itikuri saqmianoba gasaiduml oebul ia, mimowerebi da aSS-Si gagzavnili tel egramebi _ daSifrul ia da amJamad amerikis erovnul arqivSi inaxeba. fondis saqmianobis erT-erTi mTavari amocana swored konsul Ta saqmianobis gamomJRavneba, mozeris mimoweraTa gaSifvra da misi memkvudreobis moZiebaa, rac saqarTvel o-amerikis urTierTobebis istorias axal faqtebsa da mniSvnel ovan informacias Sematebs.

amerikis konsul ebis saqmianoba, qarTul -amerikul i urTierTobebis gamorCeul i xasiaTi, ra Tqma unda, yovel faqts, movl enas, nivTs Tu Senobas damatebit Sinaarss aniWebs da mkvl evarebisgan am faqtebis dadgenas da Seswavl as miTxovs. Cven am etapze Seviswavl eT amerikis pirvel i sakonsul os Senobis identifikaciis sakiTxi. misi Seswavl iT pirvel ad dainteresdnen „qarTul -amerikul i urTierTobebis xel Semwyobi fondis“ TanamSroml ebi. fondi 2007 wel s Seiqmna, Tumca misi imJamindel i prezidenti, al eqsi Coxeli kidev ufro adre Seexo am sakiTxs, roca muSaobda Temaze: „saqarTvel os sakiTxi amerikis kongresSi“. amerikis arqivSi igi gadaawyda masal ebs, romel Sic moxseniebul i iyo Tbil isSi amerikis dipl omatiuri

warmomadgenl obis pirvel i Senobis Taobaze, kerZod ki is, rom amerikis pirvel ma konsul ma, smitma vel iaminovis quCaze mdebare saxl i general vasil TamamSevisgan 20 wl iT. swored amerikis erovnul i arqivis masal ebi, aseve amerikis konsul is Carl z mozeris avtobiografiul i wigni da memuarebi daedo safuZvl ad a. Coxel is statias. Tumca imJamad kvl eva sakonsul os pirvel i Senobis sakiTxis araprioretitul obis gamo aRar gagrZel da.

„qarTul -amerikul i urTierTobebis xel Semwyobi fondis“ mier qarTul -amerikul i urTierTobebis ganmtkicebis kval dakval, moxda am sakiTxiT xel axl a daintereseba. pirvel etapze unda momxdariyo sakonsul os pirvel i Senobis (vel iaminovis)dadianis quCaze mdebareobis dadastureba. miymarTeT saqarTvel os erovnul arqivs, sadac inaxebe 1918 wl is dokumenti⁶, romel ic CvenTvis ZiriTadi aRmoCnda. am dokumentSi mocemul ia qveyanaSi akreditebul i sael Coebis, maT Soris aSS-is sakonsul os misamarTi. am sabuTis mi-xedviT, aSS-is dipl omatiuri warmomadgenl oba vel iaminovis q. 15 nomerSia ganTavsebul i. amas Tan erTvis saqarTvel os erovnul arqivSi moZiebul i sxva dokumentebi. amasTan unda aRiniSnos, rom aSS-is erovnul i arqivis „American consulate in Tiflis“-is saqmis masal ebi aseve adasturebs, rom vel iaminovis 15-Si mdebare saxl i amerikis pirvel ma konsul ma smitma general vasil TamamSevisgan 20 wl is vadiT iqirava.

meore etapze ukve aucil ebel i iyo maSindel i vel iaminovis quCaze mdebare da dRevandel dadianis quCaze arsebul i saxl ebis identificireba. probl ema SeiZl eba gamxdariyo saxl ebis aRmniSvel i nomrebis Seusabamoba. saqarTvel os erovnul arqivSi moviZieT 1897 wl is pl anSetze CvenTvis saintereso saxl i, saubno nomriT (161) aris aRniSnul i, Tumca igi quCis marj vena mxares ganl agebul saxl ebis mwkrivSi rigiT me-15-ea. rogorc dasturdeba, vel iaminovis quCis es saxl i adgil mdebareobiT da formiT Tanxvdeba dadianis #15-Si

mdebare Senobas. garda amisa, arqivSi aRmoCeniI ia saxl is naxazi, daTariRebul i 1866 wl iT. aqedan gamomdinare, misi dRevandel i, dadianis quCaze mdebare Senobis identuroba eWvs ar iwvevs. garda amisa, yvel a warmodgenil i dokumetis mixedviT saxl is patronad gvare _ TamamSevia dasaxel ebul i, aSS-s arqivis masal ebSi moxseniebul ia general i vasil TamamSevi. kerZod, moipoveba dokumentebi, maT Soris Carl z mozeris weril i⁷, romel ic exeba geenal i TamamSevisa da misi col is da amerikis yofil i konsul is vil oubi smitis angariSebs. TamamSevebi dokumentSi sakonsul os Senobis mfl obel ebad da yofil i konsul is karg megobrebad arian dasaxel ebul ni. rogorc weril ebidan irkveva, general i TamamSevi sakonsul osgan qiris gadaxdas iTxovda mas Semdeg, rac saqarTvel os gasabWoebis gamo qveyana datova da emigraciaSi gaemgzavra. es Tanxa mas 1923 wel s konsul ma otis a. gl azbrukma gadauxada 1377 aSS dol aris odenobiT⁸.

1897 wl is dokumentSi _ vinme varvara vasil is asul i TamamSevi, romel ic general is qal iSvil i unda iyos, dasaxel ebul ia saxl is mesakuTred. Cveni varaudiT, swored man miaqirava aSS-is dipl omatiur warmomadgenl obas saxl i 1918 wel s. aseve davadastureT, rom 1866 wl is dokumentaci iT, Senoba igor TamamSvis sakuTreba yofil a, romel ic vasil i TamamSevis naTevasi unda iyos. aRsaniSnavia isic, rom vel iaminovis quCaze mdebare arcerTi sxva Senoba TamamSevis saxel ze ar iricxeba.

zemoT aRniSnul idan gamomdinare srul i safuZveli i gvaqvs davaskvnaT, rom S. dadians 15-Si mdebare Senoba daaxl oebiT 140 wl is winaa agebul i da rom 1918-1921 wl ebSi am saxl Si aSS-is pirvel i dipl omatiuri warmomadgenl oba iyo ganTavsebul i. es Senoba amJamadac funqcionirebs da masSi baga-baRia ganl agebul i.

„qarTul -amerikul i urTierTobebis xel Semwyobi Fondma“ aRniSnul i aRmoCenis Sesaxeb acnoba amerikis sael Cos, Tbil isis merias. 2010 wel s merias gaegzavna

fondis oficial uri weril i. arqividan Sesabamisi dokumentebis warmodgenis, aseve aSS-s sael Cos kul - turisa da presis yofil i ataSes sintia uiti sis Tanxmobis wardgenis safuZvel ze meriam Tanxmoba ganaxada ganeTavsebina Senobaze aSS-s warmomadgeni obis arsebobis aRmniSvnel i memorial uri dafa, rac ver ganxorciel da.

Fondma am periodSive dasaxa garkveul i gegmebi da proeqti Senobis momaval funcionirebasTan dakavSirebiT. vinaidan, saxl i, romel Sic aSS-s pirvel i warmomadgeni oba imyofeboda, me-19 saukunes miekuT-vneba, igi sakmaod Zvel ia da avariul mdgomareobaSi, Tumca amJamad iq sabavSvo baRia ganTavsebul i, rac Cveni azrit mizanSeuwonel ia zogadad saqarTvel osa da maT Soris, Tbil isis seismuri adgil mdebareobidan gamomdinare. Sesabamisad, migvaCnia, rom Tavdapirvel ad, unda moxdes Senobis restavracia pirvel adi fasadis SenarCunebiT. Semdeg etapze, sasurvel i iqneba ganxorciel des mniSvnel ovani proeqti-daarsdes ameriki kul turis centri-evropul i saxl is msgavsad, „amerikul i saxl i“ romel ic aRniSnul SenobaSi ganTavsdeba. centris mizani iqneba amerika-saqarTveli os TanamSroml obis gaRrmaveba, igi xel s Seuwyobs Tavisufal i kerZo Tu oficial uri kavSirebis damyarebas amerikisa da saqarTvel os mecnierebs da mkvl e-varebs Soris. Tuki moxdeba am Senobis erTgvar, qarTul -amerikul saxl ad qceva, igi farTod iqneba gamoyenebul i amerikel i da qarTvel i eqspertebis, mecnierebis SexvedrebiTvis, sxvadasxva sakiTxze konferenciebis mosawyobad. garda amisa, mniSvnel ovnad migvaCnia, daarsdes ori qveynis urTierTobebis istoriis amsaxvel i muzeumi, foto da sxva saarqivo masal ebiT, romel Ta moZieba amJamad fondis prioritets warmomadgens. Tumca aqve unda iTqvas, rom es saqme Zal is-xnevasTan erTad sakmao biuj ets da finansur uzrunvel yofas moiTxovs, ami tom saWi roa Sesabamisi Tanxebis moZieba aRniSnul i proeqtis gansaxorciel ebl ad.

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**THE ISSUE OF IDENTIFICATION OF THE FIRST
US CONSULATE IN TBILISI**

The United States of America and Georgia are strategic partners. The US administration played a significant role in building the new state of Georgia and merited gratitude of Georgian people. The US and Georgia had various kinds of relations in 1918-1921 years during the first republic of Georgia. There existed an important transport trade agreement between America and Georgia about purchasing ships¹. "The US committee of assisting the Middle East" was functioning in Tbilisi and was aiding city dwellers. America was food supplier of Akhal-kalaki². The US-Georgian common ore company was also established³. It was planned to give the US the hotel "Dariali"⁴ and grant the US mission apartments in the city⁵. These are the few examples of collaboration between US and Georgia and the productivity of development of these kinds of relations is another important issue. Taking into consideration the mentioned factors, it would be interesting to learn more about the US diplomatic mission in Georgia, including their residence- the place of implementation of main diplomatic decisions.

Obviously, the center of this interesting and beneficial work was US consulate in Tbilisi. The first US consul placed in this building was Willoughby Smith, who was well aware of South Caucasian issues; he was acquainted with Georgian environment and culture and had close ties with Georgian politicians. Mr. Smith definitely played an important role in diplomatic life of the first republic of Georgia. He was actively involved in establishing diplomatic relations between US and Georgia facilitating implementation of US foreign policy priorities in South Caucasus and particularly, in Georgia. In 1919, Smith was replaced by Charles Moser. There's not much information known about his affairs, but it's known that in the last years of his work he didn't have good relations with Georgian politicians, such as a conflict between him and Evgeni Gegechkori-foreign minister of Georgia. As a result, Moser avoided discussions and talks about politics and gave more attention to his private life. Compared with his former consul, Moser's relations and political affairs are secret, all the correspondences and telegrams sent in America are encoded and currently

preserved in the national archive of America. One of the main goals of the foundation is to expose the affairs of first consuls, decode the correspondences of Moser and search its heritage. This will add some new facts and information to the history of the US-Georgian relations.

The work of American consuls and the specific character of US-Georgian relations makes each fact, event or subject connected to them much important and requires more research from scholars. At this stage we have researched the issue of identification of the first consulate building in Tbilisi. The members of the foundation were first to be interested in this matter. The foundation was established in 2007, however its former president Mr. Aleksi Chokheli got in touch with this case much earlier when working on the theme: "Issue of Georgia in US congress". He found some materials about the first US consulate building in Tbilisi, particularly the information that US consul Smith rented the building situated on Veliaminovi street number 15 from Vasil (Basile) Tamamshev for 20 year time. His article was mostly based on these materials of national archives as well as biographic book of Charles Moser and his memories. However, researching the issue hasn't continued due to its insignificance at that period of time.

Time after time, following the strengthening of US-Georgian relations, the foundation got interested in the issue. The first thing that had to be done was proving that the consulate was located on Veliaminovi Street. The 1918's document⁶ of national archives of Georgia was the basis for us. This document presents addresses of accredited embassies and consulates in Tbilisi, including the US consulate. According to it, the US consulate building was situated in the 15th of Veliaminovi Street. It's worth mentioning, that the material of US archive named "American consulate in Tiflis" also proves that the house on the street was rented by Smith from general Tamamshev for 20 year time.

On the second stage, there arose the necessity of proving identity of the house on Veliaminovi Street with the present building on Dadiani Street. The problem could have become the misplacement of house numbers. In the document of 1897 year of national archive of Georgia, this house is marked with number 161. Though, it is number 15 in the row on right side of the street. As it's confirmed, this building with its form and location coincides with the house on

Dalianis Street. Besides, considering the drawing of 1866 year, these buildings are unquestionably identical. In all of these documents, a Tamamshevs are named as owners of the house. In the materials of US archive Vasil (Basile) Tamamshev is mentioned. Particularly, they include the letter of Charles Moser⁷ that concerns the accounts of Willoughby Smith and general Tamamshev and his wife. In this letter, Tamamshevs are named as owners of the house and good friends of former consul. As it's evident from correspondences, general Tamamshev was demanding his rent from US consulate when after sovietization of Georgia he left Tbilisi and emigrated. The rent of 1377 US dollars was paid to him by Otis A. Glazebrooke in 1923⁸.

In the document of 1897 Varvara Tamamsheva-probably the daughter of Vasil Tamamshev is named as owner of the house. Possibly, she was the one who rented the house to Smith in 1918. Tamamshevs are also mentioned in the document of 1866 year, where the owner is Igor Tamamshev who can be the close relative of Vasil Tamamshev. It needs to be mentioned that no other building on the street is named as Tamamshevs' property.

Following from it, we have a full proof to assume that the building on Dadiani Street is built 140 years ago and the first US diplomatic mission was located there. This building is still functioning and a kindergarten.

“The Foundation for facilitation of US-Georgian relations” had informed US embassy and municipality of Tbilisi about the research. After presenting relevant documentation from archives, as well as the consent of former culture and press attaché Cynthia Whittlesey, the municipality agreed on placing memorial plaque on the building. However, it wasn't done due to political occurrences in November 2007.

At that time, the foundation had made some plans about future functioning of this building. Taking into consideration, that the building is quite old and is in emergency condition, we consider that placing a kindergarten in the building is inappropriate. Thus, restoration of the building is necessary maintaining its first form. On the next stage it would be desirable to be founded American house _ Centre of American culture that will be placed in the building. The aim of the center will be to deepen collaboration between US and Georgia; it will facilitate private or official connections between Georgian and American scholars. In case of making the building into

Georgian-American house, it will be widely used for meetings between American and Georgian experts and researchers, arranging various conferences. Besides, an important project can be carried out—this is establishing the museum of history of relations between US and Georgia with photo and other archive materials the searching of which is the main task for the foundation. However, we should say that as this initiative requires a lot of work as well as budget, it's important to find financial support for carrying out the project.

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qarTul i pol itikuri organizac iebi amerikaSi
1950-ian wl ebSi

pirvel i qarTvel ebi amerkis kontinentze, emigranti givi kobaxizis azrit, 1820-ian wl ebSi Cavidnen (1, 12), Cvens xel T arsebul i dokumentebis mixedvit ki _ 1860-ian wl ebSi. 1861-64 wl ebis amerikis samoqal aqo om-Si l inkol nis armiaSi ibrZodnen qarTvel i oficrebi erisTavi da gruzinovi (2, 3). 80-ian wl ebSi cimbiris katorRidan amerikaSi gaiqca sasul iero seminariis rektoris, Cudeckis mkvl el i ioseb l aRiaSvil i (1, 12). 1880 wel s saxl idan gaqceul 14 wl is baxvel biWsvane maxarazes amerikaSi raWvel ma mepureebma upatrones (3, 3). maTi amerikaSi Casvl is TariRi ver davadginet. mxol od anekdotis doneze SeiZl eba warmovidginoT _ rogor daxvdnen raWvel ebi kol umbs cxel i xaSiTa da l avaSiT. anekdotis bol o nawil i al baT imaze miuTitebs, rom l tol vil Ta rod-a il endis sakarantino-gamanawil ebel i punqtidan gasul qarTvel ebs pirvel adswored raWvel i mepureebi xvdebodnen da amerikac maTTvis raWul i ToniT iwyeboda.E

XIX saukunis bol os da XX saukunis pirvel aT-wl eul Si amerikaSi j gufebad Cadian raWvel i miwis muSebi q. sietl is rkinigzis mSenebl obaze (4, 11) da gurul i cxenosnebi cirkis arenaze gamosavl el ad. maTagan bevri veRar dabruna samSobl oSi. raWvel ebi sietl sa da mis midamoebSi dasaxl dnen, gurul ebi _ kol orados StatSi (5, 111-116). maT momdevno wl ebSi c ematebodnen mcire j gufebad saqarTvel os sxva raionebidan. 1921 wl is saqarTvel os okupaciis Sermdeg ki emigrantTa ricxvi pol itikuri devnil ebiT gaizarda. 1930-iani wl ebis krizisma da daZabul ma pol itikurma viTarebam, bevri qarTvel i emigranti aiZul a gadasaxl ebul iyo evropidan amerikaSi. maT daematnen 1932-37 wl ebSi iaponiis okupacias garidebul i manj uriaSi,

qal aq xarbinsa da SanxaiSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebi (6, 135-147). qarTvel Ta gansaxl ebis areal ma dasavl eT sapani-roze gadainacvl a da maTi ricxvi imdenad gairzarda, rom 1931 wl is 1 dekembers niu-orkis qarTul i saTvistomo daarsda (7).

amerikis mTavrobis pozicia saqarTvel osadmi er-Tgvarovani ar iyo. saxel mwifo mdivanis, beinbrij kol bi 1919 wl is notaSi saqarTvel os ruseTTan nebayofil obiT SeerTebul qveynad Tvl ida. prezident vudro vil sonis `14 punqtis- me-6 punqti kavkasiyas ganixil avda, rogorc Turqetis probl emebis nawil s. ruseTisagan es gamocal kevebac ki kavkasiisaTvis didi mxardaWera iyo. prezident vil sonis mcdel oba, kavkasiaze mandatis aReba, 1919 wel s senatSi izolacionistebma CaSal es. 1921 wel s axal i, hardingis mTavroba mzad iyo bal tiis qveynebi ecno, saqarTvel os ki ruseTisagan gaTavisufl ebis Semdeg cnobda. bal tiis republ ikebi amerikam cno da saqarTvel os mimarT dapirebas al baT Seasrul ebda, rom ara qveynis okupacia.

miuxedavad amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis poziciisa, 1921 wl is Semodgomaze, saqarTvel os mTavrobis mier vaSingtonSi gagzavnil i il ia gol dmanis vizits amerikel Ta daxmareba mohyva. bol Sevukur rejims gaqceul i samoqal aqo omis al Si gaxveul stambol idan qarTvel Ta evakuaciis xarj ebis nawil i `er-Ta ligis l tol vil Ta damxmare amerikul i komitetma- gaiRo da 1921 wl is bol os l tol vil Ta gadayvana daiwyo evropasi (8, 170-210). 1924 wl is agvistos aj anyebis damarcxebis Semdeg, saqarTvel os l egaciam kvl av amerikul komitets mimarTa da misi daxmarebiT stambol idan safrangeTSi kidev erTi didi j gufi gaiyvana (9, 536, 580).

saqarTvel os okupaciis sakiTxis wamowevas amerikis administraciis winaSe didi amagi dasdo morganebis bankis finansistma vasil dumbaZem. 1925 wel s niu-iorkSi mis mier gamocemul ma wigma `kavkasiis

respubl ikebi- (10) miipyro rogorc amerikul i sazo-
gadoebis, aseve qarTvel emigrantTa yuradReba. saf-
rangeTSi myofma saqarTvel os mTavrobam dumbaZe ame-
rikaSi Tavis warmomadgenel ad daniSna. 1926 wel s, sa-
qarTvel os sakiTxis gasaxmaurebl ad da sazogadoe-
bis yuradRebis misapyrobad, v. dumbaZis TaosnobiT
da cnobil i pol itikuri moRvawis, dipl omatis henri
vil sonis Tavmj domareobiT, daarsda `amerikul i sa-
zogadoeba kavkasiisaTvis-, roml is wevri iyo mrava-
l i cnobil i amerikel i moRvawe. sazogadoebis mier
miwweul ma cnobil iuristTa komisiama ganxil a saqar-
Tvel os sakiTxi da cno evropaSi gaxiznul demokra-
tiul mTavrobis kanoniereba (11, 1). henri vil sonis
mcdel obiT, 1926 wl is 11 marts orma gamoCeni ma pol
litikurma moRvawem, niu-iorkel ma senatorma s. kopl
endma senatSi da virjiniis Statis deputatma r.
val ton-murma warmomadgenel Ta pal ataSi, erTdroul
ad Seitanes winadadeba amerikis SeerTebul i Sta-
tebSi saqarTvel os dipl omatiuri warmomadgenel is
daniSvni sa da xazinidan xarjebis gaRebis Taobaze
(12, 3). saqarTvel os saerTaSoriso ufl ebis, misi da-
moukidebl obis sakiTxi da 1926 wl is 11 martis rezo-
lucia kongresma 1-2 april s xel axl a ganxil a. am
sxdomaTa oqmebiT, 22 damatebiT da 17 fotoTi, kon-
gresma saxel mwifo xarj iT saqarTvel oze 361-gverdia-
ni wigni gamosca (13, 4), magram sabol oo gadawyveti-
l eba maSin ver gamoitana.

saqarTvel os sakiTxi amerikis kongresSi meored
1929 wl is 23 april s daisva _ senatorma kopl endma
me-17 kongresis pirvel sesiaze gansaxil vel ad kavka-
siis 4 respubl ikis (saqarTvel o, azerbaijani, somxe-
Ti, Crdil o kavkasia) sakiTxi Seitana. Bil i gavi da da
saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mTavrobis
warmomadgenel ad v. dumbaZe daamtkices. 1929 wel sve
cnobil i dipl omatis, l eon vil sonis Tavmj domareo-
biT Seiqmna meore organizacia `saqarTvel os ufl ebe-
bis dacvis komiteti-, rasac Sedegad amerikis kon-

gresSi saqarTvel os sakiTxis ramdenj erme ganxil va mohyva (14, 3).

1933 wel s safrangeTis mier sabWoTa kavSiris cnobis, saqarTvel os l egaciisa da warmomadgenl obebis ufl ebamosil ebis Sewyvetis Semdeg dumbaZe Seecada Tavisi kavSirebi saqarTvel os sakiTxis wamosawevad gamoeyenebina. axal arCeul prezident ruzvel tis saxel ze Sedgenil i weril i mis mdivans makintairs gadasca. man ki prezidents kongresis gamocemul wignSi Sesabamisi adgil ebi mouniSna. dumbaZes exmarebodnen konsul i kol u, prezidentis saarCevno kompaniis aqtiuri wevri edvin val dmani, saqarTvel os sakiTxis kuratori kel ei, henri da l eon vil sonebi da sxvebi (15, 16).

vasil dumbaZe merec asrul ebda saqarTvel os araoficial uri el Cis rol s amerikaSi. oTxgzis saTvistomos Tavmj domared arCeul i SeZl ebisdagvarad exmareboda ara marto amerikaSi Casul , aramed evropasi mcxovrebe qarTvel l tol vil ebs (16, 70-81). qarTul i politikuri organizacia, romelic saqarTvel os okupaciis sakiTxs axal i administraciis winaSe daayenebda, evropisagan gansxvavebit, meore msofi io omamde amerikaSi ar Seqmnil a. qarTul i saTvistomos aqtiuri wevrebis mxardaWeriT vasil dumbaZe Semdeg wl ebSic cdil obda saqarTvel os sakiTxiT amerikis xel isufl ebis dainteresebas, magram evropasi didi omi mwifdeboda da amerikis administracias saqarTvel l osatvis aRar ecal a.

meore msofi io omis Semdeg, sabWoTa kavSirSi repatriaciis SiSiT, bevri qarTvel i emigranti amerikis kontinentze gadasaxl da. Amerikis SeerTebul StatebSi maT dabinebas da samusaos SovnaSi daxmarebas uwevda „tol stois fondi- Teimuraz bagration-muxranel is xel mZRvanel obiT. igi qarTul i saTvistomos Tavmj domaris moadgil ec iyo da, rogorc iuristi, qarTvel ebs iuridiul saqmeebsac ugvarabda. evropidan amerikaSi 100-mde qarTvel i l tol vil i,

Zvel emigrantTa saxl ebSi Seasaxl es. mogvianebiT Casul ebs ki _ maTze adre Casul ebi maspinZl obdnen. petre xvedel iZis cnobiT, axal Casul Ta Tavmoyris adgil i mal e gaxda niu-iorkis gareubani kol ej pointi, sadac qaRal dis Wiqebis did qarxanaSi 1.500 kaci muSaobda. samuSao enis codnas da special izacias ar mo iTxovda. amasTan, qarxnis direktori pirvel i msofil io omis droindel i emigranti, ruseTis armiis yofil i kapitani Tevdore gabel ia iyo (17, 18). sagzaosatransporto da samSenebl o sferoSi asaqmebda niu-iorkis vice-meri konstantine sidamon-eristavi (18, 43-44).

axal Casul ebs daxmarebas saTvistomoc uwevda _ iwvevda da samsaxuris SovnaSi exmareboda. omis Semdeg saTvistomos aqtiuri wevrebi gaxdnen: gazeT `Temis- redaqtori, raWal eCxumSi akaki wereTl is mogzaurobis organizatori grigol diasamize, romel ic saTvistomos sapatio Tavmj domarec iyo, erovnul -demokratebi al eqsandre comaia da dimitri sinj ikaSvil i, nacional isturi organizacia `momaval is- xel - mZRvanel i al eqsandre manvel iSvil i, qaquca Col oyaSvil is Seficul i al eqsandre sul xaniSvil i, mecnierebi: giorgi nakaSiZe da Zmebi oTar da givi zal dastaniSvil ebi, poeti giorgi gamyrel iZe, yofil i iunkrebi da samxedro pirebi _ al eqsandre jinWaraZe, mixeil dadiani, siko kobiasvil i, dimitri da daviT Sal ikaSvil ebi, al eqsi Cxenkel i; yofil i `sabWoel ebi -: gogi Tofuria, petre xvedel iZe, givi gabliani, givi kobaxiZe, pavl e romaniSvil i, l ado arvel aZe, gogi moral iSvil i, bondo kekel ia, givi foraqiSvil i, daviT Cxatarasvil i, sergo gabunia, gogi vefxvaZe, mami azaqraZe, val erian sangul ia, Zmebi mirian da noSrevangal aSvil ebi, zurab abduSel iSvil i, vl adimer Saqarasvil i da sxvebi. saTvistomos gverdsi edgnen Zveli TanamebrZol ebi _ il ia gol dmani da misi qal iSvil i Teza, ukrainel i, kavkasiel i emigrantebi da amerikel i megobrebi. 50-60-ian wl ebSi saTvistomos Tavmj domareebi iyvnen: al eqsandre tarsaiZe, arCil guri-

el i, l eo dumbaZe, vano kobaxiZe, oTar da givi zal - dastaniSvil ebi,

gansakuTrebiT mniSvnel ovani iyo oTar zal dastaniSvil is samwl iani Tavmj domareoba, rodesac saTvistomo StatebSi arsebul sazogadoebibs gauTanabrdada da iqca oficial ur dawesebul ebad, roml is mimarT saxel mwifo garkveul val debul ebibs kisrul obs _ icavs, mfarvel obs da exmareba. `keTil dReobis fondiT- saTvistomo exmareboda ara marto amerikel qarTvel ebs da qarTul saqmes amerikaSi, aramed sxva qveynebsic (19, 4).

qarTvel Ta pol itikuri aqtivoba mniSvnel ovnad gaizarda meore msofl io omis Semdeg. amis mizezi ki Seqmnil i saerTaSoriso viTareba gaxda. amerika-sabWoTa kavSiris mokavSireoba mal eve iqna daviwyebul i. 1946 wel s stal inis saj aro gancxadebisa da misuris StatSi, ful tonSi didi britaneTis premier-ministris, uinston CerCil is gamosvl is Semdeg mokavSireTa urTierToba `civi omis- pol itikam Secval a da maT Soris `rkinis farda- CamoeSva. sabWoTa kavSiris winaaRmddeg sabrZol vel ad didi britaneTisa da amerikis gaertianeba daaCqara `Sekavebis- pol itikam da trumenis doqtrinam, roml ebic `gawiTI ebis- winaaRmddeg mebrZol i xal xebis mxardaWeras iTval iswinebda. amerikis mTavrobam 1946 wel sve Seqmna `xal xTa antibol Sevikuri bl oki~, mogvianebiT _ emigrantul i nacional isturi centrebi. Tu manamde Znel i iyo amerikaSi Casvl a, Seqmnil ma viTarebam pol itikuri l tol vil ebisaTvis TavSesafris micema gaamartiva. axal i qarTul i emigracia ki Ziritadad pol itikuri iyo. qarTvel emigrantTa mizani gaxda _ xma miewvdinaT maTTvis, visac saqarTvel os sakiTxi daainteresebda.

1950 wl is 5 seqtembers niu-iorkSi Teimuraz bagration-muxranel is Tavmj domareobiT daarsda `qarTvel -amerikel Ta l iga~. (moadgil e - pavl e kvaracxel ia, mdivani _ givi kobaxiZe). l igis mizani iyo saqarTvel os srul i gaTavisufl eba, damoukidebl obis aR-

dgena da amisaTvis amerikul i sazogadoebrivi azris momzadeba. erTi wl iT arCeul ma gamgeobam cxra Tvis Semdeg gaeros gaugzavna memorandumi, moawyo pres-konferencia, romel sac eswrebodnen cnobil i amerikel i qarTvel ebi. mal e mas pol itikuri ufl ebebi Camo-artves da mxol od kul turul i dautoves. orma axal ma gamgeoba wl inaxevaris ganmavl obaSi mxol od xuTjer moaxerxa Sekreba (20, 15), 1852 wel s ki l igam arseboba Sewyvita.

mal e iniciativa amerikel Ta mxridan wamovida. 1951-52 wl ebSi Seiqmna sabWoTa kavSirisa da ruseTis xal xTa gaTavisufl ebis amerikul i komitetebi 1953 wel s ki _ `bol Sevizmisagan gaTavisufl ebis amerikul i komiteti- (antibol Sevikuri bl oki). Tu omamde sabWoTa kavSiris Semadgenl obaSi myofi erebis (rusebis da somxebis garda) emigrantebi gaertianebul i iyvnen `promeTes frontSi-, bl okSi rusebi da somxebic Sevidnen.

amerikis antibol Sevikurma pol itikam gaaqtiura qarTul i emigracia. 1952 wl is 10 maiss miunxenSi arsebul i `sabWoTa kavSiris Seswavl is institutis-direqtoris, iakovl evis iniciativiT daarsda upartio, nebayofil obiTi pol itikuri organizacia `qarTvel Ta demokratiul i kavSiri- eqim giorgi maRal aSvil is xel mRvanel obiT (moadgil e _ aseve eqimi giorgi vefxvaZe). mal e iakovl evma `ruseTis xal xTa gaTavisufl ebis amerikul i komitetis- xel mZRvanel s don l evins `qarTvel Ta demokratiul i kavSiris- amerikaSi dasaarsebl ad da dasafinansebl ad xarj TaRricxva warudgina. 5 oqtomers niu-iorkSi sainicitivo j gufma moiwvia qarTvel Ta kreba, gaacno maT givi kobaxizis mier Sedgenil i kavSiris wesdebis proeqti. mizani iyo amerikis sazogadoebrivi azrisaTvis saqarTvel os gacnoba, qarTvel i xal xisaTvis warTmeul i damoukidebl obis aRdgenaSi daxmarebis gaweva. krebam airCia gamgeoba, romel Sic misi damfuZnebel i 7 wevri Sedioda _ al eqsandre sul xaniSvil i, ivane

nanuaSvil i, isidore gaJonia, vaxtang abaSiZe, giorgi RoRoberize, sandro baraTel i da l ado arvel aZe. organizaciis saqmianobaSi amerikel Ta Casabmel ad 2 noembers kavSirs `saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWo- uwodes. gamgeobis pirvel mdivnad arCeul i isidore gaJonia vaxtang abaSiZem Secval a. mdivani iyo givi kobaxize, mol are – giorgi RoRoberize. wesdebis proeqti daegzavna sxva qveynebsi mcxovrebe qarTul emigrantebis, organizaciebs, politikur partiebsa da cal keul pirebs, maT Soris, noe Jordanasac. organizacias finansurad exmarebodnen amerikaSi mcxovrebi qarTvel ebi da damoukidebel i saqarTvel os yofil i Sromis ministris moadgile il ia gol dmani. sabWo oficial urad cno amerikis mTavrobam, daamtka misi wesdeba da programa. Catarada preskonferencia (21, 2-3)

1953 wel s Teberval Si gamoica organizaciis wevrtatvis sabeWd manqanaze dabeWdil i da heqtografze gamravl ebul i sainformacio biul eteni `cnobis furcel i- (gamovida 6 nomeri). imave wl is ivnis-ivl isidan mas miemata oficial uri organo `cveni gza- (Our Path). mizani iyo amerikel Tatvis saqarTvel osa da misi okupaciis sakiTxis gacnoba, orive gamocemis redaqtori iyo yofil i tyve, axal gazrda eqimi givi kobaxize. saredaqcio kol egiaSi miwweul i iyvnen Zvel i emigraciidan: gr. diasamize, p. kvaracxelia, n. alaviZe, i. gol dmani, axl ebidan _ v. nanuaSvil i, l . arvel aZe. `cnobis furcel Si- weril ebis umetesoba g. kobaxizis mier iyo daweril i. orenovani (ingl isur-qarTul i) Jurnal is `cveni gza- 5 nomeri niu-iorkSi heqtografze daibeWda 1953-61 wl ebSi. `saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis aRdgenis amerikul i sabWo- aqtiuri organizacia iyo da mWidro kavSiri hqonda amerikis kongresTan, romel ic Jurnal is ingl isuri nawil is informacias saxel - mZRvanel od iyenebda.

1953 wl is ianvarSi niu-iorkSi gamovida stamburad nabeWdi Jurnal i `Tavisufal i saqarTvel os xma-

(The voice of free Georgia) inglisur enaze, pirveli tal - Ris emigraciis cnobili politikuri da sazogado moRvawis, erovnul -demokrati al eqsandre comaias redaqtorobiT. Jurnal is saredaqcio kol egiaSi Sedi-odnen erovnul -demokratiul pl atformaze mdgari qarTveli moRvaweebi: Leo dumbaze, al eqsi Cxenkel i, dimitri sinj ikaSvil i, givizal dastaniSvil i da sxv. sul gamovida 8 nomeri. Jurnal Si gamoqveynebul ia rogorc politikuri da mecnieruli, ise publicisturi xasiaTis weril ebi, romlebic exebodnen saqarTvel os warsuls, mis awmyosa da momavals. Jurnal is mTavari mizani iyo amerikis sazogadoebisTvis saqarTvel os gacnoba. Jurnal is publikaciebidan aRnsaniSnavia saqarTvel os demokratiuli respublikis 1921 wl is konstituciis inglisuri Targmani, romelic pirvel save nomerSi daibeWda (22, 26-32).

1955 wl is Semodgomaze Seiqmna axali qarTuli organizacia `qarTvel Ta erovnuli erToba-, romlis damaarsebeli da Tavmj domare iyo qarTuli satvistomos xel mZRvaneli Leo dumbaze, moadgile _ givizal - dastaniSvili. `qarTvel Ta erovnuli ma erTobam- miznad daisaxa kerZo sakuTrebis safuzvel ze da kerZo iniciativis Tavisufle baze damyarebuli ekonomikuri wyobisa da demokratiuli, parlamenturi ideebis propaganda momavali, Tavisufal saqarTvel oSi. erTobis programis proeqti daegzavnaT sxva qarTuli organizaciebs, avtoritetul pirebs. ganxil visa da Sesworebebis Semdeg, 1956 wl is april Si, niu-iorkSi, gazeTSi `qarTuli azri- daibeWda proeqtSi Camoyal ibebuli principebi: saqarTvel os saxel mwifos organizaciuli mowyoba sayovel Tao, faruli da Tavisufali arCevnebis safuzvel ze, qarTveli eris suverenitetis dacva da ganvitareba, msajuli Ta institutze damyarebuli sasamarTli os SemoReba, regularuli jaris Seqmna, ufaso ganaTleba, kerZo sakuTrebis aRdgena, urTierToba kavkasiis erebTan, komunisturi doqtrinis kanongareSed gamocxadeba, sakoncentracio, izul ebiti Sro-

miTi banakebis, enkavedes, kol meurneobebis, pol itikuri danaSaul isaTvis sikvdil iT dasj is gauqmeba, pol itikur patimarTa gaTavisufl eba da material uri zaral is anazRaureba, pirovnebis da oj axis xel Seu-xebl oba, presis, sityvis, krebis, organizaciisa da profkavSirebis Tavisufl eba, ekl esiis saxel mwifosagan gamoyofa, misTvis warTmeul i qonebis dabruneba da a.S. organizaciis wevri SeiZl eba gamxdariyo yvel a qarTvel i, vinc uaryofda komunizms da saxel mwifo wyobad demokratias miicnevda (23, 3).

1959 wl idan prezident eizenhaueris iniciativiT ganTqmul me-5 aveniuze tardeboda `damonebul erTa kvireul ebi~. qarTvel emigrantTa mcirericxovani jgufi, erovnul i droSebiTa da pl akatebiT xel Si, ruseTis mier dapyrobul erTa da aRmosavl eT evropis qveynebis warmomadgenl ebTan erTad, monawil eobda antikomunisturi kviris aRsaniSnav demonstraciebSi. demonstraciis monawil eebi Semdeg Tavisufl ebis qandakebasTan awyobdnen mitings, sadac oratorebi gmobdnen komunistur reJims. qarTvel Ta koordinatori am mitingebze 1924 wl is aj anyebis monawil e grigol abul aZe iyo (18, 30-31). erTobis wevrebi monawil eobdnen antikomunistur aqciebSi, `antiamerikul moqmedebaTa komitets- pensil vaniis Statis deputatis frensis e. uol teris Tavmj domareobiT (wevrebi: gordon p. Sereri, riCard arensi, ful ton devisi da sxvebi) Cveneba `qarTul i erovnul i erTobis- Tavmj domaris moadgil em givi zal dastaniSvil ma da komitetis wevrma, profesorma giorgi nakaSiZem misces. maTi informacia xruScovis moqmedebaze da saqarTvel l oSi momxdar tragediaze iseTi amomwuravi iyo, rom amis Sesaxeb amerikis mTavrobis stambaSi 1955 wel s ingl isurad daibeWda wigni (24).

komunizms winaaRmdeg qarTvel emigrantTa brZo- l aSi didi rol i Seasrul a amerikaSi arsebul ma ki- dev erTma organizaciam _ radiosadgurma `amerikis xmam~, romel ic cnobil ia `SeerTebul i Statebis sain-

formacio saagentos- ganyofil ebis saxel iT. radio-
sadguri 1942 wel s amerikis omSi Cabmis Semdeg amu-
Savda. mauwyebi oba mokavSire qveynebis enebze mimdi-
nareobda da yovel dRiuri zusti informaci iT ameri-
ka maT brZol as erTgvar koordinacias uwevda. `civi
omis- dawyebis Semdeg, 1947 wl idan, Seiqmna rusul i
redaqcia da sabWoTa kavSiris teritoriazec daiwyo
mauwyebi oba.

1950-ian wl ebSi amerikis mTavrobam gadawyvita
qarTul i redaqciis daarsebac. es saSual ebas miscem-
da `rkinis fardis- miRma darCenil qarTvel ebs Tavi-
sufal i samyarsaTvis xma mSobl iur enazec miwvdi-
naT. `amerikis xmis- qarTul i redaqciis mowyoba da
kadrebiT dakompl eqteba miendo amerikis sazogadoe-
bisaTvis kargad cnobil musikoss, niu-iorkSi samusi-
ko saswavi ebl is damaarsebel s, evropul i enebis
karg mcodnes, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obisaTvis
Tavdadebul mebrZol s, qarTul i saTvistomos yofil
Tavmj domaresa da aqtur wevrs erekl e orbel ians
(25, 147-160). 4 Tvis Semdeg, 1951 wl is 26 maiss amerikis
SeerTebul i Statebis saxel mwifo mdivanma din aCen-
sonma, amerikis mTavrobis saxel iT, qarTvel xal xs
damoukidebl obis dRe miul oca: `sityva saqarTvel o
CvenSi iwvevs argonavtTa mogzaurobis mogonebas, rom-
l ebic iq oqros verZs eZiebdnen; gvagonebs promeTes,
romel mac zecas wmindacexli i mostaca da adamians
gadasca, rogorc brZol is iaraRi. msofi ios kargad
axsovs aTeul i wl ebis ganmavi obaSi qarTvel i eris
ganuwvetel i brZol a Tavisufli ebisaTvis, Zvel i kul-
turisa da qarTul i civil izaciis dasacavad. xSirad
yofil a saqarTvel o dapyrobel i, magram arasodes -
damorCil ebul i. qarTvel ma xal xma dRemde SeinarCuna
Tavisi saxe da ar daukargavs neba adamians ufl ebe-
bis dacvisaTvis brZol aSi, amitomac Cvens arFrTova-
nebas iwvevs qarTvel i xal xis uryevi sul ieri simtki-
ce... `amerikis xma- dReidan Tqven, qarTvel ebs gaZl evT
saSual ebas sakuTar enaze amcnoT qarTvel xal xs WeS-

mariteba, romel sac komunistebi mas umal aven- (26, 4-5).
aCensonis am gamosvl iT daiwyo muSaoba radiosadgur
`amerikis xmis- qarTul ma redaqciam.

rusi emigrantebis mwvave reaqqiis miuxedavad,
roml ebmac qarTul i redaqqiis Seqmna ruseTis erTia-
nobis daSl is mcdel obad miicnies, 1952 wl is oqtom-
berSi qarTul s sxva ganyofil ebebic _ somxuri,
azerbaj anul i, ukrainul i, Turqestanul i SeuerTda
da saxel ad `sabWoTa kavSiris seqcia- uwodes, xel -
mZRvanel ad ki erekl e orbel iani daniSnes (27, 4-5).
samwuxarod, mas didxans aRar mouwia gaerTianebul i
redaqqiis xel mZRvanel oba _ 1954 wl is 31 marts 53
wl isa gardaicval a. momdevno redaqtorma, l ondonSi
gaxiznul i pol oneTis mTavrobis wevrma, dipl omatma,
podpol kovnikma kviatkovskim qarTul i ar icoda. ro-
gorc ki pensiaze gavida, qarTul i redaqqiis xel mZRvane-
l ad 1943 wel s Teiranis konferenciaze Cercil is
mxl ebel i, pol kovniki merab kvitaSvil i daniSnes.
erekl e orbel ianis miwveviT, is `niko raWvel is-
fsevdonimiT redaqqiaSi 1952 wl idan muSaobda. reda-
qqiis daZabul i samuSao reJimis gamo kvitaSvil s ram-
denj erme mouvida gul is Seteva, erTi _ pirdapir re-
daqqiaSi, amitom mTavari redaqtoris Tanamdebobidan
pensiaze SedarebiT adre _ 1972 wel s gaacil es (28,
28-29) da redaqtorad meore tal Ris emigranti, cnobi-
l i eqimi, gamomcemel i da pol itikuri moRvawe givi
kobaxize (mal xaz wkadel i) daniSnes.

qarTul i redaqqia masal ebs ingl isur enaze
iRebda, Semdeg xdeboda qarTul enaze masal is damu-
Saveba da momzadeba. yovel dRiuri erTsaaTiani prog-
rama Seicavda axal ambebs, komentarebs, interviuebs,
korespondenciebs, musikas da sxva. qarTul i gadaceme-
bi dil is 8 saaTze iwyeboda. 9 saaTiani gansxvavebis
gamo saqarTvel oSi naSuadRevis 5-6 saaTze gadai cemo-
da. radiosadguri j er niu-iorkidan mauwyebel obda,
1958 wel s ki vaSingtonSi gadavida saidanac gadace-
mebs 38 enaze awarmoebda. qarTul i redaqqiis gadace-

mebs saqarTvel oSi axSobdnen da bl okavdnen. mas 1970-ian wl ebamde an sabWoTa specsamsaxurebi, an Ti-To-orol a disidenti da Tavdadebul i adamiani Tu ismenda – simarTI is gagebis survil i SiSs sZl evda. swored `amerikis xmisa- da radiosadgur `Tavisuf- l ebis- saSual ebiT igebdnen sabWoTa moqal aqeebi _ ra xdeboda qveyanaSi.

redaqciis muSaobaSi didi rol i Seasrul es Ta- namSroml ebma: siko kobiasvil ma (iraki baramize), gi- orgi gamyrel izem (giorgi I aSxi), I eil a fiCxaZem (I e- il a quTaTel i), petre xvedel izem (kika Wal el i), mixe- il dadianma (farnaoz megobriSvil i), zurab abduSe- l iSvil ma, daviT Cxatarasvil ma, SoTa saRiraSvl ma, Teo jafariZem, gogi TofuriZem, I al i SiukaSvil i- erisTavma (beil i), I eo I evinma, nodar j inj ixaSvil ma, I eo Ciqovanma, I ado babiSvil ma, niu-iorkel ma kores- pondentma manana j inj ixaSvil ma da sxvebma.

qarTvel ebi aqtiurad uWerdnen mxars amerikis arCevnebsi im kandidats, romel ic maT qveyanas riTime waadgeboda. saqarTvel os sakiTxisa da qarTul i tra- dicielis gasacnobad did rol s aniWebdnen dResaswa- ul ebsa da samgl oviaro _ 1921 wl is 25 Teberval i, saqarTvel os okupaciisa da 1924 wl is agvistos j an- yebis damarcxebis TariRebis TariRebis aRniSvna. niu-iorkis saTvistomo 100-mde mosawvevs gzavnida mTel amerikasa da kanadaSi, epatiJebodnen ruseTis mier dapyrobel i erebis warmomadgenl ebs, saqarTve- l os sakiTxiT dainteresebul senatorebsa da kongre- menebs da wveul ebasac did darbazebsi aRniSnavdnen, magal iTad, sastumroebis `bal timoris-, `l abrerisa- da `pieris- darbazebsi.

qarTul i emigraciis aqtiuri antikomunisturi saqmianoba amerikis SeerTebul Statebsi mTavrobisa da farTo sazogadoebis yuradRebas ipyrobda. maTi TanagrZnoba kargad gamoxata amerikel ma dipl omatma f. fil sim 1961 wl is 25 Teberval s, saqarTvel os dap- yrobis 40 wl isTavze gamarTul saTvistomos krebi-

sadmi miZRvniI sityvaSi: `qarTvel amerikel Ta saxiT mivesal mebiT tanj ul qarTvel ers da gvjera, rom misi erTgul eba SeZl ebs Tavganwirul i Sroma da brZol a da Tavisufl ebis moyvare erebis simamace da ubrunes mas dakargul Tavisufl ebas da aRsdgeba Tavisi damoukidebel i erovnul i cxovrebiT-. niu-ior-kis meri robert vagneri ki werda: `warsul Si am eris mier sakuTari meobis SesanarCunebel i brZol ebi mudam gamarj vebiT Tavdeboda. es utyuari sabuTia, rom kvl av dasrul deba gamarj vebiT da Tqveni xal xi da ubrunes kuTvniI ufl ebas Seinarcunos erovnul i saxe da iyol ios nebayofil obiT arCeul i xel isufl eba- (29, 1-2).

miuxedavad axal i emigrantebis Sematebisa, qarTvel Ta ricxvi amerikaSi 1955 wel sac ki 300-s ar aRemateboda, Tumca am patara diasporam garkveul i wvl il i Seitana amerikis samxedro Tu samoqal aqo cxovrebaSi. maT Soris pirvel rigSi unda movixseni-ot cnobil i pol itikuri da sazogado moRvawe, damoukidebl obis komitetis erT-erTi yvel aze aqtiuri wevri da saqarTvel os el Ci ital iaSi giorgi maCabeli, romel mac 30-iani wl ebSi amerikaSi Seqmna nel -sacxebl ebis firma `Prince Matchabelli-, romel ic dResac amerikis saparfumerio warmoebis l iderTa Sorisaa. mrewvel Ta Soris yuradRebas iqcevs grigol kobaxize (j orj kobi), romel mac Seqmna minis samedicino warmoeba, aamuSava ori didi minis qarxana masaCusetsa da rod-ail endSi, omis Semdeg ki Seqmna naZvis xis minis sanTI ebi da saTamaSoebi. Tavis qarxanasTan q. etl e-borgSi l aboratoria mouwyo 1939 wel s manj uriidan Casul saqarTvel os yofil konsul s eqims nikol oz j iSkarians, romel mac Seqmna nervul i da anemiuri da-avadebebis samkurnal o axal i preparati `hemodini-.

meore msofl io omSi amerikis samxedro aviacia-Si l iderobda umsvil esi saaviacio kompania `ripab-likis- vice-prezidentis, aerodinamikosisa da konstruqtoris al eqsandre qarTvel iSvil is gamanadgu-

rebl ebi. 40-ian wl ebSi amerikaSi bestsel erad iqca wigni `yvel aferi SeiZl eba moxdes-, roml is avtori iyo qarTvel i emigranti, mweral i da skul ptori giorgi (j orj) papaSvil i, roml is mixedviTac 1951 wel s hol ivudSi rejisorma j orj sitonma kinovarskvl av xoze fareris monawil eobiT gadaiRo fil mi. saxel i gaiTqves qoreografma j orj bal anCinma, bal erina Tamar TumaniSvil ma, mweral ebma: sandro nebl om (papaSvil i), niki Cxotum, pavl e WavWavaZem, misma vajma, central uri sadazvervo sammarTvel os oficerma daviT WavWavaZem, oqros mrewvel ma dimitri metrevel ma (maik mito), eqimebma: givi gablianma, givi kobaxiZem, SoTa dval ma, da gedevan asaTianma, iuristma Teimuraz bagrationma, inJinrebma al eqsandre grigol aSvil ma da Tevdore l obj anizem, meRvine vano kobaxiZem, moWidave kol a qvarianma, radio `Tavisufl ebis- amerikel ma korespodentma al eqsi Cxenkel ma, Tarjimnebma gaeroSi al eqsis qal iSvil ma Tamar Cxenkel ma da akaki SaniZs ufrosma Zmam mose SaniZem, romel ic mTavari mrCeval ic iyo, niu-iorkis vice-merma konstantine sidamon-eristavma, amerikis armiis oficrebma Zmebma oTar da jon-mal xaz Sal ikaSvil ebma da sxvebma.

amerikul mecnierebaSi mniSvnel ovani wvl il i Seitanes profesorebma: vaSingtonis j orj Taunis universitetis bizantol ogma kiril e TumaniSvil ma, iTakis kornel is universitetSi agrikul turisa da mce-nareTa dacvis dargSi pavl e kvaracxel iam, iutas Statis universitetSi xel ovnebis istoriis departamentis gangem vaxtang j obaZem, pensil vaniis universitetis antropol ogma al eqsandre grigol iam, prinstonis universitetSi iuristma daviT j afarizem, kol umbiis universitetSi fil ol ogma giorgi nakaSiZem, harvardis universitetSi mSenebel ma da aerodinamikosma, `msoflios merve saocrebis-, dubaistan xel ovnuri kunZul ebisgan Seqmnil i `pal ma jumeiras-damproeqtebel ma oTar zal dastaniSvil ma da sxvebma.

1950-iani wl ebis bol os orive tal Ris qarTveli oba mniSvnel ovan Zal ad iqca, Tavianti profesiebis wyal obiT moipoves avtoriteti, amerikul maRal sazogadoebaSi Sevidnen da misi ndoba da pativiscema daimsaxures. qarTvel amerikel Tawarmatebas mohyva qarTul i sakiTxis popul arizacia. yvel a Tavis wreSi acnobda saqarTvel os warsul s, mis kul turas, komunistur okupacias da amit Taviseburad amzadebda amerikis sazogadoebriv azrs.

R. DAUSHVILI

GEORGIAN EMIGRANT POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA IN 1950'S

The article concerns activities of Georgian emigrant political organizations in the US in 1950's.

After ending WWII, the part of Georgian and former "Soviet Georgian" emigrants moved from Europe to America. Despite some new émigrés, the number of Georgian emigrants in the US wasn't more than 300 even in 1955, but this small diaspora had made its contribution in civil and military life of America.

Political activity of Georgian emigrants in the US has significantly increased after WWII, because the new Georgian émigrés were mostly political. The aim of the emigrants became to spread their voice to those who could be interested in the issues of Georgia.

During "cold war", with support of the US government, several political organizations were established in New-York. In 1950 "Georgian-Americans league" was created with head of Teimuraz Bagration-Mukhraneli. The objective of the league was complete liberation of Georgia, restoration of independence and preparation US public opinion about it. Soon the league was deprived political rights and left only cultural ones. In 1952, the league stopped working.

In 1952, “Georgian democratic organization” was established led by Isidore Gajonia and then Vakhtang Abashidze. For engaging Americans into the affairs of the organization, the unity was renamed “American council for restoring independence of Georgia”. The aim was to introduce Georgia to American society, help Georgian people in restoring their independence. In 1953, informational bulletin of organization “Cnobis furceli” was published. Also, two bilingual magazines- Georgian-English official organ, the magazine called “Our way” printed on Hectograph and the magazine “Free Georgian voice” in English. From these publications, it’s worth mentioning English translation of 1921’s constitution of Democratic republic of Georgia. The information from the magazines was used as guidelines by US congress. This organization was running until the beginning of 1960’s.

In 1955 “National unity of Georgians” was established with Leo Dumbadze as a head. The unity aimed to launch propaganda of democratic parliament ideas and economic order based on private property and freedom of private initiative in the future free Georgia. The members of the organization participated in anticommunist demonstrations. The deputy of the head of organization-Givi Zaldastanishvili and the member of the committee-professor Giorgi Nakashidze gave evidence to “Anticommunist action committee”. Their information about Khrushchev’s actions and tragedy occurring in Georgia was so comprehensive, that the testimony was printed as a book in English language in 1956 in printing house of US government.

Along with these organizations, establishment of Georgian editorial office of “Voice of America” on 26th May of 1951 by Erekle Orbeliani and its work had greatly contributed to anticommunist actions of Georgian emigrants.

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saqarTvel o-aSS ekonomi kuri urTierTobis istoriisaTvis XX s. 20-ian wl ebSi

saqarTvel oSi Zal datanebiT damyarebul ma sabWoTa xel isufl ebam mZime ekonomikuri memkvidreoba miiRo. miuxedavad amisa, pirvel i respublikis pirobebSi saqarTvel os xel isufl eba eZebda ekonomikaSi ucxouri kapital is mozidvis gzebs, rasac im dros gavrcel ebuli sakoncesio politikis saSual ebiT cdil obda. magram menSevikuri mTavroba amave dros did sifrTxil es icenda koncesiebisadmi. amas mowmobs germanel, italiel, frang, berZen mewarmeTa mraval sakoncesio winadadebaTa uaryofis faqtebi.

koncesiebs Tanamedrove etapze investicia Caenacvl a. erTic da meorec Tavisi xasiaTiT da miznebiT identuri arian, gansxvavdebian oRond masStabisa da marTvis struqturis zogierTi niuansis mxriv _ gansakuTrebiT ki social ur-ekonomikuri SedegebiT, Tumca Tanamedrove investiciebis rol ze Cveni qveynis mosaxl eobis sul ieri da material uri mdgomareobis gaumj obesebaSi, msjel oba jer adrea.

ucxouri kapital is mozidvis probl emaidga gasul i saukunis 20-iani wl ebis pirvel naxevarSi mTli anad sabWoTa kavSirSi, da maT Soris, saqarTvel os mrewvel obaSi, roml is aRdgena-ganviTarebisatvis saxel mwifos saWirosaxsrebi ar gaaCnda. amierkavkasiis federaciisa da sabWoTa kavSiris Seqmnis Semdeg, ama Tu im obieqtis sakoncesiod gadacemis sakiTxi ganixil eboda erTobrivad mas Semdeg, rac 1922 wels ssr kavSiris saxal xo komisarTa sabWosTan. Seqmna mTavari sakoncesio komiteti.

mis gamgebl obaSi Sedioda sabWoTa kavSiris teritoriaze mrewvel obaSi, vaWrobaSi da sxva sameurneo saqmianobaSi ucxouri kapital is mozidvisa da dasvebis saqmis xel mZRvanel oba, mol aparakebis ga-

marTva da sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebis dadeba, romel ic Seesabameboda SeTanxmebaTa saerTaSoriso kano-nebs. mokavSire respubl ikebSi Seqmnil i sakoncesio komisiebis saqmianoba mTavar sakoncesio komitetTan unda yofil iyo SeTanxmebul i. moskovi uapel aciod gankargavda mokavSire respubl ikebis erovnul simdidreebs. aqedan SeiZl eba davaskvnaT, rom am sfero-Sic TiTqmis ararad iyo qceul i sabWoTa respubl ikebis suverenul i ufl ebebi, romel ic mxol od formal ur xasiaTs atarebda.

1924 wl is 19 seqtembris dadgenil ebiT Sei qmna amer-kavkasiis sakoncesio komiteti. es iyo struqturul i xasiaTis gadaxveva kavSiris masStabiT Camoyal ibebul i sakoncesio sistemisa. is faqtobrivad ufro didi ufl ebebis mqone iyo _ mas mudmivi urTierToba hqonda mTavar sakoncesio komitetTan. 1924 wl is bol osaTvis es kavSiri sabol ood Camoyal ibda¹.

ucxouri firmebi Tu saaqcio sazogadoebani mudam did interess icendnen saqarTvel os bunebrivi simdidreebis mimarT da misi friad momgebiani teritoriul i mdebareobis gamo masTan sakomunikacio kavSirebis damyarebas cdil obdnen. es interesi ara Tu ar gaunel daT maT sabWoTa xel isufl ebis damyarebis Sedegad, aramed ufro gauZl ierdaT, radgan CemorCenil i ekonomikis mqone qveynis xel isufl eba pozitivr damokidebul ebas icenda koncesiebisadmi, ramac ganapiroba koncesiiis misaRebad saqarTvel oSi mra-val fero van winadadebaTa wamoyeneba.

1924 wl is 21 ianvars mTavarma sakoncesio komitetma ital iur-bel giur saaqcio samTo-samrewvel o sazogadoebas sakoncesiod gadasca Siraqis vel is navTobis sabado. koncesiiis Zal aSi Sesvl is vada ganisazRvra 1927 wl is 21 martiT, magram 1925 wl is 21 marts sakoncesio xel isufl ebis wl istavze gamoirkva, rom koncesioneri ar asrul ebda Tavis val debul ebas, ris gamoc koncesia gauqmda².

saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi saberZneTis qveSevrdom moqal aqeTa j gufi cdil obda mieRo koncesia md. xramis napirars mdebare spil enZis sabadoze.

berZen moqal aqeTa meore j gufi awarmoebda mol aparakebas duSeTis raionis gogirdis sabadoebis dazverviTi samuSaoebis sawarmoebi ad.

germaniis, itali iisa da safrangeTis firmebi cdil obdnen mieRoT sakoncesiod bzifis, kodoris da enguris xeobebis tyis masivebi.

iyo cdebi samSenebl o saqmis, komunal uri momsaxurebisa da transportis dargSi koncesiebis misaRebad. kerZod, iyo besl am-quTaisi-kopitnaris sauRel - texil o rkinigzisa da baTumsa da Turqetis q. arTvins Soris saavtomobil o gzis mSenebl obis cda, magram Sedegi am cdas ar mohyolia.

saerTod, sabWoTa kavSiris masStabiT mTavar sakoncesio komitetSi ucxoetis sxvadasxva saxel mwi-fos warmomadgenel Ta mier koncesiebis misaRebad Sesul i iyo: 1922 wel s _ 338, 1923 wel s _ 607, 1924 w. _ 311, 1925 w. _ 253, 1926 w. _ 506 da 1927 wl is 1 seqtembrisaTvis _ 178 winadadeba. sul moqmedebda 110 sakoncesio warmoeba. 1922-1927 wl amde gauqmnda 46 koncesia. 1937 wl is dasarul isatvis ki yvel a sakoncesio xel - Sekrul eba gauqmnda³.

1923 w. amierkavkasiis federaciis ekonomikur TaTbirze samrewvel o sawarmoTa sakoncesiod gadacemis sakiTxis ganxil visas daisva WiaTuris manganumis sabados sakoncesiod gacemis sakiTxi. magram am sakiTxeze fiqri da gansja gagrZel da da is mxol od 1925 wl is Suaxanebsi gadawyda, rodesac manganumis sabados sakoncesiod gadasacemad ucxour firmebs Soris konkurencias gamarjvebul i gamovi da amerikul i savaWro-samrewvel o firma `harimani da komp-. es iyo erTaderTi ucxouri koncesia amierkavkasiaSi.

harimans surda koncesiiis saSual ebiT daemyarebina kontaqti sabWoTa ruseTTan. raki igi acxadebda, rom `rodesac WiaTuris marganecs moumatebs amerikis

teqnikas, maSin mogvcems koncesia orive mxarisaTvis sasurvel Sedegs-.

aRsaninavia, rom WiaTuris manganumis warmoebis sakoncesiod gadacemaSi Cans n. nikol aZis monawil eoba. ucxoeTidan samSobl oSi 1924 w. dabrunebis Semdeg erTi megobrisadmi weril Si igi werda: `me aq Camoviyvane harimanis amxanagi el ioti, romel mac miRo koncesia saqarTvel os marganecze-.

vil iam averel harimani iyo amerikel i mrewvel i da bankiri, dipl omati da pol itikuri moRvawe. meore msofli io omamde biznesmeni iyo. 1943-46 ww. harimani iyo srul ufl ebiani el Ci sabWoTa kavSirSi, Semdeg el Ci ingl isSi, niu-iorkis gubernatori da a. S.

mol aparakeba WiaTuris manganumis samrewvel o raionis sakoncesiod gadacemis Taobaze damTavrda 1925 wl is 12 ivniss xel Sekrul ebis dadebiT q. moskovSi, erTi mxriv, ssr kavSiris mTavrobasa da, meore mxriv, firma `v. a. harimani da kompanias- Soris, romel ic imkorpirebul i iyo Crdil oET amerikis, SeerTebul i Statebis del avaris Statis kanonebis Tanaxmad da registracia hqonda q. niu-iorkSi.

sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebas rusul da ingl isur enebze xel i moaweres: ssr kavSiris mxridan saxal xo meurneobis umaRl esi sabWos Tavmj domarem f. ZerJinskim, `harimani da komp--is saxel iT amerikis savaWrosamrewvel o saxl is vice prezidentma j on spid el iotim, agreTve ssrk saxal xo komisarTa sabWos rwmunebiT 1925 wl is 9 ivnisis dadgenil ebis Tanaxmad saga-reo saqmeTa saxal xo komisarma CiCerinmac.

xel Sekrul ebas Tan erTvoda ruka, roml is mi-xedviT sakoncesio teritoria, romel ic mwvane xaziT iyo Semoxazul i moicavda WiaTuris manganumis yvel a ZiriTad moqmed budobs, eseni iyo: Tabagrebi, rgani, zedargani, mRvimevi, darkveTi, SuqruTi, iTxvisi, herevisa. rukaze cal ke iyo gamoyofil i wiTel i xaziT Semoxazul i mTavrobis sarezervo nakveTi.

sakoncesio xel Sekrul eba Sedgeboda 74 muxl i-
sagan. sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebas darTul i hqonda
kidev eqvsi danarTi, romel ic exeboda WiaTuris rki-
nigzis Stos farTo l iandagianad gadakeTebis teqni-
kur pirobebs.

mTavroba koncesioners gadascemda gansakuTre-
bul ufl ebas da privil egiebs manganumis da heroqsi-
dis mopovebaze, garecxva-gamdidrebasa da eqsportze.
mTavroba val debul ebas iRebda ar gadaeca Tavisi sa-
rezervo ubani madnis amoRebisa da damuSavebis uf-
l ebiT koncesiis vadis gasvl amde mesame pirisaTvis,
magram am ubanze mTavroba itovebda ufl ebas sakuTar-
ri saxsrebiT ewarmoebina saZiebo samuSaoebi da mad-
nis mopoveba, ar gaetana madani sazRvargareT arc
manganumis da arc feromanganumis saxiT. sakoncesio
xel Sekrul eba iTval iswinebda saqarTvel oSi fero-
manganumis qarxnis agebas. koncesioners eZl eoda uf-
l eba sakoncesio sawarmos saWiroebisaTvis, agreTve
muSa-mosamsaxureebisaTvis arsebul i kanonebis dacviT
aeRo ij arIT da daekavebina nagebobebi, sacxovrebel i
saxl ebi da sawyobebi, agreTve aego axal i nagebobani.
koncesioners ufl eba hqonda gamoeyenebisa sakoncesio
teritoriaze wyl is energia sawarmos momsaxurebisaT-
vis, aego nagebobani madnis garecxvisaTvis da el eq-
tro energiis misaRebad; sakoncesio teritoriaze moe-
povebina usasyidl od saamSenebl o masal ebi: qva, Tixa,
cecxl gamZl e masal a, kiri. koncesioners ufl eba eZ-
l eoda gaeyvana samTavroSi rkinigzasTan misasvl el i
gzebi, moewyo mi wisqveSa da sabagi ro gzebi.

koncesioners eZl eoda ufl eba manganumiT geme-
bis datvirTva-gadatvirTvis operaciebis warmoebisa.
ar SeiZl eboda koncesioneris kuTvnil i qonebis rek-
vizicia da a.S.

koncesioneri iRebda val debul ebas amoeRo kon-
cesiis pirvel wel s 300000 mSral i tona madani, meore
wel s _ 400000, mesame wel s _ 450000, meoTxe da yovel
dancarCen vadaSi aranagl eb 500000 mSral i tonisa yo-

vel wl iurad. madnis amoReba unda uwarwoebina koncesioners gegmazomierad da SeuCerebl iv mTel i wl is manZil ze wl iuri programis mixedviT.

koncesioneri emorCil eboda sabWoTa kanonmdebl obas social uri dazRvevis, Sromis dacvis, samTo samuSaoTa da usafrTxoebis teqnkis wesebis, hidroel eqtrosadgurebisa da el eqtronagebobaTa eqspl uataciis dargSi.

WiaTuris manganumis warmoebis harimani saTvis sa-koncesiod gadacema uqmnida mas farTo amerikul bazars da amrigad, SesaZl ebl obas indoeTsa Tu afrikis an sxva qveynebs Soris msofl io bazarze prioritetul i mdgomareobis miRwevis SesaZl ebl obas.

rogorc Cans, saeraSoriso bazrebze Seqmnil ma viTarebam amerikis sazogadoebriobaSi gaaCina moTxovnil eba WiaTuris koncesiis gaformebis aucil ebl obis Sesaxzeb. amaze miuTitebs is, rom amerikul ma gazeTma `anatestma- iCqara 1924 wl is 20 oqtomers winaswar ecnobebina msofl iosatvis msxvil amerikul firmas `harimani da komp- da sabWoTa mTavrobas Soris WiaTuris manganumis warmoebis sakoncesiod misaRebad gamarTul i mol aparakebis Sedegi. es im dros, rodesac mol aparakeba mxol od mimdinareobda⁴.

imedebi sabWoTa mxaresaRc didi hqonda: koncesionis ganxorciel ebas Sedegad unda mohyol oda manganumis moZvel ebul i gasarecxi qarxnebis nacvl ad (rodesac ikargeboda manganumis 40%-mde)⁵ axal i sistemis gamamdidrebel i qarxnebis ageba, madnis transportirebis meqanizaciis mowyoba maRaroebidan gasarecx qarxnebamde, aqedan rkinigzis baqnebamde, rac Secvl i da madnis gadatanas mama-papuri urmebiT, rodesac kaci da xari muxl ebamde tal axSi efl oboda da 2-3% madnisa ikargeboda. saCxere-WiaTura-zestafons Soris farTol i andagiani rkinigzis gayvanis saSual ebiT WiaTuraSi mopovebul manganumis madans pirdapir Caitandnen foTSi, SorapanSi gadmoutvirTavad. nacvl ad arsebul i moSl il i viwrol i andagiani rkinigzisa,

rac iwvevda madnis gadatvirTvas SorapanSi erTi va-
gonidan meoreSi, igegmeboda farTol iandagiani rki-
nigzis mSenebl doba. varaudobdnen foTsi meqanikuri
el evatoris mowyobas madnis gemebze gadasatvirTad.
yovel ive aRniSnul is ganxorciel ebisaTvis koncesio-
ners unda gaeRo aranakl eb 8 ml n maneTi, e. i. oTxi
ml n dol arisa. misi naxevari daijarj eboda sazRvaga-
reTidan manqanebisa da mowyobil obis Semotanaze, da-
narCeni ki muSaTa xel fasisa da adgil ze (ssr kavSir-
Si) damzadebul i masal ebis SeZenaze.

manganumis warmoebis koncesii s pirobebSi sabWo-
Ta kavSirs mniSvnel ovani saval uto Semosaval i SeeZ-
l o mieRo. miuxedavad imisa, rom saval uto Semosa-
val Si ar iyo gansazRvrul i manganumis sabados
mfl obel is _ saqarTvel os Semosaval i, romel ic
erovnul i ekonomikis mniSvnel obas unda moxmareboda,
mainc ar SeiZl eba imis uaryofa, rom saval uto Semo-
saval i nawil obriv saqarTvel oSi axal samrewvel o
mSenebl obis dafinansebas moxmareboda.

pirvel xanebSi koncesionerma gaSal a muSaoba
madnis mopovebis, garecxvis, da eqsportisaTvis, mag-
ram igi did interest ar iCenda madnis mopovebis ga-
umj obesebis mimarT. es procesi kvl av primitiul i sa-
Sual ebebiT grZel deboda, xol o arsebul qarxnebi
moZvel ebul i teqniki saSual ebebis axl iT Secvl is
xarj ebs koncesioneri gaurboda, al baT imis gamo,
rom pirvel wl ebSive gadaeyara zogierT siZnel eebis,
ris gamoc a. harimanma 1926 wl is 11 dekembers WiaTu-
ris koncesii s rwmunebul s mTavar sakoncesio komi-
tetSi warudgina moTxovna sakoncesio muxl ebis Sec-
vl is Taobaze.

sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebis xel mowerisTanave
koncesioneri gaakvirva im faqtma, rom nikopol ma,
marganecis erT-erTma msxvil ma mwarmobel ma ssrk-Si,
momxmarebel s mihyida 300000 tona madani (romel ic un-
da gatanil iyo 1 wl is ganmavl obaSi _ 1925 wl is oq-
tombridan) sabazro fasze mniSvnel ovnad dabal i fa-

siT. nikopol is manganumis produqcias akontrol ebda samxreT ruseTis tresti. man saqme miyvana iqamde, rom mTavari sakoncesio komiteti iqca koncesioneris konkurentad.

koncesioneri ayenebda moTxovnas, rac mdgomareobda ssrk-seqSPORTis mocul obaSi proporciis aucil ebl ad dawesebis, xol o wil obrivoba unda gansazRvrul iyo mcocavi Skal is safuZvel ze. meore sakiTxi, romel ic daayena koncesionerma dakavSirebul i iyo rkinigzasTan. misi azriT, Sorapan-WiaTuris viwrol iandagiani rkinigzis gadaxal iseba, ise rogorc iyo gaTval iswinebul i sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebiT, warmoadgenda ekonomikurad gaumarTI ebel s. harimans mizanSewonil ad miaCnda gaumj obesebul i moZravi Semadgenl obis Seqmna, rogorc viwro l iandagisaTvis, aseve mTavari xazisaTvis, agreTve mowyoba madnis meqanikuri gadacemisa viwrol iandagidan farTo l iandagze. es iyo koncesioneris pirvel i memorandumi, romel ic ganixil a mTavarma sakoncesio komitetma l . trockis Tavmj domareobiT, romel mac samxreT ruseTis trests koncesionerTan SeTanxmeba urCia.

1926 wl is 15 dekembers harimanma mTavar sakoncesio komitets warudgina meore memorandumi, romel Sic kidev ufro daakonkreta Tavisi moTxovnebi. kerZod, koncesioneri acxadebda, rom moipovebda imden madans, ramdenic aucil ebel i iqneboda komerciul ad maqsimal uri gatanisaTvis. tonobrivi gadasaxadis mocul oba icvl eboda gasayid fasebTan damokidebul ebis mixedvit, rac zogj er iwvevda fasebis gadiдебасac ki.

rkinigzis mSenebl obis sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, pirvel memorandumSi SeTavazebul i ori ml n dol aris nacvl ad koncesioneri varaudobda 1234000 dol aris daxarj vas samuSaoTa TviTRirebul ebis Semcirebis gziT.

mTavarma sakoncesio komitetma koncesionerisagan moTxova ufro detal uri sqemis wardgena samxreT ruseTis trestTan SeTanxmebis sakiTxze, roml isganac koncesioneri Tavsi kavebda. WiaTuris manga-

numis koncesiiis sakiTxi ixil eboda kp(b) pol itbiuroSi, sadac aRniSnul i iyo, rom araviTari pol itikuri Sexedul ebani ar uSl ida xel s koncesionerTan mol aparakebis gamarTvas wminda ekonomikuri Tval - sazrisiT. pol itbiuro ar uWerda mxars WiaTuris interesebis SebRal vas samxreT ruseTis trestis sarsargebl od. 1926 wl is dekemberSi a. harimani moskovidan saqarTvel oSi gamoemgzavra manganumis saqmeebis uSual od gacnobisa da saqarTvel os mTavrobaTan Sexvedris mizniT. 28 dekembers igi Tbil isSi Camovida. mas Tan axl da Jiul l abarsi. 29 dekembers a. harimani Sexvda saqarTvel os saxkomsabWos Tavmj domares S. el iavas, saqarTvel os sakoncesio komisiis Tavmj domares g. mgal obl iSvil s, interviu misca gaz `komunists-, romel Sic igi acxadebda, rom `Cven Zal ian vzrunavT koncesiaze. yvel gan duRs muSaoba, Sendeba axal i Senobebi, keTdeba axal i xidi md. yviril aze, gagvyavs misasvl el i da sahaero gzebi, wyal - sadeni da sxv. manZil is siSore _ manqanebisa da saWiro mowyobil obebis motana xom amerikidan gvixdeba _ ramdenadme xel s gviSl is swraf muSaobaSi. miuxedavad amisa, Sedegi ukve Tval saCinoa da momaval Sic mniSvnel ovani iqneba is-⁶. magram koncesioneris pol itika sinamdvil es mxol od nawil obriv Tu esadageboda. manganumis eqsporti ecemoda, rasac harimani `uzomod maRal i fraxtiT- xsnida.

1926 wl is ganmavl obaSi sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebis zogierTi muxl i, romel ic uSual od exeboda saba dos eqspl uatacias, ar srul deboda. ufro metic, rigi sakiTxebisa sadavo da SesaTanxmebel i rCeboda. koncesiiis normal uri funcqcionireba saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis xel Sewyobas saWiroebda. yovel SemTxvevaSi, yvel a siZnel e da val debul ebepis Seusrul ebl oba mxol od amerikul kompanias ar SeiZl eba dabral des. Tumca isic udavo faqtia, rom koncesioneri yvel anairad il tvoda sakuTari mogebi T gasadi debl ad.

maRaroel ebs _ gl exobas madnis mopovebis teritoriebis gafarToeba im miwaze, romel zec isini cxovrobdnen,ul i muSaxel i, Tavisi gl exuri fsiqol ogiit, romel ic miuxedavad imisa, rom kerZo sakuTrebis pirobebs ufro esadageboda vidre social isturs, did siZnel eebis uqmnida koncesioners, arTu l ebda Sromis discipl inis dacvas. xSir SemTxvevaSi maTi muSaoba ararentabel uri iyo.

WiaTuris manganumis koncesiam Tavisi moqmedebis ori wl is ganmavl obaSi warmatebas ver miaRwia. piriqiT. 1927 wl is damdegidan manganumis warmoebas Semcirebis tendencia daetyo, rac madnis eqsportis SemcirebaSic aisaxa. manganumis msofi io bazris koniunqtura friad cvl ebadi iyo, rac gavl enas axdenda madnis eqsportis mocul obaze. amastan, koncesionerisaTvis gauTval iswinebel ma mraval ma negatiurma faqtmac iCina Tavi. amitom saWiro gaxda diskusia sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebis gadasinj vis Sesaxeb.

mol aparakebani sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebis gadasinj vis mizniT 1927 wl is Tebervl idan daiwyo da ivl isamde gagrZel da.

koncesiis mdgomareobis gauaresebam 1927 wl is Tebervl idan ganapiroba xel Sekrul ebis gadasinj vis aucil ebl oba. sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebis cvl il ebas win uswrebda SeTanxmeba, romel ic daido moskovSi 1927 wl is 25 ivniss da exeboda sabWoTa kavSiris manganumis saeqsperto saqmianobas. am SeTanxmebiT dadginda manganumis saSual o wl iuri eqsportis axal i zRvari.

xel Sekrul ebis gadasinj vas mohyva zogierTi cvl il eba. koncesioneri Tavisufal i iyo 1933 wl is 23 ivl isamde sazRvargareTidan mis mier Semotanil manqanebsa da mowyobil obaze sal icenzio an sxv gadasaxadisagan. dadginda tonobrivi gadasaxadi metal is Semcvel obis mixedvit. mcocavi Skal a Zal aSi iyo 1927 wl is 25 ivnisidan 1928 wl is ivnisamde. am droidan daiwyo koncesioneris muSaobis gamococxl eba. igi abandebda mniSvnel ovan saxsrebs warmoebaSi, ata-

rebda samSenebl o da saremonto samuSaoebs, mohyavda samuSao mzadyofnaSi maRaroebi da gamamdidrebel i qarxnebi, daiwyo winaswari samuSaoebi axal i mZl avri gamamdidrebel i qarxnis mSenebl obisaTvis, magram es mdgomareoba didxans ar gagrZel ebul a. ukve 1927 wl is seqtembridan warmoebam kvl av daiwyo dacema. Sencirda madnis amoReba.

koncesioneri warmoebis dacemisa da eqsportis Sencirebis mizezad Tvl ida manganumis msofl io bazris depresias, rodesac bazari TiTqmis ar ayenebda moTxovnil ebas manganumze. aRniSnul i garemoeba gamowveul i iyo nawil obriv fero-manganumze fasebis dacemiT, magram amas droebiTi xasiaTi hqonda.

koncesioneris politika sagareo bazris dauflebis mxriv aramarTebul i iyo. koncesioneris aparatSi iyvnen pirovnebani, roml ebic dainteresebul ni iyvnen manganumis sxva sabadoebiT. koncesioners ar SeeZl o sworad gaTval iswinebina bazris koniunqtura, moecva momxmarebel Ta farTo wre da gaeba maTTan saqmiანი kavSirebi. amis Sedegad koncesioners xel idan gausxl tnen iseTi myidvel ebic ki, roml ebic WiaTuris sabados sakoncesiod gadacemamde iyvnen am madnis momxmarebeli ebi.

koncesias sxva nakl ovanebebic axasiaTebda. magaliTad, gaberil i Statebi, saqmisaTvis ucxo da SemTxveviTi muSakebis aragonivrul i SerCeva. manganumis saqmis adgil obriv special istTa gamouyenebl oba, muSaobis qaoturi xasiaTi da sxva.

manganumis eqsportis Sencireba moxda ZiriTadad 1927 wl is pirvel naxevarSi, amitomac daisva sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebis gadasinjvis, masSi cvl il ebebis Setanis sakiTxi (manganumis eqsportis mxriv 1926 weli yvel aze maRal i monacemebiT xasiaTdeboda). Tu gaviTval iswinebT 1925 wl idan msofl io bazarze manganumze fasebis dacemas, WiaTuris warmoebis Zvel teqnikur CamorCenil obas, koncesioneris mier mowyobil i sabagi ro gzebis garda, madnis SedarebiT maRal

TvITRirebul ebas, harimanisaTvis madnis gadacemis mZard konkurencias, Tavisufal i bazris mniSvnel ovan Sekvecas mTel rig msxvil momxmarebl ebze, manganumis cal keul i bazrebis `damagrebas- (mag. ingl i sel momxmarebel Ta indoeTis manganumze, Cr. amerikis brazil iis manganumze, norvegiis feromanganumis qarxnebisas dasavl eT afrikis oqros napirTan) da 1927 wl is meore naxebris specifikur siZnel eebis, rodesac msofi io bazarze mimdinareobda feromanganumis qarxnebis brZol a da garigebani manganumze TiTqmis Sewyda, Znel i davaskvnaT koncesioneris ganzraxvis Sesaheb _ `gaeyina WiATuris saqme-.

sakiTxi koncesiis SenarCuneba-gagrZel ebis Sesaheb warmoadgenda ara mar to momgebani saqmis Sesaxeb sakiTxs, aramed garkveul i azriT prestiJis sakiTxic iyo. sabWoTa mTavroba cdil obda koncesiis gauqmebis iniciativa ar daeTmo harimanisaTvis. amitom reixenma (mTavari sakoncerno komitetis wevri) daayena sakiTxi _ daeTmoT koncesionerisaTvis. amaSi ekonomikuri daxmarebac igul isxmeboda. aseTi daTmobebi SeiZl eboda dasaxul iyo rogorc tonobrivi gadasaxadebisa, aseve saeqsporto minimumis ramdenadme Semicirebis mimarTul ebiTac. magal iTad, SeiZl eboda aRdgenil iyo adrindel i saeqsporto minimumi, romel ic dadgenil i iyo 1925 wl is 12 ivnisis sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebiT. es maCvenebel i xel Sekrul ebaSi 1927 wl is 7 ivl isis damatebiT cvl il ebaTa safuZvel ze gadidda. magram reixel i ufro rentabel urad miicnevda iseT kombinacias, roml is drosac: 1. warmoeba gadaecemoda saxel - mwifos, 2. koncesioneri aiRebda Tavis Tavze dafinansebas da 3. gasaReba ganxorciel deboda erTobl ivad orTave mxaris monawil eobiT; 4. dadgenil i iqneboda mogebis ganawil ebis modusi.

sirTul e da siZnel eebi am kombinaciaSi c udavod iyo. magram varaudi masze SeTanxmebisa SeiZl eboda. reixel i varaudobda, rom Tu koncesioneri ar wavidoda mol aparakebaze, maSin rCeboda koncesiis CaS-

l is varianti. es unda momxdariyo mxol od mas Semdeg, rac amowurul i mTavari sakoncesio komitetis yvel a mcdel oba.

mxedvel obaSi misaRebi iyo is garemoebac, rom koncesii s l ikvidacia moiTxovda saxel mwifosgan mniSvnel ovan dabandebes warmoebis eqspl uatacii-saTvis, manganumis warmoebis teqnikiuri donis saTana-do simaRl eze gamarTvas, rac moiTxovda did kapital dabandebas.

WiaTuris manganumis konteqstSi ganixil eboda feromanganumis sawarmos agebis sakiTxic. aseTi qarxnis agebis sakiTxs swavl obda xel isufl eba 1924-25 wl ebSi, magram manganumis warmoebis sakoncesod gadacemis gamo aRniSnul i amocana sakoncesio xel Sekrul ebaSi iqna gadatanil i. sazRvargareT sabWoTa kavSiris safinanso warmomadgenel s al . svaniZes berl inidan gamogzavnil i weril idan miaCnda, rom sabWo-Ta xel isufl ebas yovel i Rone unda exmara saqarTvel oSi feromanganumis qarxnis asagebad. igi xazs usvamda im garemoebas, rom Tu harimani xel Sekrul ebis Tanaxmad aagebda feromanganumis qarxanas, maSin amerika moixmarda kavkasiuri warmoSobis manganums, romel ic konkurencias gauwevda brazil iur feromanganums, roml iTac sargebl obda igi. amitom al . svaniZe gadaWriT ayenebda feromanganumis qarxnis agebis aucil ebl obas. igi imazec miuTiTebda, rom Tu koncesioneri uars ityoda qarxnis agebaze, maSin mas sxva mrewvel ebi aagebdnen, roml ebTanac mimdinareobda mol aparakeba l ondonsa da hamburgSi. magram aseT SemTxvevaSi SeuZl ebel i gaxdeboda qarTul i fero-manganumis realizacia amerikaSi, radgan amerikel mrewvel Ta xel Si iyo norvegiul i, brazil iuri da afrikis oqros naporis madani.

al . svaniZis Zal isxmeva saqarTvel oSi feromanganumis qarxnis asagebad savsebiT pasuxobda Cveni qveynis ganvitarebis interesebs. amerikel koncesioners aravitari praqtikul i nabij i ar gadaudgams xel Sek-

rul ebiT nakisri feromanganumis qarxnis asagebad. am sakiTxis gadaWra itvirTa saxel mwifom da 1929 wl is ivl isidan Seudga zestafonSi feromanganumis qarxnis agebas.

amrigad, koncesionerma Tavis val debul ebebis mxol od mcire nawil i Seasrul a.

koncesia krizisSi aRmoCnda, rac ganapiroba mTavari sakoncesio komitetis moTxovnam koncesionerisagan Seewyvita ukanono saval uto operaciebi, roml is gamo saxel mwifo kargavda saval uto Semosaval s. am moTxovnebs mohyva saaqcio sazogadoeba qarTul i marganeci--s sammarTvel os Tavmj domaris moadgil is r. robinsonis mier koncesiiis gauqmebis sakiTxis dasma mol aparakebebisas, romel ic gaimarTa mTavar sakonceso komitetsa da savaWro warmomadgenl ebs Soris berl inSi. koncesionerma 1928 wl is 10 marts mTavari sakonceso komiteti gamoiwvia samediatoro sasamarTI oSi. am or mxares Soris mimoweridan irkveva, rom sakavSiro, amierkavkasiis da saqarTvel os xel isufl eba yovel i saSual ebiT cdil obdnen mieRwiaT koncesiiis SenarCunebas, amitom sabWoTa mxare TiTqos winaaRmdegi arc iyo samediatoro sasamarTI os gamarTvisa, magram Sefarul ad gaurboda mas.

harimanis kompaniasTan kavSiris gawveta sabWoTa mxarisaTvis ar iyo sasurvel i amerikasTan rogorc sagareo, savaWro, ise politikuri Tval sazrisiT. amasTan, WiaTuris koncesiiis gauqmeba SeiZl eboda gamxdariyo rgol i imxanad moqmedi koncesiebis jaWvis gawvyvetisa. amgvarad, sabWoTa xel isufl eba farTo pl aniT ganixil avda aRniSnul i koncesiiis probl ems. cxadia, am konteqstSi ramdenadme ugul vel yofil i iyo saqarTvel os ekonomikuri da politikuri interesebi rogorc unitarul i saxel mwifos Semadgenel i nawil isa, romel ic mokl ebul i iyo SesaZI ebl obas ewarmoebina damouki debel i ekonomikuri da safinanso politikura.

amerikul koncesias xel Sesaxebi social ur-ekonomikuri Sedegebi ar mohyolia, radgan ver ganxorciel da koncesiis mizani _ manganumis mrewel obis teqnikuri gadaxal isebe, madnis transportirebis sruli ciklis meqanizacia, muSaTa mdgomareobis gumj obeseba da a. S. ekonomikuri Sedegi ki gamoixata manganumis mopovebisa da realizaciis SekvecaSi, sabados dauzogav eqspl oataciaSi, rac mis dazianebas iwvevda, msofli o bazarze WiaTuris manganumis erTerTi wamyvani poziciis daknivebaSi, saval uto Semosavl ebi Segnebul ad mcirdeboda ukanono operaciebis gamo da a. S.

WiaTuris manganumis warmoebis amerikul i koncesia gauqmda 1928 wl is agvistos bol os niu-iorkSi gamarTI samediatoro sasamarTI os Semdeg. koncesiis gauqmebis iniciativa da moTxovna ekuTvnoda koncesioners da ara sabWoTa kavSiris mTavar sakoncesio komitets, rogorc es aqamde iyo miRebuli qarTuli istoriografiaSi. sabWoTa mTavrobisaTvis es izul ebiti nabiji iyo. aRniSnuli mosazreba gamoTqva da daasabuTa zviad kobaxizem Tavis disertaciaSi, rasac me savsebit veTanxmebi.

Tanamedrove etapze warmatebit xorciel deba uaRresad faTromasStabiani da ganzomil ebiani sainvesticio politika, romelic miznad isaxavs axali teqnologiების danergvas ekonomikis sxvadasxva dargSi. didi mniSvnelobisaa aSS-is politikuri mxardaWera da daxmareba Cveni qveynis Tavdacvisunarianobisa da demokratiuli saxel mwifoebriobis samomavli ganvitarება-ganmtkicebisaTvis, ris safuzvl ebi pirveli ad swored XX saukunis 20-ain wl ebSia Cayrili.

**FOR THE ISSUE OF THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC
RELATION BETWEEN US-GEORGIA (20'S OF THE 20TH
CENTURY)**

After creating USSR and Transcaucasia Federation, the issue of transferring some objects for concession was jointly discussed after establishing the main concession committee with "USSR People's commissars council", and concession committees in the republics. Their tasks-negotiations with concession seekers, working out agreement projects, should have been agreed with main concession committee. Obviously, the sovereign rights of ally republics had a formal character and were seriously violated.

In 1923, on the economic assembly of Transcaucasia federation, the issue of giving Chiatura manganese manufacturing for concession was discussed, but the debate was delayed. The US trade-manufacturing house "Harriman and company" became the winner in the competition for getting the concession among foreign companies. The concession agreement was signed by Felix Dzerjinski-the head of the higher councils of national economy of USSR and John Spill Elliot-the vice-president of "People's trade-manufacturing house". The agreement that consisted of 71 articles, a map and 6 special attachments of technical conditions was accepted on 12 June of 1925 in Moscow. With this agreement, the concessioner was given special right and priority on extracting, enriching and exporting manganese and peroxide. The concessioner was obliged to provide the export of 16 million tone manganese and peroxide. It should have invested 4 million dollars that is 8 million roubles in manufacturing- building the enriching factory of new system, providing mechanization of transportation, building mechanic elevator in the town Poti, transforming Zestaponi's narrow railway system into wider one, building living apartments for miners was also planned...

The state should have gained significant income from the concession. Unfortunately, the income of Georgia, who was the owner of manganese, wasn't defined in the agreement. Apart from economic profits, some external conditions also were causes of concessions.

The article shows presenting two memorandums from American side that demanded of changing or reviewing some of the articles of the agreement. USSR side was obliged to perform them to maintain the concession. However, the it still had to face some drawbacks, so despite some adjustments, Harriman demanded abolition of concession. This issue was positively resolved by mediate court in 1928. But this decision was compulsory step for USSR.

It needs to be mentioned that in the last times, the right opinion has been spread in Georgian historiography, that Chiatura concession was abolished not by USSR government but with initiative and demand by American concessioner(the author of this opinion is Z. Kobakhidze-dr. of Historical science).

damowmebul i l i t e r a t u r a d a w y a r o e b i

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6. iqve.

al eqsandre dauSvil i

ori mTavroba _ ori midgoma

(amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis administraciis
damokidebul eba saqarTvel oSi 1991-1992 wl ebSi
mi mdinare procesebi sadmi)

amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis administracias
ori ZiriTadi, daurRvevel i principi aqvs: sakuTari
qveynis saxel mwifoebriვი interesebis upirvel esi
dacva da demokratiul i faseul obebisadmi mxardaWe-
ra msofi ios nebismier kuTxeSi.

XX saukunis 90-iani wl ebis dasawyisSi, samxedro
Tval sazrisiT jer kidev ZI iერი sabWoTa kavSiris
arsebobis pirobebSi, amerikis administracias urTi-
erToba hqonda kreml is xel ZRvanel obasTan, mis li-
derTan mixeil gorbaCovTan, rac CaiTval a nayofie-
rad (warmatebit mimdinareobda mol aparakeba strate-
giul i Setevis iaraRis Sencirebaze, sabWoTa j arebi
gamoivyanes avRaneTiTan, moskovma Tval i daxuWa aRmo-
savl eT evropis `xaverdovan revol uciebze- da `var-
Savis paqtis- denonsaciaze da a.S.). yvel aferi es
gorbaCovis xel isufi ebas amerikisaTvis misaReb pol-
litikur partniorad xdida da, ra Tqma unda, ameri-
kis SeerTebul i Statebis administracia Seecdeboda
mistvis Tavidan aeridebina sabWoTa xel mZRvanel obis
sagareo politikuri daTmobebidan gamomdinare Sida-
politikuri daZabul oba, rasac SeeZI o Seeqmna (da
mogvianebit Seuqmna kidec) safrTxe gorbaCovis Zal a-
ufi ebisaTvis. es, udavod, keTil sindisieri partnio-
ris mTavari da Rirseul i Tvisebaa.

amitomac amerikis SeerTebul i Statebi 1991 wl is
dasawyisSi oficial urad zedmetad ar ereoda sabWo-
Ta qveyanaSi mimdinare Sidadolitikur procesebSi.

amasobaSi saqarTvel oSi komunisturi reJimi da-
emxo da gaimarj va `mrgval i magida-Tavisufal ma sa-

qarTvel om-, roml is l ideri zviad gamsaxurdia uze-
naesi sabWos Tavmj domare gaxda. xel isufl ebaSi mo-
vida erovnul i moZraobis erTi frTa, romel sac meo-
re – ufro radikal uri, antikomunisturad ganwyobi-
l i nawil i, komunistebTan al ianss, `Zvel tikebSi –
axal i Rvinis Casxmas- anu sabWoTa kol onial uri mar-
Tvis struqturabis axal Tvis ebriobaSi gamoyenebas
abral ebda.

amrigad, ganxeTqil ebis garkveul i safuZvel i sa-
qarTvel os sazogadoebaSi Tavidanve arsebobda: qveya-
na gayofil i iyo sam nawil ad: saxel isufl o (e.w.
`zviadistur-), opoziciur da l oial ur (komunistur)
nawil ebad. qarTvel i komunistebi axal parl amentSi
xmebis daaxl oebiT 30 procentis fl obdnen.

aseT viTarebaSi amerikis administraciis mTavari
pol itikuri xazi unda yofil iyo mol odini. da es
asec moxda. 1991 wl is 4 ivl isamde saqarTvel os xel
l isufl ebasTan amerikis adminstracias uSual o kav-
Sirebi ara hqonia. Tumca es ar gamoricxavda dazver-
viT vizitebs, del egaciaTa Sexvedrebs, roml ebic uf-
ro Rrmad daanaxebda amerikis mxares saqarTvel os
axal i xel isufl ebis WeSmarit iersaxes.

daviwyoT iqidan, rom ukve 1991 wl is ianvarSi
amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis kapitol iumze aRimar-
Ta droSa zviad gamsaxurdias pativsacemad¹.

sainteresoa informaciac, rac amerikidan saqar-
Tvel oSi amasTan dakavSirebiT movida: `es droSa
aRimarTa zviad gamsaxurdias pativsacemad misi sa-
qarTvel os prezidentad (unda iyos uzenaesi sabWos
Tavmj domared – a. d.) arCevisa da imis niSnad, rom
aRiareben axal i parl amentis Zal isxmevas saqarTve-
l oSi demokratiis dasamkvidrebl ad-. aq aSkarad xaz-
gasmul ia, rom amerikel i kanonmdebl ebi daakvirdebi-
an saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis moRvaweobas saqarTve-
l oSi demokratiul i faseul obebis ara frazeol ogi-
ur, aramed WeSmarit damkvidrebas da ise miReben sa-
bol oo gadawyvetil ebas. es amerikis kanonmdebl ebis

udidesi avansi iyo zviad gamsaxurdias gundisaTvis, rom maT yvel aferi gaeketeTebinaT saqarTvel oSi WeSmariti demokratiis dasamkvidrebl ad.

am didebul i Jestis Semdeg saqarTvel oSi arao-ficial uri ramdenime del egacia Camovida, maT Soris 1991 wl is martis bol os iyo eqsprezidenti niqsonic, romel mac isic ki ganacxada, rom is amerikis prezidencis daval ebit aris Camosul i da surs saqarTvel oSi arsebul i pol itikuri vitarebis gacnoba. masTan Sexvedraze z. gamsaxurdiam erTi, Cvenis azrit, metad utaqto fraza isrol a: `Cven migvaCnia, rom demokratiul i msofilios upirvel esi amocanaa isetive rol i Seasrul os imperiisagan dapyrobul i xal xebis ganTavisufli ebaSi, rogorc quveit is ganTavisufli ebaSi Seasrul a-. es aSkarad sabWoTa kavSiris winaarRmdeg iaraRis gamoyenebas gul isxmobda da es imdenad gauwonasworebel i Setavazeba iyo, rom amis mTqmel i TviTonve izul ebul i gaxda gamoesworebina es uxer-xul oba: `rasakvirvel ia es gul isxmobs daxmarebas mxol od pol itikuri da ekonomikuri saSual ebebit da gamoricxavs Zal ismier Carevas-. ori azri ar aris, rom es Setavazeba aSkarad provokaciul i iyo da mas amerikis del egacia ueWvel ad yuradRebas miac-cvda. swored amis gamo metad SorsmWvretel naTqva-mad moismis gamocdil i amerikel i pol itikosis ri-Card niqsonis Semdegi fraza: `imedi maqvs gardamaval i periodi saqarTvel oSi usisxl od damTavrdeba-². udavod, SorsmWvretel urad naTqvami sityvebia.

Tu ar CaTvTvl iT ramdenime umniSvnel o del egacias, saqarTvel oSi 1991 wl is 4 ivl isamde amerikastan urTierToba TiTqos gacivda. samagierod saqarTvel oSi seriozul ad daiZaba Sidapol itikuri vitareba, rac gamoiwvia z. gamsaxurdias xel isufli ebis mier saprezidento arCevnebis dros administraciul i resursis ukanono gamoyenebam, opoziciis `cruopoziciad- gamocxadebis tendenciam, roca inergeboda Tezisi: `sinamdvil esi opozicia ar arsebobs, opozicias

afinansebs moskovi da misi liderebi an provokatorebi arian, an politikaSi gauTviTcnobierebul i adami anebi³ da a.S. amrigad, Sidapolitikuri viTareba saqarTvel oSi 1991 wl is zafxul Si ukve sakmaod daZabul i iyo.

4 ivl iss saqarTvel os prezidenti miwvies moskovis amerikis sael CoSi oficial ur miRebaze, igegmeboda prezident j. buSTan (ufrosi) z. gamsaxurdias Sexvedra. da swored aq wydeba SedarebiT mSvidi urTierToba amerikis administraciasTan. Zal ian mal e saqarTvel os xel isufleba gadadis konfrontaciis rel sebze amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis administraciasTan. ratom?

saqarTvel os xel isuflebas ar moewona moskovidan kievSi Casul i amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis prezidentis j orj buSi (ufrosis) mxardaWera gorbaCovisa da misi politikuri kursisadmi, amerikis administraciis mxardaWera axal i samokavSireo xel Sekrul ebis dadebis procesisadmi. ukve 9 agvistos saqarTvel os oficiozi "saqarTvel os respublika- aqveynebs saqarTvel os respublikis mTavrobis gancxadebas: "... samwuxarod am bol o wl ebSi....dasavl eTis da kerZod aSS mmarTvel i wreebis poziciaSi, maT gancxadebebsa da gamonaTqvamebSi xSirad gamosWvioda azri, rom dasavl eTis qveynebis interesebSia sabWoTavroba kavSiris erTiani saxel mwifos SenarCuneba... batoni buSis vizitma moskovsa da kievSi yovel gvar mol odins gadaaWarba...amerikis prezidenti... Camodis imperiaSi da agitacias uwevs samokavSireo xel Sekrul ebas... Cven visurvebdiT, rom amerikis prezidenti da mTavroba mxars uWerdnen ara komunizms, tiranias da moCvenebiT reformebs, aramed WeSmarit demokratias-.

Tavisi SinaarsiT utaqto, dipl omatiuri etiketis srul i ugul ebel yofiT daweril i es dokumenti saqarTvel os xel isuflebis upasuxismgebl oobaze miuTiTebis. es gancxadeba Tavidanve dagmo saqarTvel os opoziciam. dagmo xel isuflebis zogierma warmomage-

nel mac, romel ebic Semdeg gaemij nen kidec oficiozs. magal iTad, moskovSi saqarTvel os mudmivi warmomadgenel is moadgil e vano yvavil aSvil ma dagmo mTavrobis es nabiji, romel ic mas `gaumarTI ebl ad miaCnia, miTumetes, rom mZaddeboda prezident gamsaxurdias Sexvedra prezident buSTan-4.

amrigad, saqarTvel os xel isufli ebam Tavisi gawonasworebel i moqmedebiT CaSal a amerikisa da saqarTvel os prezidentebis SesaZI o Sexvedra da msophilios daumtkica Tavisi politikuri umwifroba. raSi gamovlinda es?

1. amerikis Seerebul i Statebi imJamindel i msophilio supersaxel mwifo pasuxismgebel i iyo sayovel Tao mSvidobasa da Tanxmobaze;
2. am pasuxismgebl obidan gamomdinare amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis prezidents, sabWoTa kavSiris prezidentis stumars, arc eval eboda da arc ekadreboda daewyo saubari im saxel mwifos demontajis Sesaxeb, sadac is stumrobda;
3. amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis prezidenti aTviTcnobierebda im garemoebas (zogierTebisagan gansxvavebiT), rom saqme exeboda dasustebul, magram jer kidev supersaxel mwifos, romel ic gadavsebul i iyo atomiuri iaraRiT, da rom am qveyanaSi samoqal aqo omis eskalacia gamoiwvavda atomuri iaraRisadmi kontrol is meqanizmis dasustebas, gaurkvevel xel Si mis gadasvl as da es ki udides ubedurebas moutanda ara marto sabWoTa saxel mwifos, aramed mTel msophilios.
4. amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis administracias ar undoda is qaosi da is ubedureba postsabWoTa sivrcesi, rac maT ase kargad auxdines saqarTvel os erovnul i moZraobis liderebma Rirseul opoziciasTan erTad, maT Soris, saqarTvel os mraval tanjul miwaze.

amrigad, dRevandel i gadasaxedidan aSkaraa, rom imJamad amerikis prezidentis gawonasworebul i pozicia mxol od msofilios usafRTxoebaze fiqrisa da dipl omatiuri etiketis Sedegia da ar iyo aucil ebel i mis gamonaTqvamebze saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis aseTi avadmyofuri reagireba, ris Semdegac yovel gvარი official uri urTierToba Sewyda. jer kidev Znelia bol omde dazustebiT imis Tqva, es nabiji qarTul i mxaris susti dipl omatiuri momzadebis Sedegiy, Tu garkveul i Zal ebis Sorsgamiznul i politikis real izeba - saqarTvel os unda daekarga amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis administraciis zrunva, saqarTvel os unda daekarga Tavisi istoriul i roli amerikkavkasiaSi, saqarTvel o unda yovel mxriv dakninebul iyo. amas momaval i kvl evebi gvicvenebs.

am movl enebidan Zal ian mal e moskovSi ganxorciel da `putCis- mcdel oba, romel Sic, rogorc dRes dasturdeba, sabWoTa kavSiris imJamindel i prezidenti mixeil gorbaCovi aqturad yofil a gareuli, magram saqarTvel os maSindel i xel isufl eba am niuansebSi ver gaerkva, putCi namdvil ad miiRo, `putCistebis- yvel a moTxovna daakmayofil a da gamosca metad l oial uri gankargul eba, romel ic saqarTvel os mosaxl eobas simSvidis SenarCunebisa da morCil ebisaken mouwodebda, nacvl ad imisa, rom xal xSi saprotesto gamosvl ebi, gaficvebi da organizebul i daumorCil ebl oba moemzadebina. ruseTis el eqtromasmediaSi gavrcel da informacia, rom kreml Si inaxeba z. gamsaxurdias depeSa, romel ic putCistebis l oial obas udasturebs. aseTi depeSa Cven saqarTvel os arqivSi ver aRmovacinet. es qceva, Sesazl ebel ia CaTvl il iyo pol itikur sifxizl ed, rom ara `putCis- groteskul i xasiaTi, Zal ian mal e misi warumatebl oba da marxci. is rom saqarTvel os official uri xel isufl eba ver gaerkva pol itikur viTarebaSi da sabediswero Secdoma dauSva, es dasturdeba saqarTvel os uzenaesi sabWos prezidiumis dadgenil ebis proeqtiT, rome-

l ic ar miiRes, magram SemorCa arqivs da masSi xaz-
gasmul ia Semdegi: "... saqarTvel os respubl ikis uze-
naesma sabWos prezidiumma 19-21 agvistos movl enebs
ver misca droul i da adekvaturi pol itikuri Sefa-
seba da daagviana saqarTvel os respubl ikis uzenaesi
sabWos riggareSe sesiis mowveva, riTac Seqmna msOf-
l ios pozitiuri pol itikuri procesebidan saqarTve-
l os amovardnis safrTxe, saqarTvel os respubl ikis
uzenaesi sabWos preziumis amgvari moqmedeba Sefas-
des uaryofTad⁵.

amrigad, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis sakanon-
mdebl o organoSi iyvnen saRad moazrovne adamianebi,
roml ebic acnobierebdnen Tavis Secdomas da maTi Se-
Tavazeba – niSnavda gamosaval s – uaryofiTad Sefa-
sebul i prezidiumi unda gadamdgariyo. gadagoma ki
niSnavda axal saparl amento arCevnebs, pol itikuri
viTarebis ganmuxtvas, samoqal aqo dapirispirebis mox-
snas. magram viRacis energiul ma xel ma es daskvna ga-
daxaza. yvel aferi Zvel eburad darCa. xel isufl ebam
ukve Zal ismier meTodebze aiRo gezi – dRis wesrigSi
dadga Zal aufl ebis nebismieri meTodiT SenarCuneba.

saqarTvel os opozicia, ra Tqma unda, xel idan
ar gauSvebda xel isufl ebis mier daSvebul uxeS Sec-
domas da daiwyo mitingebs seria, rac xel isufl ebis
mxridan ukanono darbevebSi, regionebidan sakuTari
momxreebis CamoyvanaSi da Tbil isel moqal aqeebTan
maT dapirispirebaSi gamovl inda. xel isufl ebis erT
Secdomas, meore mohyva – viTareba imdenad daiZaba,
rom samoqal aqo omis inspirirebis safrTxec gaCnda.

pol itikuri viTarebis eskal aciis miuxedavad,
saqarTvel oSi SeumCnevel i ar darCeniaT aSS prezi-
dents mier z. gamsaxurdias misamarTiT warmoTqmul i
metad tevadi fraza: `me mgoni es aris kaci, romel ic
cota ar iyos dinebis sawinaaRmddegod micuravs-. Zal
lian mal e gamoCndnen amerikaSi saqarTvel os xel i-
sufl ebis l obistebi, roml ebmac amerikis prezidents
es sityvebi gaukritikes da is tendenciurobaSi daa-

danaSaul es. saqarTvel os oficial ur presaSi qvey-
ndeboda saprotesto weril ebi, samTavrobo mitingeb-
ze xel isufl ebis aRSfoTebul i momxreebi araobieq-
turobas abral ebdnen amerikis prezidents, mis admi-
nistracias.

Cveni azriT, amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis prezi-
denti am SemTxvevaSi Tavis mosazrebas afuZnebdan Sem-
deg argumentebze:

1. saqarTvel os prezidenti z. gamsaxurdia da mi-
si garemocva ver gaerkva msopl ios gl obal ur
pol itikur procesebSi da Tavis oficial uri
gamosvl ebiT uxerxul mdgomareobaSi Caayena
amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis administracia;
2. SeuCerebel i demokratiul i frazeol ogiis vi-
TarebaSi qveyanaSi inergeboda avtoritarul i
reJimis avbediT konturebi, `pirovnebis kul-
tis- mavne praqtika, rac srul iad daufaravad
xel isdeboda xel isufl ebis mxridan;
3. xel isufl eba sul ufro aqtiurad iyenebda op-
roziciis daTrgunvis total itarul meTodebs,
rac sazogadoebas 1937 wl is saSinel ebebs axse-
nebdan;
4. xal isdeboda prezidentis momxre fanatikosTa
Tavawyvetil i TareSi, opoziciis l iderebis
devna, sisxl iani angariSsworebis meTodebi.

ra Tqma unda, es yvel aferi iyo im dinebis sawi-
naaRmdago moZraoba, rasac demokratiul i faseul obe-
bisa da zogadsakacobrio Rirebul ebebis boboqari
mdinareba hqvia.

marTal ia, saqarTvel oSi imJamad amerikis Seer-
Tebul i Statebis oficial uri warmomadgenl oba ar
iyo, magram seqtembridan saqarTvel oSi ara erTi ame-
rikul i del egacia Camovida, romel Sic iyvnen eqimebi,
biznesmenebi, masmediis warmomadgenl ebi, kongresmene-
bic ki. maT hqonda Sexvedrebi rogorc oficial ur
xel isufl ebasTan, ise opoziciasTan, mosaxl eobasTan,

mis uwmid esoba saqarTvel os patrarqTan. maT samSob-
l oSi mihqondaT sakuTari informacia.

aseT viTarebaSi, ar aris gamoricxul i, rom ame-
rikis administracias ufro kargad Seeswavl a saqar-
Tvel os pol itikuri xel mZRvanel is pirovneba, gaexe-
nebina is, razec bevrs imJamad saqarTvel oSi fiqric
ki ar undoda – z. gamsaxurias 1978 wl is saj aro mo-
nanieba, sabWoTa xel isufli ebis mimarT l oial obis
damtkiceba da mis mier dasavl eTis presis saSual ebe-
bis dadanaSaul eba misi Sexedul ebebis araswor in-
terpretaciaSi da a.S. da a.S.. aseT viTarebaSi ameri-
kis SeerTebul i Statebis xel isufli eba aSkarad TavS
Seikavebda da saqarTvel osaken Semxvedr nabij s imJa-
mad ukve aRar gadadgamda. da is, marTI ac, aseC moiq-
ca, roca dainaxa, rom `demokratiis mebaixtre-
prezidenti Cinebul ad iTavsebda avtoritarul i diqta-
toris funqcias, Tavisi pol itikuri codvebis gadasa-
farad, igive codvebisatvis mkacrad sjida sxva pol-
ititur Zal ebs (magal iTad, saqarTvel os komunis-
tur partias, romel ic kanongareSe gamocxadda), fana-
tikosta brbos usevda pol ititur oponentebs, iyeneb-
da Zal ismier meTodebs maT sadaTrgunad da a.S.

saqarTvel oSi pol itikuri daZabul obis eskal a-
ciis gansakuTrebit maRal etapze, 1991 wl is noember-
Si amerikas SeerTebul i Statebis saxel mwifo depar-
tamentma gaakeTa oficial uri gancxadeba, romel sac
didi mniSvnel oba hqonda: `SeerTebul i Statebis
mTavroba SeSfoTebul ia saqarTvel oSi Seqmnil i si-
tuaciiT. Cven vgmobT Zal adobisa da muqaris gamoye-
nebas mimdinare krizisis dros da movuwodebT orive
mxares Sewyvitos aseTi taqtika... Zal adobis gamoyene-
ba romel ime mxris mier dauyovnebl iv gamoiwvevs
Cvens uaryofits damokidebul ebas saqarTvel osadmi...
am situaciaSi amerikas SeerTebul i Statebisatvis **Se-
uzl** ebel i iqneba saqarTvel osatvis im pol itikuri
da ekonomikuri daxmarebis aRmoCena, romel ic mis ke-
Til dRobas swirdeba (xazgasma Cvenia – a. d.)⁻⁶.

am mimaTvaSi, Tval Sisacemia, rom amerikis administracia mzad aris aRmouCinos `pol itikuri da ekonomikuri daxmareba-, romel ic saqarTvel os gadaudebl ad sWirdeba mxol od im pirobebSi, roca uryevad daicaven, saqmiT da ara mxol od sityviT, adamianis fuZemdebl ur ufl ebebs da demokratiis principebs.

es mimaTva, pirvel rigSi, ra Tqma unda, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis gasagonad iyo naTqvami da swored misgan moiTxovda im fuZemdebl uri demokratiul i faseul obebis aRiarebas da dacvas, roml is dekl arirebas is ase ostaturad axorciel ebda.

magram SecdomebiT datvirtul saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas ukve aRar SeeZl o damdgariyo WeSmariti demokratiis gzaze, istoriis l ogika mas avtoritarizmis Waobisken SeuCerebl ad miqanebda. am tendenciam saqarTvel oSi ukve dabada maamebel Ta is kategoriac, roml ebic amerikis administraciis gawonaworebul pol itikas sarkazmsa da boRmas axvedrednen: `...rasakvirvel ia amerikis surs misi scenariT, mSvidad...demokratiis niRabs amofarebul ma `nebiT-gauSvas republ ikebi...roml ebic SemdgomSi gaxdebian msofl io integraciis morCil i wevrebi... saqarTvel os damoukidebel i pol itikuri kursi Zl ierTa ama qvey-nisa SeSfoTebas iwvevs⁷; iyo aseTi gancxadebac: `buSma gamaoca Tavisi dumil iT saqarTvel os republ ikis Sesaxeb- - werda cnobil i qarTvel i mTargmnel i akaki gel ovani.

miuxedavad saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis sabediswero Secdomebisa, amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis administracias saqarTvel oze zrunka ar Seuwyvetia. umZimes dekembris dReebSi (5 dekembers) saqarTvel oSi Camovidnen moskovis amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis sael Cos pasuxismgebel i TanamSroml ebi, roml ebmac kidev erTxel gaafRTxil es xel isufl eba da opozicia Zal is eskal aciis gamoyenebis saval al o Sedegebis Sesaxeb, moiTxovdnen sayovel Taod miRebul i demokratiul i principebisa da Tavisufl ebebis dacvas.

magram, ukve samoqal aqo omSi CaTreul saqarTvel os sazogadoebas keTil i rCevis mosmena aRar SeeZI o. axl ovdeboda ganmuxtva.

Tbil isis omis Sedegad z. gamsaxurdiam saqarTvel o datova da gaixizna. Zal aufl eba xel Si aiRo `samxedro sabWom-, romel mac gamoacxada, rom `1991 wl is dekembersa da 1992 wl is ianvarSi saqarTvel oSi moxda saerTo-saxal xo demokratiul i aj anyeba im danaSaul ebrivi reJimis winaaRmdeg, romel mac daamtkica, rom komunisturi total itarul i mmarTvel oba SeiZI eba Seicval os erovnul l ozungebs amofarebul i avtoritarul i xel isufl ebiT⁸.

Seiqmna droebiTi mTavroba, sapatimroebidan gamouSves pol itpatimrebi, gakeTda mimarTva `msofl io xal xebs da saxel mwifoebis meTaurebs-, romel Sic Camoyal ibda demokratiul i faseul obebis dacvisa da ganmtkicebis gadaudebel i amocana. dRes aris kamaTi 1991-1992 wl ebis movl enebis pol itikuri da samarTI ebrivi Sefasebis Sesaxeb. es skiTxi dRevandel i Cveni statiis mizani ar aris. Tumca imJamindel i vitarebis Rmad gacnoba adasturebs, rom msofl ios wamyvani qveynebis xel mZRvanel ebi avl endnen Tbil isSi mimdinare procesebis gagebas, TanagrZnobas da sol idarobas aucxadebdnen `iaraRiT mosul ~ saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas. am SemTxvevaSic mTavari da gamsazRvrel i mainc amerikis SeerTebul i Satatebis pozicia unda CaiTval os.

1992 wl is Teberval Si moskovSi Camosul saxel -mwifo mdivans j. beikers Sexvda saqarTvel os axal i xel isufl bis premier-ministri T. sigua. marTalia, oficial urad gacxadda, rom es Sexvedra ar niSnavda amerikis mxridan saqarTvel os axal i xel isufl ebis oficial urad aRiarebas, magram saWiros informacia amerikis mxarem uSual od pirvel i piridan miRo. rogorc Cans, garkveul etapze dadga sakiTxi axal i saqarTvel os pol itikuri lideris Sesaxeb, romel ic amerikisaTvisac misaRebi da sacnauri iqneboda. miuxe-

davad imisa, rogorc dRes irkveva, `samxedro sabWos-zogierTi wevrisaTvis eduard SevardnaZis kandidatura miuRebel i yofil a, im etapze amerikisaTan urTierTobis mowesrigeba, amerikis mxridan saqarTvl os aRiarebis procesis daCqareba imdenad mniSvnel ovani iyo, rom yvel a SeTanxmda saqarTvel oSi eduard SevardnaZis Camosvl is mizanSewonil obis Sesaxeb.

imJamad eduard SevardnaZe `demokratiis mebai-raxtred- iTvl eboda, xol o axal i xel isufl eba pi-robas debda, rom bol omde ganaxorciel ebda qveyana-Si demokratiul ufl ebebsa da Tavisufl ebebs.

1992 wl is martis dasawyisSi e. SevardnaZe ukve Tbil isSi iyo, `samxedro sabWom- ufl ebamosil eba gadasca saxel mwifo sabWos, romelic saqarTvel os pl itikur speqtrs srul ad warmoaCenda (ganxorciel - da principi - `yvel a - erTis garda-, rac gul isxmoba zviad gamsaxurdias momxre pol itikuri Zal ebis srul ugul ebel yofas). amasTan, daigegma sayovel Tao arCevnebi, daigmo wina xel isufl ebis yvel a nakl i da Secdoma, iqmneboda STabeWdil eba sayovel Tao demokratiul i ufl ebebisa da Tavisufl ebebis gansaxorciel ebl ad warmoebul i muSaobis efeqtianobis Sesaxeb. e. SevardnaZisadmi l oial urad ganwyobili intel igencia unison amtkicebda, rom qveyanaSi swrafi tempiT mimdinareobda demokratiul i institutebis mSenebl oba.

sawinaaRmdegos amtkicebdnen yofil i xel isufl ebis momxreebi, roml ebic imJamad aSkarad mowvetil i iyvnen real obas, sakuTari l ideris Secdomebs ver xedavdnen da mxol od mowinaaRmdegeebis kritikiT iyvnen dakavebul ni. am kritikis fonze isini dausabuTebl ad da usamarTi od akritikebdnen amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis xel isufl ebasac, romel mac saqarTvel os `saxel mwifo sabWos- l oial oba gamoucxada.

saqme is aris, rom e.SevardnaZis Tbil isSi Camosvl is Semdeg swrafad gaizarda saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis amRiarebel Ta ricxvi. maT riges Seuer-

Tda: safrangeTi, norvegia. 26 marts moskovis ameri-
kis SS sael Com gaakeTa oficial uri gancxadeba, rom
amerika daamyarebs dipl omatiur urTierTobas saqar-
Tvel osTan da gauwevs mas yvel a SesaZl o daxmarebas.

am gancxadebidan Zal ian mal e amerikis SeerTebul
i Statebis prezidenti j. buSi (ufrosi) weril s
ugzavnis saqarTvel os saxel mwifo sabWos Tavmj doma-
res e. SevardnaZes: `Zvirfaso Tavmj domare eduard
SevardnaZe, dRes saj arod gamovaqveynebT yofil i sab-
WoTa kavSiris damouki debel saxel mwifoTa demokra-
tiisa da Tavisufal i bazrebis mxardamWer mTel rig
axal iniciativebs. msurs winaswar SegatyobinoT Cemi
gancxadebis ambavi... imedi maqvs, rom mxars damiWerT
erTobl iv moqmedebaSi, roml is mizania uzrunvel -
vyoT demokratiisa da Tavisufl ebis ayvaveba⁹.

es aSkarad pol itikuri mxardaWeris Tval sazri-
siT gakeTebul i Rirseul i Jesti iyo, rac aseve iqna
gagebul i saqarTvel os pol itikuri Zal ebis mier,
Tumca aman gaaRiziana yofil i xel isufl ebis momxe-
reebi da maT mitingebze sul ufro xSirad ismoda
amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis winaaRmdeg mimarTul i
l ozungebi.

`demokratiisa da Tavisufl ebis ayvaveba- - ameri-
kis administraciis mTavari da erT-erTi ganmsazRvre-
l i moTxovna saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mimarT, iq-
neboda es zviad gamsaxurdia, eduard SevardnaZe Tu
mixeil saakaSvil i - rogorc Cans saqarTvel osTvis
metad probl ematuri moTxovna aRmoCnda, romel sac
Rirseul ad ver asrul ebs saqarTvel os vercerTi ar-
sebul i xel isufal i...

saqarTvel os axal i xel isufl ebis udavo mxar-
daWeras iTval iswinebda amerikis SeerTebul i State-
bis saxel mwifo oficial uri del egaciis stumroba.
del egacias xel mZRvanel obda amerikis SeerTebul i
Statebis saxel mwifo mdivani jeims beikeri da mis
Semadgenl obaSi iyo qarTul i warmoSobis amerikel i
general i j on-mal xaz Sal ikaSvil ic. del egacia Tbi-

I isSi maisis dResaswaul is win Camovida, monawil eoba miRo saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis dRis aRsanisnav zeimSi da Tan Camoitana amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis prezidentis weril i: `pativcemul o batono Tavmj domarev, minda Tqven da qarTvel xal xs mivul oco saqarTvel os respublikis erovnul i dRis gamo... viziarebT ra Tavisufl ebisa da demokratiis Rirebul ebebs, imedi unda viqonioT, rom kidev ufro ganviTardeba saqarTvel os da amerikis Seerebul i Statebis da Cveni ori xal xis mWidro urTierToba-

aseTi Sinaarsis weril ebi, amerikel Ta mxridan moral uri mxardaWeris gamomxatvel i utyuari dokumentebi, imdrondel uSuqobaSi, usaxsrobaSi, total uri SimSil isa da sicivis viTarebaSi qarTvel i xal xis didi umetesobisaTvis momaval i keTil dReobis, Zl ieri mfarvel isa da megobris gverdSi dgomis, arsebul i siZnel eebis SedarebiT advil ad gadal axvis imedi iyo. amitomac saqarTvel oSi warmateba ar mohyva yofil i xel isufl ebis momxreebis antiamerikul gamosvl ebs, paskvil ebs j orj beikeris Temebze, msvl el obebsa da demonstraciebs, roml ebsac isini j. beikeris Tbil isSi yofnisas Tbil isis central ur magistral ebze atarebdnen sakmaod intensiurad¹⁰.

sityvier gancxadebebs Zal ian mal e mohyva amerikel i xal xis uangaro material uri daxmarebac: 500 tona sursaTi, 33 tona – samedicino aRWurvil oba. amerikis mxarem gamoZebna resursi, rom umZimes viTarebaSi Sesyidul iyo xorbal i da is saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis dasaxmarebl ad gamoegzavnaT. amerikis SeerTebul ma Statebma (masTan erTad, Turqetma, germaniam da sxva qveynebma) saqarTvel os mosaxl eoba imJamad aSkara SimSil s gadaarcines da Seqmnes material uri safuZvel i axal i saqarTvel os mSenebl obisaTvis.

oficial ur del egaciebs Zal ian mal e mohyva biznesmenTa didi j gufebi, daiwyo saqmiani urTierTobebisaTvis safuZvl is Cayra.

yovel dRiurad ufro mtkicdeboda da axal Sina-
arss izenda oficial uri urTierTobebi saqarTvel o-
sa da aSS xel isufli ebas Soris. weril ebi amerikisa
da saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis maRal i rangis pirebs
Soris sul ufro emsgavseboda megobrul s, keTil i
survil ebiT gamTbars. ai amis erTi magal iTi: `pativ-
cemul o batono Tavmj domarev,... am weril iT minda ga-
giziaroT Cemi mosazreba hel sinkSi evropis uSiSroe-
bisa da TanamSroml obis TaTbiris da momavl is miz-
nebis gamo. minda gaiTxraT rogorc uerTgul ebs ame-
rika hel sinkis process da rogorc SeiZl eba vimoqme-
doT erTobl ivad...~

e.i. amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis - msofli ioSi
yvel aze didi da Zl ieri saxel mwifos pirvel i piri
saqarTvel os naxebradl egitimur xel isufal s eTaT-
bireba, rCevas ekiTxeba msofli io mniSvnel obis pol i-
tikuri sakiTxebis Sesaxeb. amerikis xel mZRvanel is es
nabiji dipl omatiuri SorsmWvretel obis TvasaCino
magal iTia. es aris oficial uri ganxadeba imaze,
rom saqrTvel os xel isufli ebas mxol od maSin eqnebo-
da amerikis xal xisa da amerikis saxel mwifos mxar-
daWera, Tu saqarTvel o, misi xel isufli eba ar gada-
uxvevda erTxel miRebul pol itikur nebas - ibrZo-
l ebda Tavisufli ebisa da demokratiis principebis
cxovrebaSi dasamkvidrebl ad da ara marto fraziT,
aramed saqmiT ganaxorciel ebda qveyanaSi adami-
anis ufl ebebsa da Tavisufli ebebs.

dRes, saqarTvel os-amerikis SeerTebul i Statebs
Soris dipl omatiuri urTierTobis oci wl is iubi-
l is dReebSi am moxsenebis gamotana Tqvens samsj av-
roeze imitom dagvWirda, rom am oci wl is manZil ze
amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis pozicia ar icvl eboda
arc mistvis upirvel esi saxel mwifo principebis mi-
marT, arc saqarTvel os mimarT: amerikis SeerTebul i
Statebi mudam iyo da aris sakuTari qveynis pol iti-
kuri da ekonomikuri interesebis damcvel i, msofli io-
Si demokratiisa da Tavisufli ebisaTvis brZol is

avangardi da amasTan uryevad icavda qarTvel i xal - xisaTvis erTxel micemul fics – iyo mis gverdiT misi cxovrebis yvel a etapze.

samagierod amerikisaTvis micemul i principebis bol omde erTgul ebiT ar gamoirCeoda saqarTvel os arcerTi xel isufli eba, maTi demokratiul i frazeologi ver faravda avtoritarul i, antidemokratiul i martvis meTodebis kul tivirebis dauokebel survil ebs, pirovnebis ufl ebebisa da Tavisufli ebebis uxeSad darRvevis mcdel obebs.

zemoTqmul idan gamomdinare SeiZl eba konstatacia gavakeToT:

1. amerikis SeerTebul i Satetebi mtkiced icaven sakuTari qveynis politikur da ekonomikur interesebs da amasTan arian msolfioSi demokratiul i principebis, adamianis ufl ebebisa da Tavisufli ebebis mxardamWerni da damcvel ni.

2. saqarTvel os xel isufli ebasTan damokidebul ebaSi amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis administracia mudam amodioda mistvis fuZemdebl uri principidan, Tu ramdenad bol omde erTgul ebda saqarTvel os nebi smieri xel isufli eba demokratiul principebs, adamianis ufl ebebsa da Tavisufli ebebs.

3. saqarTvel os xel isufli ebas (moxsenebaSi ganxilul or matgans) aSS administracia mxars uWerda an ar uWerda demokratiul i faseul obebisadmi maTi damokidebul ebis xarixis mixedvit. amitomac pirveli i xel isufli ebisadmi kritikul i damokidebul eba amerikis administraciis mxridan SeiZl eba aixsnas saqarTvel oSi swored moCvenebiTi demokratiis kul tivirebiT, qveyanaSi avtoritarul i rejimis nisnebis gaceniT da am faqtisadmi xel isufli ebis loial uri damokidebul ebiT.

4. aSS administraciამ mxari dauwira, cno da aRiara saqarTvel oSi ganxorciel ebul i radikal uri politikuri cvlil eba axal i xel isufli ebis mier demokratiul i faseul obebisadmi misi principul i er-

Tgul ebis dadasturebis safuZvel ze. roca saqarTvel os xel isufli ebis es principul i pozicia Seicval a, aseve Seicval a amerikis administraciis damokidebul ebac (miviReT e.w. `vardebis revolucia-).

5. aSkaraa, saqarTvel os xel isufli eba ver axerxebes demokratiul i faseul obebisadmi, adamianis ufl ebebisa da Tavisufli ebesadmi xangZl iv erTgul ebas – amis mizezi Zal aufl ebis uzurpaciis, pol itikuri Secdomebis, danaSaul is, Tavisufal i azris CaxSobis, ukanonobis eskalaciis Sedegebisadmi pasuxismgebl obis Tavidan acil ebis dauokebel survil Si unda veZeboT. saqarTvel os xel isufli eba xdeba tyve sakuTari Secdomebisa da danaSaul is, rasac is swored demokratiul i faseul obebisa ignorirebis viTarebaSi sCadis, amitomac xel isufli ebis Canacvl eba, demokratiul i principebis safuZvl ze legitimaciis gadacema sxva pol itikuri Zal istvis mistvis `damokl es maxvili- xdeba, amas is sikvdil iviT ufrTxis da aqedan gamomdinare kidev ufro Rrmad efl oba avtoritarizmis WaobSi. aSkaraa, rom am seniT iyo da aris daavadebul i saqarTvel os samive xel isufli eba. aqedan gamosaval i mxol od erTia – WeSmariti demokratia saqmiT da ara sityviT, misi urRvevobis garantiebis deklarireba saqmiT da ara sityviT.

6. saqarTvel os social ur-ekonomikuri zeaRmavali i ganviTarebis safuZvel i unda gaxdes sakuTari SesaZl ebl obebze dayrdnobiT, saqarTvel os yvel a megobrisa da keTil mosurnis daxmarebiT da daxardaWerit, iseTi pol itikurie rejimis damkvidreba, roml ebic mTI ianad Seesabameba demokratiul pincipebs, pirovnebis ufl ebebisa da Tavisufli ebebs. sxva gza ar arsebobs. amrigad, Cven yvel aferi Tavidan unda daviwyoT...

TWO GOVERNMENTS-TWO APPROACHES
(The attitude of the US state administration towards the processes
occurring in Georgia in 1991-1992 years)

The position of US state administration towards the processes in Georgia in 1991-1992 years is still a subject of discussion in one part of Georgian society: America didn't recognize the "legitimate" president of Georgia, considering him to "swim against the current". However, it accepted and supported the government that came with force through "peoples-democracy uprising". The aim of the paper is to show that:

1. The United States of America strongly defends its political and economic interests and additionally, they tend to endorse democratic principles, human rights and freedoms all over the world.

2. Regarding the relationship with Georgian government, the main principle of the US administration always was to consider whether any government of Georgia could devote the democratic principles, human rights and freedoms.

3. Georgian government (the two of them discussed in the paper) was supported or not by the US administration according to their approach to democratic values. Therefore, the critical attitude towards the first government could be explained with the existence of pretended democracy in Georgia, showing the signs of authoritarianism in the country and the loyal position of the government to this fact.

4. The US administration accepted and recognized radical political change in the country by the new government assuring its commitment to democratic ideals. After altering this principal position of the government, the standpoint of the US administration was also changed (the result was the "Rose Revolution")

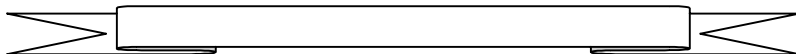
5. It's obvious that Georgian government doesn't manage to be loyal to democratic values, human rights and freedoms for a long time-the reason of this can be found in their unfolding will of avoiding responsibility over the results of usurpation of power, political mistakes, crimes, suppressing free opinion and escalation of illegitimacy. The government of Georgia becomes the slave of its mistakes made in the times of ignorance of principles of democracy. Therefore, the

change of government-transferring the legitimacy to another political power becomes “a sword of Damocles” for them. Scaring and avoiding it, they tend to immerse into authoritarianism more deeply. It’s clear that all three governments of Georgia have had the same feature. The solution of this lies in the genuine democracy focused on action, not only words, the guarantee of its inviolability with actions.

6. Relying on its own resources, with support of all friends and allies of Georgia, the base of the country’s social-economic development should become the establishment of such a political regime that would fully conform with democratic values, human rights and freedoms. There’s no other way, we should start from the beginning...

damowmebul i wyaroebi da literatura:

1. `saqarTvel os respubl ika", 1991, 11 ianvari.
2. `saqarTvel os respul ika", 1991, 30 marti.
3. `saqarTvel os respubl ika", 1991, 26 maisi.
4. `droni", 1991 20 seqtemberi.
5. saqarTvel os central uri saistorio arqivi, f. 1165, aR. 8, saq. 2954, furc. 8.
6. `saqarTvel o", 1991 w. 20 dekemberi.
7. `qarTvel i eri", 1991 w. #20.
8. `saqarTvel os respubl ika", 1992, 10 ianvari.
9. `iberia-speqtri", 1992, 9-15 april i.
10. `iberia-speqtri", 28 maisi – 3 ivnisi.



nana xazaraZe, nana baxsol i ani

**saxel mwi fos usafrTxoebi s dacvis
Zvel axl oaRmosavl uri
model is rekonstruqci isatvis**

xel isufal Ta mier saxel mwifos usafrTxoebis dacvaze zrunva drosa da sivrceSi universal uria. am Tval sazrisiT, pirvel magal iTebS Zvel axl o aRmosavl eTSi vxvdebiT. saxel mwifos mesveurebi sxvadasxva strategias mimarTavdnen.

Zv. w. II-I aTaswl eul is Zvel axl oaRmosavl uri (xeTuri, xuritul i, asurul -babil onuri, ieroglifur-I uviuri, urartul i da Zvel berZnul i) weril obiT i Zegl ebis da Zvel i axl oaRmosavl eTis qveynebis teritoriaze Catarebul i arqeol ogiuri kvl eva-Ziebis Sedegad mopovebul i masal is urTierTSej ereba da anal izi gviCvenebS, rom am Tval sazrisiT Catarebul i RonisZieბანი stereotipul ia. upirvel es yovl isa, yuradReba eqceoda saxel mwifoebis, dedaqal aqebis, msxvil i dasaxl ebul i punqtebis, sakul to centrebis sazRvrebis dacvas. am mizniT, xel isufleba uzrunvel yofda strategiul i mniSvnel obis cixe-simagreebis aRmSenebl obas. samxedro daniSnul ebis am nagebobebS, rogorc wesi, qveynis dominant i eTnosis warmomadgenl ebi emsaxurebodnen. am aspeqt iT, yuradRebas, Zvel axl oaRmosavl uri qveynebis arqeol ogiuri kvl eva-Zieბების Seswavl is Sedegebi im saxurebS. ase, magal iTad, dRes ukve kargadaa cnobil i, rom qal aq suzas masiuri gal avani hqonda garSemortymul i da iqve mdinaris piras agebul i citadel ic e. w. `xal cuc` Tavdamsxmელ ებისაგან sagangebod icavda. cikl opuri

tipis nagebobebi T iyo dacul i Zvel axl oaRmosavl uri meore mniSvnel ovani centri – nuzi [1, 52].

xeTuri cixe-simagreebic, did kl dovan borcvebze iyo ganl agebul i. dResac sanimuSod iTvl eba buiuq-kal es cixe-simagre taZrebiT, mefisa da dedofl is rezidenciebiT, farTo gal avniTa da mZl avri al ayafis karebiT, romel ic erT mTl ian arqiteqturul ansambl s qmnida [4, 156].

urartusU cixe-simagreebi sxvadasxva daniSnul ebisa iyo: xSir SemTxvevaSi es iyo TavdacviTi, administraciul i centri, zogic didi l aSqrobis mosamzadebel bazas warmoadgenda.

TavdacviTi nagebobani Znel ad misadgom adgil ebSi, maRal borcvebze an cicabo kl deebze iyo agebul i. argiSTiuna sargon II-is warweraSi `Zl ier" cixe-simagred moixsenieba, romel ic `varskvl avis msgavsad el varebda" da misi simaRl e 120 metrs aRwevda.

arqeol ogiuri monacemebis Tanaxmad, cixe-simagris kedl is sisqe 3 metrs Seadgenda. TeiSebainis cixe-simagre 120-dan 150-mde nagebobas moicavda. simagres ori Sesasvl el i hqonda samxreTidan da Crdil o-dasavl eTidan. Cveni azriT, am mxareebis upiratesoba mosal odnel i politikuri saSiSroebis gamo eniWebodaT. WiSkrebi rogorc fexiT mosiarul eTaTvis, aseve oTxTval a etl isaTvis iyo gaTvl il i. kedl ebi al iziT, yovel gvare duRabis gareSe iyo naSeni. cixe-simagris ganuyofel nawil s kontrfirsebi da masiuri koSkebi Seadgendnen. kedl ebis simaRl e sxvadasxva adgil as 6-dan 12 metramde meryeobda [2, 34].

aranakl ebi mniSvnel oba eniWeboda sadazvervo samsaxurs, romel Ta warmomadgenl ebi sasazRvro zol Si aqtiur moRvaweobas eweodnen: mezobel i qveynebis teritoriaze agrovebdnen informacias da special uri arxebiT operatiul ad gadascemdnen centrs. am mxriv, Zal zed sayuradRebo monacemebis gvawdian Zv. w. VIII-VI ss-iT daTariRebul i asurul i tegstebi, sadac skrupul ozuradaa aRweril i urartu-asureTis

sazRvarze ganl agebul i asureTis sadazvervo aparatis mierzibul i monacemebi. aranaki eb mniSvnel ovani al baT isicaa, rom am sadazvervo samsaxuris saTaveSi sxvadasxva dros asureTis mefebebis usual o memkvidreebi (sinaqeribi, asarqadoni, asurbanifali...) idgnen. `me movaTavse Seni maJordormi [Cems] saxl Si. aseTia asuricuas Setyobineba. Sul mubeli, damxmarsaxel mwifo uwyebaSi CemTan movida da miTxra: urzanim momwera: rodesac urartus mefe movida gamirSi, misi jari mowyda. ol qis mmarTveli uasi moklesi. Cven jer kidevar gvaqvs informacia, rogorc ki miviRebT, maSinve gamovgzavni Setyobinebas"; `dae mefes hqondes keTil dReoba, keTil dReoba asureTs, keTil dReobataZrebs, keTil dReoba mefis yvela cixesimagres. ukiecma momwera: roca urartus mefe gamirSi gaemarta, misi jari mTliand mowyda. misi 11 ol qis mmarTveli Tavianti jart ukugdebulia. misi [turtani] da ori ol qis mmarTveli tyved Cavarda...aseTia ukiecis Setyobineba. asuricuam momwera: urartus Sesaxeb rom mogwere...axla maTi qveyana wynaradaa, misi yvela didebuli wavida Tavis ol qSi. kakadanu, misi turtani tyved Cavarda...nabul eim, birates ol qis mmarTveli ma momwera: cixesimagrebebis garnizonTa ufrosebs, romlebic sazRvarzea urartus mefis Taobaze Setyobineba davwere. roca is gaemarta gamirSi, misi jari damarcxda, misi 3 didebuli Tavianti jart damarcxda. TviTon is gaiqca da mivida Tavis qveyanaSi. misi 1 asqari jer kidevar misula. aseTia nabul eis Setyobineba"; [16, 167, 171]. sinaqeribis garda, sargon II-s sadazvervo xasiaTis informacias sxva pirebic awvidnen. ase, magalitad, asuricuas, romelic kumes ol qis mmarTveliiyo, sargon II-s Semdegs amcnobs: `...dae keTil dReoba hqondes Cems mefes, batons. guriana urartusa da gamirs Soris mdebare ol qi. igi urartus xarks uxdis. roca urartu gamiris winaarmdeg gaemarta, aman urartus marcximoutana. yvela brZola, romelic aqedan [gaiqnen] guriasi... roca [urartus mefem] Ta-

visi mtrisgan [gaiqca?...] 8 aTasi [meomari] Tovl i? [ol qis mmarTvel ebi?] urartel ebi, roml ebic [...] ase Tu ise (an winaaRmdeg) urartus mefis [...] es ol qis mmarTvel ebi [...] mefis Tval ebSi [...] cixe-simagreebi [...] mefem, Cemba batonma [Tqva?...] movida [...] Sikrikebi movl en maT winaaRmdeg [zurgamde?] cnoba mefeze: igi tuS-faSi" [16, 177-178]. aseTive xasiaTisaa asureTis mefe asarqadonisadmi mowodebul i sadazvervo weril obiTi informacia, romel ic asaxul ia asarqadonis saxel iT Sedgenil `prizmebze", `cil indrebze", Til -barsifis stel aze, babil onur `qronikaSi", aSuris orakul isadmi dasmul SekiTxvebSi da a. S. anal ogiur viTarebas vadasturebT asarqadonis mefobis drosac.

zemoaRniSnul Tan erTad, qveynis usafRTxoebis dacvis mizniT, sxva, kargad mofiqrebul i da gaTvl i l i strategiAc xorciel deboda. mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs samxedro operaciebis dros tyvedCavardnil Ta (qal ebi, mamakacebi, yrmebi) qveynis central ur raionebSi gadmosaxl ebis tradiciadqceul i praqtika. rogorc xeTur, aseve asurul da urartul wyaroebSi, ZiriTadad, `anal ebis" tipis weril obiT Zegl ebSi ama Tu im samxedro operaciis aRwerisadmi miZRvnil konteqstebis daskvniT nawil ebSi tyved Cavardnil Ta raodeno-basTan erTad xSiradaa xazgasmul i sakuTari qveynidan maTi ayrisa da gamarj vebul i qveynis dedaqal aqSi, central ur Sida raionebSi maTi gadasaxl ebis Sesaxeb [11, 86]. ase, magal iTad, deportirebul i mosaxl eobis qveynis centrSi gadasaxl ebis Sesaxeb cno-bebs pirvel ad adreul i xaniT daTariRebul xeTur l ursmul teqstebSi vxvdebiT. `aniTas teqstis" mixedviT, `fiusTi, me[fe] q. xATisa Semdeg meored mo[vida... (TviTon fiusTi)] da damxmareni misi, roml ebic man moyvana, isini [sal amfaSi] davamarcx. q. sal aTivarasken saxe mivab[rune] ... da q. sal aTivaras winaaRmdeg sa[omari etl ebi?] da razmebi Seikriba da isini q. nes[as amoviyvane] [9, 105-106]. sakvl ev sakiTxTan dakavSiRebiT umniSvnel ovanesia xeTebis Zvel i samefos

istoriis amsaxvel i Tel ifinus teqstic: `igi (mursil i) xal fas gaemarTa da xal fa daangria, xol o xal - fas namra (=deportirebul ebi) da misi avl a-dideba xaTusaSi Camoitana. Semdgomad amisa ki igi babil ons gaemarTa da babil oni daangria. babil onis namra da avl a-dideba xaTusaSi Camoitana" [5, 179]. anal ogiuri viTareba dasturdeba TuTxal ia I/II-is `anal ebSi": `Camotvl il i qveynebi, roml ebic [mtru]l ad iyvnen ganwyobil i, RvTaebebma me gadmomces. yvel a es qveyana xel T vigde da gamozevebul i mosaxl eoba, msxvil fexa da wvril fexa saqonel i, qveynebis qoneba xaTusaSi wavasxi". aseTive monacemebi ramdenimegzis mowmdeba `suffil ul iumas saqmeni"-s fragmentebSi: `qvemo qal aqidan man wamoiyvana mosaxl e[oba], vercxl i, oqro da brinj aos nivTebi da waasxa qal aq xaTusaSi. wartyvevnil ebis ricxvi, romel ic man sasaxl eSi moiyvana, sami aTas samasocdaaTi iyo. [maSin roca] isini, roml ebic xe[Tebma] moiyanes (saxl Si), [uricxvi iyo]". amgvარი qmedeba intensiur xasiaTs xeTebis axal i samefos drosac izens. mursil i II-is aTvl ian `anal ebSi" Semdegs vadasturebT: `qasqebis qveynis qal aqma TurmiTamomi gamomicxada da ... me Semdeg qasqebis qal aqi kvl av movida da dausrul ebel i TavdasxmebiT mawuxebda maSin, Cemma mzem, gaviI aSqre mis winaaRmdeg. qasqebis mTavar qal aqebis, xal il asa da dudusqas TavS davesxi. xel T vigde wartyvevnil i mosaxl eoba, msxvil fexa da wvril fexa saqonel i da isini qal aq xaTusasken wamovasxi"; `mTel i arcavas mosaxl eoba gaiqca. ...yvel a RvTaeba gverdsi medga da me ...davamarcxex. im wartyvevnil i mosaxl eobis ricxvi, romel ic me wamovasxi 15 500 iyo, xol o fexosani da cxenosani I aSqari iyo uTvl el i. maSin gavgzavne wartyvevnil i mosaxl eoba qal aq xaTusaSi da isini adgil ze miiyanes"; `wartyvevnil i mosaxl eoba, roml ebic mdinare sexas qveyanaSi iyvnen 4000. isini qal aq xaTusaSi gavgzavne." `...figainaresas qveyana [gada]vawvevine. wartyvevnil i mosaxl eoba, msxvil fexa da wvril fexa saqonel i ki

xel T vigde da q. xaTusaSi wamovasxi"; `...xel T vigde qal aqi arifsa da duqama brZol iT. im wartyvevnil i mosaxl eobis ricxvi, romel ic samefo sasaxl eSi wamovasxi, 3000 iyo" [10, 20, 44, 73, 88, 90, 92, 95, 96]. aseTi-ve viTareba mowmdeba Zv. w. II-l aTaswl eul is asurel mefeTa cxovrevisa da moRvaweobisadmi miZRvnil l ursmul tegstebSi. ase, magal iTad, sargon II e. w. `sadResaswaul o warweraSi" gvamcnobs: `SinuxTuel ma kiakim, romel mac gadaigdo uRel i RvTaeba aSurisa da SeaCera Tavisi Sesawiri, [sargonma] tyved igdo mi-si 30 etl osani 7350 meomari ... me waviyvane asureTSi". sargon II `anal ebSi" xazgasmiT miuTiTebS: `...ambarisi, biT-burutaSis mefe Tavis naTesavebsa da amal asTan erTad 100 orTval iT wamoviyvane aSurSi"; `...Tarxunazi da maTi mefe Tavis mebrZol ebTan erTad rkinis j aWvebiT davabi, xol o misi col i, vaJiSvil ebi da qal iSvil ebi 5000 tyve meomarTan erTad Cems qal aq aSurSi moviyvane" [11, 43, 45]; igives vadasturebT urartus mefeTa warwerebSi c. menuas warwera pirdapir miuTiTebS dapyrobel i qveynebidan mosaxl eobis dedaqal aqSi gadasaxl ebaze: `...me gavil aSqre qveyana l uxiunis - qveyana (tomi) erekuaxis, ... (romel ic j er aravis daupyria) momca RvTaeba xal dim ... zogi cocxal i waviyvane 1700 ... tuSfa qal aqSi"; `...gavemarTe qveyana erekuaxis winaaRmdeg, zogi davxoce, zogic cocxal i wamoviyvane..." [15. 76, 77]. argiSTi l-is matiane umniSvel ovanes statistikur monacemebS gvawvdis: `...sami qveyana (kada, SaSil u da aSkal aSi - n. x., n. b.) me movgl ij e, (maTi) mosaxl eoba Cems qveyanas mivumate: 15 aTas 181 yrma, 2734 mamakaci, 10 aTas 604 dedakaci"; `...gavemarTe me sal aSqrod arTamuris qveyanaze ... 11 aTas qal i, sul 20279 kaci zogi gavJl ite, zogi waviyvane"; `...me gavemarTe manas winaaRmdeg, brZol iT davi pyari, mivedi ... 18243 adamiani zogi gavJl ite, zogic cocxal i waviyvane". sardur II aseve agrZel ebs samaxsovro warwerebSi `sagmi ro saqmenis" aRni Snavs: `...qveyana ... me iqidan wamoviyvane kacebi da qal ebi, davdgi

iq warwera. 12610 yrma me waviyvane, 1829 cocxal i mama-
kaci, 7751 dedakaci"; `...gavemarTe me sal aSqrod arku-
kinis qveynis winaaRmdeg...cal ke kacebi da qal ebi me-
omrebs miveci. ai, rogori vaJkacoba Cavidine me iq:
10000 yrma wamoviyvane, 4600 mamakaci cocxal ad wamoviy-
vane" [8. 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 282, 287-8, 290, 294]. argiS-
Ti Il tanaatis warweraSi siamayiT aRniSnavs: `gamoc-
xadda Cems winaSe... eTiunis qveynis mefe, momca xarki,
Tavisi qveynis. ... aqedan mamakacebi, qal ebi me waviyva-
ne, qal aqi gadavvwi". rusa Il-is saxel iT Sedgenil
warweraSic igives vadasturebT: `...ganvdevne qal ebi
mtrul i qveynebidan... " [15. 325, 336].

Cveni azriT, deportirebul Ta gansaxl ebis aR-
niSnul i praqtika ramdenime mizans emsaxureboda:
upirvel es yovl isa, igi saxel mwifos saSual ebas aZ-
l evda dapyroabil i mosaxl eoba mudmivi kontrol is
qveS hyol oda. amasTanave, gamoeyenebina igi muSaxel is
da momsaxure personal is saxiT. da rac mTavaria, da-
eCqarebina maTi deeTnizacii procesi.

yradRebas saxel mwifos usafRTxoebis dacvis
kidev erT meqanizmze gavamaxvil ebT. esaa nakl ebad
dacul i erTi sasazRvro zol idan ukve aTvisebul me-
ore sasazRvro regionSi adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis
deportacia an qveynidan saerTod gaZeveba. saintere-
soa, vanis kl deze argiSTi I-is saxel iT Sesrul ebu-
l i warwera, sadac igi aRniSnavs: `miwa ukacriel i
iyo (?) (da) araferi ar iyo winaT iq agebul i. Zl eva-
mosil i saqmeni movimoqmede me iq xaTesa (da) cufanis
6 (?) aTas 600 meomari me iq davasaxl e". msgavs situa-
ciasTan gvaqvs saqme, rodesac urartus mefe rusa Il
urartus samxreT-dasavl eTiT mdebare muSqebis, xaTes
da xal itus qveynebidan iZul ebiT ayril mosaxl eobas
`RvTaeba ziukunis qveyanaSi" asaxl ebs: `rusa argiS-
Tis Ze ambobs: (me) ganvdevne qal ebi mtrul i qveynebi-
dan... (qveyana) muSqebis, xaTis (qveynidan), xal itus
(qveynidan)..." da savaraudod, isini aqve daasaqma [3, 45].
anal ogiur viTarebas vadasturebT aziTavaTas oreno-

van (ierogl ifur-l uviuri, finikiuri) cnobil warwe-
raSi yaraTefedan, sadac vkiTxul obT: `vZl ie cixe-si-
magreebi dasavl eTSi...me, aziTavaTam, davangrie isini
da aRvgave pirisagan miwisa. iq mcxovrebnI (Cemi qvey-
nis) aRmosavl eT sazRvarTan davasaxl e" [12, 110].

msgavs situacias vadasturebT babil onis mefe
nabuqodonosoris (Zv. w. 604-562 ww.) mefobis wl ebSi,
rodesac man j er Zv. w. 597 wel s iudeis mefe ioakimi
oj axiT da warCinebul ebiTurT daatyveva da babil on-
Si waiyvana, xol o Zv. w. 587 wel s ierusal imi, faqtob-
rivad, udabnod aqcia da iudeis mosaxl eobis 20% (Zi-
riTadad xel osnebi) babil onSi gadaasaxl a.

qveynis usafrToxebis dacvas emsaxureboda, ase-
ve, mezobel qveynebTan dadebul i xel Sekrul ebebis
cal keul i muxl ebic. am Tval sazrisiT, gansakuTre-
bul yuradRebas imsaxurebs xeTebSa da qasqebS/qaS-
qebS Soris oficial urad gaformebul i xel Sekrul e-
bebi, sadac punqtobrivadaa asaxul i xeTebis imperiis
moTxovnebi da maTi Seusrul ebl obis SemTxvevaSi mo-
sal odnel i mkacri sanqciebi. xel Sekrul eba qasqebS
aval debul ebda Semdegi pirobebi Seusrul ebinaT: Tu-
ki romel ime `mteri" (igul isxmebodnen xeTebisadmi-
mtrul ad ganwyobil i qasqebi) miuaxl ovdebodnen xe-
Tebis territorias, qasqebS maTTvis winaaRmdegoba un-
da gaewiaT da amave dros, yovel ive `mzisTvis" (mefe
- n. x., n. b.) SeetyobinebinaT; mokavSire qasqas teri-
toriazee xeTebis l aSgris gavl isas qasqebS mistvis
winaaRmdegoba ar unda gaewiaT; mas xeTebis mtris-
Tvis neba ar unda daerto qasqebis dasaxl ebaSi Semo-
sul iyo da mistvis puri da wyal i miwodebinaT; xe-
Tebis romel ime dasaxl ebis winaaRmdeg wamosul i
mtrisTvis qasqebS brZol a unda gaemarTaT, Tu isini
mters ver moereodnen, xeTebisaTvis macne unda gaeg-
zavnaT; mokavSire qasqebTan dadebul zogierT xel -
Sekrul ebaSi garkveul i adgil i ekava sakiTxs l tol -
vil Ta (gaqceul Ta) Sesaxeb. Tuki vinme xeTebis mefes
Seuracxyofda, xol o Semdeg mokavSire qasqas qveyana-

Si rogorc l tol vil i gaiqceoda, qasqebis igi unda SeepyroT da ukan daebrunebinaT. saintereso cnobebs Seicavs arnuvanda III-is mier qasqebTan dadebul i xel Sekrul ebac, sadac saubarria qasqebis mier damxmare razmebis raodenobis Sesaxeb: `qanu[...] da masTan erTad 190 meomari, kacebi [romel iRac dasaxl ebisa] sausqa [...] da masTan erTad 216 meomari, kacebi; nanaciTi, (romel ic aris) fiqurial i(?), kaci isxufiTadan da masTan erTad 5 kaci". rac Seexeba mkacr sanqciebs, es naTI ad Cans xaTusil i III-is xel Sekrul ebidan: Seiararebul i qveiti an etl osani qasqel i q. Til iuras ar unda Sesul iyo, Tu qasqel i Til iuras qal s iTxovda, maT qal aqi unda daetovebinaT, Tuki am qal aqSi qasqel i Rames gaaTevda da es cnobil i gaxdeboda, igi dil egSi unda CaegdoT, Semdeg ki daej arimebinaT xarebita da cxvrebit, Tu igi raime danaSaul s Caidenda an borot sityvas warmoTqvamda, aseTi qasqel i unda moespoT. Til iuras mezobel qasqebSi, savaraudod, gavrancel ebul i unda yofil iyo raRac avadmyofoba, risganac Tavi unda daecvaT Til iurel ebs [7, 73-88]. kidev erTi mniSnel ovani dokumentia mursil i II-is mier amurus mmarTvel dufi-TeSubTan dadebul i xel Sekrul eba, romel ic miznad Crdil oet siriaSi xeTebis poziciebis ganmtkicebas isaxavda. igi e. w. `vasal ur" xel Sekrul ebaTa kategorias gane-kuTvneba da pirdapir miuTitebs deportirebul ebTan dakavaSirebul i probl emuri sakiTxebis mogvarebis iq arsebul sistemaze: `Tuki romel ime qveynis mcxovrebi anda l tol vil i adgeba da xaTis qveynisaken gamoiwevs da Sens qveyanaze gamoivl is, igi Sen uvnebl adswor gzaze daayene, xaTis qveynisken gza ucvene da mas kargi sityvebi uTxari. sxvagan ki arsad ar gagzavno. magram Tuki Sen maT (swor) gzaze ar daayeneb da maT xaTis qveynis gzas ar miuTiteb, Sen (amiT) fics daarRrev... SemdgomSi Tuki l tol vil i [Sens qveyanaSi] mova, Tuki Sen moisureb, raime mas waartva, (amis Sesaxeb) xaTis mefes daekitxe... SemdgomSi Tuki

I tol vil i [Sens qveyanaSi] mova, Seipyre igi..." momdevno teqsti dazianebul ia da xel Sekrul eba mTavrdeba `aTasi RvTaebis" moxmobiT da krul vis tradi-ciul i formul iT: `RvTaeba qul iTa, xaTis zababa, mTani, mdinareni, didi zRva, ca, da dedamiwa, qari Rrubl ebi... iyvnen am ficis mowmeni. dae dufi-TeSubi Tavisi TaviTurT, meuRI iTurT, Svil iTurT... am ficma gaanadguros!" [6, 201]

saxel mwifos usafrTxoebis dacvis erT-erT meTods, qveynidan arasando el ementebis gaZevebac war-moadgenda. zemoT moxseniebul i aziTavaTas warweraSi xazgasmiTaa aRniSnul i, rom man daamxo `TviTdj erebul ni da borotni, qveyanaSi rom iyvnen. gavaZeve isini qveynidan..." [12, 110].

Zvel i axl oaRmosavl eTis qveynebis mefebs sru-l ad hqondaT gacnobierebul i, Tu ra safrTxis Sem-cvel i iyo qveyanaSi gavr cel ebul i sxvadasxva saxis epidemia. aRniSnul is konteqstSi gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imsaxurebs xeTebis mefe mursil i II-is (Zv. w. 1318-1290 ww.) sakmaod kargad cnobil i himni da l ocva arinas mzis RvTaebisadmi, romel ic, rogorc varau-doben, xeTebis samefoze Tavsdaxel i ubedurebis - Savi Wirisagan `dacvis" mizniTaa Sedgenil i. sakmaod STambeWdavia am teqstis cal keul i pasaJebi. mursil i II muq ferebSi gvixatavs qveyanaSi Savi Wiris Sedegad Seqmnil situacias: `RvTaebebo, es ra CaidineT? Savi Wiri gaavr cel eT da mTel i xaTis qveyana amowydal amis Sedegad aRaravis SeuZl ia TqvenTvis Sesawiri purisa da Rvinis morTmeva. gl exebi, roml ebic RvTae-baTa mindvrebsa da yanebs amuSavebdnen, amowydnen. ve-Raravin iRebs mosaval s. mewisqvil e qal ebi, roml e-bic RvTaebebisaTvis `sqel " purebs acxobdnen xol me, isinic amowydnen. ... xarebis da cxvrebis mwyemsebic amowydnen, maT miatoves bosl ebi (da) gomurebi" [9, 86]. l ocvisa da himnis daskvniT nawil Si mefe arinas mzis RvTaebas vedrebis sityvebiT mimarTavs: `arinas mzis qal RmerTo, Sen amistvis mogixmobT!... gaWirve-

bul ma [dae kvl av icocxl os!] [mursil i - mefes da] xaTis qveyanas [sikeTe] mouvl inel... sicocxl e, j anmrTe[l oba, Zal a], momaval Si [sixarul i] da [dReg-rZe]l oba uboZe!" [9, 88]. gansakuTrebiT saintereso isaa, rom amave l ocvaSi mursil i ll arinas mzis RvTaebas ara mxol od Tavisi qveynis gadarCenas SesTxovs Savi Wirisagan, aramed mis samefosTan dapirispirebul qveynebsi anal ogiuri ubedurebis datrial ebas: `Tqven, RvTaebebo, kvl av Seiwyal eT xaTis qveyana, romel sac, erTis mxriv, Savi Wiri daeufl a da, meores mxriv, mterma Seaviwrova. garSemo Tanaswori qveynebi - maT Soris miTani da arcava... isini RvTaebebs aRar emsaxurebian da fics arRveen. isini taZrebis gaZarcvas cdil oben. ukve es unda gaxdes RvTaeBaTaTvis Surisgebis (mizezi). Savi Wiri, SuRl i, SimSil i da damRupvel i gval va gaavr cel eT miTanis da arcavas qveynebsi, dovl aTian da SfoTisTav qveynebsi! xaTis qveyana ki j angacl il ia. ixseniT es j angacl il i (qveyana), ayvavebul (qveyanas) ki qedi moaxrevineT! xaTis qveynis kuTvnil ma qveynebma - qasqam, Rorebis mwyemsebi da mTel avebi rom iyvnen, aravanam, qal asmam, l ukam (da) fiTasam, xarkis gadaxdaze uari Tqves da xaTis qveyanaze Tavdasxma kvl av daapires. ... dae, es arinas mzis qal RmerTis SurisZiebis (mizezi) gaxdes! [9, 87].

kvl eva-Ziebis procesSi isic gairkva, rom Zvel i axl oaRmosavl eTis qveynebis usafrTxoebis dacvis mizniT provinciebadqceul dapyrobil qveynebsi pirvel pirebad ara dominant i eTnosis warmomadgenel s, aramed iran is mefesTan axl o naTesaur urTierTobaSi myof pirebs niSnavdnen. am aspeqt iT sayuradRebo cnobebi herodotes (Zv. w. V s.) da Zvel berZen sxva avtorTa Txzul ebebmac Semogvinaxa.

iranSi aqemeniduri dinastiis damfuZnebl is darios l-is behistunis cnobil i warwerisgan gansxvavebit, sadac mis mier dapyrobil i 23 qveynis CamonaTvals vxvdebit, magram am qveynebis pirvel pirTa Sesaxeb informacia ar saxel deba [13, 358-363], herodotes

`istoriis" mowmobiT, yvel a dapyrobiL qveyanaSi pir-
 vel pirebad qveynis centridan gamogzavnil i, mefes-
 Tan daaxl oebul i, warmoSobiT sparsel i moxel eebi
 idgnen. Aase magal iTad, `sparsel ebi... moiyvana maTma
 gamgebel ma otanesma, romel ic qserqsesis meuRI is,
 amestrisis mama iyo... midiel ebs gamgebl ad hyavdaT
 tigranesi, aqaÁmenidi... kisiel ebs ganagebda anafesi,
 otanesis Ze, xol o winamZRol ad hyavdaT megapanosi,
 Semdeg babil onis meurve... qal deebi, ganagebda maT
 otaspesi artaqaÁesis Ze... baqtriebsa da sakebs gana-
 gebda histaspesi, Svil i dariosisa da kirosis asu-
 l is atosasi... indoel ebs ufrosad farnaZaTres arta-
 batesis Ze iyo dayenebul i... parTebSa da xorasmiebs
 artabaZosi, farnakesis Ze, sogdebs - aZanesi, artaÁo-
 sis Ze, gandariebsa da dadikebs - artifiOSi, artaba-
 nesis Ze ganagebdnen... kaspiebs winamZRol ad hyavdaT
 ariomardosi, artifiOSis Zma. sarangebs ganagebda fe-
 rendates megabaZosis Ze. Paqtiebs gamgebl ad hyavdaT
 artaintes iTamitresis Ze. utiebsa da mikebs - arsame-
 nesi, dariosis Ze, xol o parikaniebs - siromitres
 oÁobaZosis Ze. arabebsa da eTiopebs ganagebda arsame-
 si, dariosisa da artistones (kirosis asul is) Svi-
 l i... l ibiel ebs gamgebl ad hyavdaT masages oarizosis
 Ze... pafI agonel ebsa da matienebs dotosi ganagebda,
 megasidrosis Ze, xol o mariandinebs, l igiebsa da si-
 riel ebs - gobriesi, dariosisa da artistones Svi-
 l i... frigiel ebs marTavda artoqmesi, romel sac da-
 riosis asul i hyavda col ad... l idiel ebsa da misie-
 l ebs ganagebda artafrenesi, Svil i im artafrenesis,
 romel ic maraTonSi SeiWra datisTan erTad. aziel
 Trakiel ebs ganagebda basakesi, artabanosis Ze... xal i-
 bebs... kabel -meÁonebs, mil iebs... yvel a amaT ganagebda
 badresi, histanesis Ze... mosxebsa da tibarenebs - ari-
 omardosi, romel ic dariosis da parmisis Svil i iyo,
 makronebsa da mosinoÁkebs ganagebda artaiktesi, ma-
 rebsa da kol xebs ganagebda farandates teaspisis Ze...

al arodiel ebsa da saspeÁrebs ganagebda masistiosi siromi tressis Ze" (Herodotus, VII,61-80) [14,431-435].

Cvens mier moZiebul i Zvel axl oaRmosavl uri, sxvadasxaenovan weril obiT Zegl ebSi damowmebul i monacemebi, romel Tac sisrul is pretenzia ar gaaCnia, saSual ebas gvaZl evs qarTul istoriografiaSi, faqtobrivad, pirvel ad dasmul i probl emis Zvel axl oaRmosavl uri saxel mwifoebis usafrTxoebis dacvis model is rekonstruqciaSi garkveul i wvl il i Seitanos.

migvaCnia, rom sakvl eevi probl ema aqtual uri da mniSvnel ovani ara mxol od Zvel axl oaRmosavl uri saxel mwifoebis istoriis, aramed msopl ioSi dRes mimdinare pol itikuri procesebis Tval sazrisiTacaa.

N. KHAZARADZE, N. BAKHSOLIANI

ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MODEL OF PROTECTION OF STATE SECURITY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

The care for the protection of state security by authorities is universal in time and space. Comparison and analysis of written monuments of the Ancient Near East of the 2nd-1st millennia BC (Hittite, Hurrian, Assyrian-Babylonian, Hieroglyphic-Luwian, Urartian, Greek) show that the measures taken in this regard are stereotyped. First of all, attention was paid to the protection of the borders of states, capitals, major settlements and religious centres. For this purpose, the authorities constructed fortresses of strategic importance. As a rule, representatives of the dominant ethnic group of the country served these constructions of military purpose.

The authors attach no less importance to the reconnaissance service, the representatives of which worked actively on the border line: on the territory of neighboring countries they collected information and promptly passed it to the centre through special channels.

In order to protect the country security, traditional practice of resettling persons (women, men, children) taken prisoner during military operations to central regions of the country took place. This allowed the state to keep the conquered population under constant control, in addition, to use it as workforce and servants as well, and, what is the most important, to accelerate the process of its de-ethnization.

The authors paid attention to one more aspect of protection of the state security, in particular, deportation of the local population from one less protected border zone to another already developed border region, or its expulsion from the country altogether.

In the context of the materials obtained by the authors it has become clear that diplomatic treaties concluded with neighbouring countries also facilitated protection of the security of the country. These treaties regulated rules of movement of refugees from a foreign country.

The results of the conducted research lead the authors to the conclusion that the problem under study is relevant and important not only from the viewpoint of the history of states of the Ancient Near East, but the political processes going on in the world at present as well.

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pol itika da ideol ogi a Zvel SumerSi

mesopotamiis civil izacia erT-erTi uZvel esia msofl ioSi. aq daiwyo adami anma mdinareebis sanapiro-ebze mdebare axal i miwebis aTviseba, maTi damuSaveba, arxebis mSenebl oba. aq SeigrZno pirvel ad stiigiis winaSe SiSi da uZl ureba, aq daeufl a mas sakuTari umweobis, garkveul i garduval obis, bedisweris arsebobis SegrZneba. adami anisaTvis cxadi gaxda isic, rom am urTul esi samuSaoebis Sesrul ebas, bunebis Zal ebis SemotevisaTvis winaaRmdegobis gawevas, ramdenime oj axi, an Tundac gvari, damouki debl ad ver SesZl ebda. saWiro iyo xal xis erTobl ivi, mizandasa-xul i moqmedeba. es iyo al baT erT-erTi umTavresi mizezi tomTa didi gaerTianebebis Seqmni sa, sadac Camoyal ibdeboda is Zal a, romel ic saTaveSi Caudgeboda xal xis brZol as bunebis Zal Ta winaaRmdeg, dai cavda mas momTabare tomebis mudmivi Semotevebisgan.

samxreT mesopotamiaSi, SumerSi, daaxl oebi T Zv. w. IV aTaswl eul Si daiwyo qal aqebis warmoSoba. isini bunebriv borcvebze iyo ganl agebul i da xel ovnurad aSenebul i kedl ebiT iyo dacul i. yovel qal aq sakuTari mefe da mfarvel i Zal a hyavda. q. eridus sibrZnis RvTaeba enki mfarvel obda, nipurs _ enl i l i, l agaSs _ nin-girsu da a.S. daiwyo urbanizaciis Taviseburi procesi, romel ic patara qal aq-samefoebis warmoSobiT dasrul da. daiwyo sazogadoebis social uri diferenciacia qurumTa kastis dawinaureba @`samoqal aqo sazogadoebis" Camoyal ibeba, gaCndnen moxel eebi, skol aSi moRvaweni, swavl ul ebi, eqimebi. safuZvel i Caeyara samarTal s. magram xazgasmiT minda aRvniSno, rom es procesebi Seexo Sumeris ara mTel mosaxl eobas, aramed mxol od da mxol od mis mcire, el itur nawil s, romel mac qal aqebSi daiwyo Camoyal ibeba.

Cems interest imsaxurebs, Sumeris magal iTze ganvixil o is etapi, rodesac sazogadoeba gamodis arqaidan da ganvitarebis axal fazaSi, Zveli samefoebisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i kul turis sivrceSi Sedis. gansakutrebit sainteresoa is periodi, rodesac arqaul i da Zveli kul turebi erTmaneTis gverdit Tanaarseboben. rodis da rogor kargavs arqaiqa TanaTan Tavis mnisvnel obas, ra saxita da dozit ganagrZobs igi arsebobs axl ad Seqmnili Zveli kul turis mTli anobaSi.

adreul periodSi, SumerSi intensiurad mimdinareobda samyaros antropomorfizaciisa da personifikaciis procesi, rac ganzogadebul i adamiანი Tvisებების ბუნების მოვლენებზე, ciur მნათობებზე, ადამიანის მწარველ სულ ებზე გადანას გულ ისმობდა. sworeდ ამ პერიოდის ანარეკლი და იყოს Sumeris ხალხის ჯიქი xsovnaSi მტკიცედ არბეუდილი მითოლოგიური პირობა "me". იგი განსაზღვრებდა ზებუნებრივი იდუმალ ბიტი მოცული მათებს, რომლებიც განაგებდნენ სამყაროს. "me" გულ ისმობდა მოვლენის ან სიგნალის არა Zირიტად არს, არამედ არსებს, დედაარსებს. მას გარდასახვის გასაოცარი უნარი ჰქონდა, შეეძლო მიერო სხვადასხვა სიგნალის ან მოვლენის სხვა, მაგრამ ყველა შემთხვევაში ინარჩუნებდა Tavis უხილავ ტვისებებს, ბადაბდა განცდას, რომ სამყარო ცოცხალი და გასული დღემული იყო. ვ. აფანასიევის აზრით, "me"-ს უნარები უარმოდგენდნენ Zველი კულტურის ერთგვარ კატალიგს, რომელიც განსაზღვრული იყო მეფეთა და კურუმთა უფლებები და ფუნქციები, მორალი და მისი ანტიპოდეები, სეკსუალიური, ხელისუფლების ამსახველი კატორიები (1).

"me" უარმოდგენდა ყველა რვატების აუცილებელ ატრიბუტს. რვატება ენილი და ანი "me"-ს ტვისებები აქილ დოვებდნენ ყველა იმ რვატებას, რომელიც მათი აზრით, ამას იმსახურებდა. გარდა ამისა, "me" შეიქცადა აუცილებელი ვესებისა და კანონზომიერებათა იმ კომპლექსს, რომლებიც გადაეცემოდა რვატებს, რათა ისინი დამოცილებოდნენ.

nen aucil ebel gegmazomierebas, romel ic garduval i iyo da winaswar gansazRvrul i (2. 102-103).

al baT amitom, aqadur miTol ogiaSi `me"-s ukavSirdeboda rwmena bedisweraTa tabul is arsebobisa. es tabul a gansazRvravda samyaros moZraobas da istoriul i faqtebis Tanmimdevrobas. am sibrZnis daufleba da misi swori gamoyeneba uzrunvel yofda samyaroze batonobas da iq, aucil ebel i wesrigis arsebobas.

ganviTarebis am adreul safexurze ikveTeba sulieri kul turis kideverTi Tavisebureba _ Cndebian demiurgebi, e.w. kul turul i gmirebi, isini miwazec cxovrobdnen, zecazec adiodnen, adamianebs aziarednen maTi swori cxovrebiTvis aucil ebel kanonebs.

q. nipuris mfarveli RvTaeba enl il i ganicdeboda, rogorc `RmerTebis mama" da `bedisweris ganmsazRvrel i" Zal a. Sumerul literaturul Zeglebsi enl il i warmodgenilia, rogorc kul turul i gmiri, romlis pirdapiri moval eobaa aziaros kul turas adamiani. yuradRebas imsaxurebs Sumerul i literaturis cnobil i Zegli `guTnisa da Toxis gabaaseba". gamarTul dialogSi, TiToeul i matgani sakuTari upiratesobis damtkicebas cdil obs. isini mogviTxroben maT mier Sesrul ebul samuSaoebze, rogor agebdnen arxebes, aSrobdnen Waobebs, sayuradRebo is aris, rom am samuSaos isini enl il is saufleoSic asrul ebdnen. upiratesobas Toxs enl il i mianiWebs (2. 90-96).

SumerSi Seqmnil i `miwaTmoqmedis kal endari" Seicavs miwis damuSavebasTan arsebul i samuSaoebis arweras, izleva SromisaTvis aucil ebel instruqciebs. sainteresoa kal endaris dasasrul i da misi pirveli fraza _ dasabamier xanaSi miwaTmoqmedi aswavl is Tavis vaJs Sromis swori Sesrul ebisaTvis yvela wess, xolo kal endris bol oSi arniSnavs, rom es codna mas mTavari miwaTmoqmedis, RvTaeba enl il is vaJis nurnurtasagan hqonda miRebul i (2. 91)

Sumerul i miTebis Tanaxmad, enl il is Zal aufl eba mainc SezRudul i iyo. miTSi `enl il i da nini-

li" saubaria enl il is boboqar siyvarul ze ninl il is mimarT, romel ic upasuxod iyo darCenil i. enl il i Zal is gamoyenebiT daeufl eba mas, ristvisac sastikad daisaja da `ufrosi RvTaebelis" gadawyvetil ebiT qvesknel Si iqna gagzavnil i. ninl il i Tavisi nebiT gahyveba mas qvesknel Si. enl il i samjer Seicvl is saxes da `WiSkris mcvel is", `miwisqveSa mdinaris adamianis", an `menavis" saxiT, samjer daeufl eba ninl il s. igi sam RvTaebas Sobs, roml ebmac mudmivad qvesknel Si unda icxovron. Tavad enl il i mokvdavi da aRdgenadi RvTaebelis niSnebs iZens, datovebs qvesknel s da amis Semdeg dai kavebs Tavis kuTvnil adgil s.

enl il is mTavari epiTetebia kur-gal i-mZl avri mTa da mZl avri frialo kl de. enl il isadmi mimarTul l ocvebSi igi Sedarebul i iyo gareul xarTan, mZvinvare qariSxal Tan. mas adanaSaul ebdnen warRvna-sa da q. uris daRupvaSi. enl il is mTavar simbol os warmoadgenda rqebiT Semkul i tiara (l. 635-636).

ganviTarebis anal ogiur gzas q. eridus mfarveli i, RvTaeba enki c gavi l is. enki warmoadgenda dedamiwis da miwisqveS arsebul i mtknari wyl ebis gamgebel s, sibzZnisa da Sel ocvebis uzenaes Zal as. enki iyo yvel a `me"-sa da yvel a adamianis mfarveli. Sumerul miTebSi igi warmodgenilia, rogorc nayofierebis RvTaeba, kul turisa da sul ieri Rirebul ebebis damfuZnebel i. enki iyo adamianis Semqmnel i. misi daxmarebiT ecnoboda adamiani marcvl eul is, saqonl is, mcenareebis mniSvnel obas. cnobil i miTi `enki da samyaro" gadmogvcems Tu rogor mogzaurobda enki mTel s samyaroSi, anayofierebda miwas, aarsebda qal aqebis, gansazRvravda maT bedisweras. igi iyo guTnis, Toxisa da saaRmSeneblo aguris Semqmnel i. mis saxel s ukavSirdeba mebaReobisa da mebstneobis da fuZneba, sel is damuSavebis teqno l ogiis Seqmna.

cxadia, rom am novaciebs adamiani real ur cxovrebaSi eufl eboda, magram am procesebis Tavisebur dasabuTebas sakral ur samyaroSi eZebda.

Sumerul i RvTaeba utu (`sinaTI e", aqad. `mze") yovel dRiurad mogzaurobda dedamiwis garSemo, di- l i T mTebidan amodioda, Rames qvesknel Si atarebda. moinaxul ebda micval ebul ebs, awvdida maT sinaTI es, sakvebsa da dasal ev wyal s. utus gaazrebaSi, garTu- l ebul i saxiT, kosmogoniis aqti iyo nagul isxmebi. magram aSkarad igrZnoboda, rom micval ebul ebi qves- knel Si maradiul i yofniSTvis iyvnen ganwirul ni. mxol od RvTaeba inarCunebda qvesknel idan saaqaoSi amosvl is unars.

adamianis cnobierebaSi es umniSvnel ovanesi siax- l e mTel i sisrul iT inana _ iStaris mraval ricxovan Tavgadasavl ebSi iyo gamovl enil i. Sumerul da aqa- dur samyaroS i inana-iStari erT-erTi yvel aze popu- l arul i RvTaeba iyo. mas `cis qal batons" uwodeb- dnen da pl aneta venerasTan aigivebdnen. igi nadiro- bis, SuRI is, nayofierebis RvTaeba iyo. `es me var, Cems xal xs rom vSob" _ acxadebs inana erT-erT him- nSi. RvTaebis gaazrebaSi gansakuTrebul ad iyo xaz- gasmul i misi miwieri siyvarul is Zal a. amitom mas araerTi mewyvil e hyavda-mebaRe Sanl ul u, mebrZol i zubaba, mwyemsi an monadire dumuzi (Sumerul i Tamu- zi _ `WeSmariti Ze").

inanas kul ti da masTan dakavSirebul i miTebi warmoiSvnen gacil ebiT ufro adre vidre moxdeboda maTi weril obiTi fiqsacia. inanas gaazrebis uZvel esi pl asti srul ad iyo warmodgenil i Sumeris gamoyene- biTi xel ovnebis mxatvrul dekorSi, uris III dinasti- is epqis ritual uri WurWI is rel iefebze da adreu- l i xanis sabeWdavebze. am Zegl ebze inana, j ixvebTan, gvel ebTan da l omisebur cxovel ebTan erTad iyo ga- mosaxul i. inanas TavTan, misi umTavresi simbol o _ vardul i iyo (5. sur. 2. 3. 16. 17. 38).

RvTaeba enki inanas mianiWebs brZol is, ngrevis da ganadgurebis Zal as, mamakacebis mizidvis gansakuTre- bul unars; aj il dovebs mas mraval ricxovani samosiT. al baT amitom, inanas yvel a sayvarel i mis mier sasik-

vdil od iyo ganwirul i. Sumerul i miTebis zogierTi versiis Tanaxmad dumuzi qurcikad an gvel ad iyi qceul i, mebaRe i Sandu-obobad, gaborotebul i inana gil gameSs ciuri xaris saxiT moevl ina miTis am motivebSi SemorCenil ia inanas uZvel esi kavSiri cxovel Ta samyarosTan _ TiToeul i es cxovel i al baT inanas uZvel es zoomorful inkarnacias warmoadgenda.

cnobil ia miTis is variantebic, romel Ta Tanaxmad Tamuzi grZnobda moaxl oebul gansacdel s. saubaria grZneul sizmarzec, romel sac Tamuzi Tavis das uambobs: `l erwebi mexveodnen, maRal i xeebi maSinednen, Cemi gul i wyl iT dai fara, yvama gaitaca Cemi kverTxi, Sevardenma brWyal ebi Caaso batvans, karaqis sadRvebel Si aRar aris rZe. aRar aris Tamuzi cocxal Ta Soris, mis sxeul s qariSxal i gl ej s"*...

inanasTan dakavSirebul i miTis Sumerul versiebSi saubaria imazec, rom ganrisxebul i inana, (risxvis mizezi ucnobia), qvesknel Si Cadis, moxvdeba im samyarosi, saidanac `ukan dabruneba SeuZl ebel ia". qvesknel s inanas boroti da, RvTaeba areSkival i ganagebda. mosal odnel i gansacdel is Tavidan acil ebis mizniT, inanam ubrZana Tavis xel qveiTebis moenaxul ebinaT RvTaebebi enl il i, enki da nanna, eTxovaT, rom saWi ro SemTxvevaSi inana sikvdil isagan daexsnaT.

inanas saporado tansacml iT Seimoseba da miwisqveSeTis samefos Wi SkarTan gamocxaddeba. qvesknel Si moqmedi kanonebis Sesabamisad, inana yovel Wi SkarTan ixdida samosis nawil s da iq tovebda. bol os, is, SiSvel i warsdgeba Tavisi dis Svidi mosamarTI is winase, roml ebic mas `sikvdil is mzeras" miagebeben. miTis zogierTi variantis Tanaxmas, inanas mizans ara

* Sesazl ebel ia, es iyo erTgvari gamoZaxil i SumerSi arsebul i mraVal qmrianobis tradiciisa, romel ic III aTasw. Sua xanebSi, l agaSis mefe urJinimginim, special uri aqtis miRebiT gaauqma (4.92).

mxol od Tamuzis dasj a, aramed micval ebul ebis `am qveyanaSi" dabruneba iyo.

miTis Sumerul versiebSi gakvriT iyo naxsenebi is faqti, rom qal RvTaebis qvesknel Si moxvedris Semdeg qaosma daisadgura, xol o misma dedamiwaze dabrunebam sicocxl is aRorZineba gamoiwvia.

miTis babil onur versiaSi iStari bevrad ufro agresul ad iyo daxatul i. is imuqreboda, rom dedamiwaze micval ebul ebs amoiyvanda da mospobda sicocxl es. garkveiT aris miTiTebul i, rom iStari mxol od maSin SesZl ebda qvesknel is datovebas, rodesac iq, Tavis sanacvl od, Tamuzs datovebda. garda amisa, dawvril ebiT iyo aRweril i ubedurebani, rac dedamiwas Tavs daatyda Tamuzis gaqrobis Semdeg _ sicocxl e Sewyda, gaqra mcnareebi. al baT amitom, Tamuzi am periodSi vegetatiur RvTaebad gaiazreboda _ mcnareebi, Semodgomaze TamuzTan erTad kvdebodnen, xol o gazafxul ze, bunebis aRorZinebasTan erTad, kvl av iRviZebdnen da aRsdgebodnen (3. 144).

Cemi yuradReba miipyro am miTis adreul ma, Sumerul ma versiam mebaRe Sukval idudasa da inanas Sesaxeb. Sukal iduda kul turis matarebel i gmiri iyo. igi bevrs Sromobda, magram uSedegod _ mis garSemo yvel aferi unayofo da gadamwvari rCeboda. bol os Sukal iduda, RmerTebis daxmarebis gareSe, damoukidebl ad daeufl eba sibrZnes da amis aRSaniSnavad baRSi aRmarTa xe _ sarbutu, simbol o, romel ic arqaul cnobierebaSi qaosze gamarj vebul i kosmosis niSani iyo. mebaRe sakuTar baRTan CaZinebul inanas Zal iT daeufl a. inana aRSfoTebul i daeZebS mebaRes, raTa Suri izios masze, sixl iT avsebs wyl ebs, pal mis tyeebsa da venaxebS, rogor damTavrda es SuRI i samwuxarod ucnobia.

vin iyo inanas rCeul i da msxverpl i miTebis uZvel es versiebSi? Cemi azriT, Tavidan, Tamuzi mokvda vi adamiანი unda yofil iyo, romel sac qal RvTaeba Seiwiravda, rogorc Tavis sagazafxul o msxverpl s da

samudamod qvesknel Si agzavnida. magram, zeviT ganxi-
 l ul i miTebis anal izi bevrad ufro mniSvnel ovani
 daskvnebis SesaZl ebl obas iZl eva. miTebi aSkarad
 warmoaCenen, Tu ramdenad iyo Secvl il i, Sumeris is-
 toriis adreul etapze, adamianis cnobiereba. cxadi
 xdeba, rom axl eburad iyo gaazrebul i iseTi umniS-
 vnel ovanesi kategoriebi, rogorc gaxl avT sicoc-
 xl e, sikvdil i da dro. rac Seexeba sivrcis gancdas,
 sivrcer j er kidev ucvl el ad vertikal ur RerZze iyo
 organizebul i. aSkarad iyo erTmaneTisagan gamoyofi-
 l i qvesknel i, Suasknel i da zesknel i. TandaTan, gan-
 sakuTrebiT babil onis Zvel samefoSi, qvesknel i kar-
 gavs Tavis mniSvnel obas. adamianis mzera aq miwieri
 da zeciuri samyarosaken iyo mimarTul i.

arqaul sazogadoebaSi adamiani gamsWval ul i
 iyo im rwmeniT, rom sicocxl es ar gaaCnia sazRvrebi
 sivrcesa da droSi. sicocxl e misTvis maradiul ad
 grZel deboda. sikvdil isa da sicocxl is erTianobis
 ganxda, samyaros mTi ianobis SegrZnebidan gamomdi-
 na-reobda. m. el iade werda, rom sikvdil i, cocxal i ar-
 sebis mokvl a, arqaul cnobierebaSi, gancdeboda mxo-
 l od rogorc garkveul i cval ebadoba, erTi statusi-
 dan meoreSi gadasvl a, gardacval eba, sikvdil i da mi-
 si wiaRidan axl is aucil ebel i dabadeba, rac Tavis
 safuZvel Si qaosidan kosmosis maradiul i dabadebis
 ideas ukavSirdeboda (6. 20-21).

aseve droc, mxol od cikl urad iyo moZravi. ar-
 qaul sazogadoebaSi gabatonebul i iyo rwmena imisa,
 rom drois Cveul ebriv mdinarebas win uswrebda `wi-
 nare dro-, rodesac kosmogoniuri aqtis Sedegad Se-
 iqmna samyaro, damkvidrda adamianuri cxovrebis wesi
 da adamianisaTvis mniSvnel ovani yvel a Rirebul eba.
 es warsul i iyo saganTa mizezi da siwinds safuZve-
 l i. amitom es warsul i ganuszRvrel ad ubrundeboda
 adamians da gansazRvravda misi cxovrebis wess. ada-
 mianis cxovrebaSi araferi icvl eboda, warsul i ganu-

sazRvrel ad aRdgeboda da adamians ubrundeboda (7. 288-89. 285).

SumerSi radikal urad aris Secvl il i sicocxl isa da drois ganxda. adamians cnobierebaSi dro gamoaRwevs cikli uri drois CarCoebidan da sworxazovan saxes iRebs. adamianna ukve icis, rom sicocxl e wamieria, adamianni kvdeba, sikvdil i ki dasasrul s niSnavs, maradiul ukuneTs, sadac adamianni veRar icocxl ebs da veRar Seasrul ebs im moval eobebs, romel sac igi `am qveyanaSi- asrul ebda.

magram saintereso is aris, sikvdil -sicocxl isa da drois arqaul i ganxda ar ikargeba da adamians cnobierebaSi kvl avac intenziurad ganagrZobs arsebobas. magram ukvdaveba, da samyaroSi daubrkol ebel i cikli uri `moZraoba- mxol od RvTaebaTa privilegia xdeba. RvTaebebi ukvdavni arian da daubrkol ebl iv gadaadgil debian samyaroSi. iqmneba ori, TiTqos paral el ur ganzomil ebaSi arsebul i real oba _ erTia adamiannis amqveyniuri, real uri cxovreba da meore, il uzoruli, RvTaebaTa samyofeli, sadac ar arsebobda sikvdil i, sadac araferi icvl eboda da dro maradiul ad, wriul ad moZraobda. il uzorul i iyo agreTve sul eTic, romel ic uxil avi iyo, magram SiSis momgvrel i. cxovreba RvTaebaTa mier iyo naboZebi, amitom swored isini aswavl idnen adamianebs cxovrebis kanonebs, gansazRvradnen maT bedisweras. am cxovrebaSi yvel aferi droebiTi iyo da warmavali, xol o RvTaebaTa il uzorul i samyaro maradiul i iyo da WeSmariti. igi yovel dRe, wl idan wl amde, ucvl el ad wriul ad mimoiqceoda. uzenaesi Zal a, RvTaebepis saxiT, ganagebda samyaroSi mimdinare procesebs, roml ebic ar icvl ebodnen da ur yev kanonebs emorCil ebodnen.

swored am sakral ur samyaroSTan unda daekavSirebina adamiannis yovel dRiuri kavSiri l ocvebiT, ritual ebis Sesrul ebiTa da dResaswaul ebSi monawil eobiT. am adreul periodSi adamianni mZafrad ganicdid da sakral uri samyaroS utyuarobasa da zemoqmedebis

Zal as. igi j er kidev mTl ianad iyo integrirebul i sakral ur samyaroSi da iq mimdinare procesebis uSual o Tanamonawil ed ganicdida sakuTar Tavs.

al baT, amitom, Sumerul l iteraturul Zegl ebs wiTel xazad gasdevda bediswerisa da sikvdil is Si-Si, Zieba imisa, Tu rogor SesZl ebda adamiani sikvdi- l isagan Tavis daRwevas da ukvdavebis mopovebas.

es motivi kargad SeimCneva gil gameSTan dakavSi- rebul garemoSi. gil gameSis eposi aqaduri samyaros monapovaria, magram s. kramers gamoqveynebul i aqvs gil gameSis saxel Tan dakavSirebul i uZvel esi, Sume- rul i versiebi.

saintereso, e. w. `gil gameSi da cocxal Ta qveya- na-, romel ic gvian, aqadur versiaSic Sevida. gil game- Si daTrgunul ia moaxl oebul i sikvdil is SiSiT. igi gadawyvets, Tavis msaxur enkidusTan erTad, moiZios `cocxal Ta qveyana-. RvTaeba utu, afrTxil ebs, rom miznis misaRwevad man unda daamarcxos gol iaTi xuva- va. gil gameSi mas Tavs mohkveTs, magram rogoria miTis dasarul i, ucnobia. `gil gameSi da sikvdil i- ganag- rZobs ukvdavebis Ziebis Temas. gil gameSs sizmarSi ga- moecxadeba RvTaeba enl il i da amcnobs, rom RmerTeb- ma adami anebs CamoarTves ukvdaveba, magram sanacvl od, swored mas, gil gameSs uboZes dideba, simdidre da brZol is vel ze gamarj vebis mopovebis ufl eba.

miTosis aqadur versiaSi, gil gameSi ori mesame- diT RmerTia. q. uruqis mosaxl eoba aRSfoTebul ia imiT, rom gil gameSi ar icavs adami anebis interesebis. isini SesTxoven RmerTebis Seqmnan axal i arseba, romel ic SesZl ebs gil gameSis damarcxebasa da wesrigis damyarebas. RvTaeba aruru Tixisagan Seqmnis adami ans, enkidus, romel ic vel uri iyo, Wamda bal axs, spobda xafangebs da sarwyul ebidan svamda wyal s-. gil game- Sis TxovniT, erTma monadirem taZridan wamoiyvana qa- l i, romel Tanac enkidum erTi kvira gaatar. mxol od amis Semdeg mi xvda enkidu, rom gaxda `srul fasovani, brZeni da Tavad RmerTebis sadari-.

cnobil ia Sumerul i miTis kidev erTi epizodi, romelic gil gameSis godebiT iwyeba. igi godebda imis gamo, rom dakarga inanas grZneul i saCuqari _ `pukku- da `mikku-. RvTaebrivi Zal ebis matarebel i, magiuri xisagan damzadebul i `sagnebi~. `pikku- da `mikku- qvesknel Si aRmoCndebian. maT dasaxsnel ad gil gameSis TxovniT, enkidu qvesknel Si Cadis, saidanac ukan amosvl as veRar axerxebS. gil gameSi qvesknel idan gamoixmobs enkidus sul s, romelic, rogorc niavi, ise amoiqrol ebs miwisqveSeTidan da auwyebS, rom qali, romelic uyvarda gardacvl il ia da misi gvami TixasTan aris azel il i.

rogorc ukve aRvniSne, SumerSi, qal aqebis SigniT daiwyo Camoyal ibeba `intel eqtual urma el itam-, sadac iqmneboda da saidanac vrcel deboda axali Rirebul ebebi da ganisazRvreboda am Rirebul ebebis orientaciis sfero. es Rirebul ebebi WeSmariti iyo da maT ar gaaCnda al ternativa. isini RmerTebis mier iyo nakarnaxevi da amdenad, ar saWiroebdnen dasabuTebas.

SumerSi Zal ian adre damkvidrda iseti kategoriebi, rogorc iyo `simarTI e- da `samarTI ianoba- _ `kitumm- da `mSirumm-. isini RvTaebebis mier iyo dafuznebul i da qveynis mmarTvel is moval eobas maTi dacva da Sesrul eba Seadgenda (8).

es Rirebul ebebi srul ad iyo asaxuli Sumerul samarTal sa da iq moqmed kanonebSi. SumerSi pirvel reformatorad l aSagis mefe uruingini-a (Zv. w. 2318-2312) miCneuli. man wamoayena l ozungi `Zl ierma ar unda daCagros qvriv-obl ebi~. igi acxadebda, rom moqal aqeebs daubruna Tavisufl eba da marTI msaj ul eba. man Seqmna uZvel esi aqtebi, roml ebic qveynis social uri da ekonomikuri cxovrebiS garkveul wesrigSi moyvanas isaxavda mi znad _ gadasaxadebi sagan gaaTavisufl a qurumebi, sasofl o TemebSi Seqmna sasamarTI o, akrZal a mraVal qmrianoba da sxv. mefe sagangebod aRniSnava, rom reformebi, iyo Sedegi RvTaeba ningirsusTan dadebul i xel Sekrul ebisa da sakuTari

Tavi am RvTaebis nebis mxol od gamomxatvel ad miicnia (4. 92-94).

aqadis samefos uZl ieresi mefe iyo mefe sargoni (Zv. w. 2334-), sargoni Sumerul ad niSnavs `WeSmarit-mefes. misi dabadeba miTosur saburvel Sia Semosil i. is aRniSnavda: `dedaCemi Raribi iyo, mamas ar vicnobdi, Cemi Casaxva da dabadeba saiduml oebiT aris mocul i. dedam l erwamis kal aTaSi Camawvina da kal aTamdinares gaatana- (4. 96). sargonma Seqmna profesional ebisagan Semdgari armia, moawesriga morwyviti sistema, SemoiRo zomisa da wonis ertiani sistema.

mefis Zal aufl eba aqadSi, naram-suenis (2336-2200) dros sagraZnobl ad gaZl ierda. igi Tavs uZl ieres mefeld miicnevda da `samyaros oTxive mxares- mbrZanebel sa da aqadis uZl ieres RvTaebas uwodebda xol o misi Svil iSvil is ur-namus (Zv. w. 2112-2003) xanaSi mefis Zal aufl ebam despoturi saxe miRo. mefem SemoiRo mniSvel ovani axal i kanonebi. kanonebis Sesaval nawil Si aRniSnul i iyo, rom RvTaeba ann-ma da enl il ma mefeld RvTaeba nanna ganaweses. man ki Tavis miwier nacvl ad ur-nammu daasaxel a da is akurTxa mefeld. RvTaebaTa nebiT, ur-nammum Sumeris Zvel i sazRvrebi aRadgina da axal i kanonebi daawesa. mefe axadebda, rom misi mTavari sazrunavi qvriv-obl ebi iyven. xazs usvamda im garemoebas, rom swored man daicva xal xi moxel eebis usamarTi obisagan, daafuZna zomisa da wonis axal i sistema, raTa vaWroba patiosani yofil iyo. garda amisa, ur-nammum adamanis fizikuri dasj a gamosasyidiT Secval a (4. 96, 97).

sainteresoa aqadSi, isinnas l dirastiis mefis, l ipit-iStaris mier miRebul i kanonebi (1934-1924) Sesaval Si aRniSnul ia, rom yvel a RmerTis mamam, ann-ma da yvel a qveynis mbrZanebel ma enl il ma, Sumerisa da aqadis qveynebi saCuqrad uboZes RvTaeba isinn-s. xol o mefeld l ipit-iStari akurTxes, daaval es mas qveyanaSi borotebis, sicruisa da mankierebis aRmofxvra. xazgasmul ia isic, rom swored man, l ipit-iStarma daamya-

ra qveyanaSi samarTI ianoba. mefis mier miRebul i kano-
nebi mraval ricxovania. me mxol od zogierTs Sevexebi.
mefem monobisagan gaaTavisufl a Sumerisa da aqadis
adgil obrivi mosaxl eoba. kanonebis umravl esoba exeba
kerZo meurneobebs, aregul irebs orTvl iani transpor-
tis, etl ebis, xarebis, finikis pl antaciebis arendisa
da daqiravebis pirobebs, sj is crumowmeebbs.

kanonebSi uaRresad sainteresod aris gadawyve-
til i genderis probl ema. qal iSvil is gaTxovebisas
mama mas atanda mziTevs. qal is mziTevi mxol od misi
momaval i Svil ebis sakuTreba iyo da qmari mas ver
gankargavda. mamas qonda ufl eba qal iSvil i qurumad
ganewesebina, im pirobiT, rom qal iSvil i oj axSi ga-
nagrZobda cxovrebas da ZmebTan erTad memkvidreobis
ufl ebas inarCunebda. arsebobda qurum qal Ta iseTi
kasta, romel ic monawil eobda `mefis RvTaebrivi qor-
wil is- ritual Si, magram qal i val debul i iyo See-
narCunebina umankoeba. arsebobda qal qurumTa iseTi
kastac, romel ic val debul i iyo RvTaebisaTvis
msxverpl ad moetana Tavisi ubiwoeba, magram es ar uS-
l ida xel s, Seeqmna Tavisi sakuTari oj axi.

Tu ki oj axSi, mamakaci daukavSirdeboda mona
qal s, romel ic misgan gaaCenda bavSvs, mamakacs ufl e-
ba hqonda dedaca da Svil ic saxl idan gaeSva. maT
oj axis sakuTrebis miRebis ufl eba ar hqondaT.

Tu ki oj axis deda uSvil o iyo, mamakacs SeeZl o
`meZavi qal isagan- gaeCina Svil i. bavSvi oj axSi moh-
yavdaT, dedas ki oj axSi Semosvl is ufl eba ar hqon-
da. magram mamakaci iRebda val debul ebas qerIT, ze-
TiTa da matyl iT uzrunvel yo misi cxovreba.

Tu ki mamakaci sxva qal Tan daamyarebda sasiyva-
rul o kavSirs, col s SeeZl o sarCel i Seetana sasa-
marTI oSi. mamakacs SeeZl o daerRvia oj axi da meo-
red daqorwinebul iyo, magram igi val debul i iyo yo-
fil i meuRI isaTvis gadaexada e. w. `ganqorwinebis
vercxl i- (9. 290-291).

samarTal ma ganviTarebis umaRl es wertil s Zve-
 l i babil onis samefos udidesi mefis xamurabis (1792-
 1750) dros miaRwia. mis dros Seiqmna cnobil i `xamu-
 rabis kanonebi-, roml ebic Savi bazal tis stel aze
 iyo ukvdavyofil i. kanonebi moicavda qveynis sazoga-
 doebrivi cxovrebis yvel a mxares, ganasxvavebda da
 erTmaneTisagan mijnavda samoqal aqo, administraci-
 ul sa da sisxl is samarTal s. niSandoblivia, rom er-
 TmaneTisagan gamijnul i iyo winaswardagegmil i
 mkvl el oba SemTxveviT Cadenil i mkvl el obisagan. aRi-
 niSneba erTgvari kl asobrivi midgomac _ monebis mi-
 marT samarTal i gansakuTrebul i sisastikiT gamoir-
 Ceoda (4. 99-100). xamurabim didi mniSvnel obis refor-
 mebi Caatara. man mefis xel isufl ebas daumorcil a
 rogorc sataZro da administraciul i meurneobebi,
 aseve sasamarTl oc. qurumebi sakuTar Tavs uwodeb-
 dnen ara RmerTebis, aramed xamurabis morCil ebs (9.
 364). aSkaraa, rom Seqmnil i iyo erTpirovnul ad gamge-
 bel i mefis despoturi Zal aufl eba. magram aRsaniSna-
 via, isic, mopovebul gamarjvebebs mefe ara sakuTar
 Tavs, aramed marduks miawerda.

saintereseoa, rogor aisaxeboda adamiანis cnobie-
 rebaSi is udidesi Zvrebi, roml ebic sazogadoebaSi
 mimdinareobda, axal i, uZl ieresi RmerTis mardukis
 gaazrebaSi.

Sumerul i RvTaebebis anal izi aCvenebs, Tu ro-
 gor Zl ierad iyo dawyebul i miTosuri cnobierebis
 mTl ianobidan maTi gamoyofisa da aRzevebis procesi.
 magram aSkaraa isic, rom Tavidan isini j er kidev bu-
 nebis ganuyofel nawil ad ganicdebodnen, cocxal ar-
 sebaTa niSnebs atarebdnen, adamiანTan uSual o urTi-
 erTobebis amyarebdnen, ebrZodnen borotebas da samya-
 roSi wesrigis damyarebas cdil obdnen.

sazogadoebrivi cxovrebis ganviTarebasTan er-
 Tad distancia RvTaebebsa da adamiანs Soris izrde-
 boda, RvTaebebi kargavdnen real urobas da metad
 ukavSirdebodnen zebunebriv samyaros. es RvTaebebi

gansakuTrebul Tayvaniscemas imsaxurebdnen, amitom RvTismsaxurebis ceremonial is garegnul mxares meti yuradReba hqonda daTmobil i. am sapatio moval eobas qurumTa kasta asrul ebda, zrunavda am ceremonial is garegnul mxaresa da ritual ebis ucvl el i saxiT Sesrul ebaze. magram adamianis cnobierebis uZvel esi metafizikuri pl astebi ar ikargeboda da ritual is cal keul detal ebSi vl indeboda (7. 120).

swored aris SeniSnul i, rom Zvel samyaroS i im periodidan, rodesac kul turul i gmirebis an RvTaebebis adgil s RmerTebi daikaveben, SeiZl eba saubari Zvel i samefoebis Camoyal ibebis urTul esi da xangrZl i vi periodis dasrul ebaze, maSin iqmneba axal i real o-ba, rodesac adamiani radikal urad ganasxvavebda erTmaneTisagan adamiansa da RmerTs, adamianursa da RmerTebis samyaros. Zl ierdeboda gancda imisa adami-ans mowesrigebul samyaroS i unda ecxovra, am wesrigs uzrunvel yofdnen RmerTebi da kanonebi (10. 19).

erTiani, despoturi samefos Camoyal ibebis xangrZl ivi procesi mesopotamiaSi Zv. w. II aTaswl eul Si dasrul da, maSin, rodesac babil onis Zvel is samefo Seiqmna, romel sac mefe erTpirovnul ad ganagebda, swored maSin saxel mwifo rangSi iqna ayvanil i rel igiuri panTeonic, romel sac, iseve rogorc miwier samefos erTi `despoturi~ mmarTvel i yavda. uzenaesi RmerTis idea mardukis saxeSi iqna yvel aze srul ad real izebul i.

marduks axasiaTebda sibrZne, mkurnal obisa da Sel ocvis unari. Zvel babil onur liturgiul poemaSi `enuma el iS~ (`rodesac zeviT~..) mardukis saxe yvel aze srul ad iyo warmocinebul i. poemis Tanaxmad, marduks pirvel yofil i qaosis gansaxiereba _ tiamati daupirispirdeba. yvel a RmerTs SiSi daeufl eba da isini uars acxadeben tiamatTan brZol aze. mxol od mardukia Tanaxma aRasrul os es misia, magram sanacvl od sxva RmerTebisagan srul morCil ebas moiTxovs, mardukma didi nadimi moawyo, moiwvia RmerTebi

da sakuTari ZI ierebis demonstrireba moaxdina _ zecidan gaaqro da kvl av ukan daabruna varskvl avi. SeSinebul ma RmerTebma usityvod airCies marduki winamZRoI ad. marduki aRiWurva xel ketiT, mSvil d-isriT, badeTi, Tan gaiyol a oTxi RvTiuri qari, Svidi qarixal i da tiamatis winaaRmdeg daiwyo brZoI a.

marduki tiamatis xaxaSi CauSvebs `borot qars-, gangmiravs mas da gaanadgurebs mis mimdevrebs. marduki moipovebs `bedisweris tabul as-, daeufl eba `me--s, romel ic Sumeris RvTaebaTa sakuTreba iyo da iwyebs samyaros Seqmnas, tiamatis sxedul s Suaze gaapobs, qveda nawil isagan Seqmnis dedamiwas, xol o zeda nawil isagan _ zecas*.

poema mogviTxrobs agreTve mardukis gadawyvetil ebaze Seqmnas axal i adamiani. RvTaeba eas rCeviT, is sikvdil iT dasj is aj anyebul Ta meTaurus kingus. mis sisxl isagan iqmnebian axal i tipis adamianebi, roml ebmac `unda Seasrul on sakuTari moval eobebi, aRasrul on ritual ebi da mudmivad miawodon RmerTebis sakvebi.

amis Semdeg, RmerTebi kidev erTxel daudastureben marduks Tavis srul morCil ebas, qeds ixrian mis winaSe, saj arod acxadeben mardukis ormocdaaT saxel s da panTeonis yvel a RvTaebis Zal aufl ebas mas gadaabareben. madl ieri RmerTebi mis saxel ze zecaze aaSeneben `RvTaebriv qal aq babil ons- da mis taZars (1).

* mardukis brZoI a tiamatis winaaRmdeg kosmogoniuri aqtia, romel ic poemaSi mraval ricxovani konkretul i saxe-ebis monawil eobiT, bevrad ufro cxovel xatul garemoSia aRsrul ebul i. mardukis saxe rTul ia da aSkarad SeiniSneba, rom masSi sxva RvTaebaTa funqciebi da SesaZl ebl obebia gaertianebul i. magram Cven winaSea ara rel igiuri sinkretizmi, aramed Zvel i kul turisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i sxvadasxva rel igiaTa sinTezi, rodesac am el ementebis gaertianeba qmnis iseT axal mTli anobas, romel ic gansxvavdeba am el ementebisagan da sakuTari saxis matarebel ia.

poemaSi saubaria imazec, rom mardukma tiamatis damarcxebis Semdeg, Seqmna kal endari, gansazRvra Tveebi da maTi Tanmimdevroba mTvaris fazebis daukav-Sira. pl aneta iupiters daaval a uzrunvel eyo zecaze mimdinare procesebis wesrigi.

saintereso a kidev erTi garemoeba _ babil onSi mardukis samyofel s warmoadgenda ara zeca, aramed taZari, romel ic mis sacxovrebl ad iyo gaazrebul i. qandakeba central ur nawil Si, niSaSi podiumze idga. igi warmoadgenda mamakacs, roml is sxedul i oqros zodiT iyo dafarul i, xol o Tval ebi TeTri, Savi an l urji qvebiT iyo inkrustirebul i. tanze real uri, adamiannis samosi ecva. marduki, qandakebis saxiT, rogorc cocxal i ise `eswreboda- im RonisZiebebs, roml ebic taZarSi RvTismsaxurebis aRsrul ebis dros srul deboda. mniSvel ovania isic, rom taZarSi yovel dRiuri msaxureba imeorebda samefo sasaxl eSi Sesrul ebul RonisZiebaTa etikets (9. 452).

aq kidev erTxel minda xazi gavirusa erT mniSvel ovan siaxl es _ l iturgiul poemaSi `enuma el ig-, gansxvavebiT ufro adreul i xanis miTebisagan, aqcentirebul i iyo ara is, rom marduki aris samyaro da adamiannis Semqmnel i, aramed is faqti, rom marduki aris samyaros erTpirovnul i mmarTvel i, rom mas unda emorCil ebodnen yvel a RmerTebi, radgan mardukis Zal a aRemateba yvel a sxva RmerTis SesaZl ebl obebsa da ufl ebebs.

adamianebis mzera miwieri samyarodan zecisaken iyo mimarTul i. adamiannis azriT, orivegan erTnairi procesebi mimdinareobda. RmerTebisa da adamiannis cxovrebis wesi erTnairi iyo. mardukis gaazrebaSi aSkarad iyo gamovl enil i is mniSvel ovani, axal i Zvrebi, roml ebic sazogadoebaSi real urad mimdinareobda. magram RvTaebri vi samyaro iyo pirvel adi, is gansazRvravda amqveyniuri cxovrebis wessa da umTavres Rirebul ebebs. RmerTebis samyaro aRiqmeboda, ro-

gorc amqveyniuri cxovrebis sakral uri pirvel saxe, rogorc samyaros ideal uri xati.

SumerSi axal i tipis kul turis ganviTareba bevrini niSnit damwerlobis SeqmniT iyo ganpirobetul i. Tavidan piqtografiul i damwerloba gamoiyeneboda, xolo IV-III ataswl eul ebis mij naze, igi I ursmul ma damwerlobam Secval a. Tavidan Tixis firfitebze sameurneo warwerebi iyo warmodgenili, magram male warwerebis Tematikam sul ieri kul turis yvel a sfero moicva. damwerlobis Seswavis aucileblobam skol ebis Seqmna ganpiroba. Sumeruli skol a, e-dduba (firfitebis saxli-) tazrebtan iyo gaxsnili. maswavl ebl ebi qurumebi an swavli ebi iyvnen, mat axali kadrebis momzadeba eval ebodati, skol asi swavli al bat Sezi ebuli ojaxis Svili ebisatvis iyo xel misawvdomi. skol asi bavSvebs aswavlidnen maTematikas, kal igrafias, Sumerulidan aqadur enaze Targmnas, xatvas, musikalur sakravebze dakvras. armoCenilia Sumerul-aqaduri I eqsikonebi (4. 41-42) iqmneboda Taviseburi saxel mZrvanel oebi _ sityvaTa grZeli siebi, romel Ta zepirad swavli aucilebeli iyo. siebSi arbeWdili iyo maTematikuri magaliTebi, qveynebis, qal aqebisa da sofli ebis dasaxel ebani, qvebis, mineral ebisa da litiTonis saxeebi, cxovel Ta da mcenareTaj iSebi, miTebi, zRaprebi, andazebi da a. S.

saocrad adamanuria teqsti, romel Sic skol is moswavlis cxovrebis erTi dRe aris arwerili _ bavSvi uambobs mamas _ dil iT avdeqi, visauzme, mere skol asi gaviqeci, meSinoda dagviანebis, mivrbodi, radgan Tu damagviანeboda, maswavlebeli damsji da joxiT mcemda. skol asi misvl isas, bavSvi maswavlebel s zepirad Caabarebda firfitaze daweril teqsts, SuadRisas weriT daval ebas asrul ebda da Semdeg saxli Si brundeboda (2. 19).

Zalian gavrcel ebuli iyo literaturuli Zeglebis arweril obani, e. w. katal ogebi, romel is uZveli esi nimuSi uris III dinastiis xanaSi iyo Seqmnil i.

katal ogebSi zogj er miTiTebul i iyo avtori. avto-
rad RmerTebi an miTol ogiuri personaJebi moiazre-
bodnen.

Sumerul i teqstebis Tematika sakmaod mraval fe-
rovani iyo. Cndeba istoriul i qronikebi, roml ebSi c
mniSvnel ovan istoriul faqtebze iyo saubari, mefe-
Ta siebi. Tavisebur evol ucias ganicdian mefeTa sa-
aRmSenebl o warwerebi. isini III aTaswl eul is Sua xa-
nebSi Cndebian. pirvel i warwerebi l akonuri iyo, er-
Ti fraziT Semoifargl eboda da mefis mier taZris
an sarwyavi arxis aRmSenebl obaze gvauwyebda. Semdeg
es warwerebi ufro met cnobebs Seicavda, saubari
iyo ara mxol od aRmSenebl obaze, aramed mefis mier
brZol ebSi mopovebul gamarjvebebze. gardatexa am
dargSi Zv. w. XXII s. SeimCneva. am mxriv, interest
imsaxurebs l agaSis mefe gudeas saaRmSenebl o warwera.
igi gudeas mier naxul i sizmriss poeturi aRweriT iw-
yeba. sizmarSi mefes mSvenieri arsebebi gamoecxadebi-
an da gudeas raRac saqciel isken mouwodeben. mas de-
da, romel sac RvTaeba ngamtu ganasaxierebs, auxsnis,
rom gudeas ningirsus meTaurobiT RvTaebebi gamoec-
xaddnen da RvTaeba ningirsus saxel ze taZris aSene-
ba daaval es. warweraSi poeturad aris aRweril i mSe-
nebl obis procesi, mraval ricxovani saaRmSenebl o ma-
sal a, taZris didebul eba da sil amaze. teqsti ar
aris gal eqsil i, magram is xazgasmiT ritmul ia, gamo-
yenebul ia metaforebi da mxatvrul i Sedarebebi.

rogorc Cans, saaRmSenebl o warwerebi l litera-
turis cal ke Janrad yal ibdebodnen, aSkaraa, rom Su-
merul i l literatura viTardeboda da garkveul dife-
renciacias ganicdi da.

Sumerul i satrfial o l irikac j er kidev ar iyo
damoukidebel i. sasiyvarul o bal adebi udidesi saa-
xal wl o dResaswaul is `mefis wmind qorwinebis-
dRes srul deboda, rodesac mefe aRasrul ebda RvTa-
ebriv qorwil s inanas qurum qal Tan, romel ic siyva-
rul isa da gamravl ebis mfarvel Zal as ganasaxiereb-

da. zeimi musikisa da cekvis Tanxl ebiT mimdinareobda. marTal ia dResaswaul i rel igiuri iyo, magram s. krameris mier gamoqveynebul erT-erT nimuSze, qal i saocari gul wrfel obiTa da adamanurobiT, auwyeabda mamakacs Tavis grZnobebis, uwodebda mas uZI ieressa da ul amazes l oms, sTxovda gaetarebina masTan Rame. dil amde darCenil iyo, raTa damtkbariyo misi al er-siT, romel ic Tafl ze utkbiL esia (2. 242-244).

cal ke Janrad yal ibdebodnen el egiebi, roml e-bic aRar warmoadgendnen RvTismsaxurebis nawil s da damoukidebl ad srul debodnen. yuradRebas imsaxurebs el egia, romel ic s. krameris varaudiT q. nipur-Si Zv. w. 1700 w. iyo Caweril i. firfitaze ori el egia iyo warmodgenil i. orive warmoadgenda datirebas, romel sac aRasrul ebda vinme l udingirra. pirvel el egiaSi is dastiroda Tavis mamas, nanna-s, romel ic brZol aSi iyo daRupul i. meore el egia eZRVneba mis saTno da sayvarel meuRI es, romel mac bunebrivi sikvdil iT daasrul a sicocxl e. pirvel i el egia iwyeba gardacvl il is meuRI is, anu avtoris dedis mZime gancdebis aRweriT. Semdeg gadmocemul ia qurumi qal is, gardacvl il is Svil ebisa da rZl ebis sul ieri tkivil i, cal kea gadmocemul i ufrosi Svil is l ocva da wyevl a-krul va mimarTul i mkvl el is mimarT. dasasrul s, oj axis wevrebis SesTxoven RmerTebis daicvan gardacvl il i saiqioSi, xol o am qveyanaSi darCenil ebs ar moakl on yuradReba. prol ogSi xSirad aris gamoyenebul i Sedarebebi da metaforebi. refrenis xSiri gamoyeneba el egias garkveul riTmul obas ani-Webs (2. 196-198).

Sumeris miTol ogiur xasiaTis Zegl ebSi, igrZnoba garkveul i nostalgia, sakral ur xanaze, romel ic udides rol s TamaSobda adamanTa cxovrebaSi. es iyo dro, rodesac `ar iyvnen gvel ebi, gienebi, l omebi... ar iyo SiSi, usasoeba, adamians ar yavda mteri... qveyanaSi sufevda dovl aTi da baraq... adami nebs uyvardaT erTmaneTi... yvel a erT enaze saubrobd da

adidebda enl il s-... vkiTxul obT miTSi `enmerkari da arratas mmarTvel i- (2. 250-252).

srul iad unikal uria Sumerul i andazebi, sadac xal xuri sibrZne srul ad aris gamovl enil i. andazeb-Si gamovl enil ia zogadsakacobrio Rirebul ebebi, roml ebic yvel a drois adamianisaTvis iyo mniSvne- l ovani. movitan ramdenime magal iTs _ `bedniereba da qorwinebaSia, Tu dafiqrdebi _ ganqorwinebaSi~, `Tu Rames mamakacTan ar gaatareb, ar geyol eba Svil i-, Tu ar SeWam _ ver gasuqdebi~, `Cveni bol o mainc sikvdil ia _ gavaniavoT qoneba, magram cxovreba grZel ia _ SevagrovoT qoneba~, `Raribi sesxs iRebs _ sazrunavs imatebs~, `simdidre Sors aris, siRaribe _ axl os~, `yvel a Raribi oj axi ar aris morCil i-, `Tu qveyana SeuiaraRebel ia, mteri mudam karTan idgeba~, `megobroba erTdRiania, naTesaoba _ maradiul i- da sxv. (2. 144-148).

ar SemiZl ia ar Sevexo erT dokuments, romel - zec msofil ioSi uZvel esi sasamarTI o da samarTI eb-rivi aqti unda iyos dafiqsirebul i. rogorc aRniS- navs s. krameri, precedents adgil i hqonda Zv. w. 1850 wel s, q. nipurSi. samma pirma _ mebaRem, dal aqma da monam (?), sicocxl es gamoasal ma taZris moxel e, saxel ad l u-innana. mkvl el obis Sesaxeb Seityo gardac- vl il is meuRI em, magram es faqti damal a da ar gaax- maura. mkvl el obis faqti mefe ur-ninuratasTvisac gaxda cnobil i. mefem sasamarTI o moiwvia, Sedga kre- ba romel zec sikvdil iT dasj is ganaCeni gamoutanes, rogorc mkvl el ebs, aseve gardacvl il is meuRI es, romel ic faqtis damal vis gamo, mkvl el obis Tanamo- nawil ed CaTval es. qal i orma `advokatma- daicva. maT ganacxades, rom qal s qonda ufl eba daemal a mkvl e- l obis faqti, radgan meuRI e ar asrul ebda Tavis mo- val eobebs da ver uzrunvel yofda qal is normal ur cxovrebas. sasamarTI om qal i gaaTavisufl a (2. 68-70).

Sumersa da aqadSi Zal ian didi da Taviseburi kul tura Camoyal ibda. am kul turis prestiJi imdenad

didi iyo, rom babil onisa da asureTis samefoebis dace mis Semdegac, aqadurma enam da damwerl obam saerTaSoriso enis mniSvnel oba SeinarCuna. mcire aziis, egviptis, siriisa da pal estinis swavl ul ebi intensiurad eufl ebodnen aqadur enas. aqameniduri iranisi imperiis TiTqmisi yvel a cnobil i warwera Zvel sparsul , aqadur da el amur enebze iyo Sedgenil i. sainteresoa, rom, rodesac aqemeniduri iranisi mefe kambizma egvipte dai pyro, mefisi koronaciis ritual i, egvipturi tradiciebis dacviT RvTaeba neitisi taZarSi aRasrul a, magram samefo Zal aufl eba mas mardukma maniWa (4. 154-155). qal aqma babil onma Tavisi gansakuTrebil i mniVSenil oba el inistur xanaSic SeinarCuna. ar unda iyos SemTxveviTi, rom al eqsandre makedoneli ma sicocxli is ukanasknel i wl ebi babil onSi gaatarada Tavisi sicocxli e iq daasrul a.

Sumeris samefoebSi srul iad axali tipis kul tura yal ibdeboda. am kul turisi Semqmnel ebi da matarebi ebi axali tipis adami nebi iyvnen -swavl ul ebi, mwerl ebi, moxel eebi, isini vinc martavdnen qveyanas, did meurneobebs, agegmarebdnen da agebdnen qal aqebis, sasaxli eebis, taZrebs, sardli obdnen brZol ebs, msaxurobdnen skol ebSi, `bibli oTekebSi~, muSaobdnen damwerl obisi srul yofaze, qmndnen da agrovebdnen `mecnierul ~ codnas. im periodSi mcxovrebi yvel a adami ani uZli ieresad iyo dakavSirebul i tradiciebTan. magram es tradiciebi ufro Zli ierad sul ier kul turaSi vl indeboda. praqtikul saqmianobaSi adami ani met Tavisufl ebas fl obda, sakuTari nebiT iyenebda arCevanisi ufl ebas. magali Tad, taZris, sasaxli is an Tundac sacxovrebel i saxli is mSenebi obisi dawyebis win, adami ani al baT aucil ebel ritual ebs asrul ebda, romli ebi ucvl el ni iyvnen saukuneebis manZil ze da mtkiced iyvnen aRbeWdil ni adami nebis zepir xsovnaSi. rac Seexeba praqtikul saqmianobas, mSenebi obisi teqniki srul yofisi aucil ebi oba, adami ani met Sinagan Tavisufl ebas aniWebda, igi garkveul no-

vaciebs eufl eboda, rac cxadia, aZl ierebda misi os-
tatobis dones.

aSkaraa isic, rom adamiānis individual izaciis
procesi, gansakuTrebul i intensivobiT, sazogadoebis
el itur nawil Si mimdinareobda. magram, Cemi azriT,
kul turis Semqmnel ebi iyvnen ara pirovnebebi, aramed
j er kidev individebi*. pirovnebac da individic Tavi-
sufal i iyo Tavis arČevanSi. magram individi j er ki-
dev Zl ierad iyo dakavSirebul i da damokidebul i
tradiciaze, zepir xsovnaze, imaze, rac Zl ierad akav-
Sirebda warsul Tan. swored tradicia gansazRvravda
mis orientacias samyaroSi. Zvel kul turaSi, indivi-
dual uroba da tradicia ganixil eboda ara rogorc
gansxvavebul i socio-kul turul i faqtebi, aramed ro-
gorc umTavresi Rirebul ebebi, imis mixedviT, Tu ro-
mel s hqonda miniWebul i upiratesoba im kul turul
model ebs Soris, roml ebi awesrigebdnen adamiānis
cxovrebas, mis orientacias gare samyaroSi (11. 348).

swored mesopotamiaSi aisaxa yvel aze srul ad
sazogadoebis arqavidan gamosvl isa da Zvel i same-
foebis kul turis Camoyal ibebis xangrZl ivi procesi.
Tval naTl iv warmocinda, rom swored SumerSi Sei qmna
Zvel i samefoebisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i kul turis
axal i mTl ianoba, romel ic TandaTan Tavisufl debo-
da arqaul i azrovnebisatvis damaxasiaTebel i stere-
otipebisagan da Semdgomi ganvitarebisatvis aucil e-
bel Zl ier stimul ebs fl obda. aq Camoyal ibda az-
rovnebis axal i wesi, romel ic aRar iyo gansazRvrul
i mxol od emociebiTa da metaforebiT, aramed iseT
kategoriebze iyo dafuZnebul i, roml ebi cnebebis

* i. veinbergs ekuTvnis mosazreba, roml is Tanaxmad, ada-
miānis individual izaciis procesi Zvel i aRmosavl eTis
samyaroSi daiwyo.. adamiāni aq gaiazreboda rogorc gar-
kveul i fizikuri da fsiqikuri erTianoba, adamiāns hqon-
da da is iyenebda arČevanis ufl ebas, ris gamoc, adamiāni
ukve pirovnebas warmoadgenda (8. 97-100).

mniSvnel obas iZendnen. gansakuTrebul i mniSvnel oba eZl eoda iseT axal kategoriebs, rogoric iyo simarTI e da samarTI ianoba, aucil ebl oba da SemTxveviToba, xarisxi, raodenoba. iqmneba safuZvel i am kategoriebs Soris arsebul i kauzal uri kavSirebis gamovl enisa. maT efuZnebian saganTa Tu movl enaTa kl asifikaciebi.

arqaul i sazogadoebis azrovnebis wess, erTgvar pirvel ad okeanes adareben, roml isganac j er ar iyo gamoyofil i mecniereba, sityviereba, rel igia, xel ovneba, samarTal i, fil osofia, Teol ogia (12. 125) swored es sinkretul oba warmoadgenda arqaul i sul iერი kul turis ZiriTad niSans, gansazRvravda mis Taviseburebebsa da ganumeorebl obas.

mesopotamiis Zvel kul turaSi azrovnebis wesi aRar iyo erTiani da yovl ismomcvel i, igi Zl ier diferenciacias ganicdida. swored aq, damoukidebel i arseboba da gansakuTrebul i Zal a moipova rel igiam, rogorc msofl aRqmis damoukidebel ma formam. gamoikveTa misi swrafva monoTeizmisaken. intensiurad viTardeboda xel ovneba, saero da sasul iero arqiteqtura, sityviereba, samarTal i, safuZvel i Caeyara istorias, maTematikas, astronomias. TandaTan yal ibdeboda samyaros `cnebiTi model i- da am cnebaTa dasabuTebis aucil ebl oba. magram isic unda aRiniSnos, rom es kul tura zogadad mainc anonimuri iyo.

rac Seexeba rigiT meTemebs, isini tradiciul cxovrebas agrZel ebdnen, romel ic saukuneebis manZil ze ar ganicdida cvl il ebebs. isini adamianebi iyvnen, maT usafrTxoebas icavdnen, rogorc oficial uri, ise piradi RmerTebi, maTi sacxovrebel i, oj axi, maT uyvardaT, mravl debodnen da al baT bednier cxovrebaze ocnebobdnen.

POLICY AND IDEOLOGY OF OLD SUMERIANS

The new culture was in the process of formation in Sumerian towns-principalities, Creators of this culture were persons, individuals of a new type – scholars, writers, officials, those who planned and erected new towns, cathedrals, those who worked at schools, created law.

These processes didn't touch the whole population of Sumer, they touched only its small elite part, which was formed in the towns. Community members lived in traditional environment which remained unchanged for centuries.

The vision of people was directed towards gods. The world of deities was the primary. It was perceived as the sacral primary form of earthly life, as an ideal image of the world.

The new order of mentality was in the process of formation in Sumer. This mentality was based on the categories which played the role of concepts. Religion acquired the independent power, art, secular and ecclesiastical architecture, speech and law were developed. Bases were formed for the progress of history, mathematics, astronomy, but, as a whole, culture was anonymous.

The new integrity of culture was created in Sumer, which gradually was liberated from stereotypes inherent to the archaic mentality and possessed the powerful stimuli necessary for further progress.

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avstriel i dipl omati

XVIII saukunis dasavl eT evropis dipl omatiis istoriaSi, udavod erT-erTi gamorCeul i kol oritul i pirovneba iyo avstriel i dipl omati vancen anton kaunici (1711-1794ww). amitom, vfiqrobT, interess mokl ebuli ar iqneba mokl ed gadavavl oT Tval i mis cxovrebas da moRvaveobas. miT umetes, rom mis Sesaxeb qarTul enaze dRemde TiTqmis araferi daweril a [1. 2].

XVIII saukunis cnobili avstriel i dipl omati kaunici daibada moraviaSi 1711 wl is 2 Teberval s. misi bavSobis Sesaxeb metad mwiri informacia mogvepoveba. igi daibada grafis oj axSi, is iyo umcrosi vaji. mas sasul iero saqmianobisTvis amzadebdnen, moRvaveobis gagrZel eba dipl omatiur asparezze aircia. movl enaTa Semdgomma msvl el obam cxadyo, rom is ar-CevanSi ar Semcdara. dipl omatia misi stiqia iyo. aq is ise grZnobda Tavs, rogorc Tevzi wyal Si.

misi debiuti dipl omatiur sarbiel ze Sedga avstriis memkvidreobisaTvis omis (1740-1748 ww.) dros, romel sac avstriis monarqiis momaval i sve-bedis gansazRvris saqmeSi didi mniSvel oba hqonda. srul iad axal gazrda 31 wl is iyo kaunici, rodesac 1742 wel s is dainisna avstriis niderl andebSi (Tanamedrove bel gia) general -gubernatoris hercog karl I otingiel is karze ministrad. 1748 wel s kaunici monawil eobas iRebs aaxenis sazao mol aparakebaSi. avstriis memkvidreobisaTvis omis procesSi xdeba kaunicis, rogorc dipl omatisa da pol itikosis, formireba, Camoyal ibeba.

kaunicis mTavari Canafiqri iyo Zveli mtrebi avstriisa da safrangeTis daaxl oeba. es iyo Zal ze Tamami wamowyeba. kaunici xel ebdakapiwebul i Seudga mis ganxorciel ebas. Tavdapirvel aT kaunicis iniciativas metad civad Sexvden da ar miRes, magram kau-

nics far-xmal i ar dauyria da muxl Cauxrel i ganag-rZobda Sromas. avstriis memkvidreobisaTvis omis Semdeg avstriis dipl omatiis winaSe savsebiT konkretul i amocana dadga. misi dedaazri imaSi mdgomareobda, rom omSi damarcxebul avstrias, bunebrivia, revanSi wyuroda. pirvel rigSi mas surda daebrubina prusiis mier mitacebul i sil ezia da germanul teritoriebze daemyarebina avstriis hegemonia. faqtobrivad, amiT iwyeba germaniaSi avstriasa da prusias Soris pirvel obisaTvis xangrZl ivi dapirispireba.

kaunics Tanaxmad es unda momxdariyo „gasroll is gareSe-, dipl omatiuri saSual ebebiT. did mniSvnel obas aniWebda kaunici safrangeTTan daaxl oebas. 1750-1753 wl ebSi grafi kaunici iyo avstriis el Ci safrangeTSi. is cdil obda am ori saxel mwifos daaxl oebas, magram avstriis samefo kari da pirvel rigSi imperatori mari-tereza (1740-1780) Zal ian frTxil obda da Tavs ikavebda. saqme dipl omatiuri zondirebis fargl ebs ar cil deboda.

1753 kaunici dainiSna saxel mwifo kancl erad da saTaveSi Caudga sagareo politikas. axl a mas SeeZl o ufro energiul ad Sedgomoda Tavisi Canafiqris ganxorciel ebas. kaunics gansazRvrul i hqonda safrangeTTan da ruseTTan kavSirSi win aRdgomoda prusiis mzard Zl ierebas.

1648 wel s vestfal iis zavis Semdeg saerTaSoriso urTierTobebis istoriaSi central uri adgili eWira dapirispirebas burbonebsa da habsburgebs, safrangeTsa da avstrias Soris. avstriis memkvidreobisaTvis omis Semdeg aqtual uri gaxda dapirispireba avtriasa da prusias Soris germaniaSi hegemoniisaTvis. gasaTval iswinebel ia isic, rom 1748 wel s aaxenis zavis Semdeg ingl is-safrangeTs Soris dapirispirebam umetasad kol oniebSi gadainacvl a. didi mniSvnel oba aqvs metoqeobas zRvebze.

bzari gauCnda `sazRvao saxel mwifoebTan-, pirvel rigSi ingl isTan da hol andiasTan kavSirs, ro-

mel sac saZirkvel i Caeyara j er kidev XVIII saukunis dasawyisSi. ingl isis dipl omatia aqcents akeTebS kol oniebSi safrangeTis winaaRmdeg brZol aze. avstriis yuradRebis centrSia brZol a germaniaSi pirvel obisaTvis prusiis winaaRmdeg. ingl is-avstiis kavSiri aS-karad Sesustda. maTi interesebi daSorda erTmaneTs.

SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom kaunicma kargad auRo al - Ro Secvl il viTarebas, rac imiT gamoixateboda, rom safrangeT-avstriis dapirispireba kargavs Tavis aq-tual obas da wina pl anze gamodis avstria-prusiis metoqeoba germaniaSi hegemoniisaTvis. pirvel ad es termini _`metoqeebis Secvl a- _ gamoiyenes XIX saukunis frangma istorikosebma e. butarikma da a. vandama, xol o frangma istorikosma de briol ma XIX saukunis 70-ian wl ebSi SemoiRo cneba `dipl omatiuri revol ucia-, romel mac sabol ood daimkvidra moqal a-qeobis ufl eba XIX-XX saukuneebs mij naze.

bol os da bol os, 1756 wl is maiss daido safrangeT-avstriis SeTanxmeba, romel ic saerTaSoriso urTierTobebis istoriaSi cnobil ia, rogorc versal is SeTanxmeba. es iyo kaunicis dipl omatiis warmateba. amerikel i istorikosi u. dorini aRniSnavs: `Tugvinda kargad gavigoT `dipl omatiuri revol ucia-, Cven kargad unda gaverkveT misi mTavri Semoqmedis kaunicis azrebis msvl el obSi-. dipl omatiis istoriaSi es Sevida rogorc `kaunicis kombinacia-.

ra Tqma unda, es SeTanxmeba avstriis dipl omatis warmateba iyo, magram miuxedavad amisa, mainc unda vaRiaroT, rom venas kidev sakmaod didi Zal isxmeva daWirda, raTa versal is pol itika misTvis sasurvel i mimarTul ebit waremarTa. 1757 wl is 1 maisis xel Sekrul ebis Tanaxmad safrangeTi SeuerTda antiprusiul koal icias, romel sac istorikosebi xSirad `kaunicis koal icias- uwodeben.

avstria-safrangeTis daaxl oebis saqmeSi katal izatoris rol i Seasrul a ruseTma. man uari Tqva ingl is-ruseTis SeTanxmebis gafarToebaze da 1756

wl is 25 marts xel i moawera xel Sekrul ebas avstri-
asTan, roml is mtrul i isrebi mimarTul i iyo prusi-
is winaaRmdeg. TandaTan, nel -nel a, ikveTeba antipru-
siul i koal iciis konturebi. [3.4]. Svidwl iani omis
(1756-1763 ww.) win saerTaSoriso urTierTobis histori-
aSi adgil i aqvs mkveTr metamorfozs, romel sac spe-
cial istebi „al iansebis damxobas- uwodeben. es iyo
Taviseburi cvl il eba, romel ic revol uciur xasiaTs
atarebda da istoriaSi „dipl omatiuri revol uciis“
saxel T Sevida [5]. es iyo kaunicis dipl omatiuri
moRvaweobis mwverval i.

kaunici TiTqos axl os idga mizanTan da man ais-
rul a didi xnis ocneba prusiis izol aciaSi moqceva,
magram 1761 wel s gardaicval a ruseTis imperatori
el isabed petres asul i (1741-1761 ww.) taxtze avida
petre III (1761-1762 ww.).

axal ma monarqma mkveTrad Secval a ruseTis saga-
reo pol itika. man j er separatul i zavi dado prusi-
asTan, xol o Semdeg ki masTan samokavSireo xel Sek-
rul eba gaaforma. Zal Ta ganl ageba aSkarad Seicval
l a. prusiam Tavi daaRwia dipl omatiur izol acias.
swored amitom ar iqca Svidwl iani omi avstriis da
kaunicis dipl omatiur triumfad. is iZul ebul i gax-
da Segueboda Secvl il mdgomareobas. 1763 wel s xel i
moewera zavs, roml is Tanaxmadac avstria da prusia
SeTanxmdnen status-kvoze. avstriam ver SeZl o sil i-
ziis dabruneba. is kvl av prusiis Semadgenl obaSi
rCeboda [6].

1765 wel s imperatori mari-terezas TanammarTve-
l i Seiqmna misi vaJi iosebi. kaunici imperatori qa-
l is erT-erTi saimedo dasayrdeni iyo. mari- tereza
kaunicze sakmaod dadebiTi azris iyo da masSi xedav-
da `yvel aze ufro erTgul msaxurs-. Camoyal ibda
triumvirati: mari-tereza, ioseb II, kaunici. maTi ur-
TierToba ideal uri ar yofil a da rTul i xasiaTiT
gamoirCeoda.

kaunicis pol itikuri aqtiuroba mxol od saga-
reo pol itikiT ar Semoifargl eboda. is did yurad-
Rebas uTmobda qveynis saSinao cxovrebas da monawi-
l eobda im gardaqmnebSi, romel ic xorciel deboda av-
striaSi XVIII saukunis meore naxevarSi. rogorc `gan-
manaTI ebl obis- momxre, is mxars uWerda saxel mwi-
foSi reformebis gatarebas. aRsaniSnavia, rom kauni-
ci iyo sagadaxdo da finansuri reformis erT-erTi
sul is Camdgmel i. SemoRebul i axal i avstriis tal e-
ri gaxda erT-erTi yvel aze ufro popul arul i da
gavr cel ebul i moneta germaniis teritoriaze. aSka-
rad progresul i xasiaTiT gamoirCeoda sagadasaxado
sistema, roml isaganac ganTavisufl ebul i ar iyo
aristokratia da samRvdel oeba. da mainc, miuxedavad
amisa, unda iTqvas, rom kaunicis stiqla, swored, saga-
reo pol itika iyo [7. 8. 9].

avstiis dipl omatiam da misma Tavkacma grafma
kaunicma SeZl o mcire revanSis aReba pol oneTis pir-
vel i ganawil ebis dros 1772 wel s. avstriis xel Si
gadavida samxreT pol oneTis miwebi. aRmosavl eT Gga-
l licia, l odomeri da cibsi.

avstriam isargebl a ruseT-TurqeTis omSi (1768-
1774 ww.) TurqeTis damarcxebiT da kaunicis dipl oma-
tiis Zal isxmeviT kidev ufro gaafarTova habsburgTa
samfl obel oebi. 1775 wel s avstriam SeierTa bukovina.

1777 wl is bol os 51 wl is asakSi moul odnel ad
gardaicval a bavariis kurfursti. avstriam dauyoneb-
l iv isargebl a Seqmnil i situaciIT da Seecada maqsima-
l urad moeTbo xel i. 1778 wl is 8 ianvars xel moweril i
xel Sekrul eba, rogorc erTxmad aRniSnaven istoriko-
sebi, kaunicis pol itikis warmateba iyo. am konvenciis
mixedviT, avstrias unda mieRo qvemo bavaria. konvencias
erTgvarovani reaqla ar moyol ia. gansakuTrebiT ga-
wiwmatda prusia. kaunici iZul ebul i gaxda ukan daexia.
1779 wl is 13 maiss xel moweril i teSenis SeTanxmehis
safuZvel ze bavariaSi avstriis winsvl a SeCerda. av-
striis xel Si gadavida qal aqi infirtel i.

1780 wl is 29 noembers 63 wl is asakSi gardaicval a imperatori mari-tereza. avstriis taxtze avida misi vaJi ioseb II (1780-1790). avstriel i istorikosebi am periods `iosebis aTwl eul s- uwodeben. misi mefobis periodSi mTavari aqcenti keTdeboda reformebze, saSinao pol itikaze, xol o sagareo pol itikaSi SedarebiT siwynarea. TiTqos kaunicma ukana pl anze gadaiwia, magram es mTI ad ase ar yofil a. saqme isaa, rom kaunici mxars uWerda da aqtiurad monawil eobda reformebis gatarebaSi. am gardaqmnebs Soris romel ic ganxorciel da ioseb II-is mmarTvel obis xanaSi yuradRebas ipyrobs gl exTa piradi damokidebul ebis gauqmeba, ediqti rj ul Tsemwynarebl obis Sesaxeb da sxva [6.10].

1790 wel s gardaicval a imperatori ioseb II da taxtze avida misi Zma l eopol d II (1790-1792 ww.). misi mmarTvel oba kaunicis moRvaweobis daskvniT akordad gvevl ineba. avstriis sagareo pol itikaSi erT-erTi central uri adgil i uWiravs safrangeTis didi revoluciisadmi damokidebul ebas. avstriis sagareo pol itikaSi xdeba mkveTri Semobruneba, rac umTavresad imiT gamoixateba, rom xdeba avstriis da prusiis daxl oveba, romel Ta mtrul i isrebi, pirvel yovl isa, mimarTul ia revol uciuri safrangeTis winaaRmdeg. 1790 wl is 27 ivl iss raixenbaxSi avstrias da prusias Soris daido xel Sekrul eba. amas Zal ian didi mniSvnel oba hqonda. faqtobrivad avstria cnobda prusias, rogorc meore dominirebul saxel mwifos germanias. erTi Tanamedrove dasZenda: `Tu avstria da prusia gaerTaindnen, es niSnavs imperiis aRsasrul s-. kaunici amis winaaRmdegi iyo. evropul i wonasworoba didi saxel mwifoebis gaerTianeba, roml is momxrec iyo avstriis kancl eri, ukve warsul s Cabarda. kaunici iZul ebul i gaxda gadaesinj a Tavisi damokidebul eba safrangeTisadmi.

1792 wl is 19 ianvars saxel mwifo sabWom ganixil a sakiTxi revol uciuri safrangeTis winaaRmdeg

qmediTi zomebis gatarebis Sesaxeb, magram 1792 wl is 1 marts uecrad gardaicval a imperatori I eopol d II da taxtze avida misi vaji franc II (1792-1835). axal imperators da kaunics Soris saerTo enis gamoZebnaver moxerxda da 1792 wel s 80 wl is kaunici gadadga.

dasarul s sainteresoa aRiniSnos, rom XVIII saukunis meore naxevarSi avstriis samefo karTan daaxl oeba ucdia qarTI -kaxetis mefes erekl e II (1744-1798 ww.). ori saxel mwifos mesveurebs Siris intensiuri mimowera gaCaRda. masSi aqtiurad iyo Cabmul i avstriis sagareo uwyebis meTauri grafi kaunic ritbergi, magram garkveul i subieqturi Tu obieqturi mizezebis gamo am ori saxel mwifos daaxl oeba ver moxerxda. 1783 wl is 24 ivl iss saqarTvel om xel i moawera ruseTTan georgievskis traqtats [11].

vencel anton dominik kaunici, grafi ritbergi gardaicval a 1794 wl is 27 ivniss da dakrZal es qal aqsl avkovosi brnostan axl os [12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18].

T. ANTADZE

AUSTRIAN DIPLOMAT ANTON KAUNITZ

The work is basically of cognitive nature and has rather modest aim: to acquaint the Georgian reader with the life and activity of XVIII century prominent Austrian diplomat Wenzel Anton Kaunitz (1711-1794). So far nothing has been written on the issue in the Georgian language.

The work emphasizes the basic moments of Graf Kaunitz's activity. The peak of his diplomatic activity was the „Diplomatic revolution” which took place prior to the seven years' war (1756-1763).

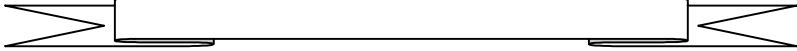
Kaunitz played active role Poland division in 1772.

He supported Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and his son Joseph II (1780-1790).

damowmebul i wyaroebi da literatura:

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saqarTvel os istoria



zaza al eqsi Ze

gi orgi mTawmi dl is qarTul i oTxTavis anderZebi

giorgi mTawmidl is damsaxureba qarTul i oTxTavis sabol oo redaqqiis gamarTvaSi dRes ukve kargad aris cnobil i. ufro cudad viciT, TviTon giorgi mTawmidel i ra azrisa iyo Tavisi namoRvawaris Sesaxeb: Tvl ida mas axal Targmanad, Tu mxol od Sejerebul redaqqiad.

Cvenamde moaRwia giorgi mTawmidl is anderZis orma ZiriTadma variantma, roml ebic erTvis misi redaqqiis saxarebaTa xel nawerebs.

radgan erTerTi maTganisaTvis nimuSad XII s-is gel aTis saxarebis (Q 908) anderZi moaqvT xol me, mec ase moviqcevi:

ese sacnaur iyavn yovel Ta, rameTu ese wmi-
daÁ oTxTavi *axl ad gATargmnia* friadiTa izul ebi-
Ta ZmaTaÁ vieTme sul ierTaÁTa da *berZul Ta saxa-
rebaTada SegAwamebia* friadiTa gamowul vil iTa.
da vinca-vin daswerdeT, viTa aqa hpoot, egre dawereT. Tu amisgan j er giCndes daweraÁ, RmrTisaTAs
sityuaTa nu scval ebT, aramed viTarca aqa sweria,
egre dawereT. da Tu ara raÁme gaSundes, Cuenni
yovel ni saxarebani pirvel iTgan wmi dad Targmni l -
nia da keTil ad _ xanmetnica da sabawmidurnica _
muniT dawereT da RmrTisaTAs erTmanerTsa nu gah-

revT, *da gl axakisa giorgisTAs*, romel man ese vTargmne, l ocva hyavT¹. 278v

meore tipis anderZis damaxasiaTebel nimuSad Se-
iZI eba motanil iqnas XI s-iT daTariRebul i axal ci-
xuri xel naweri (# 186)

ese sacnaur iyavn yovel Ta, rameTu ese
wmidaÁ oTxTavi *ara Tu axl ad gATargmnia*, ara-
med friadiTa iZul ebiTa ZmaTa vieTme sul ier-
TaÁTa, berZul Ta saxarebaTa SegAwamebia friadi-
Ta gamowul il viTa. da vinca-vin swerdeT, viTa
aqa hpoOT, egre dawereT. Tu amisgan j er-giCndes
daweraÁ, RmrTisaTAs sityuaTa nu scval ebT, ara-
med viTa aqa sweria, egre dawereT. da Tu ara
raÁme gaSuendes, Cuenni yovel ni saxarebani pirve-
l iTgan wmidad Targmnil nia da keTil ad _ xan-
metnica da sabawmidurnica _ muniT dawereT da
RmrTisaTAs erTmanerTs nu gahrevT. da *gl axaki-
sa giorgisTAs* l ocva yavT². 238r

es ori anderZi vrcl ad pirvel ad a. SaniZem
ganixil a³. misi azriT, anderZebSi giorgi mTawmidl is
Rvawl i saxarebis qarTul i teqstis sabol ood dad-
genis saqmeSi sxvadasxvagvaradaa warmodgenil i: erT
SemTxvevaSi ise gamodis, TiTqo mas srul iad axal i
Targmani moeces, meore SemTxvevaSi ki mas miewereba
Zvel ad naTargmni teqstis Sewameba berZnul Tan da
Sesworeba, e.i. redaqtoroba.

¹ qarTul xel nawerTa aRweril oba, axal i (Q) kol eqcia, t. II, Sedgenil ia da dasabeWdad momzadebul i T. bregaZis, T. en-
uqiZis, n. kasraZis, el . metrevel is, l . quTaTel aZisa da qr. SaraSiZis mier, Tb., 1958, gv. 330.

² axal cixis muzeumis xel nawerTa aRweril oba, Seadgines da dasabeWdad moamzades il . abul aZe, m. qavTariam, c. Wankievma (Tbil isi, 1987), gv. 71.

³ a.SaniZe, l iteraturul i cnoba axl adaRmoCenil i uZvel esi qarTul i teqstebis Sesaxeb meTerTmete saukunis mwer-
l obaSi, Txzul ebani, l (Tbil isi, 1957), gv. 284-288.

a. SaniZe Tvl is, rom giorgi mTawmidl iseul i unda iyos pirvel i anderZi, roml is mixedviTac igi Tavis Tavs oTxTavis mTargmnel ad acxadebs. argumentebi:

1. vanis saxarebis anderZSi, romel ic giorgi aTonel is avtografidan unda momdinareobdes, oTxTavi giorgis Targmnil ad aris gamocxadebul i. 2. giorgi mTawmidel i Tavis naTargmnad acxadebs "daviTnsac", Tumca arc oTxTavi da arc daviTni axal Targmanebs ar warmoadgenen.

a. SaniZe saeWvod miiCnevs SesaZl o varauds, rom orive anderZi giorgis ekuTvnodes. misi azriT, meore varianti Secvl il ia "maSindel i saekl esio wreebis" mier, romel Tac SeumsubugebiaT giorgi aTonel is "cota gazviadebul i" warmodgena Tavis Rvawl ze, "miT umetes, rom es arc Seefereboda saqmis namdvil viTarebas".

a. SaniZis Sexedul eba ar gaiziara k. kekel iZem. man avtograful ad miiCnia anderZis meore redaqlia, vinaidan am variants eTanxmeba (pirvel variants ewinaaRmdegeba) giorgi mTawmidl is biografis cnoba¹.

iv. imnaiSvil ma teqstol ogiurad Seiswavl a qarTul i saxarebebi da igive daskvna gaakeTa, rac winaswari dakvirvebiTac iyo cnobil i: giorgi mTawmidel s xel axl a ar uTargmnia qarTul i oTxTavi, aramed man eqvTime aTonel is redaqlia gadaamuSava da safuZvl i-anad Seaj era berZnul Tan.

winaswari samuSaos Catarebis safuZvel ze iv. imnaiSvil ma Semdegi daskvna gaakeTa:

"axl a, roca qarTul i saxarebis redaqliebi SedarebiT kargad aris Seswavl il i, da viciT, Tu ra wil i uZevs giorgis ukanasknel i, miseul i redaqliebis SeqmnaSi, Cven SegviZl ia Seumcdarad vTqvaT, rom sworia meore varianti, sadac giorgis miwereba berZnul Tan safuZvl iani Sej ereba-

¹ k. kekel iZe, Zvel i qarTul i literaturis istoria, t. I, (Tbil isi, 1980), gv. 412-413.

Sewameba maq̄simal uri daaxl oebis mizniT, manamade arsebul i (efTvimes) redaƣciis gadamuSaveba-Sesworeba, zrunva enis ganaxl ebisa da misi bunebrivi Taviseburebebis SeubRal avad dacvisaTvis, erTi sityviT, *safuZvl iani redaƣcia*".¹

saintereso, rom iv. imnaiSvil i giorgiseul redaƣcias TviTonac "Targmans" uwodebs: "TviT giorgic moiTxovda, rom misi *Targmani* xel uxl ebl ad daecvaT"; "sxvagan igi mokrZal ebiT moixseniebs Zvel Targmaneb, magram daJinebiT moiTxovs, rom misi *Targmani* zustad daicvan".

anderZis ori variantis arsebobas iv. imnaiSvil i Semdegnairad xsnis:

"Cveni azriT, rogorc vTqviT, giorgiseul i meore varianti unda iyos. igi, rogorc yovel - Tvis, moridebul ad, Tavmdabl ad wers "ara Tu axl ad gviTargmnia, aramed..." giorgis didi saxelisa da avtoritetis gamo merme sxvebma es Tavmdabl obiT naTqvami gaxsnes ("ara Tu ... aramed" amoires, bol os daumates "romel man es vTargmne"). `sxvagan igi mokrZal ebiT ixseniebs Zvel Targmaneb".²

Mmoral uri Sefasebebi ("moridebul i" da "Tavmdabal i") samecniero daskvnebisatvis sando terminologi rom ara aris, i. imnaiSvil is Semdegi msjel obaSic icens Tav:

"TviT giorgic moiTxovda, rom misi *Targmani* xel uxl ebl ad daecvaT, ar Seecval aT sityvebi da gramatikul i formebi, sintaqsi. igi gadamerT sTxovda: "nuca don-sa daakl ebT, nuca rametusa, vinaATgan don-ani Cuenca vicodeT..."³

¹ iv. imnaiSvil i, *qarTul i oTxTavis ori bol o redaƣcia*, (Tbil isi, 1979), gv. 55.

² i qve.

³ iv. imnaiSvil i, *qarTul i oTxTavis ...*, gv.154.

amrigad, dRes special istevisaTvis cxadia, rom giorgi mTawmidel s qarTuli oTxTavi axl idan ar uTargmnia. miuxedavad amisa, maTi damokidebul eba ori anderZisadmi mainc radikal urad gansxvavebul ia. Tu a. SaniZe Tvl is, rom giorgis SeeZl o Tavisi Rvawli "cota gazviadebul ad" warmoedgina da amitom upiratesobas pirvel variants aniWebs, iv. imnaiSvilistvis es gamoricxul ia. igi avtoriseul ad miCnevs meore variants, rogorc ufro bunebrivs giorgisaTvis ("igi, rogorc yovel Tvis, moridebul ad, Tavmdabl ad wers"), xol o misi Rvawli is gazviadeba "sxvebis" naxel avi hgonia.

Aam, erTi SexedviT, dal agebul situacias, sruiliad revs e.w. eCmiaZinis oTxTavi (XII-XIII). igi, rogorc special istebi Tvl ian, gadawerilia vanis oTxTavis jgufis xel naweridan¹, magram giorgis anderZi daculi aqvs ara im SinaarsiT, rogorc es mis dedanSi unda yofil iyo ("ese wmdaÁ oTxTavi axl ad gviTargmnia"), aramed ise, rogorc meore rigis anderZebSi ("ara Tu axl ad gviTargmnia, aramed..."). anu eCmiaZinis oTxTavis anderZi, mosal odnel is sawinaaRmdogod, giorgi mTawmidel s, miawers teqtis mxol od Sej erebas da ara Targmnas.

aset situaciaSi aRar SegviZl ia dabejiTebiT vTqvaT, romeli anderZi unda miviCniot uSual od giorgis avtografidan gadaweril ad da romeli "sxvebis naxel avad". maSin, ratom gansxvavdebian ase radikal urad anderZebi Sinaarsis mixedviT erTmaneTsgan, an saerTod gansxvavdebian Tu ara?

saintereso suraTs gvaZl evs saqarTvel os saxel mwifo muzeumis seifSi daculi giorgi mTawmidiseuli oTxTavis anderZi. oTxTavi gadawerilia 1669

¹ el . maWavariani, vanis oTxTavis (A1335) axl adaRmoCenili piri, *xel nawerTaAinstitutis moambe*, III (Tbilisi, 1961), gv. 141-154.

wel s vinme besarionis mier damenti III kaTol ikosis (1660-1676) daval ebiT.

oTxTavSi giorgi mTawmidl is anderZi mocemul ia meore variantiT, romel sac dabol oeba pirvel is msgavsi aqvs:

“ese sacnaur iyavn yovel Ta, rameTu ese wmi-
daÁ oTxTavi *araTu axl ad gviTargmnia, aramed*
friadiTa iZul ebiTa ZmaTa vietme sul ierTaÁTa
berZul Ta saxarebaTada Segviwamebia friadiTa
gamowul vil iTa. da vinca-vin swerdeT, viTa aqa
hpooT, egreT dawereT. Tu amisgan j er giCndes
daweraÁ, RmrTisaTÁs, sityuaTa nu Sescval ebT,
aramed viTarca aqa sweria, egreT dawereT. da
Tu ara raÁme gaSuendes, Cuenni yovel ni saxare-
bani pirvel iTgan wmidad Targmnil nia da keTi-
l ad _ xanmetnica da sabawmindurnic _ muniT da-
wereT da RmrTisaTÁs erTmaneTsa nu gahrevT da
gl axakisa giorgis TargmanisaTÁs I ocva yavT.”
saintereso is aris, rom domentiseul i saxarebis
anderZi Tavisi dabol oebiT ar aris erTaderTi.

A-251-Si (XVIII s.) vkiTxul obT:

“ese sacnaur iyavn yovel Ta, rameTu ese wmi-
daÁ oTxTavi ara Tu axl ad gÁTargmnia, aramed
friadiTa iZul ebiTa ZmaTa vietme sul ierTaTa
berZul Ta saxarebaÁTa SegÁwamebia friadiTa gamo-
wul il viTa. da vinca vin swerdeT, viTa aqa hpooT,
egreT dawereT. Tu amisgan j er-giCndes dawera,
RmrTisaÁTÁs sityuaÁsa nu Sescval ebT, aramed vi-
Tarca aqa sweria, egre dawereT. da Tu ara raÁme
gaSundes Cuenni yovel ni saxarebaÁni, pirvel iTgan
wmidad Targmnil nia da keTil ad xanmetnica da sa-
baÁwmidurnica, muniT dawereT da RmrTisaTÁs er-
TmaneTsa nu garevT, da *gl axakisa giorgi Targma-
nisaTÁs I ocva yavT*”¹. 212r-v

¹ qarTul xel nawerTa aRweril oba, yofil i saekl esio mu-
zeumis (A) kol eqcia, t. I₃, Seadgines da dasabeWdad moam-

marTal ia, am anderZis dasasrul Si giorgi pir-
dapir oTxTavis mTargmnel ad ar moixsenieba, magram
misi "giorgi Targmanad" dasaxel eba imis maCvenebel i
unda iyos, rom anderZis avtors Tu redaqtors igi
swored aseTad miaCnia.

gvaqvs iseTi SemTxvevac, rodesac anderZis teq-
sti pirvel i variantisaa ("axl ad gviTargmnia"), xol o
misi dabol oeba meore variantis ("gl axakisa giorg-
gistAs I ocva yavT").G

arq. 363 (XIV-XV ss) da gel . 76-Si (1592) vkiTxu-
l obT:

"ese sacnaur iyavn yovel Ta, rameTu ese wmi-
daÁ oTxTavi CuAn *axl ad gATargmnia* friadiTa
iZul ebiTa ZmaTa vieTme sul ierTaÁTa da *berZul -
Ta saxarebaTa Segviwamebia* friadiTa gamowul vi-
l iTa da vinca-vin swerdeT, viTa aqa hpooT, egre
dawereT. Tu amisagan giCndes daweraÁ, RmrTi-
saTAs sityuaTa nu scval ebT, aramed viTarca aqa
sweria, egre dawereT da Tu ara raÁme gaSuendes,
CuAnni yovel ni saxarebani pirvel iTgan wmidad
Targmnil ars da kual ad xanmetnica da sabawmin-
durnica muniT da, RmrTisaTaTAs, erTmaneTsa nu
gahrevT, *da gl axakisa giorgisaTAs I ocva hyavT.*
wmidano RmrTisano, uRirsisa basil istAsca, ro-
mel man wmidaÁ ese oTxTavi *mamis giorgis Targmnil i-
sa* saxarebisagan gardmowwere da SewamebaÁ didad mi-
xarkebia, RmrTisaTAs sityuasa nu Sescval ebT."¹

es anderZebi erTmaneTisgan momdinareobs, radgan
gadawerisa da qaragmebis araswori gaxsnis Sedegad
erTi da igive Secdomebi aqvT daSvebul i. sxva redaq-
ciebisagan gansxvavebiT, isini weren, rom "xanmetni da

zades T. bregaZis, m. qavTariam, I . quTaTel aZem (Tbil isi
1980), gv. 91.

¹ quTaisis istoriul i muzeumi, xel nawerTa aRweril oba, t.
I (Tbil isi 1953), gv. 215-216.

sabawmidurni" saxarebani "pirvel iTgan wmidad Targmni i" oTxTTavidan arian Targmni i ni.

rogor SeiZi eba daj gufdes giorgi mTawmidl is anderZebi tradiciul i SefasebiT?

1. anderZebi, roml ebic gvauwyeben, rom giorgis oTxTavi qarTul ad xel axl a uTargmnia da berZnul saxarebebTan Seudarebia. asea anderZis TavSic da bol oSic. 2. anderZebi, romel Ta mixedviTac, giorgis oTxTavi xel axl a ar uTargmnia, magram berZnul saxarebebTan Seudarebia. asea anderZis TavSic da bol oSic. 3. anderZebi, romel Ta dasawyisis mixedviTac, giorgis qarTul i oTxTavi axl ad uTargmnia, berZnul - Tanac Seudarebia, magram bol oSi imeoreben im anderZebis mosaxsenebel s, roml ebSic araferi ar aris naTqvami mis mier saxarebebis Targmni Sesaxeb. 4. anderZebi, romel Ta mixedviT, giorgis oTxTavi axl ad ar uTargmnia, magram berZnul Tan Seudarebia, xol o mosaxsenebel i nawil i ki mas oTxTavis mTargmnel ad moixseniebs. 5. anderZi, roml is ZiriTadi teqstis dedanic unda yofil iyo iseTi teqsti, romel Sic giorgi Tavis Tavis oTxTavis axl ad mTargmnel s uwodebs, am nusxisaTvis darTul anderZSi ki igi acxadebs, rom ar uTargmnia qarTul ad oTxTavi, aramed mxol od berZnul Tan Seudarebia.

erTi SexedviT, gamouval l abirinTSi aRmovCndiT. saqme marto is ki ar aris, giorgi mTawmidel s Tavis Tavze "cota gazviadebul i" warmodgena hqonda Tu ara, an sxvaTa bral ia mistvis Tavis Tavze "gazviadebul i warmodgenis" miwera. saqme is aris, rom anderZebi Zal ian gansxvavebul ni gamodian erTmaneTisgan. ori anderZis arsebobis daSveba ki arcerT mecniers ar unda.

Cemi azriT, giorgi mTawmidl is anderZebis ganxil va Tanamedrove moral uri kategoriebiT kidev ufro gamouval CixSi Segviyvans, vidre anderZebis sxvasaxvaoba. Sua saukuneebi ar asxvavebs mTargmnel sa da redaqtors, aRmSenebel sa da restavrators, av-

torsa da kompil ators. pl agiatis cnebac ki evropasi mxol od XVIII s-is meore naxevarSi gaCnda. Cven viciT ramdenime saukunis manZil ze samgzis restavri-rebul i Senobebi, romel Ta restavratorebi Taviant Tavs aRmSenebl ad Tvl ian; Cven viciT, mTI ianad sxvi-sagan gadmoweril i Txzul ebebi, roml ebSic bol o gadaweridan saukuneebiT daSorebul ambebi aRweril ia dednis mixedviT pirvel pirsI, rogorc TviTmxil vel is mier. viciT SemTxvevebi, rodesac sxvadasxva avtorisgan gadmoweril teqstebSi, sxvadasxva adgil as aRweril i movl enebi erTmaneTs upirispirdebian, magram kompil atorebi mainc avtorebad iTvl ebian. a. Sanizisa ar iyos, giorgi mTawmidel i Tavis Tavs daviTnis mTargmnel sac uwodebs, magram dRevandel i terminol ogiit igi mxol od redaqtoria. gavixsenoT mainc es anderZic, radgan igi zustad anal ogiuria zemoT motanil i anderZebisa:

"wmidano da RmerT-Semosil no mamano da Zmano, romel nica wmidata amat daviTTa miem-TxAvneT, ese sacnaur yavT yovel Ta, rameTu friadiTa izul ebiTa wmidata da sul ierTa mamaTa CuenTaATA vTargmnen ese daviTni axl ad berZul isagan qarTul ad me, gl axakman giorgi, uRirsman xuces-monazonman, friadiTa WiriTa da rudunebi-Ta, TAT icis RmerTman, mraval Ta berZul Ta dedata da daviTis TargmanTagan friadiTa gamowul il viTa da gamoziebiTa..."¹

rogorc vxedavT, giorgi mTawmidel i mkiTxveli ebs amcnobs, rom man ara marto gadaTargmna daviTni erTi berZnul i dednidan, aramed bevr berZnul dedansa da manamde arsebul Targmanebsac Seadara.

¹ ix. A351; qarTul xel nawerTa aRweril oba, yofil i saekl esio muzeumis (A) kol eqcia, t. I₄, Seadgines da dasabewdad moamzades T. bregaZis, m. qavTariam, I. quTaTel azem (Tbil isi, 1985), gv. 68-69.

efrem mcire, romel mac Zal ian kargad icis, ra aris Targmna da ra aris redaqtireba, daviTns uyoymanod giorgi mTawmidl is mier Targmnil ad miCnevs da isic ara erTxel, aramed orjer Targmnil ad Tvl is:

“giorgis ukue didsa mas saxel -modgamsa mu-Sakobisasa da mouwyinebl ad moqmedsa gristes venaĀisasa didi Ruawl i da Sroma Tavs-edva ganaxl ebisaTĀs da [ax]l ad Targmanebisa wignisa mis fsal munTaĀsa da ara *xol o erTgzis, aramed orgzisca eTargmna* igi berZul isagan”¹.

arc aris sakvirvel i. bibliur wignebSi da gansakuTrebiT saxarebebSi Setanil i yovel i cvl il eba imdenad mniSvnel ovani iyo, rom am cvl il ebebis Semtani, Cveni cnobierebiT Tu redaqtora CaiTvl eboda, maSindel i momxmarebl isTvis ueWvel ad iyo mTargmnel i. Mmxol od ase SegviZl ia gavigoT efrem mciris gamoTqmac _ “ara xol o erTgzis, aramed orgzisca eTargmna”.

ras niSnavs orgzis Targmna? xom ar SeiZl eba imis warmodgena, rom fsal munis giorgi mTawmidl iseul i “meore Targmani” misive “pirvel i Targmanisagan” ufro metad gansxvavdeboda, vidre giorgiseul i saxareba eqvTimeseul isgan. ufro metic, Tu sxvadasxva redaqqiis oTxTavebis Targmanebis sakiTxs ase kritikul ad moveqceviT, eqvTimeseul oTxTavsac xanmet da jruW-parxl is oTxTavebTan SedarebiT axal Targmanad ver CavTvl iT.

sul sxva mdgomareoba gvaqvs giorgi mTawmidl is Semdeg. giorgis uzarmazarma avtoritetma, Tavdadebul ma Sromam, ara marto Targmnam erTi dednidan, aramed mraval berZnul xel nawerTan Sedarebam da misma umkacresma anderZebma oTxTavis qarTul ad Targmnis saWiroeba moxsna qarTul i sazogadoebisaTvis.

¹ d. Tval TvaZe, efrem mciris kol ofonebi (Tbilisi, 2009), gv. 173.

giorgi mTawmidl iseul i oTxTavi iqca saqarTvel o-
saTvis vul gatađ.

magram gvaqvs erTmaneTisgan gansxvavebul i ori
anderZi, romel Taganac erTSi, special istTa azriT,
giorgi Tavis Tavs mTargmnel s uwodebs, xol o meore-
Si _ ara mTargmnel s, aramed redaqtors.

yvel a avtori gamoricxavs ori anderZi SesaZ-
l ebl obas. ori anderZi, rom arsebobdes, maSin gior-
gis orj er mainc unda daewera es teqsti Tavisi xe-
l iT. ganvixil oT aseTi SesaZl ebl obac.

j er davsvaT kiTxva: efrem mcire rom ambobs, gi-
orgim fsal muni orj er Targmnao, rogori saxiT un-
da warmovidginoT am ori Targmanis arseboba? ra
Tqma unda, ara zepirad, aramed orivej er weril obiTi
saxiT. efremi giorgi mTawmidl is mowafe iyo da es
orive Targmani Tavisi Tval iT rom ar enaxa, amas ver
ityoda. am Tval sazrisiT ufro zusti miTiTeba
gvaqvs giorgiseul i oTxTavis erTerT XI saukunis
xel naweris minawerSi.

A-845-Si vkiTxul obT:

nikol aos xuccessa miecin RmerTman sasyi de-
l i da Zal i Cemisa keTil isaTÂs da wyal obisa
misiTa dediTa davwere, romel mas daewera gior-
gi mTawmidel isa saxarebisagan, romel i giorgi
mTawmidel sa berZul Ta saxarebaTada Seemowma *me-
samed, orjel pirvel Seemowma*. RmerTman miecin
sasyidel i sul sa missa SromisaTÂs, amin-¹.

giorgi mTawmidl is cxovrebidan kargad viciT,
rom mis Targmanebis misive Tanamedroveni da uSual od
momdevnioni dauyovnebl iv gadawerđnen xol me da ase
avr cel ebdnen qarTvel Ta samyofel oSi. maT, rogorc
Cans, isic ki icodnen, giorgis dedanTagan romel i
iyo berZnul Tan Sej erebul i pirvel i varianti, rome-
l i meore da romel i mesame. Tu giorgim samj er gada-

¹ М. Джанашвили, Описание Рукописей церковного музея духовен-
ства грузинской епархии, кн. III, №13, (Тифлис, 1908), стр. 61-62.

wera mis mier Targmnil i oTxTavis tegstebi, cxadia, SeiZl eboda, rom anderZic minimum ori variantiT daewera. oRond Tavidanve minda xazi gavirusva: SeuZl ebel ia erT variantSi daewera ar miTargmniao, xol o meoreSi ki _ vTargmneo. erTi ram ki SeiZl eboda gaekeTebina: meore da mesame variantSi, mas Semdeg, rac muSaoba kidev ufro gaacxovel a, mas SeeZl o emociurad gaeZl ierebina Tavisi Rvawl is Sefaseba: ara marto vTargmne, aramed gamowvl il viTac Sevudareo berZnul s.

Sevadarot, axl a anderZebis pirveli da meore variantis dasawyisebi da maTi Sinaarsoblivi ganmasxvavebel ebi.

I

"ese sacnaur iyavn yovel Ta, rameTu ese wmi-daÁ oTxTavi *axl ad gATargmnia* izul ebiTa ZmaTa vietme sul ierTaÁTa da berZul Ta saxarebaTada Segviwamebia friadiTa gamowul il viTa..."

II

"ese sacnaur iyavn yovel Ta, rameTu ese wmi-daÁ oTxTavi *ara Tu* axl ad gATargmnia, *aramed* friadiTa izul ebiTa ZmaTa vietme sul ierTaÁTa, berZul Ta saxarebaTada Segviwamebia friadiTa gamowul il viTa..."

meore variantSi pirveli isagan gansxvavebuli aris mxol od mapirispirebeli kavSirebi "ara Tu...aramed". iv. imnaisvil is azrit, STamomavl obam, romel sac surda giorgi mTawmideli oTxTavis mTargmnel ad gamoecxadebina, swored es mapirispirebeli kavSirebi amoagdo oTxTavidan da datova fraza "ese wmi-daÁ oTxTavi axl ad gviTargmnia".

sainteresoa, ra funqcia aqvs mapirispirebel kavSirs da asrul ebs Tu ara am funqcias igi Cvens SemTxvevaSi. mapirispirebeli kavSirebis SemTxvevaSi "aramed"-iT gansazRvrul ma daqvemdebarebul ma winadadebam semantikurad unda gamoricxos is, rac mocemul ia mTavar winadadebaSi.

magal iTad:

"ara Tu piriT Semaval i Seaginebs kacsA,
aramed piriT gamomaval i Seaginebs kacsA"¹;

"xol o mogueTxra ese ara Tu uCinoTa
vieTme mier kacTa, aramed friadca saCinoTa da
brwyinval eTa"²;

"iTqumis l om eSmakica, aramed araTu
mefobisaTAs gina Tu sixarul isa ganyofita
yovel Ta mimarT, aramed mtacebl obisa misisaTAs
da ZAr-ZArad mZl avrebisa"³.

"ara Tu meyseul ad Sewua, aramed mraval Jam
tanj viTa miagebda mas"⁴.

rogorc vxedavT mapirispirebel i kavSirebis piri-
vel nawil Si "ara Tu" Tavidanve Cadebul ia aucil eb-
l oba imisa, rom "aramed"-iT dawyebul ma daqvemdeba-
rebul ma winadadebam gamoricxos winamaval i winada-
debis ZiriTadi debul eba da TviTon srul iad axal i,
sapispiro debul eba wamoayenos. aseTma mapirispi-
rebel ma kavSirma dResac Semoinaxa Tavi.

gvaqvs ki aseTi urTierTgamomricxavi dapiris-
pireba giorgi mTawmidel is anderZSi? "ara Tu axl ad
miTargmnia, aramed Semiwamebia" erTmaneTs ar gamo-
ricxavs. rom gvqondes, "ara Tu axl ad miTargmnia,
aramed arca Semiwamebia", yvel aferi adgil ze iqnebo-
da, mapirispirebel i kavSirebi Tavis funqcias Seasru-

¹ maTe 15, 11.

² cxorebaÁ da moqal aqobaÁ RmerTsemosil isa netarisa ma-
misa Cuenisa serapionisi, Zvel i qarTul i agiografiul i
literaturis Zegl ebi, t. I. (Tbilisi 1964), gv. 335.

³ epifane kApril isaÁ Tqumul i epifane episkoposi kos-tan-
tia qal aqisaÁ, romel ars dedaÁ kAprós Wal akisaÁ, ro-
mel Tqua aTormetTa maT Tual TaTAs, Satberdis krebul i
X saukunisa, gamosacemad moamzades b. gigineiSvil ma da
el . giunaSvil ma (Tbilisi, 1979) gv. 145.

⁴ epifane kApril i, Satberdis krebul i, gv. 151.

I ebdā, vīnādan Targmna ar upirispīrdeba Sedarebas, pīriqīT, mīsi Semadgenel i nawil ic ki SeiZl eba iyos.

aris kidev erTi SesāZl ebl oba mapirispirebel i kavSirebis gamoyenebisa. saxel dobr, rodesac qvemdebare winadadeba āZl ierebs an amatebs raimes ZiriTads.

magal iTad:

“araTu mcired nu ese ityĀ, viTarmed visiZve... erT da orgzis, aramed mraVal gzis”¹ (udabnos mraVal Tavi);

“araTu erTi gĀrgĀni, aramed gĀrgĀnebi ricxuad sul Ta maT, romel ni acxoven”²;

“araTu erTsa-Soris nawil sa sxeul Tasa Semoqmedman ganukueTa Semxebl obaĀ, aramed kninRada yovel sa sxeul sa cxoel sasa”³.

anal ogia giorgi mTawmidl is anderZis meore variantTan aSkaraa, qvemdebare winadadeba āZl ierebs mTavars: “araTu erTi, aramed mraVal i”, “araTu erTi gĀrgĀni, aramed gĀrgĀnebi”, “araTu erTsa Soris nawil sa, aramed kninRada yovel sa sxeul sa”, “araTu mi-Targmnia ... aramed Semi wamebia”.

“araTu... aramed” mapirispirebel i kavSiri uxerxul obas rom uqmni da anderZis gvīandel ga-

¹ swavl aĀ kĀril e ierusal imel isaĀ sinanul isaTĀs, udabnos mraVal Tavi, teqsti gamosacemad moamzades: I . baramiZem, k. danel iam, r. enuqaSvil ma, i. imnaiSvil ma, I . kikanāZem, m. SaniZem da z. WumburiZem (Tbil isi, 1994), gv. 144.

² I eonti nikopol el i, cxorebaĀ da gangebaĀ amba sĀmeonisi, romel sa ewoda RmrTisaTĀs sul el , mamaTa cxovrebanī, britaneTis muzeumis qarTul i xel naweri XI sau kunisa, teqsti gamosacemad moamzada, gamokvl eva da I eqsikoni daurTo v. imnaiSvil ma (Tbil isi, 1975), gv. 310.

³ nemesios emesel i, bunebisaTĀs kacisa, ber/zul iTgan gadmoRebul i iovane petriwis mier, qarTul i teqsti Seiswavl a, gamosacemad moamzada da I eqsikon-saZiebel i daurTo s. gorgaZem (Tbil isi, 1914), gv. 84.

damwers, kargad Cans 1520 w-iT daTariRebul i er-
Ti xel naweris (H1721) minaweridan:

"ese sacnaur iyavn yovel Ta da rameTu ese
wmidaÁ oTxTavi ara axl ad gÂTargmnia, aramed
friadiTa iZul ebiTa ZmaTa vietMe sul ierTaÁTa
berZul Ta saxarebaTada SegÂmowmebia... " ...293r.

vfiqrob, gvaqvs SesaZI ebl oba, anal ogiebi kidev
ufro gavaZI ieroT. amis saSual ebas gvaZI evsAQqvemde-
bare winadadebaSi -ca nawil akis gamoyeneba.

magal iTad:

"da gankurnna yovel ni wyl ul ebani da sal -
mobani ara Tu gamoCinebul Tani, aramed gamouCi-
nebel Tani-ca"¹;

"ara Tu aRmarTebad oden ver SeuZI es, ara-
med SeZrvad-ca"²;

"ara Tu me martoÁ, aramed krebul i-ca ese...
devnul varT krebul isa misgan, romel i mbrZo-
des me"³

vcadoT, aseTive konteqstSi wavikiTxoT giorgi
mTawmidl is anderZis meore varianti "ese wmidaÁ oT-
xTavi ara Tu axl ad gÂTargmnia, aramed... berZul Ta sa-
xarebaTada Segviwamebia friadiTa gamowul il viTa"?

zemoT motanil citatebTan SedarebiT anderZis
teqsts akl ia mxol od qvemdebare winadadebis "-ca"
nawil aki. rom gvqondes igi, giorgi mTawmidl is an-
derZi aseT saxes miRebda: "ese wmidaÁ oTxTavi ara
Tu axl ad gÂTargmnia, aramed... berZul Ta saxarebaTa-
ca Segviwamebia friadiTa gamowul il viTa." aseT Sem-

¹ epifane kÂprel i, Satberdis krebul i, gv. 160.

² moqcevaÁ qarTI isaÁ, Zvel i qarTul i agiografiul i li-
teraturis Zegl ebi, wigni I (X-X ss.), dasabeWdad moam-
zades il . abul aZem, n. aTanel iSvil ma, n. goguaZem, I . qa-
j ai am, c. qurcikiZem, c. Wankievma da c. j Ramai am (Tbil isi
1964), gv. 138.

³ TargmanebaÁ daviTis fsal munebisaÁ, Satberdis krebul i,
gv. 376.

TxvevaSi, axal qarTul ad es adgil i unda gveTargmna ase: "es wmi da oTxTavi ara Tu axl ad vTargmneT, aramed berZnul teqstebSac SevadareT". isic naTel i xdeba CvenTvis, rom berZnul oTxTavebTan "friadi gamowul vil iT" Sedareba giorgisaTvis im momentSi, rodesac manamade ukve ramdenime Targmani arsebobda, ufro mniSvnel ovania, vidre sakuTriv Targmna.

magram sad aris es -ca nawil aki, romel ic giorgi mTawmidl is anderZs sasurvel ni uanss mi aniWebda?

vfiqrob, Cven saTanado yuradRebas ar vuTmobT -da nawil aks gamoTqmaSi "berZul Ta saxarebaTa-da Segvi wamebia."

ra Tqma unda, pirvel rigSi unda vifiqroT, rogorc Cans, aseC fiqrobdnen, rom am SemTxvevaSi "-da" mimarTul ebis maCvenebel i Tandebul ia, rogorcaa, magal iTad, "Cem-da"="Cem-Tvis". magram me ar minda sxva SemTxvevebic dagvrCes ugul vebel yofil i.

j er ki dev n. marsa aqvs si tyvis bol os -da nawil akad gaazrebul i da -ca-sTan gaigivebul i¹. SemdegSi es mosazreba daadastura S. ZiZigurma², i. abul aZemac Tavisi I eqsikoni cal ke gamoyo -da rogorc nawil aki da sail ustraci od darTul i winadadebiT daadastura, rom masSi swored -c(a)-s mniSvnel obas debs: "romel Ta aRricxuaÁ kninRa-da SeuZl ebel ars"³. aseve z. sarj vel aZes, marTal ia, -ca-sTan gaigiveba ar uxsenebia, magram mis mier motanil i magal iTebi sxvas arafers niSnavs. maTgan erTerTia swored is, romel ic i. abul aZesac aqvs miTiTebul i:

¹ Н. Марр, Термины из абхазско-русских этнических связей, Избранные работы, М, гв. 30.

² S. ZiZiguri, kavSirebi qarTul enaSi (Tbil isi, 1969), гв. 401.

³ ილია აბულაძე, ზველი qarTul i enis I eqsikoni (Tbil isi, 1973), гв. 104.

"romel Ta aRricxuaÁ kninRa-da SeuZl ebel
ars"¹;

"martivTa vieTme Suri da ĀdomaÁ STauTesa
da mciredRa-da ZmaTa mista Seaxo knini raĀme"²;

"wärmaval varT yovel ni, viTarca-da mamani
Cuenni "³;

am monacemebs me davumatebdi kidev erT tipol o-
giur anal ogs somxuri enidan. Zvel somxurSi Yv ew
("ev") aRniSnavs rogorc "da" kavSirs, ise "-c(a)" na-
wil aks. qarTul isgan ganmasxvavebel i is aris, rom
somxurSi Yv ew nawil aki win uzRvis im sityvas, rome-
lic unda aRniSnos. magal iTad qarTul is "is-ic"
Zvel somxurSi iqneba Yv na ew na. es movl ena saerTod
tipol ogiuri ganmasxvavebel ia Zvel i qarTul i da
somxuri enebisaTvis. rac qarTul isaTvis aris Tandebul
i, is somxurSi gadmocemul ia windebul iT da es
bunebrivic aris indoevropul enaTa struqturisaT-
vis. magram Zvel somxurSi gvaqvs qarTul is anal ogi-
uri situaciebic, rodesac Yv ew (-c) nawil aki bol os

¹ giorgi mTawmideli, cxorebaÁ netarisa mamisa Ceunisa
iovanesi da eFTĀmesi da uwyebaÁ Rirsissa mis moqal a-
qobisa misisa, Zvel i qarTul i agiografiul i litera-
turis Zegl ebi, wigni II (XI-XV ss.), dasabeWdad moamzades
il . abul aZem, n. aTanel iSvil ma, n. goguaZem, m. dol aqiZem,
c. qurcikiZem, c. Wankievma da c. j Ramaiam (Tbil isi 1967),
gv. 62.

² ieremia. 3:36.

³ cxorebaÁ wmidisa mamisa Cuenisa ioane zedaZnel isaÁ, ro-
mel i brZanebiTa RmrTisaÁTa da wionamZRurobiTa sul isa
wmidisaÁTa moivl ina queyaniT Suamdinar iT queyanad qar-
Tul isa aTormetta mowafeTa mista wmidata Tana, Zvel i
qarTul i agiografiul i literaturis Zegl ebi, wigni III,
dasabeWdad moamzades il . abul aZem, e. gabiZaSvil ma, n.
goguaZem, m. dol aqiZem, g. kiknaZem da c. qurcikiZem (Tbil
l isi, 1971) gv. 89.

erTvis makavSi rebel si tyvas. magal iTad: ipr-& (rogor-
c), na-& (agreTve, si tyva-si tyviT "i sec").

gavixsenoT axl a zemoT ukve motanil i magal iTi
da yvel aferi naTel i gaxdeba:

"araTu erTsa-Soris nawil sa sxeul Tasa Se-
moqmedman ganukueTa Semxebi obaÁ, aramed *kninRa-
da* yovel sa sxeul sa cxoel sasa".

am funqciis Semsrul ebel i mgonia giorgis an-
derZis -da nawil aki si tyvaSi "berZul Ta-da".

da bol os, kidev ori sakiTxi:

1. giorgi mTawmidel s, araferSi ara sWirdeboda
xazgasma, saxareba ar miTargmnia, mar to berZnul s Se-
vudareo. mas SeeZl o pirdapir ganecxadebina: es saxa-
reba berZnul saxarebebTan aris gul modgined Seda-
rebul i da nurafers CaasworebTo. saxarebis Tar-
gmnis Sesaxeb mas unda el aparaka, mxol od maSin, Tu
ki igi Tavis Tavs mTargmnel ad Tvl ida.

2. SeiZl eboda Tu ara giorgi mTawmidel s ori
anderZi daewera? efrem mcirisa da anonimuri XI s-is
anderZidan Cven vnaxeT, rom giorgis qarTul i saxa-
reba samj er mainc Seudarebia berZnul i saxarebebiTvis
da samivej er xel naweric Seuqmnia. misma Tanamedrove-
ebma kargad icodnen, romel i iyo pirvel i Sej erebis
produqti, romel i meore da romel i mesame. SeuZl ebe-
l ia warmovidginoT, rom yovel i axal i Sej erebis Se-
degad Seqmnil i xel nawerisTvis is anderZs wina xel -
naweridan iwerda. bunebrivia, rom Tavis anderZi gi-
orgis zepirad ecodineboda da mxol od mcired niu-
ansebs Tu daumatebda. magal iTad, gaaZl irebda wina-
dadebas: axl ad vTargmne da berZnul s Sevudareo _
ara mar to axl ad vTargmne, aramed berZnul sac Sevu-
dareo.

Z. ALEKSIDZE

**THE COLOPHONS OF THE GEORGIAN GOSPELS
BY GEORGE THE HAGIORITE**

Two variants of the colophons of George the Hagiorite have reached us. It is assumed that according to one of them George calls himself the translator of the Gospels, while the second colophon claims that he is the editor of an already existing translation. According to most of the scholars, out of two colophons, only one can belong to George, for some only the first one is authentic, whilst for the others – the second. I would suggest that the study of all colophons belonging to George the Hagiorite can bring following conclusions: The variants of the colophon do not contradict each other, both belong to George and he considers himself the translator of the Gospels from anew.

mariam karbel aSvil i

Tamaris pirveli istorikosis frazis
`momRebel man wessa rasame sparsTa ganagissa"
ganmartebisTvis
(masal ebi qarTuli politikuri azrovnebis
istoriisTvis)

`ese ambavi sparsuli..."
rusTaveli, vefixistaosani, 9.

`momRebel man wessa rasame sparsTa ganagissa"
Tamaris pirveli istorikosi

`sparsuli werilebi".
Sarl monteskie.

Tamaris pirveli istorikosis qronika `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani" ivane j avaxiSvil is Se-fasebit `ertaderTi qarTuli istoriuli Txzulebaa, romelic ritoruli xelovnebita da mWevrmetyvel ebis moqarguli obitaris naweri", magram obieqturobis Tval sazrisiT imasac aRniSnavs, rom Tumca `Tamar mefis istorikosi Tavis Tavs `Semasxmela" Tvlida, magram WeSmaritebisa da piruTvnel obisaTvis maincar uRal atnia" (j avaxiSvil i 1945: 237, 241).

aRsaniSnavia, rom CvenTvis amjerad saintereso istoriuli faqti _ meWurWl eTuxuces yuTlu arslanisa da mis TanamoazreTa politikuri moZraoba _ mxolod mis TxzulebaSia gadmocemuli. Tamaris pirveli istorikosi wers: `da eseca ucxo mosagonebeli: yuTlu arslan, cxovarman joris saxed orbunebisa myofel man, vitar miscems biWta gonebisa mzakuareba, **momRebel man wessa rasame sparsTa ganagissa**, iTxova karavi dadgmad vel sa isnisasa da sanaxebisa saRodeb- l isasa da Tqua: `dasxdomilni mun Siga, ganmgebel- l ni micemisa da moRebisa, wyal obisa da Serisxvisani,

vhkadrebdeT da vacnobebdeT Tamars, mefesa da dedofal sa; maSinRa srul iqmnebodes gangebul i Cueni" (q-c 1959: 330-31; xazi Cemîa _ m. k.).

"istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani" rusul enaze kornel i kekel iZem Targmna; CvenTvis saintereso monakveTis Targmani a: Страшно даже вспомнить: Кутлу-Арслан, это мулоподобное существо, происходившее из низших слоев и одаренное коварным умом, **сочинил какой-то проект на персидский лад** и потребовал поставить палатку на Исанском поле в окрестностях «Плача», при этом говорил: «сидя в этой палатке, будем выслушивать, отвечать и ведать делами помилования и наказания; свои решения будем докладывать царице Тамаре, которая будет приводить их в исполнение» (kekel iZe 1973: 190; xazi Cemîa _ m. k.)

qronikidan `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani" zemoT moyvanil i teqsti, romel ic Cven interesis sagan waroadgens, Tavisi arsiT pol itikuri diskursia, romel ic ori araTanabari mocul obis nawil isgan Sedgeba, sadac yovel i fraza erTmaneTTan mizez-Sedegobriv kavSirSia: pirvel i _ `yuTI u-arsl an ... momRebel man wessa rasame sparsTa ganagissa"; meore _ iTXova karavi dadgmad vel sa isnisasa da sanaxebasa saRodebl isasa da Tqua: `dasxdomil ni mun Siga, ganmgebel - ni micemisa da moRebisa, wyal obisa da Serisxvisani, vkhkadrebdeT da vacnobebdeT Tamars, mefesa da dedofal sa; maSinRa srul iqmnebodes gangebul i Cueni".

mniSvnel ovani faqtorîa, rom diskurss win uZ-Rvis aRweril i istoriul i faqtis avtoriseul i Se-faseba, romel ic aseve ori nawil isgan Sedgeba: pirvel i _ `da eseca ucxo mosagonebel i"; meore _ `... cxo-varman joris saxed or bunebasa myofel man viTar miscems biWTa gonebisa mzakuareba". pirvel i nawil i SeiZl eba exebodes rogorc diskursis pirvel nawil s, ise meores, an orives erTad; meore nawil i `is-nis karvis" ideol ogis savsebiT Segnebul i ganmaqi qebel i daxasiaTebaa, xol o orive erTad mkiTxvel s Ta-

vidanve uaryofiTad ganawjobs aRweril i istoriul i faqtis mimarT.

pol itikur diskursSi gasarkvevia ori ram: pirvel i _ ras niSnavs `wesi rasame sparsTa ganagissa" da meore _ pol itikuri Tval sazrisiT ra igul isxmeba diskursis meore nawil Si; amis Semdeg ki unda ganimartos, ra kavSirSia pirvel i diskursi meoresTan.

* * *

unda aRiniSnos, rom `sparsTa wesis" Taobaze ivane javaxiSvil i `qarTvel i eris istoriis" meore tomSi arafers ambobs, samagierod, es sakiTxi vrcl adaa ganxil ul i misi `qarTul i samarTI is istoriaSi".

`sparsTa wesis" sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT `qarTul i samarTI is istoriaSi" ivane javaxiSvil i sagangebod ayenebs Semdeg probl emas: `unebl iet ibadeba **kiTxva** saqarTvel os pol itikuri cxovrebisa da saxel mwifoebrivobis am gasaocar da friad sagul isxmo moZraobisa da programis **sadaurobis** Sesaxeb, saxel dobr, yuTI u-arsl anisa da `simdidrit aRzevebul Ta" dasis pol itikuri programa da ideal ebi qarTul i maSindel i cxovrebis sinamdvil is nayofi iyo, Tu ucxo xil s, an ucxoetiTgan Semotanil i azrovnebis anarekl s warmoadgenda? aseTi survil i miT ufro bunebrivia, rom Tamar mefis pirvel istorikoss amazec aqvs oriode sityva gakvrit naTqvami. Tamaris am Tavgamodebul momxre avtors es ideal ebi ucxourad aqvs dasaxul i: yuTI u arsl anma Tavisi pol itikuri gegma wamoayena `momRebel man wessa rasame sparsTaganissa"-o... maSasadame, istorikosis sityviT, am pol itikuri dasis gegma TiTqos sparsul i wesis mimbaZvel obas unda warmoadgendes. magram me-XI-XII saukuneebSi sparseTSi mainc araviTari odnavac mainc amis msgavsi wesi ar yofil a. TviT Tamaris istorikossac rom am SemTxvevaSi sparseTis cxovrebis araviTari amis-magvari konkretul i movl enis dasaxel eba ar SeeZl o, amas TviT misgan naxmari gamonaTqvamic am-

JRavnebs: `wessa rasame sparsTaganissa"-o, raRac spar-
sul i wesisi SemomRebi iyoo. namdvil i cnobis patroni
aseT gaurkvevel nacval saxel s ar gamoiyenebda ... nax-
mari gamonaTqvamebis aseTi gaurkvevl oba da sparseTSi
pol itikuri cxovrebis da saxel mwifoebrivobis aspa-
rezze amis msgavsi movl enis uqonl oba gvafiqrebinebs,
rom am SemTxvevaSi ufro mefis pol itikis momxre da-
sis wevrisa da istorikosisagan pol itikur mowinaaR-
mdegeTa gasawbil ebl ad da saxel is gasatexad naxmar
fandTan unda gvqondes saqme, vidre cxovrebis utyuar
anarekl Tan" (j avaxiSvil i 1929: 181-182).

CvenTvis sainteresoz frazas `sparsTa wesis" Se-
saxeb n. berZeniSvil i `saqarTvel os istoriis sakiT-
xebis" mecxre tomSi or sxvadasxva monakveTSi exeba,
Tumca Sinaganad, Sinaarsobrivad isini mWidro urTi-
erTkavSirSi arian: `roca Tamaris istorikosi yuTI u
arsl anis Sesaxeb ambisas sparsTa wesze l aparakobs,
is sparseTSi im dros arsebul mraval mTavrobas gu-
l isxmobs, sadac sul TanTa ufl ebani mitacebul i
hqondaT aTabagebs da amirebs. TviT sul TanTa dasma-
gadagdeba am amirebisa da aTabagebis xel Si moeqca
sul tan masudis Semdeg (+ 1152) rva wl is ganmavl oba-
Si oTxi sul Tani gamocval es, sanam uZI ieres amirTa-
ganis (aTabagis) ol daguzis aRzrdil i da misi morCi-
l i arsl an ibn toRril i ar iqna arCeul i am emiris
wyal obiT. `sparsTa wesi" istorikosis enaze es aris
mefis ufl ebis Sesusteba da xel isufal Ta gaZI iere-
ba _ mraval mTavroba, rac agre ar moswons mas da
romel sac yovel gvare borotebis mizevad xdis" (ber-
ZeniSvil i 1979: 145).

Semdgom mkvl evari kvl av daubrunda am sakiTxs:
`sparseTSi sami sasul Tno Seiqmna ... `amas Sina viTar-
ca ars wesi mraval mTavrobisa Seiqmna Suri da xdo-
ma..." Tamaris istorikosi mteria mraval mTavrobisa
da, roca is yuTI u arsl anis gamosvl isas l apar-
akobs `sparsTa wesze", safiqrebel ia, is aq swored
mraval mTavrobas gul isxmobs, romel ic mas agreri-

gad ar moswons"... (berZeniSvil i 1979: 175). magram, unda aRiniSnos, rom amgvari interpretacia `sparsTa wesi-sa" srul winaaRmdegobaSi modis mkvl evaris didmniS- vnel ovan debul ebasTan, romel ic yuTI u-arsl anis pol itikuri programis arss asaxavs: `yuTI us prog- rama xom kidev ufro akanonebda saqarTvel os mTI ia- nobas" (berZeniSvil i 1979: 138).

amrigad, fraza `momRebel man wessa rasame spar- sTa ganagissa" gagebul ia, rogorc zusti miniSneba nimuSisa, Tu saidan aiRo da ris mixedviT Camoayal i- ba Tavisi pol itikuri programa pol itikosma-meWur- WI eTxucesma, Tumca ivane j avaxiSvil ma isic xazgas- miT aRniSna, rom `... sparseTSi mainc araviTari odna- vac mainc amis mzgavsi wesi ar yofil a" (j avaxiSvil i 1929: 182).

es mraval mxriv sayuradRebo sakiTxi Sinagan winaaRmdegobaTa gamo Cixur situaciaSi aRmoCnda, aporiad iqca da gamouval viTarebaSi moeqca, rasac Cveul ebriv circulus vitiosus anu `mankieri wre" ewodeba.

* * *

rac Seexeba yuTI u arsl anis pol itikur kon- cefcias, igi qarTul istoriografiaSi sxvadasxvagva- rad _ xSirad diametral urad sapirispirod _ aris Sefasebul i.

yuTI u arsl anis dasis gamosvl a Tamaris `isto- riaTa da azmaTa" avtorma Seafasa, rogorc `ambavi ucxo mosagonebel i" `dasasrul isa Ael mwi fobisa pat- ronisasa mimcemel i", da mis meTaurus `gonebisa mzaku- areba" daswama; ivane j avaxiSvil ma mas `gasaocari da sagul isxmiero pol itikuri moZraoba", `progresul i dasi" (j avaxiSvil i 1929: 158; j avaxiSvil i 1965: 251; j a- vaxiSvil i 1905: 90) uwoda, simon yauxCiSvil ma _ `uzarmazari ambavi parl amenturi wyobil ebis SemoRe- bis cdisa" (q-c 1959: 015).

ivane j avaxiSvil ma xazgasmiT aRniSna, rom did- gvarian aznaurTa gaficva da yuTI u-arsl anis dasis

moTxovna erTmaneTisgan Zirfesvianad gansxvavdeba: `yuTI u-arsl anisa da misi dasis mTel i programa da moqmdebac istorikoss srul ebiT araCveul ebriv da Tanac gasaocar SemTxveul ebad aqvs mkiTxvel isTvis warmodgenil i: `egeca ucxo m o s a g o n e b e - l i o " . . . maSasadame, amis msgavsi movl ena mas saqarTvel oSi mainc ar egul eba" (j avaxiSvil i 1929: 167).

didi qarTvel i istorikosis gamokvl evis Tanaxmad, XII saukunis 80-ian wl ebSi saqarTvel oSi `demokratiul moZraobas Tavisi mqadagebl ebi hyavda, da aras dros aravis ase mkafiod da naTI ad ar dauyenebia sakiTxi saqarTvel os weswyobil ebis Secvl is saWiroebis Sesaxeb, roml is Sedegadac saqarTvel oSi TviTmpyrobel obis aCrdil ic unda gamqral iyo da mis magier parl amentis msgavsi dawesebul eba unda daarsebul iyo" (j avaxiSvil i 1965: 250).

didma mecnierma `azmaTa" avtoris mier sityvaZunwad daweril mcire teqtSi udidesi istoriul i mniSvnl obis mqone pol itikuri terminol ogia amoikiTxa: am kol osal uri intel eqtual uri masStabis interpretaciis wyal obiT XII saukunis meistories mier STamomaval TaTvis datovebul ma TiTqos Cveul ebrivma sityvebma saocari feriscval eba ganicades da antikuri pol itikuri fil osofiis specifikuri iuridiul i eniT mkafiod Camoyal ibebul i pol itikuri programis saxiT mogvevl innen. yuTI u-arsl anis dasis saprogramo sityvebSi _ `ganmgebel ni micemisa da moRebisa, wyal obisa da Serisxvisani, vkhadrebdeT da vacnobebdeT Tamars, mefesa da dedofal sa; maSinRa srul iqmnebodes gangebul i Cueni" (q-c 1959: 31). ivane j avaxiSvil ma aristotel es Trias politika-s moZRvrebis Sesabamisi saxel mwifos Teoriis principebi aRmoaCina: `adamiანი რომ Caukვირდეს, yuTI u-arsl anis pol itikuri Tanamoazreni `karavSi dasxdomil Ta" - Tvis `gangebis" ufl ebas Txoul obdnen, mefes ki mxolod `srul qmnis" moval eobas akis-

rebdnen. cnobil ia, rom aristotel em saxel mwifos funqciebis dasaxasiaTebl ad Tavisi ganTqmul i debul eba Trias politika wamoayena, roml is mixedviTac saxel mwifos sami funqcia aqvs: kanonmdebl obiTi..., marTI msaj ul ebiTi... da marTva-gamgeobiTi..." (j avaxiSvili 1929: 171). mogvyavs Sesabamisi debul eba aristotel es `politiki dan`: `axla mivubrundeT rogorc zogad, ise ufro zedmiwevniT ganxil vas cal keul i nawilebisas, romel nic saxel mwifos mowyobis TiToeul i saxeobis safuzvel s Seadgenen... yovel saxel mwifoebriwiyobil ebaSi es ZiriTadi nawili samia, maT angariSi unda gauwios vargma kanonmdebel ma, raTa saxel -mwifoebriwiyobil ebis TiToeul i saxis sasargeblod gamoiyenos. am nawil Ta saukeTeso mdgomareobazea damokidebul i saxel mwifoebriwiyobil ebis ukeTesi mdgomareobac: amastanave, saxel mwifoebriwiyobil ebis cal keul saxeobaTa gansxvavebac TiToeul i am nawilis gansxvavebul i mowyobiT aris ganpirobebuli. ai es sami nawili: pirveli _ sakanonmdebl o organo, romel ic saxel mwifo saqmeebs ganxil avs, meore _ Tanamdebobebi (saxel dobr, romel i Tanamdebobebi unda iyos saertod, ras unda ganagebdnen, ra wesiT unda xdebodes maTi dakaveba); mesame _ sasamarTli o organoebi" (aristotel e, politika, 1297^{b35}-1298^{a1}).

ivane j avaxiSvili xazgasmiT aRniSnavs, rom karvis ideologis moTxovnaSi `saucxovod aris erTmaneTs Soris gansazRvruli kanonmdebl obis da gangebis ufl eba erTis mxriv da srul yofis ufl eba meore mxrit. marto es gansazRvra qarTuli samarTli sa da azrovnebis didi ganvitarebis damamtkicebelia" (j avaxiSvili 1965: 249). srul iad cxadia, rom es gza qarTuli saxel mwifoebriobis Semdgomi ganvitarebis evropuli gza iyo: `saertod, Tu saqme Sedarbazemidgeboda, saqartvel os social uri istoriis es 1184-5 w. mniSvel ovani moZraoba... ufro dasavl eT istoriitgan kargad cnobils, inglisSi momxdars im

moZraobas miagavs, romel ic 1215 w. 15 ivniss `Tavisuf-
 l ebis didi qartiiT" anu sigl iT (e. w. Magna Charta li-
 bertatum) damTavrda" (j avaxiSvil i 1929: 185). ramdenime
 wl iT adre mose j anaSvil i, adarebda ra saqarTvel o-
 sa da parl amentarizmis kl asikur qveyanas _ ingl iss,
 werda: `Tqven gaikvirvebT, rom aziaSi 1185 wel s par-
 l amentis dawyeba surdaT, e. i. maSin, rodesac j er
 parl amentur weswyobil ebis deda-bude ingl issi ar
 iyoo SemoRebul i egredwodebul i Magna Charta Liberta-
 tum-i, ganxorciel ebul i mxol od 1215 wel s! magram
 saqme saqmed rCeba da gakvirvebas rwmnad aqcevs WeS-
 maritad momxdari ambavi" (j anaSvil i 1917: 75).

* * *

`momRebel man wessa rasame sparsTa ganagissa" _
 am frazaSi gasagebia yvel a sityva, sirTul e bol o
 sityvasTan _ `ganagisTan" _ aris dakavSirebul i; un-
 da iTqvas, rom es sityva `qarTl is cxovrebis" qroni-
 kebSi mxol od Tamaris pirvel istorikosTan gvxd-
 ba, rac tomisTvis darTul l eqsikonsi Semdegnair-
 daa ganmartebul i: `ganagisi" (`dawesebul i", `wesad
 miRebul i") (q-c 1959: 550). igi erTgvarad unikal uri
 sityvaa, xol o mis l eqsikol ogiur ganmartebaTa mi-
 xedviT frazis Sinaarsia `momRebel man wessa rasame
 sparsTa [wesad miRebul isa], anda `momRebel man wessa
 rasame sparsTa [dawesebul isa]". radgan aq Sinaarsob-
 rivad sparsul i saxel mwifo mmarTvel oba igul isxm-
 ba, erTi saintereso faqti unda moviyvano herodotes
 `istoriidan".

cnobil ia, rom ganaTl ebul i qarTvel i sazoga-
 doeba kargad icnobda pl utarqes: `azmaTa" avtori
 mas dasawyisSive axsenebs: `ididsityua al eqsand-
 sadmi pl uratxos zemomaRl el i historiaTa mwerl oba-
 sa Sina Ael mwifeTa Semasxmel obisa" (q-c 1959: 2), mag-
 ram arc erTxel ar aris naxsenebi herodote _ Paten
 Historiae, Tumca Znel ia warmovidginoT, rom mas saqar-

Tvel oSi ar icnobdnen. herodotes istoriaSi Cven-
Tvis saintereso mesame Tavis _ `Tal eias" _ sami pa-
ragrafi (80-83), sadac `sparsel i Tavkacebi msj el oben
saxel mwifos marTvis forme bis ... Sesaxeb ... aq war-
modgenil ia mmarTvel obis sami saxeoba _ demokratia,
ol igarqia da monarqia, dawvril ebiT aris ganxil u-
l i TiToeul is Rirseba da nakl ovaneba. sparsel di-
debul Ta piriT herodote ganaTI ebul i berZenis Se-
xedul ebebs gadmogvcems" (herodote 1975: 25).

es msj el obani imdenad saintereso, rom maTi
gadmocema saWiro Cans; pirvel i mosazreba demokrati-
ul wyobil ebas exeba: `80. otanesma gamoacxada, sa-
xel mwifos marTvaSi yvel a sparsel i unda monawil e-
obdeso. man Tqva: `me mgonia, rom erTi piri ar unda
iyos Cveni mmarTvel i, radgan es arc sasiamovnoa da
arc kargi ... rogor SeiZl eba kargi ram iyos er-
TmmarTvl oba, romel ic arafrit ar zRudavs mmarTve-
l is TviTnebobas? adami anTa Soris yvel aze Rirseul -
ma rom moipovos es Zal aufl eba, isic ver Seinarcu-
nebs Tavis Cveul ebriv Rirsebas, radgan Tavnebobas
warmoSobs masSi es sikeTe, romel ic mis xel Taa, xo-
l o Surianoba im TaviTve axasiaTebis adami anis bune-
bas, es ori Tvis eba mere yovel gvar borotebas aCens
... Tumca tirani, rakiRa mas yovel gvari sikeTe aqvs,
ar unda iyos Suriani, magram misi saqciel i moqal aqe-
Ta mimarT amis srul iad sawinaaRmdego rasme gviCve-
nebs, mas Surs saukeTeso moqal aqeebisa, roml ebic
arseboben da cocxl oben, samagierod Sehxaris ubo-
rotesT moqal aqeTa Soris, xol o Sesmenas yvel aze
metad iwonebs ... xal xis mmarTvel obas upirvel esad
yovl isa saxel wodeba aqvs Sesani Snavi _ Tanasworuf-
l ebianoba, xol o Semdeg xal xis mmarTvel oba ara-
fers akeTebis iseTs, rasac akeTebis erTmmarTvel i. Ta-
nasworobas isini wil isyrit iWeren, Tanamdebobis-
Tvis pasuxs ageben, xol o yovel gvari gadawyvetil eba
saerTo sabWoze gaaqvT. amitom, Cemis azrit, unda
movspot erTmmarTvel oba da gavaZl ierOT xal xis

mmarTvel oba, radgan simravl e yovl isSemZl ea". 81. xol o megabiZosma brZana, mcireTa mmarTvel obas mi-
vendoTo. man Tqva: `rac otanesma il aparaka tiraniis
mospobis Sesaxeb, mec imasve vityodi, xol o rac See-
xeba imas, rom Zal aufl eba xal xs gadaeces, aq is Ta-
vis swor gzas ascda, radgan **arafferia ufro ugunuri
da Tavneba, vidre usargebl o brbo.** marTl ac, srul iad
autanel ia, rom xal xma Tavi ixsnas tiranis Tavnebobis-
gan da Tavi Caigdos xal xis aRviraxsnil TavnebobaSi,
radgan Tu tirani rames akeTebS, man icis da ise ake-
TebS, xal xma ki ar icis. anda rogor unda icodes rame
iman, visac ar uswavl ia da arc unaxavs araferi kargi
da xeiriani, is mieqaneba da iWreba saqmeebSi ugunurad,
adidebul i mdinaris msgavsad. rac Seexeba xal xs, **visac
sparsel ebisTvis boroteba unda, iman SemogvTavazos
maTi mmarTvel oba, Cven ki amovirCevT saukeTeso adami-
anTa j gufs da maT gadavcemT Zal aufl ebas ...** 82. mesa-
med dariosma warmoTqva sityva, man Tqva: `... erTi Rir-
seul i kacis mmarTvel obaze ukeTesi araferi SeiZl eba
iyos, radgan kargi azrebiS gamoyenebiT is unakl od
upatronebs xal xs da aseTi mmarTvel obis dros sagan-
gebod daimal eba mtrebisgan gadawyvetil ebebi ... is
aris mmarTvel obis saukeTeso forma ... **erTmmarTvel o-
ba saukeTeso forma saxel mwifis marTvis a ...**" (herodo-
te 1975: 220-222; xazi Cemia _ m. k).

aq aucil ebl ad unda aRiniSnos herodotes _
`dakvirvebul i pol itikosis" _ `uaryofiTi damokide-
bul eba tiraniis mimarT da simpaTiebi demokratiis,
kerZod demokratiul i reJimisadmi. ufro metic _ igi
pirdapir ambobs, rom aTenma gadaarCina el ada ber-
Znul -sparsul omebSi /VII, 139/, igi aTenis Tayvanis-
mcemel ia" (herodote 1975: 25).

* * *

amis Semdeg `azmaTa" teqsts davubrundeT. pol i-
tikuri diskursis pirvel nawil Tan _ `momRebel man
wesisa rasame sparsTa ganagissa" _ dakavSi rebiT unda

aRiniSnos erTi saintereso viTareba: saqarTvel os samxreTiT mdebare musl imanur qveyanas qarTvel ebi ori saxel iT moixsenieben: **sparseTi _ erani**. magal iTad, `qarTI is cxovrebiS" meore tomSi `spars" fuZidan nawarmoebi l eqsemebi 95-j er gvxdeba (q-c 1959: 685), xol o `eran" fuZidan nawarmoebi _ rvaj er (q-c 1959: 653). sayuradRebo suraTia.

winaswar unda iTqvas, rom **sparseTis** mimarT yuradReba Cemma rusTvel ol ogiurma interesebma gansazRvra _ vefxistyaosnis mecxre `sabediswers wodebul ma" strofma, romel ic iwyeba sityvebiT: `ese ambavi sparsul i"... (karbel aSvil i 1989: 167-176). rogorc aRmoCnda, l eqsemas **sparsul i** evropul azrovnebaSi specifikuri mniSvnel oba aqvs, romel sac dasabami Cvens wel TaRricxvamde, berZnul i miTol ogiis wiarsSi daedo. saberZneTsa da sparseTze saubrisas sokrate eubneba al kibiades: `modi, uwinares yovl isa, erTmaneTs SevadaroT Cveni da maTi Rirsebani, cudi sagvareul odan xom ar warmomdgaran l akedemonel Ta da sparsTa mefeebi: gana ar viciT, rom pirvel is winapari herakl ea, meoreTa ki _ aqemeni, da rom orives winapari persevsia, zevsis Ze?" (pl atoni, al kibiade l, 120e). am miTis Tanaxmad, swored persevsis saxel is mixedviT ewoda am aziel xal xs sparsel ebi iseve, rogorc sparsTa samefo dinastias aqemenis saxel is mixedviT _ aqemeni debi.

amrigad, sparseTi **iranis** uZvel esi, evropaSi mirebul i saxel wodebaa, romel ic 1935 wl amde gamoiyeneboda evropis saxel mwifoebTan da amerikis SeerTebul StatebTan oficial ur dipl omatiur mimoweraSi; 1935 wl idan sparseTis mTavrobis TxovniT qveyanas **iranis** saxel wodebiT moixsenieben; isic aRsaniSnavia, rom am qveyanas axl o da Sua aRmosavl eTSi yovel - Tvis irans uwodebdnen. sagangebod unda iTqvas, rom qveynis am saxel wodebas, tradiciul sa da erTaderTs aziaSi, arasodes ar hqonia da arc aqvs is konnotaciuri koduri mniSvnel oba, rac aqvs **sparseTs**, rom-

I is Sinaarsi j er kidev herodotem gansazRvra sru-
 l i araorazrovnebiT: samefo mosamarTI eebma `aRmoa-
 Cines ... kanoni, roml is Tanaxmadac sparsTa mefes Se-
 uZl ia gaakeTos, rac ki moundeba" (herodote 1975:
 202). savaraudoa, rom sparseTis mTavrobis 1935 wl is
 oficial uri moTxovna _ saxel mwifo **iranad** moexseni-
 enebinaT mniSvnel ovanwil ad **sparseTis** am CvenTvis sa-
 yuradRebo konnotaciurma mniSvnel obamac gansaz-
 Rvra. mraval mxriv sagul isxmo da garkveul daskvna-
 TaTvis sayuradRebo informaciis Semcvel i faqtia,
 rom saqarTvel oSi TavisuSual o mezobel s, samxre-
 TiT mosazRvre aziur saxel mwifos misi evropasi _
 da ara azias _ miRebul i saxel wodebiT moi xsenieben
 Zvel Taganve rogorc saistorio, aseve saero da sasul-
 l iero mwerl obasi: es saqarTvel os evropul i orient-
 tiris macvenebel ia.

aq mniSvnel ovan faqtors warmoadgens is pol iti-
 kuri qveteqsti, romelic mkveTrad da naTI ad aris
 formul irebul i; sayovel Taod cnobili faqtia, rom
 `Cvens wel TaRricxvamde V saukunesi xmel TaSua zRvis
 regionSi erTmaneTs upirispirdeba ori erTmanetisgan
 Rrmad gansxvavebul i samyaro: sparsul i despota da
 berZnul i qal aq-saxel mwifoebi" (brunovi 1973: 6).

`**sparseTi _ despota**" _ es sparseTis is myari
 konnotaciuri koduri mniSvnel obaa, romel sac evrop-
 asi mraval saukunovani tradicia aqvs. mkacr da
 zust mecnierul enasi srul iad moxsnilia mraval -
 mniSvnel ovani bundovaneba da naTI adaa naTqvami, rom
 Zvel i sparseTi aris **despota**, anu gadmocemul ia is
 azri, rac nebismier encikl opediaSia fiqsirebul i:
 `**despota** (SeuzRudavi xel isufl eba) saxel mwifos
 wyobil ebisa da mmarTvel obis forma, roml isTvisac
 damaxasiaTebel i iyo ukiduresi central izacia, er-
 Tpirovnul i umaRl esi mmarTvel is _ despotis TviT-
 neboba da qveSevrdomTa uufl eboba. despotiis nimu-
 sia Zvel i armosavl eTis saxel mwifoebi (asureTi, ba-
 bil oni, sparseTi, CineTi da sxva) ... pol itikur moZ-

Rvrebata historiaSi despotias mmarTvel obis gansa-
kuTrebul i saxiTjer kidev aristotel e gamohyofda"
(encikli opedia 1978: 481).

amave mniSvnel obiT gvxdeba saxel wodeba **sparse-
Ti** evropul mxatvrul literaturaSi. dantes `RvTaeb-
riv komediaSi" (samoTxe, XIX, 112-114); goeTes `dasav-
lur-aRmosavl ur divanSi", romel ic sparsul i poeziis
siRmiT da sinatifiT aris STagonebul i da damuxtu-
lia mZafri politikuri muxtiT; aseve, Sarl monteski-
es `sparsul weril ebSi" sparsul i Tematikis gaCena
sparseTis swored am konnotaciurma kodurma arsma ga-
napiroba, sadac sistemuradaa gatarebul i sparsul i
despotiisa da evropul i absoluturi monarqis metad
gamWvirval e gaigiveba (karbel aSvil i 1989: 167-171).

yovel ive zemoTqmul is Semdeg garkveul daskvna-
Ta gamotana Znel i aRar aris.

Cemis azrit, termin **sparsul is** koduri mniSvnel-
loba, tradiciul i evropul i politikuri da mxat-
vrul i azrovnebisatvis, sadac SeuzRudavi monarqia
sparsul despotiasTan aris gaigivebul i, SesaZl eb-
lobas gvaZl evs davZl i oT adre naxsenebi aporiac da
`mankieri wrec", raTa garkveul i sinatle moefinos
`istoriaTa da azmata" avtoris erTgvarad bundovan
teqsts, sadac logikuri kavSiri pirvel da meore pol-
itikur diskursta Soris ar myardeba.

pirvel i dikursi _ `momRebel ma wessa rasame
sparsTa ganagissa" _ Sinaarsobrivad gul isxmobs
despotias da amastan dakavSirebiT meistoriis aR-
SfoTebis gamomxatvel i `eseqa ucxo mosagonebel i"
mianiSnebs imas, rom yuTl u-arsl anma `erTufl eba-er-
TmTavroba erTisa kacisa" gauigiva `wessa rasame
sparsTa ganagissa" anu despotias. amgvar konteqstSi
ise cans, rom pirvel i dikursi, Tuki misi arsis aR-
dgenas movisurvebt, Semdeg Sinaarss unda Seicavdes:
`yuTl u-arsl an, ... momRebel man wessa rasame sparsTa
ganagissa [resp. despotiisa, qarTul i monarqis `er-
Tufl eba-erTmTavroba erTisa kacisa" despotias Sea-

dara da amitom] iTxova karavi dadgmad vel sa isnisa-
sa da sanaxebsa saRodebl isasa" rac amyarebs mizez-
Sedegobriv l ogikur kavSirs pirvel da meore dis-
kursTa Soris. cxadia, rom sakiTxis amgvarad dayene-
ba `dasasrul isa xel mwifobisa patronisasa mimceme-
l i" (q-c 1959: 31) iqneboda.

amgvari ganmarteba CvenTvis saintereso istoriu-
l i faqtisa mniSvnel ovani daskvnebis gamotanis uf-
l ebas iZl eva, romel Tagan upirvel esia is, rom mTel
qristianul samyaroSi pirvel ad saqarTvel oSi moxda
pol itikur Teol ogiasTan (kantoroviCi 1997) antiku-
ri pol itikuri fil osofiis dapirispirebac da da-
kavSirebac. mxol od genial ur moazrovnes SeeZl o
hqonoda iseTi gaqaneba, rom monarqiul i da demokra-
tiul i instituciebi erTmaneTTan daekavSirebina da
mefis SeuzRudavi Zal aufl ebis aRsakveTad Seeqmna
axal i pol itikuri saxel mwifoebri vi sistema _ par-
l amenturi monarqia. yuTI u-arsl anad saxel debl i
pol itikosi-meWurWl eTuxucesi pol itikuri fil oso-
fosia, roml is mniSvnel oba saqarTvel os fargl ebs
scdeba da msopl io pol itikuri azrovnebis ganviTa-
rebaSi Tavisi gansakuTrebul i adgil i ekuTvnis.

* * *

rogorc didi xnis win aRvniSne: `istorias ar
aqvs kavSirebiTi kil o, magram XII saukunidan dRemde
ganvl il periods obieqturad Tu SevafasebT, al baT,
swored Tamaris droindel i mTI iani saqarTvel os
zeobis dros iyo yvel aze xel sayrel i momenti, raTa
pol itikosi-meWurWl eTuxucesis konstituciuri mo-
narqiis programa ganxorciel ebul iyo; niko berZeniS-
vil i, romel ic yuTI u arsl anis dass sakuTar Sefa-
sebas aZl evs, xazgasmiT aRniSnavs: `yuTI us programa
xom kidev ufro akanonebda saqarTvel os mTI ianobas"
(berZeniSvil i 1974: 132-133), da, vin icis, am SemTxvevaSi
saqarTvel os _ msopl ioSi pirvel i parl amenturi mo-
narqiis bedi rogor warimarTeboda; istoriis mier

gansazRvrul i drois es regl amenti saqarTvel os-
Tvis sabediswero aRmonda. Cans, saWi roa Cveni eris
istoriis ivane j avaxiSvil iseul i Rma da STagone-
bul i wddoma, raTa Tamaris oqrovani epoqis l egenda-
rul brwyinval ebaSi SemCneul da Sefasebul iqnas am
grandiozul i pol itikuri movl enis _ yuTI u-arsl an-
nis programis _ mniSvnel oba maSin, rodesac qarTu-
l i pol itikuri azrovnebis swored es gaqanebaa sa-
qarTvel os `oqros xanad" aRqmul i epoqis progresu-
l obis WeSmariti sazomi: msofli os _ saxel dobr ev-
ropis _ istoriis mTelma Semdgomma ganviTarebam
ucil obl ad daadastura yuTI u-arsl anad saxel debu-
l i meWurWI eTuxucesis genial uri pol itikuri Sor-
smWvretel oba: Cveni saukunis samocdaaTiani wl ebis-
Tvis msofli oSi arsebul Tormet stabil ur demok-
ratiul saxel mwifoTagan aTi _ konstituciuri mo-
narqiaa (amerikul i 1972: 207)" (karbel aSvil i 1990: 438).

P.S. unda SevniSno, rom pirvel i qarTul i parl a-
mentis proeqtis avtors, Tamaris meWurWI eTuxucs
yuTI u-arsl ans da aseve Tamaris meWurWI eTuxuces
SoTa rusTavel s, vefxistyaosnis avtors, erTsa da
imave pirad vTvl i (karbel aSvil i 1991: 442-444; karbe-
l aSvil i 2002: 184-205).

**ON THE INTERPRETATION OF TAMAR-THE-MONARCH'S
HISTORIAN'S PHRAZE "... EXAMPLE OF SOME
KIND OF PERSIAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT"
(Materials for the Investigation of the Georgian Political Thought)**

The author analyzes the obscure phrase of Tamar-the-Monarch's first historian _ "example of some kind of Persian form of Government" _ showing that it means despotism.

Kutlu-Arslan, the finance minister, putting forward progressive programme of Georgian parliament for modifying the system of government in 1185 compared the absolute monarchy with Persian despotism.

damowmebul i wyaroebi da l iteratura:

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- q-c 1959:** qarTl is cxovreba. teqsti dadgenil i yvel a ZiriTadi xel naweris mixedviT s. yauxCiSvil is mier, tomi II, Tb., 1959
- j avaxi Svil i 1929:** j avaxiSvil i i. qarTul i samarTl is istoria, wigni meore, nakveTi meore, tfil isi, 1929.
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- j avaxi Svil i 1905:** j avaxiSvil i i. saqarTvel os mefe da misi ufl ebis istoria, tfil isi, 1905.
- j anaSvil i 1917:** j anaSvil i m. Tamar mefe, tfil isi 1917.
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adarbadagani s saki Txi saqarTvel o-xorezmi s
urTierTobaSi

1210 wel s saqarTvel os samefo karma didi da Soreul i l aSqroba moawyo Crdil oet sparseTis qal aqebis dasarbevad¹. am l aSqrobas didi gamoZaxil i mohyva, rogorc qristianul , ise isl amur samyaroSi. mematianeebi, Taviant Txzul ebebSi, sparseTSi l aSqrobis mizezebs sxvadasxva interpretacias aZl even.²

Tamaris istoriis `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTanis- versiiT, qarTvel Ta gal aSqreba sparseTze, ardavel is sul Tnis winaaRmdog mowyobil i sadamsj e-

¹ Tamaz natroSvil i da goCa jafariZe iranze l aSqrobas 1209 wl iT aTariReben. Tamaz natroSvil i, goCa jafariZe, `cda erTi TariRis dadgenisa-, *macne, enisa da literatura serie. #1* (Tbil isi, 1974). 158; roin metrevel i ki miicnevs, rom qarTvel Ta l aSqroba iranze moxda 1210 wel s. qarTul i dipl omatiis narkvebi. t. I (Tbil isi, 1998). 341; misive *davit aRmaSenebel i, mefe Tamari* (Tbil isi, 2002), 594; am movl enas n. Sengel ia 1210-1211 wl ebiT aTariRebs. `saqarTvel os sagareo pol itikuri urTierTobani Tamaris mefobaSi-, *saqarTvel os istoriis narkvebi*, t. III (Tbil isi, 1979), 338; I ovard tuxaSvil i ki 1206-1207 wl ebiT, *narkvebi qarTul i dipl omatiis istoriidan*, wigni I (Tbil isi, 1994), 195.

² `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani-. *qarTl is cxovreba*. teqsti dadgenil i Yyvel a ZiriTadi xel naweris mixedviT s. yauxCiSvil is mier, t. II (Tbil isi, 1959). ioane batoniSvil i. `istoria-. H-2134. somex istorikosebs es ambavi sxvagvarad aqvT gadmocemul i. vardani da kirakoz ganZakel i ardavel is aoxrebas naxWevanis darbevis SurisZiebad Tvl ian. vardani ardavel ze l aSqrobas 1210 wl iT aTariRebs. iv. j avaxiSvil is azriT, arab avtorebs ibn-xal likans da ibn-batiSsac ardavel ze da iranze l aSqrobebi erTmaneTSi aqvT areul i, ivane j avaxiSvil i, *qarTvel i eris istoria*, t. II (Tbil isi, 1965), 287.

l o aqciis gagrZel eba iyo. 1208 wel s ardavel is sul Tanma aRdgomis dResaswaul is dReebSi mou l odnel i TavdasxmiT aaoxra qal aqi anisi.¹ im dros, rodesac qal aqis patronebi zaqaria da ivane mxargrZel i geguTSi Tamar mefesTanN iyvnen miwveul ebi, ardavel is sul Tanma dro ixel Ta da mou l odnel i TavdasxmiT aiRo daucvel i qal aqi. sul Tani `ugrZnobl ad movida anisa. gza-gza aravis avno da didsa SabatSa mwuxri movida qal aq anisisasa... eseoden mZAnvared moaoÃres anisi, da savseni tyÃTa da al afiTami iwivnes Sina.-² amas mohyva qarTvel Ta sapesuxo l aSgroba ardavel ze, romel ic sul Tnis dasjiT da qal aqis aoxrebiT damTavrda, `xol o sul tani ardavel isa mokl es, col ni da Svil ni misni tyue-hyves da wamoasxes. aTormeti aTasi kaci rCeul i miZgiTTa Sina mokl es, viTar maT yves anisisa ekl esiasa Sina.-³

Tamaris mematianis gadmocemiT, ardavel is advil ad darbevam ubiZga qarTvel ebs sparseTze l aSqrobisaken. amave dros, qarTul i jaris mesveurebi, zaqaria da ivane mxargrZel ebi da varam gage l i Tamars Seaxsenebdnen, rom manamde aravis maT winaparTagan ardaul aSqravT sparseTi da mouwodebdnen mefes mieca samefo spa, raTa `aRvamÃedroT erays, rom-gursa zeda, romel ars xuarasani, da cnan yovel Ta spaTa aRmosavl eTisaTa Zal i da simÃne Cueni.Dda ubrZane spaTa saqarTvel osaTa mza iyvnen l aSqrobad xuarasansa, daRaTu aravin qarTvel Tagani miwevnul ars xuarasans da erays.-⁴ am l aSqrobis ambavi Semdgomi xanis TaobebSic didxans cocxl obda. XVII saukunis istorikosis farsadan gorgij aniZis cnobiT, l aSa-giorgi

¹ ivane j avaxiSvil i ardavel ze l aSqrobis TariRad 1207-08 wl ebs miiCnevs, ivane j avaxiSvil i, *qarTvel i eris istoria*, 287.

² `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani~, 100-101.

³ iqve, 102.

⁴ istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani~, 103.

ivane aTabagTan saubris dros aRniSnavda, rom `aras dros ar gagonil ao sxvaTa saqarTvel os mefeebis ymaTagano Zvel iT aqnobamdisino, rom erani, arayi da xorasani daerbioso Tqvenis metsao, rom Tqven daarbiveT da l aSqari uzianoT gamarjvebul i moasxio-¹

rogorc cnobil ia, qarTvel Ta mxedrobam erTimeores miyol ebiT aiRo da daarbia Crdil oeT sparseTis qal aqebi: marandi, Tavrizi, miana, zenj ani, abhari, yazvini da miaRwia xorasanamde.²

qarTvel ebi pirvel ad marands miadgnen, magram qal aqi mitovebul i dauxvdaT. Tumca, mogvianebiT, mainc mouwiaT brZol a marandel Ta razmTan. marandis aRebis Sesaxeb cnobebi gv xvdeba iakuTTan, ibn batiSTan da ibn xal iqanTan. iakuTis cnobiT, qarTvel ebma didi raodenobiT tyveebi waiyvanes qal aqidan. Ibn xal iqani gvawvdis cnobil i swavl ul is iz ad-dinis biografiul cnobebis, mis gaZevebas mSobl iur qal aq arbel adan da aRniSnavs, rom qarTvel Ta mier marandis darbeva iseTive ubedureba da danaSaul i iyo, rogoric am pirovnebis mimarT Caidines arbel as Tavkacebma, roca igi gaaZeves qal aqidan. ibn xal iqani, am amebis aRwerisas imowmebs Tavis maswavl ebel s ibn batiSs. orive avtors aqvs cnoba, rom qarTvel ebma sastikad daarbies marandi, gaZarcves da didi raodenobiT xal xi daxoces qal aqSi.³ rogorc Cans, maran-

¹ farsadan gorgijaniZe, istoria, xel nawerTa erovnul i centri, H-2140, 33-34.

² `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani-, 105-107.

³ marandis aRebis TariRad ibn-batiSi 606 (1209 w. 6 ivl isi - 1210 w. 24 ivnisi) wel s debs. Tamaz natroSvil i da goCa jafariZe ndobas ucxadeben ibn batiSs, radgan is im qal aqSi, mosul Si cxovrobdan, sadac Cavida arbel adan gaZevebul i iz ad-dini. ibn batiSi iz ad-dinis Tanamedrove iyo da amitomac, ufro sandoa misi cnobebi aRniSnul amebTan dakavSirebiT. aqedan gamomdinare, mkvl evarebi iranSi l aSqarobis TariRad 1209 wl is Semodgomas varaudoben. Tamaz natroSvil i, goCa jafariZe, cda erTi TariRis

disaTvis oms gansakuTrebul i STabeWdil eba mouxde-
nia Tanamedroveebze, radgan, rodesac mahmadiani mema-
tianeebi aRweren qarTvel Ta am l aSqrobis ambebs, Zi-
riTad yuradRebas amaxvil eben marandis aRebasa da
darbevaze.

marandis aRebis Semdeg qarTvel Ta mxedroba mi-
adga Tavrizs da al ya Semoartya. qal aqis mmarTvel
ebma didi gamosasyidiT aicil es mosaxl eobis daw-
okeba mtris mxridan. maT `warmoavl ines mociquil i,
iTxoves mSAdoba, ara mooxreba qal aqisa maTisa.
aRuTqves ZRueni: oqro da vercxl i uamravi Tval i pa-
tiosani da margal itni ZArfasisani¹. msgavs ambavs
gadmogvcems al husaini. misi cnobiT, `qal aqis aTaba-
gis jahan fehl evanis qal iSvil ma zahida xaTunma di-
debul Ta rCeviT qarTvel ebs didZal i simdidre da
saqonel i gadasca-. al husaini imasac mogviTxrobs,
rom mterma didi raodenobis tyveebi waasxa.² Tavri-
zidan qarTvel ebi mianas miadgnen, qal aqis sul Tanma
Tavrizel Ta saqciel i gaiTval iswina da aseve gamois-
yida Tavi didZal i ful iT. SemdgomSi ki, rogorc
wyaroebidan Cans, qarTvel ebs mouwiaT sxva qal aqebis
Zal iT aReba, `mi iwivnes mciresa qal aqsa zangans, al i-
zis zRudiT ganmagrebul sa-. zenj anis mosaxl eobam
winaaRmdegoba gauwia, magram mcire xnis al yis Semdeg
qarTvel ebma gal avani Seangries da qal aqic aiRes.
amis Semdeg `waremarTnes qal aqsa xorasanisasa da

dadgenisa. 156-157. irkveva, rom, rodesac iz ad-dini gaaZe-
ves arbel adan, im wel s aiRes qarTvel ebma marandi. TviT
iz ad-dinis vaJiSvil i ironiul ad SeniSnavs, `rad unda
gagikvi rdes urj ul o qarTvel Tagan sisastike, roca mar-
TI morwmune mahmadianebma swavl ul i gaaZeves da oj a-xi
auwiokes-. Tamaz natroSvil i, *maSriyiT maRribamde* (Tbi-
l isi, 1991), 49-50.

¹ `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani-, 106.

² Зиа Буниятов, *Государство Атабеков Азербайджана (1136-1225)*, (Баку, 1978), 59.

yazmins ra miwivnes maxl obl ad yazminisa da ahvarisa ver winaRudges.-¹

yazvinis aRebis Semdeg, qarTvel Ta jari daedevna l tol vil T da `uSinaganesisa rom-gurisa mimaRT miwivnes, romel ars xorasani- da bol os miaRWies gurganamde, `miwivnes vidre gurganisad qal aqad da moaoÃres queyana igi. ver Zal -edva wiaR misvl ad al afisagan. Semoiqces gamarj uebul ni da Zl eva-Semosil ni qarTvel ni.-² am l aSqrobis dros qarTvel ebs `veravin winaRudga sparseTs Sesul Ta ver xuarasnisa sul tani, ver erayisa da vera romel i Temi.-³ qarTvel Ta l aSqari Soreul xorasanSi Sevida. Tamaris istorikosis cnobiT, `qarTvel Ta naTesavi veravin miwevnil iyo l aSgrad, arca mefe, arca mTavari.-⁴ l aSagiorgis mematianec adasturebs, rom qarTvel ebi `esdenad siSoresa Sina mividen, romel arca Tu saxel i qarTvel obisa ismoda.-⁵

sainteresoa is faqti, Tu sadamde mivida qarTvel Ta mxedroba. XII-XIV saukuneebis qarTul i wyaroebiT, rom-guri xorasania, magram sparsul da sxva aRmosavl ur wyaroebSi, rom-guri xorasnis sinonimad arsad ar ixmareba. aRmosavl uri wyaroebiT, rom-guri (remj ari, ramj ari) xorasanis mTavar qal aq niSaburis erT-erT ubans warmoadgenda. m. broses azriT, rom-guri aRniSnavda ara qveyanas, aramed qal aqs, romel ic niSaburis teritoriaze mdebareobda,⁶ magram v. gabaSvi-

¹ `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani-, 106-107.

² i qve, 107.

³ i qve.

⁴ i qve.

⁵ l aSa-giorgis droindel i mematiene, *qar-TI is cxovreba*, teqsti dadgenil i Yyvel a ZiriTadi xel naweris mixedviT s. yaxCiSvil is mier, t. I (Tbil isi, 1955), 369.

⁶ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Georgie*, I, SPb, 1849, 472; l . masinionic miCnevs, rom qarTvel ebma dai pyres niSaburis ubani ramj ari, romel ic am qal aqis erT-erT did gareubans warmo-

I is azriT, am SemTxvevaSi, rom-guri ara romel ime qal aqis, aramed mTel i provinciis aRmniSvnel i iyo.¹ sa-interesoa, marTI ac, xom ar miaRwies qarTvel ebma ni-Saburis sanaxeb?! am qal aqisaTvis da saerTod xorasnistvis xorezmel ebi, j er kidev XII saukunis 50-iani wl ebidan ibrZodnen da ZiriTadad fl obdnen mas. SeiZl eba vifiqroT, rom xorasanSi Sesul i qarTvel - Ta j ari, ukve uSual od emuqreboda xorezm-Sahis sam-fl obel oebis da swored, niSaburis qarTvel Tagan aoxrebis safrTxem gamoiwia didi sul Tnis gamocena qal aqis dasacavad. j . stefnaZe gamoTqvams varauds, rom qarTvel Ta l aSqrobis sabol oo mizani xorezmis dedaqal aqis urgencis dal aSqvra unda yofil iyo.²

am Soreul i samxedro eqspediciis Sedegad, qarTvel Ta mxedrobas imdeni naZarცი qoneba daugrovda, rom veRar gaagrZel es winsvl a da ukan gamobrunda al afit datvirTul i. qarTvel Ta l aSqrobis Sewyvetis mizevad mematiene swored amas Tvl is, magram iqve aRniSnavs l aSqrobis periodSi sparseTSi gavrcel ebul xmebze, rom Sors mimaval qarTvel Ta j ars erTi mxridan dascemia didi sul Tani, xol o meore mxridan gil anel ni. am brZol aSi qarTvel Tagan cocxal i aravin gadarCenil a. swored xorasanSi Sesvl as gamouwvevia didi sul Tnis mwave reaqlia. mematianis gadmocemiT, `da viTar gurganisa queyanisa ambavi, qarTvel - Ta mier qmnul i, ucnaur qmnul iyo yovel Ta erayis sul tnis mosvra... viTar movida TAT didi sul tani da gil anel ni, yovl gniT gza Seukres qarTvel Ta da mos-

adgenda, qristianul i mosaxl eobiT, marTI madidebl uri ekl esiit da Tavisi sasafi aoTi. val erian gabaSvili, `qarTul i wyaroebis `rom-guri~, *macne, istoriis, arqeo-
logiis, eTnografiis da xel ovnebis istoriis seria*, 4, (Tbil isi, 1971), 127-128.

¹ gabaSvili, qarTul i wyaroebis `rom-guri~, 126-130.

² j emal stefnaZe, xorasanSi l aSqrobis sakiTxisaTvis, `sa-istorio krebul i~, VII, (Tbil isi, 1977), 196.

rnes da moswyÂdnes-.¹ Tamaris istorikoss aRniSnul i aqvs, rom didi sul Tnis gamosvl am qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg, sparseTSi yal bi xmebis gavrcel ebas Seuwyo xel i, romel ic iuwyebodya qarTvel Ta jaris ganadgurebas mis mier. am xmebma miaRwia mianis sul Tnis yuramde, ramac mas misca mizezi, Ral atiT daexoca qal aqSi datovebul i qarTvel Ta razmi. am saqciel is gamo mianis sul Tani dasaj es. amis Semdeg qarTvel Ta jarma mSvidobiT gamoiara adarbadagani da `gamovl es raxsi, da Semovl es piri naxWevanisa da movides tfiliss mefes winaSe.-²

Cveni kvl evis mTavari mizania gavarkviOT, Tu vin iyo didi sul Tani da ratom unda gamosul iyo is qarTvel Ta winaaRmdeg. swored es ambavi iwvevs mkvl evarTa mosazrebebis sxvadasxvaobas, rac qarTvel Ta l aSqrobis mizans da mizezebs axal i kuTxiT warmoaCens. aRniSnul i varaudebi, l aSqrobis bol o etapze didi sul Tnis gamoCenas exeba. es unda iyos xorezmis sul Tani muhamedi. qarTul istoriografiaSi gamoTqmul ia Tval sazrisi, rom iranSi 1210 wel s mowyobil i qarTvel Ta l aSqroba xorezmis winaaRmdeg iyo mimarTul i.³ ZiriTadad, qarTul istoriografiaSi es l aSqroba aRqmul ia, rogorc samxedro Zal is demonstrireba da marbiel i eqspedicia,⁴ magram migvaCnia, rom es eqspedicia, sparseTSi xorezmel Ta gavl enis

¹ `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani-, 108.

² ique, gv. 109.

³ stefnaZe, xorasanSi l aSqrobis sakiTxisaTvis; dimi tri Svel iZe, erekl e Svel iZe, saqarTvel osa da xorezmis urTierToba da qarTvel Ta l aSqroba iranSi (1210 w.), *val erian mallaraZis 80 wl isTavisadmi miZRvnil i samecniero naSromTa krebul i* (Tbil isi, 2001).

⁴ javaxiSvil i, *qarTvel i eris istoria*, 283-286; Sengel ia, saqarTvel os sagareo politikuri urTierTobani, 337-338; tuxaSvil i, *narkvevebi qarTul i dipl omatis istoriidan*, 194-200; metrevel i, *davit aRmaSenebel i, mefe Tamari*, 594-595.

winaaRmdeg iyo mimarTul i. j. stefnaZe aRni Snavs, rom warmoudgenel ia amxel a masStabis I aSqroba, mxol od marbiel i xasiaTis yofil iyo. misi azriT, SeiZl eba Tamaris mematiiane im ambebis Tanamedrove ar aris, an zustad ver erkveva Seqmnil pol itikur viTarebaSi. mkvl evari yuradRebas amaxvil ebs im faqtze, rom xorezmis sul Tani muhamedi, pretenzias ara marto adarbadaganze, aramed saqarTvel os mosazRvre qveynebec, kerZod, Sirvanze acxadebda.¹ Cveni azriT, j. stefnaZis dakvirveba sainteresoa. mxargrZel ebma Tamars Tavidanve warudgines I aSqrobis marSrutis gegma: `aRvamÃdroT erays, rom-gursa zeda, romel ars xuarasani-. rogorc mematiianis sityvebidan Cans, qarTvel ebs Tavidanve gadawyvetil i hqondaT xorasanSi SeWra. marTI ac, saeWvoa, rom I aSqrobis periodSi Seecval aT jaris meTaurebs marSrutis da ase Sors wasul iyvnen, `romel arca Tu saxel i qarTvel obisa ismoda-. maT kargad moexsenebodaT, rom xorasanSi Sesvl a xorezmis samefos sazRvrebSi SeWras ni Snavda. amitom, unda vifiqroT, rom saqarTvel os samefos Tavidanve hqonda gaazrebul i, Tu viStan mouvevda dapirispireba sparseTSi I aSqrobis dros.

rogorc wyaroebidan Cans, saqarTvel os da xorezmis dapirispirebas, j er kidev, qarTvel Ta mier abu-baqr aTabagis damarcxebisas hqonda adgil i. saqarTvel os samefo Caeria adarbadaganis aTabagis yizil -arisl anis memkvidreebs Soris atexil brZol aSi. abu-baqris mier devnil i, aranis da gel aqunis gamgebel i amir-mirani Sirvan-Sah aRsarTans Seexizna, magram abu-baqrma isic daamarcxa. amis Semdeg, Sirvan-Sahma saqarTvel os mimarTa daxmarebisaTvis. al -husanis cnobiT, amir-mirani qarTvel ebs pirdeboda, rom Tu abu-baqrs gandevni dnen dakavebul i miwebidan, daekavebinaT imdeni teritoria, ramdensac moisurvebdnen.²

¹ stefnaZe, xorasanSi I aSqrobis sakiTxisaTvis, 189-193.

² Зия Буниятов, *Государство Атабеков Азербайджана*, 54.

magram, j er mowinaaRmdege Sirvanis da aranis miwebi-
dan iyo gasadevni. rogorc Cans, abu-baqri safrTxes
ara marto saqarTvel os uqmnida, aramed kavkasiaSi
mcxovre b sxva mahmadianebs da iq momTabare el ebsac.
amitom, aRniSnavs al -husaini, rodesac Tamarma j ari
Sekriba abu-baqrTan sabrZol vel ad, qarTvel ebs `Seu-
erTdenen agreTve eranis j arebidan isinic, romel Tac
imedi hqondaT, rom mel iqi Tavis xel sayrel pirobeb-
Si Tavistan raime adgil s miscemda. TurqmenTaganac
erTi j amaaTi Segrovda da eseni yvel a erTad gaemar-
Tnen abu-beqr bin aTabag muhamed fehl ivanis winaaR-
mdeg iseTi j ariT, romel sac ca da dedamiwa ver
itevda-¹

1195 wel s SamqorTan gamarj vebis miuxedavad,
abu-baqris probl ema ar moxsnil a. rogorc wyaroebi-
dan Cans, qarTvel ebis da abu-baqris dapirispireba
SemdgomSic gagrZel ebul a.² am konfl iqtis gamoZaxi-
li unda iyos qarTvel Ta permanentul i Tavdasxmebi
aranze da adarbadaganze. miuxedavad SamqorTan mZime
marcxisa, abu-baqrma Sirvan-Sahis siZe, qarTvel Ta
momxre amir-mirani moakvl evina da ganZas daeuf l a.
gansxvavebul versias gvTavazoben kirakoz ganZakel i
da al -husaini. maTi gadmocemiT, ganZis mcxovre bni uk-
mayofil o iyvnen amir-miranis saqciel iT. igi aviwro-
ebda musl imebs da qal aqis qristian mosaxl eobas uf-
ro wyal obda. amitom ganZel ebma moakvl evines igi da
abu-baqri moiwvies qal aqSi.³ aranze gavl enis aRsadge-
nad, qarTvel ebma 1196 wel s ganaaxl es Tavdasxmebi
abu-baqris gasadevnad. maT xel meored mouwiaT ganZis
aRebisaTvis brZol a, magram 25 dRiani al yis miuxeda-
vad ver aiRes igi, Tumca, gaagrZel es mtris Seviwroeb-
ba da daarbies da dai pyres amberdi, gel aquni, naxiCe-

¹Sengel ia, saqarTvel os sagareo pol itikuri urTierTo-
bani, 322-323.

² `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani -, gv. 76.

³З. М. Бунятов, *Государство Атабеков Азербайджана*, 55.

vani, dvini da sxva mxareebi.¹ qarTvel Ta es aqtiuroba gamowveul i iyo abu-baqris safrTxis sabol ood moxaxsnel ad. al husainis cnobiT, `abu-baqrma qarTvel - Ta Tavdasxmebis gamo dakarga kontrol i samfl obel oebze da dardis gasaqarvebl ad misca Tavi dros-tarebas. Tavis momxreeps isic ki ganucxada, rom aRar moxsenebinaT mis qveyanaSi qarTvel Ta Cadenil i Zal momreobis ambebi. Semdeg qarTvel ebi mas ara Tu naxCevanSi, aramed TavrizSi daesxnen Tavs.² ibn al - asiris gadmocemiT, rodesac qarTvel ebi SeiWrnen abu-baqris samfl obel oebSi, aTabagi ar ismenda mcxovrebaTxovnas daxmarebisaTvis, iqceoda ise, TiTqos es ambebi saerTod ar exeboda mas. bol os abu-baqrma Tavi imiT daicva, rom zavi iTxova da qarTvel Ta mefis qal i moiyyana col ad. amis Semdeg qarTvel Ta l aSqrobobi Sewyda da mSvidoba Camovarda mowinaaRmdegeeps Soris.³ rogorc Cans, qarTvel ebs garkveul i gavl ena moupovebiaT adarbadaganis im mxareebze, roml ebic dal aSqres abu-baqris devnis dros. swored, adarbadaganSi qarTvel Ta gamoCenam miipyro xorezmel Ta yuradReba. j er kidev, rodesac abu-baqri TavrizSi gaiqca, xorezmis sul Tanma TeqiSma gaaqtiura Tavisi pol itika Crdil oet sparseTis mimartul ebiT. man weril i gaugzavna abu-baqrs, sadac igi mokavSireobas da amave dros hamadanis da misi maxl obel i qal aqebis martvas sTavazobda. rogorc Cans, xorezmis sul Tani SeaSfoTa qarTvel Ta gaaqtiurebam adarbadaganSi, aseve, TavrizTan maTma gamoCenam da SesTavaza erTobl ivi Zal ebiT mtris winaaRmdeg moqmedeba. abu-baqrs axal i mfarvel i gamouCnda, magram man uari uTxra xorezmel ebs. savaraudod, uaris mi-

¹ `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani -, gv. 77-78.

² Sengel ia, saqarTvel os sagareo pol itikuri urTierTobani, 325.

³ Ибн _ ал – Асир, Тарих ~ ал ~ Камил (Полново свода истории), Материялы по истории Азербайджана (Баку 1940), 131.

zezi is iyo, rom xorezmis sul Tani mas aqezebda sparsul i erayis maml uqebis winaaRmdeg, Tumca, Tavis mxriv, TeqiSi daxmarebas ver pirdeboda Sida probl emebis gamo. amave dros, abu-baqri sapsuxo weril Si aRniSnavda, rom mis sazRvrebTan qarTvel ebi imyofebodnen da amden frontze brZol as ver SeZl ebda. isic unda gaviTval iswinoT, rom Zl ieri xorezmis sul Tani Tanabari pirobebiT ar SeuTanxmdeboda abubaqrs, mas unda eRiarebina TeqiSis uzenaesoba. es Cans TviT sul Tnis weril idanac, sadac is abubaqrs Svil ad moixseniebs.

xorezmel ebi, j er kidev XII saukunis 50-iani wl ebidan Caerivnen adarbadaganis da sparseTis erayis saqmeebSi. 1157 wel s xorasnis didi sul Tnis ahmed sanj aris gardacval ebis Semdeg, xorezm-Sahma il -arsl anma daiwyo brZol a xorasnisaTvis. aq mas winaaRmdegoba Sexvda el diguz aTabagisgan da erayis sul -Tan arsl an-Sahisgan, roml ebic cdil obdnen ar Semo eSvaT xorezmel ebi xorasansa da adarbadaganSi. magram, 1167 wel s xorezmel ebma aiRes niSaburi, amis Semdeg isini uSual od daemuqrnen adarbadagans, daarbies ahbari, zenj ani da yazvini. Tumca, erayisaTvis brZol aSi ver miaRwies warmatebas da yuradReba gadaitanes Sua aziaSi yara-xatael ebTan dapirispirebaze, magram uSedegod. 1186 wl idan xorasnisaTvis brZol a kvl av uwevs xorezmis axal mmarTvel s TeqeSs, romel mac aiRo niSaburi da ganimtkica poziciebi xorasanSi. es imdenad didi warmateba iyo, rom TeqeSma 1189 wel s miiRo sul Tnis titul i. am aRiarebis Semdeg, xorezmis sul Tani yvel aze uzenaesi xel isulfal i gaxda mezobel musulim mmarTvel ebs Soris. XII saukunis 90-iani wl ebidan xorezmel ebma kvl av gaaqtiures agresiul i pol itika adarbadaganisa da sparsul i erayis mimarTul ebiT. rogorc Cans, xorasnisaTvis brZol a rTul ad mimdinareobda. xorezmel ebs SemdgomSic uwevdaT permanentul i l aSqrobekis mow-yoba samxreT-dasavl eTis mimarTul ebiT. al ad-din

muhamedis mmarTvel obis drosac (1200-1220) xorezmel ebi aqtiurad ebmebodnen am regionisaTvis brZol aSi. magram, amave dros, maT, Sua aziaSi, maverannahrisaTvis brZol aSi didi winaaRmdegoba SexvdaT yara-xatael Ta mxridan. gansakuTrebiT mwvave iyo samaryandisTvis da buxarisTvis brZol a, roml ebic XII saukunis Sua xanebidan yara-xatael Ta mmarTvel ebis xel Si iyo. es probl ema ki Zal ian aferxebda xorasnis dapyrobis sakiTxs. maT or frontze uwevdaT brZol a, magram al ad-din muhamedma 1208 wel s TiTqmis mTel i xorasani daimorÇil a.

Tamaris samefo karma gaiTval iswina is momaval i safrTxe, rac SeiZl eba gamoewvia xorezmel ebis da sparseTis sel Cukebis koal icias. amitom qarTvel ebma gaaqtiures Tavdasxmebi da al -husainis cnobac, romel ic qarTvel Ta TavrizTan gamoÇenaze mogviTxrobs, swored am viTarebas exebs. qarTvel Ta permanentul ma Tavdasxmebma da maT mier adarbadaganis mxareebis gauTavebl ad rbevam abu-baqri mZime mdgomareobaSi Caagdo. usafrTxoebis mizniT, igi dauzavda da daumoyvrda qarTvel Ta samefo kars. magram, mas Semdeg, rac abu-baqri SeuTanxmda qarTvel ebs, xorezmel ebma igrZnes safrTxe da 1205 wel s adarbadaganSi Semovidnen xorezm-Sah TeqisSis Svil is taj ad dinis meTaurobiT. maTi pirvel i cda adarbadaganis qarTvel Ta xel idan gamogl ej isa, warumatebl ad damTavrda. abu-baqrTan brZol aSi daiRupa TviT taj ad dini. SeiZl eba. isic vivaraudoT, rom qarTvel ebma garkveul i daxmareba gauwies axal mokavSires. marTal ia, am sakiTxze wyaroebi arafers gveubnebian, magram, savaraudod, abu-baqrs gauZnel deboda mokavSiris gareSe xorezmel ebTan omi.

marTal ia, xorezmel ebma ver moaxerxes poziciebis gamagreba adarbadaganSi, magram mainc axerxebdnen qarTvel TaTvis probl emebis Seqmnas da Çrdil oeT sparseTis mimarTul ebiT aqtiur politikas awarmoebdnen. Cveni azriT, amis erT-erTi gamoxatul eba iyo,

ardavel is sul Tnis Tavdasxma anisze 1208 wel s. aRsa-
 niSnavia, rom Tavs daesxnen swored im qal aqs, rome-
 lic samarTavad gadacemul i hqondaT saqarTvel os
 jaris meTaurebs mxargrZel ebs da maTi samfl obel o-
 ebis darbeva Surisgeba iyo sparsel Ta mxridan. saeW-
 voa, rom ardavel is sul Tans piradi iniciativiT, ase-
 Ti avantiuristul i nabij i gadaedga. mas, al baT, kar-
 gad moexseneboda, rom saqarTvel os samefo kari aseT
 Tavxedobas dausj el s ar datovebda. savaraudod, mas
 xorezmel Ta imedi hqonda. magram, sakvirvel ia, rom
 ardavel i qarTvel Ta mosal odnel Tavdasxmas moum-
 zadebel i Sexvda. Tamaris istorikosi qal aqis mou-
 l odnel aRebas, rel igiur dResaswaul s ukavSirebs,
 iseve, rogorc anisis darbevis dros. mematianis
 TqmiT, qarTvel ebma qal aqi maSin igdes xel T, roca
 must imTa dResaswaul i `aidi gaTendeboda, romel
 ars aRvseba maTi~.¹ rogorc wyarodan Cans, qarTve-
 l ebs qal aqis aRebisas didi jafa ar dasdgomiaT.
 TiTqos qal aqis mesveurebi arc ki el odnen mtris ga-
 moCenas. marTl ac, gasakviria, ratom ar gamoiCines
 sifrTxil e qal aqis patronebma, roca mosal odnel i
 iyo mtris Semoseva? Tamaris istorikosis cnobit, me-
 fem mxargrZel ebis rCevit Tavi mouyara mxol od aR-
 mosavl eT saqarTvel os mxedrobas, raTa mtris mzve-
 ravebs ar daefiqsirebinaT jarebis moZraoba dasav-
 l eTidan aRmosavl eTis mimarTul ebit. magram erTi
 ram aris saeWvo, ardavel is sul Tanic frTxil ad un-
 da yofil iyo da ratom gamoeparaT sparsel ebs qar-
 Tvel Ta jarebis moZraoba qveynis sazRvrebs gareT
 mainc? ardavel i saqarTvel os sazRvrebs sakmaod da-
 Sorebul i iyo da Tu pirvel xanebsi ara, mogvianebit
 mainc unda daefiqsirebinaT mtris razmebis moZraoba
 qal aqis mimarTul ebit, miuxedavad imisa, rogori
 swrafi marSic ar unda ganexorciel ebina qarTvel Ta
 mxedrobas. amave dros, veraviTar dResaswaul s ver

¹ `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani~, 102.

unda moedunebina qal aqis mecixovneTa yuradReba. qarTvel Ta jari Seikriba anisSi da `gardavl es gel aquni da Cavl es ispiani gavides xuafridis Āidsa da mimarTes ardavel s.¹ aseTive eWvi gamoTqva l. tuxaSvil ma anisis aRebasTan dakavSirebiT. misi TqmiT, gaugebaria, rogor ver SeniSnes anisel ebma mtris moaxl oeba da fiqrobs, rom SeiZl eba ardavel is sul - Tani saqarTvel os ymadnafici iyo da misi jaris moZraobisaTvis anisel ebs yuradReba ar miuqceviaT. al - baT SeniSnes ardavel is l aSqari, magram ar miicnies mtrad.²

cota saeWvod gveCveneba, aseve, ardavel is sul - Tnis moul odnel i gamoCena anisis daucvel karebTan. SeiZl eba, pirdapir ar gavigoT mematianis es naTqvami, qal aqis daucvel i, Ria al ayafis Sesaxeb, magram, roca mterma saqarTvel os sazRvrebi gadmol axa, monapi-reebistvis xom SeumCnevel i ar unda darCenil iyo es faqti, rac ar unda didi saekl esio dResaswaul i yofil iyo qveyanaSi?

ra Tqma unda, Znel ia am amebis rekonstruireba. mematiene, savaraudod, met-nakl ebad, al amazebs am amebes, magram erTi aSkaraa, mowinaaRmdegeTagan arcerTs ar gamoCenia saTanado sifxizl e mosal odnel i safrTxis Tavidan asacil ebl ad. am SemTxvevaSi, gansakuTrebiT sayuradReboa, ardavel is sasul Tnos politikuri mdgomareoba. rogorc Cans, maSindel i Crdil oeT sparseTis politikuri sivrce Zal ian danawevrebul i iyo. ar arsebobda erTiani samxedro-politikuri sistema an neba saerto mtris mosageriebl ad. amitomac aRniSnaven istorikosebi, rom ardavel is advil ad darbevam aCvena qarTvel ebs sparseTis Sinagani sisuste. marTI ac, qarTvel Ta jars ardavel amde sakmaod didi manZil i unda gaevl o, magram ar-

¹ i qve, 102.

² tuxaSvil i, *narkvevebi qarTul i dipl omatis istoriidan*, 193.

cert mustim martvel s qartvel Tatvis problema ar seuqnia. aseTive vitareba cans sparseTSi l aSgrobis drosac, roca aravitari saerto fronti ar arsebobda qartvel Ta Zal adobisagan Tavdasacavad. mxol od xorasanSi Sesvl is dros gamocndaT seriozul i mo-winaaRmdege qartvel ebs xorezmel ebis saxiT, magram es maSin, rodesac mteri, al baT, uSual od xorezmis sazRvrebTan gamocnda.

Cveni azrit, ardavel is sul Tnis l aSgroba anisze xorezmel ebis mier iyo provocirebul i. amaze unda mianisnebdes fragmenti ioane batoniSvil is `istoriidan-. mematianis cnobiT, Tamarma jari sparseTis dasal aSgrad imitom gaagzavna, rom xorezmel ebi qartvel ebs azerbaijans edavebodnen, `da agreTve eweodnen sparsTa sul tanebTa, raTa brZodnen qartvel Ta.¹

sparsTa sul Tnebsi erT-erTi, ardavel is sul Tani unda igul isxmebodes. maSin, maT, qartvel Ta am swraf reacias pasuxi ver gasces. SeiZl eba es xorezmel Tatvis moul odnel ic iyo, magram, 1210 wel s rodesac qartvel ebma didi samxedro eqspedicia moaw-yves sparseTSi, maSin ki gamocina sifxizl e xorezmis sul Tanma da ukve xorasanSi Sesul qartvel ebs agrZnobina, rom pasuxs gascemda maT. 1210 wel s gardacval a abu-baqri.² SeiZl eba vifiqroT, rom qartvel ebma abu-baqris gardacval ebas daukavSires sparseTSi Sesvl a. isini kargad grZnobdnen, rom abu-baqris sikvdil iT isargebl ebdnen xorezmel ebi. abu-baqris memkvudre uzbeki, saeWvoa, igive pirobebit SeTanxmeboda qartvel ebs. mogvianebit gamocnda, rom uzbekze gavl ena xorezmel ebs hqondaT. l aSa-giorgis mefobis dros uzbekma xorezm-Sah muhamedTan ucivil a qartvel ebs, misi samfl obel oebis ganuwyvetel i rbevis gamo. es ki dev erTxel mianisnebs, rom abu-baqris

¹ ioane batoniSvil i, H-2134, 644r-v.

² z. buniatovi abu-baqris gardacval ebas 1210-1211 wl ebSi var audobs. Зия Буниятов, *Государство Атабеков Азербайджана*, 61.

sikvdil is Semdeg, adarbadaganSi pol itikuri viTareba Seicval a. amitom, qarTvel ebma manamde scades TavianTi poziciebis gamagreba adarbadaganSi, sanam xorezmel ebi abu-baqris memkvidreobas daeufi ebodnen.¹

xorasanSi Sesul i qarTvel ebis winaaRmdeg xorezmis sul Tnis gamosvl is gamo, marTI ac, SeiZl eba hqonoda safuZvel i im xmebs, romelic im periodSi gavrcl da, magram qarTvel Ta ganadgureba rom ar momxdara, es wyaroebidan naTI ad Cans. al baT TviT qarTvel Ta jaris mesveurebma aRar CaTval es saWi rod winsvl a da qveynidan ase Sors wasul ebi moeridnen xorezmel ebTan dapirispirebas. amitomac gamobrun dnen ubrZol vel ad, magram es ar iyo damarcxebul Ta ukuqceva. rogorc cnobil ia, qarTvel Ta mxedrobam uvnebl ad moaRwia samSobl omde da ukan mobrunebis dros sastikad dasaja mianis gamgebel i Cadenil i borotebisaTvis. arc sul Tan muhameds udevnia momxduri mteri. al baT dakmayofil da, rom mowinaaRmdegem piri ibruna da mis samfi obel oebis gaecal a. qarTvel Ta uvnebl ad mobrunebis Sesaxeb wers aseve, al - husainic. misi gadmocemiT, qarTvel ebs xorasni dan dabrunebis dros daupyriaT marandi, naxiWevani, bail ayani, dvini. gamoqceul i da damarcxebul i jari amdens ver SeiZl ebda. rogorc Cans, Tamaris istorikosis cnoba, qarTvel Ta uvnebl ad ukan gamobrunebis Sesaxeb, simarTI es Seesabameba. misi cnobiT, ukan gamobrunebul qarTvel Ta laSqars gamouvl ia uJeni, Tavrizi, gadmoul axavs raxsi da naxiWevanis gziT mosul a Tbil isSi.

aRsani Snavia, ioane batoniSvil is monaTxrobi sparseTSi qarTvel Ta laSqrobis da misi ukan gamobrunebis Sesaxeb. marTalia, mematianes areul i aqvs

¹ msgavsi mosazreba adrec gamoiTqva dimitri Svel izis mier. igi 1210 wl is laSqrobas xorezmis winaaRmdeg moyobil aqcias ukavSirebs. dimitri Svel iZe, erekle Sve- liZe, saqarTvel osa da xorezmis urTierToba, 40.

qarTvel Ta I aSqrobis marSrutis Tanmimdevroba, magram naambobidan Cans, rom ukan dabrunebisas uvnebl ad gamouvl ia adarbadaganis qal aqebi, maTgan zogerTs, Tavi kvl av gamosasyidiT gadaurCenia, zogi ki axl ad auRia.

erTi mxriv, eWvs iwvevs, manamde ratom ar gasca pasuxi didma sul Tanma qarTvel ebs, sanam isini xorasans miaRwevdenen, xorezmel ebs xom pretenziebi mTel adarbadaganze hqondaT. savaraudod, sul Tan muhameds am droisaTvis probl emebi hqonda Sua aziaSi. 1210 wl isaTvis is brZol ebs awarmoebda yara-xatael ebis winaaRmdeg da seqtemberSi, bol os da bol os moaxerxa maTi damarcxeba. rogorc Cans, xorezmis sul Tans ar SeeZl o or frontze aqtiuri moqmedeba. amitom ver moaxerxa, qarTvel Ta I aSqrobis pirvel etapze gaewia maTTvis winaaRmdegoba. SeiZl eba, samefo karma Segnebul ad daamTxvia sparseTSi SeWra am dapirisprebas. iv. j avaxiSvil i, Tamaris istorikosis cnobaze dayrdnobiT, qarTvel Ta j aris Seyris da I aSqrobis dasawyisad Semodgomas miicnevs, `moiwia are sTul isa-¹ naTel ia mizezi, Tu ratom aRmoCnda xorezmel ebis reaqcia dagvianebul i mowinaaRmdegis Sesacerebl ad. mxol od maSin gamoCnda sul Tani, roca qarTvel Ta I aSqari xorezmis teritoriebs miuaxl ovd. qarTvel mematianeebs aRniSnul i aqvT, rom sparseTSi Sesvl isas maT win ver aRudga verc xorans da verc erayis sul Tani. xorans sul Tani aris xorezmSahi muhamedi. am dros xoransi xorezmel ebs hqondaT dakavebul i da xorans mmarTvel Si swored is igul isxmeboda. erayis sul TanSi ki igul isxmeba sel Cukianta sul Tani, roml is xel isufl eba moicavda sparseTis erays, adarbadagans, arans. magram, am droisaTvis, arc eraySi da arc xorasanSi sel Cukiani sul Tnebis xel isufl eba aRar iyo. `istoriani da azmanis- avtori, erayis sul TanSi, savaraudod, el digu-

¹ j avaxiSvil i, *qarTvel i eris istoria*, 283,

zianebis memkvadreobas aRniSnavs. el diguzianebe ki garkveul i xani fl obdnen sparseTis erayis istoriul -geografiul regions.¹

Tamaris istorikosis cnoba xorezmel Ta sul -Tnis gamosvl is Sesaxeb migvaniSnebs, rom qarTvel Ta l aSqroba sparseTSi da SeWra Soreul xorasanSi iyo mizanmimarTul i aqcia, romel ic ewinaaRmdegeboda xorezmel Ta gavl enis gavrcel ebas adarbadaganze. xorezmel ebs ara marto adarbadaganis, aramed TviT Sirvanis da aranis miwebis xel Si Cagdeba hqondaT ganzraxul i.² marTal ia, maTi es pretenziebi cota mogvianebeT, 1215-1216 wl ebSi iCens TavS, magram mi aniSnebs, rom muhameds Tamaris sicocxl eSic hqonda pretenziebi azerbaij anze³, aranze da Sirvanzec, rac uSual od safrTxes uqmnida saqarTvel os samefos. amitom, am l aSqrobas ar hqonda Zal is demonstrirebis da arc marbiel i xasiaTi, es ufro seriozul miznebs isaxavda.

¹ val erian gabaSvil is azriT, erayis da xorasnis sul -Tnebis dasaxel ebiT, qarTul i wyaroebi cdil oben, rac SeiZl eba metad gaaZl ieron saqarTvel os l aSqris romgurande miRwevis faqtis mniSvel oba, gabaSvil i, qarTul i wyaroebis `rom-guri~, 129.

² mematianeebis gadmocemiT, xorezmis sul Tnis muhamedis saxel ze xutbas kiTxul obdnen azerbaij anidan derbentamde da aTabagi uzbekic aRiarebda mis uzenaesobas. Зия Бунятов, *Государство Хорезмшахов Ануштегинидов, 1097-1231*, (Москва, 1986), 81

³ azerbaij ani igive adarbadagania. im epoqis qarTul i wyaroebi azerbaij anis aRsaniSnavad, ZiriTadad, adarbadaganis istoriul -geografiul termins xmaroben. am mxaris aRsaniSnavad, aseve, gv xvdeba termini adribej ani. es teritoria moicavda im drois Crdil oeT sparseTs, qa-l aqebiT: marandi, Tavrizi, mi ana, maraRa. z. buniatovi adarbadagans azerbaij ans uwodebs da gamohyofs aranisgan da Sirvanisgan. Зия Бунятов, *Государство Хорезмшахов Ануштегинидов*, 82

gansxvavebul i Tval sazrisi aqvs gamoTqmul i l . tuxaSvil s sparseTSi l aSqrobis miznebis da mizezebis Sesaxeb. mkvl evris azriT, qarTvel ebis l aSqroba SeTanxmebul i iyo xorezmis sul TanTan. qarTvel ebs l aSqrobis ori al ternativa hqondaT, erayis an xorasnis mimarTul eba. iranSi SeWris Semdeg unda mieRoT qarTvel Ta mTavarsardl ebs sabol oo gadawyvetil eba da gadawyda xorasani (rom-guri), radgan qarTvel ebi iq `viRacam- miwvia da es `viRaca- unda yofil iyo sul Tani muhamedi. es SeTanxmeba mimarTul i iyo iranSi damkvidrebul i Turq-sel CukTa mraval ricxovani bandebis winaaRmdeg, radgan isini did zians ayenebdnen xorezmis sagareo vaWrobasac da safRTxes uqmnidnen mis interesebs iran-avRaneTSi. amitom, es l aSqroba orive mxarisaTvis sasargebl o iyo. am etapze xorezmi ar ganxil eboda saqarTvel os mo-winaaRmdege Zal ad, piriqit, iranel i Turq-sel Cukebis winaaRmdeg brZol aSi Sua aziel i Turq-sel Cukebi bunebriv mokavSireebad gamodi odnen. im droisaTvis, muhamedis ZiriTad interess iranis aRmosavl eTi nawi l i, avRaneTi da indoeTi warmoadgenda da warmoudgenel i iyo mas miznad daesaxa saqarTvel oStan dapi-rispireba.¹

miuxedavad saintereso Tval sazrisisa, ver daveTanxmebiT mkvl evars. wyaroTa monacemebidan Cans, rom adarbadaganis sakiTxSi qarTvel Ta da xorezmel Ta interesebi aSkarad ej axeboda erTmaneTs. es konfl iqtijer kidev abu-baqris winaaRmdeg gatarebul i prevenciul i zomebis dros gamoikveTa, Semdeg amas mohyva qarTvel Ta mier xorezmel Ta gavlenis zonebSi SeWra, muhamedis muqara saqarTvel oSi l aSqrobaze da bol os, jalal ad-dinis Tavdasxma saqarTvel oze. CamoTvl il i movl enebi ki am konfl iqtis erTi mTl iani j aWvia.

¹ tuxaSvil i, *narkvevebi qarTul i dipl omatis istoriidan*, 194-199

qarTvel Ta sparseTSi I aSqrobis istoriis da
 miznebis Sesaxeb sainteresო ცნობებს გვაუვდის იოანე
 ბატონიშვილი. მართალია, ის ამ ამბების თანამედროვე არ
 არის, მაგრამ თავის ისტორიასი პირდაპირ მისი წიგნით,
 რომ sparseTSi I aSqrobis ამბავი დაკავსებულ იყო
 ადარბადგანისთვის ბრძოლის საკითხთან. მათიანე არ-
 ნისნავს, რომ თამარ მეფის განზრახული ჰქონდა არ დაეს-
 ვა ხოვრელის ეპისკოპოსის ადარბადგანის და ამით
 გააგზავნა სამხედრო ჯარსი sparseTის ციხეში. მიუ-
 ხედავად იმისა, რომ იოანე ბატონიშვილი qarTvel Ta მი-
 ერ ღალატების არების ამბებს გრონოლი იგიურად და გეოგ-
 რაფიულად არეულად გადმოგვცემს, გადავივით, მთლიანად
 მოგვითხრობს ეს ფრაგმენტი: `wel sa amasve Sina ineba
 Tamar მეფის ხუროთმოძღვრების და ჯარის გაგზავნის
 შესახებ, ვინაიდან ხუროთმოძღვრების ნი აბრკოლებდნენ ადრ-
 ბაქანის და მსახურებად თამარისა და აგრეთვე ეპისკოპოსის
 სპარსთა სპარსთა სულთანს, რათა ბრძოდნენ qarTvel -
 Ta. ხოლო იმასა ამას სინა ხელი ობდა თონრან გვარითა,
 ხოლო სხელს იტა ამირ ასლანს, ესე თონრან გვარითა
 ციხისა და თურქისტანს არზრდილი, და ესე მოვი-
 და და დაიპყრა ხორასანი და მაზანდარა და არასენა ციხე
 საარი ღალატისა და მოფობდა მუნ wel sa კრისტეს ან
 1100, ხოლო ამას თონრანის შვილი და შვილი იმის
 მოფობდნენ მასინ მელიქობად ამას ადგილს და მასინ
 იგი და თამარ ხან ჯე ამირ ასლანისა და მართლად იგი
 ყუიანასა მას: იმას ამას სინა მოუვდა მეფისა ჯარისა
 მხარგრელისა და სხუათა მხედართმთავართა შემოკრები
 მხედრობისა და ვაჟთა მხარისა ჯარისა და მათა
 მოხელისა ანკის მთავარსა და ვაჟსა და ვაჟსა
 იმისა ჯარისა მათისა თალია ვიდრე ხუთასი ოდნ
 კაცი, რათა იწოდებოდა იგი გარდასავალი და დაიწყო
 მთერთაგან, არვიდნენ რა ესენი მთავარსა მას, მასინ
 იმისა მათისა და ჯარისა და მათისა თალია ვიდრე
 ხუთასი კაცი. შემდგომად ამისა არვიდა ჯარისა
 მხედრობისა და იქილა ნაომარნი ადგილი და თათართა
 მხედრობისა კაცნი ვიდრე ხუთასი კაცი. რომელი -

Taca Subebive Tvisi aqundaT darWobil i gul Ta zeda. mxil vel i amisi gankvirda zaqaria da ubnobda Tu raÁ SeemTxvaT tal aTa CuenTa. Semdgomad amisa movidnen tal anica igi da moiRes al afi didZal i, romel Taca devna eyoT mterTaTvis. Semdgomad amisa miwia yaz-minsa da aRiRo igica da daimorCil a Tvisad. muni-dgan ganvl esd Terani mcire yarabCi(?) adgil i da mi-wivnes xorasans. maSin brZo tonRan taRanxanman ara-med iZl ia Cuenisa mxedrobisagan da dasces vidre oci aTasi xvarasnel ni, xol o ganivl to taRamxan da mivida mazandaras, saari qal aqsa Sina, maSin miadga garemos zaqaria mxargrZel i da Seaiwroa igi. xol o mxedrobani Cuenni arbevden vidre gurdanadmde(gurga-namde. a.g). maSin taRamxan warmouv l ina mociqu l ni za-qarias da evedra zavis a yofasa. xol o zaqariam sTxo-va mZevl ad ZeÁ Tvisi ToxTamiS, raodeniTame Cinebul - Ta guarisa kacni da amasTan xarj i raica warsagebe-l i gansrul iyo Tamar mefisa mxedarTa zeda, moce-mad igica da esreT gaistumrna el Cni igi. maSin ta-Ranxanman aRusrul a yovel ive da ukun iqca muni dgan. da Tana warmoiyuana ToxTamiSi oci wl isa mSuenieri yrma da didsa pativsa uyofda zaqaria, movida yaz-mins mun daayena mcireni mxedrobani da dai pyra same-fod. mere moadga zangans. aramed ganumagrden eseni, aRiRo cixeca maTi da mosrnes mraval ni da agreTve dai pyres marandaca da kval ad yafl an qus dam un gardasaval sa gzasa zeda gaaxl ebina cixe yizyal ad wodebul i da daayena mun mecixovneni da mere winamo-egeba Tavrizisa sul Tani da maraRisa begni da mia-nel ni da daemorCil nen mxargrZel sa da dasdo xarki-ca maTzeda: da esreT gamarj vebul ni ukun iqcen qar-TI ad. garna eseodeni al afi aqundaT mxedrobaTa Cu-enTa, romel sakidarnica vera uSoes, xol o raÁca samZimo bargi aqundaT, zogi misces gl axakTa mene-burTa da zogni dawves cecxl iTa. garna moesma mia-l el Tagan Ral atoba mcvel Ta mxedarTa dadginebul - Ta maTTa, romel Taca daexocaT mcireni ese mxedro-

bani qarTvel Tani da maSin wargzavna erTi mxedarT mtavari mxedrobiTa TvisiTa Tavrizidgan da srul i-ad aaoxres qal aqi igi. da mowyvidnes igini. xol o sul tansaca mohkveTa Tavi daudo rigi yovel Ta da movida tfil iss winaSe Tamarisa da moarTo ZRveni didi, romel gankvirdes yovel nive: da mefeman Tamar uboZa j il doÁ didi ese viTarsa saqmi saTvis.-¹

zemoT motanil i citata kargad aRwers qarTvel - Ta l aSqrobis mizans. samwuxarod, ar mogvepoveba cnoba, Tu ra wyaroebiT sargebl obda ioane batoniSvil i, magram mas, gansxvavebiT sxva mematiianeTagan, dasaxel ebul i aqvs am samxedro eqspediciis konkretul i mizezi. misi cnobiT (gansxvavebiT Tamaris mematiianis cnobisgan), qarTvel Ta da xorezmel Ta dapirispireba ufro adre momxdara. rogorc Cans, xorezmel ebs marTI ac hqondaT Setakeba qarTvel ebTan, magram damarcxdnen da ukuiqcnen. es Setakeba, ioane batoniSvil is cnobiT, moxda yazvinis aRebis Semdeg, roca qarTvel Ta j arma gaagrZel a xorashisaken svl a. mTavari am cnobebidan is aris, rom mowinaaRmdege mxareebs Soris marTI ac momxdara omi, rac kidev erTxel mianisnebs, rom qarTvel Ta l aSqroba sparseTSi xorezmel Ta winaaRmdege mowyobil i aqcia iyo da xorezmel ebmac uyuradRebod ar datoves Tavianti gavlenis sferoSi mtris gamoCena.

ioane batoniSvil is saintereso cnobiT, sparseTSi l aSqrobis dros, qarTvel Ta mxedarTmTavrebs morCil ebis mizniT eaxl nen Tavrizis, mianis da mararis gamgebl ebi. Tamaris istorikoss qarTvel Ta mier maraRas damorCil eba aRniSnul i ar aqvs. maraRas rom qarTvel ebi fl obdnen, miuTitebs aseve, jal al addinis karis istorikosi an-nasavi. igi gadmogvcems, rom 1225 wel s, rodesac jal al ad-dini miuaxl ovda azerbaijanis sazRvrebs, mas gadasces qal aq maraRas mcxovrebtaweril i, sadac moqal aqeebi Txovdnen, rom

¹ ioane batoniSvil i, H-2134, 644r-v, 645r-v.

gaeTavisufl ebina maTi qal aqi qarTvel Ta Zal adobisagan, radgan misi patronebi veraviTar winaaRmdego-bas ver uwevdnen momxdur mters.¹ maraRaze gavl enis gavrcel ebas adasturebs Tamaris meore istorikosi, basil ezosmoZRvari. Tamaris saqmeebis aRwerisas aRniSnavs, rom momaval i Taobis qarTvel ebma gaixsenon misi mefobis dros Cadenil i sagmiro saqmeebi, `era-yamdis quemOT misgan dadebul i xaraj a da baRdadis kerZ marRamdis, da TAT igi xal ifa SeSinebul i da moaje kma ars quej domiT moqmedisagan-² rogorc vxedavT, XIII saukunis 20-iani wl ebisatvis qarTvel ebis gavl ena, TviT Tavrizis samxreT-aRmosavl eTiT vrcel deboda, rac kidev erTxel miuTitebs, rom sparseTze mowyobil i l aSqroba ar iyo marto samxed-ro Zal is demonstrireba da marbiel i eqspedicia. rogorc Cans, dapyrobil qal aqebSi qarTvel Ta mxedar-TmTavrebs dautovebiaT mecixovne razmebi, risi magal iTic aris mianis cnobil i ambavi da Tamaris istorikosis kidev erTi cnoba, romelic qarTvel Ta jaris dabrunebis moments aRniSnavs, `dauteves mSAdobiT myofni adarbadaganisani da qal aqni adarbadaganisani-³ Cveni azriT, `mSAdobiT myofni--Si igul isxmeba is mecixovne razmebi, roml ebic dapyro-bil qal aqebSi Caayenes qarTvel Ta mTavarsardi ebma viTarebis sakontrol od. aseve sayuradReboa an-nasavis informacia, maraRas mcxovrebaTa Civil is Sesaxeb jal al ad-dinTan, qarTvel Ta Zal momreobis gamo.

mogvianebiT, l aSa-giorgis mefobis periodSi 1217-1218 wl ebSi, xorezmis sul Tanma muhamedma daipyro sparseTis erayi da adarbadaganis aTabagi uezbegi

¹ Зия Буниятов, *Государство Хорезмшахов Ануштегинидов*, 163.

² basil ezosmoZRvari, `cxovreba mefeT-mefisa Tamarisi~, *qarTl is cxovreba*, teqsti dadgenil i Yyvel a ZiriTadi xel naweris mixedvit s. yauxCiSvil is mier, t. II, (Tbil isi, 1959), 124.

³ `istoriani da azmani SaravandedTani~, 109.

daimorCil a. an-nasavis cnobiT, igi amis Semdeg dae-
muqra qarTvel ebs, rom Tu ar Sewyvetdnen adarbadaganis
Zarcvas, gail aSqrebda saqarTvel oze. abd al -
l atif al baRdadi amitomac aRniSnavs, rom muhamads
`surda wasul iyo Tbil isze da gadaeqcia is Tavisi
saxel mwifos dedaqal aqad-, magram man es muqara ver
Seasrul a. g. jafariZis azriT, marTalia, sxva arabul
i wyaroebi ar icnoben muhamedis ganzraxvas, magram
xma imis Taobaze, rom sul Tans Tbil isis dal aSqvra
surda, am dros unda gavrcel ebul iyo sparsul -arabul
samyaroSi.¹ rogorc am wyaroebidan Cans, qarTvel
l ebi Tamaris mefobis Semdgomac agrZel ebdnen adar-
badaganis Sinaur saqmeebSi Carevas. adarbadaganis
aTabagma uzbekma qarTvel ebs xorezmSahTan uCivi a
mis miwebze permanentul i Tavdasxmebis gamo. amitom,
muhamedma el Ci gamoagzavna saqarTvel oSi, visi piri-
Tac Seaxsenebda qarTvel ebs, rom uzbeki misi vasal i
iyo da Tu isini ar SeaCerebdnen adarbadaganze Tav-
dasxmebis, gail aSqrebda saqarTvel oze. man 50 aTasi
mxedari gamoyo saqarTvel oze sal aSqrod. saqarTvel
l os samefo kari Seecada konfli qti dipl omatiuri
gziT moegvarebina. qarTvel ebma xorezmis despans Ta-
visi el Coba gaayol es saCuqrebiT, `raSic gamoarCev-
diT im mxaris saswaul ebs.² am konfli qtis Tavidan
acil ebis mizezi kidev is garemoeba unda yofil iyo,
rom qarTvel Ta yuradReba gadatanil i iyo pal esti-
nisaken, radgan dawyebul i iyo V jvarosnul i l aS-
qroba. romis papi da jvarosanTa meTaurebi qarTvel
l ebs daxmarebas sTxovdnen ierusal imis gaTavisuf-
l ebisaTvis brZol aSi. l aSa-giorgi apirebda kidec
pal estinaSi gal aSqrebas. savaraudod, or frontze

¹ goCa jafariZe, `axal i arabul i wyaro XIII saukunis sa-
qarTvel os istoriisaTvis-, *ciskari*, 1, (1980), 136-137, mi-
sive, *saqarTvel o da maxl obel i aRmosavl eTis isl amuri
samuro*, (Tbil isi, 1995), 185-186.

² Зия Буниятов, *Государство Хорезмшахов Ануштегинидов*, 81-82.

brZol a qarTvel Ta Zal ebs aRemateboda da amitomac moeridnen konfl iqtis xorezmis Zl ier mmarTvel Tan.

xorezmSahs kidev ufro didi gegmebi hqonda. me-matianeTa gadmocemiT, saqarTvel os Semdeg, igi api-rebda siriis da egviptis mimarTul ebiT l aSqrobas. Tumca, muhamedma ver moaxerxa dasaxul i miznebis Ses-rul eba. es al baT, gamowveul i iyo Sua aziaSi mon-Rol Ta gamoCenis gamo. ukve am droisaTvis, monRol e-bi dasavl eT Turqestanis da yara-xatael Ta samefos sazRvrebs uaxl ovdebodnen. es faqti, ra Tqma unda, miipyrobda xorezm-Sahis yuradRebas. Tumca, wyaroebi gadmogvcemen, rom baRdadisken daZrul i xorezmel Ta l aSqari mTiani gadasavl el ebis gadal axvis dros moyva did yinvebSi, ramac misi jaris didi nawil i Se-iwira da muhamedi iZul ebul i gaxda gabrunebul iyo Tavis samefoSi.

sainteresoa, rom muhamedi Tavis samefoSi dab-runebis Semdeg, dedaqal aq urgenCSi ki ar mivida, aramed samaryandSi. rogorc z. buniatovi aRniSnavs, misi iq gaCerebis da dasaxl ebis mizezi im droisaT-vis aRmosavl eTidan mosul i amebi iyo, romel ic iuw-yeboda ucnobi da Zl evamosil i mtris moaxl oebas mi-si saxel mwifos sazRvrebTan.¹

ucnauria, rom Tamaris da l aSa-giorgis mematia-neebS araferi aqvT naTqvami xorezmel Ta da qarTvel -Ta am mraVal wl iani konfl iqtis Sesaxeb, magram an-na-savs moepoveba cnoba, rom jal al ad-dini muqaras uTvl ida qarTvel ebs sparseTis mxareebSi mowyobil i l aSqrobebS gamo da aRniSnavda, rom misi saxiT sparseTs patroni gamouCnda da aRar miscemda maT sa-sual ebas am mxareebS ase uwyal od rbevisa. man weri-l ebi gaugzavna rumis sul Tans al ad-din qei-qubads, xl aTis mbrZanebel s al -mal iq al -aSrafs, damaskos sul Tans al -muazams, egviptis sul Tans al -qamil s da maT uTvl ida, rom daipyro azerbaijani da apirebda

¹ Зия Буниятов, *Государство Хорезмшахов Ануштегинидов*, 84.

saqarTvel oze Tavdasxmas. amave dros pirdeboda, rom mSvidobas daamyarebda mezobel musul im mmarTvel ebTan.¹

aqac Cans, rom qarTvel Ta mier Catarebul i l aS-qrobebi abu-baqris winaaRmdeg, ardavel is sul Tnis dasasjel ad iyo mimarTul i. rac mTavaria, sparseTze mowyobil i masStaburi samxedro eqspedicia, swored xorezmel ebis interesebs ej axeboda adarbadaganSi, rac kargad Cans muhamedis muqaraSi saqarTvel os samefo karisadmi, sadac xorezmSahi, adarbadaganis aTabag uzbekis qarTvel Tagan dasacavad j ars amzadebda da l aSqrobas apirebda. amitom iyo, rom mogvianebiT, jalal ad-dini qarTvel ebs axsenebda im Zvel wyenas, rasac isini bol o wl ebSi ayenebdnen sparseTis mosaxl eobas. Cveni azriT, jalal ad-dinis l aSqroba saqarTvel oze iyo ara marto musul imTa SurisZieba, aramed im Zvel i konfliqtis gamoZaxil i, romelic saTaves XII saukunis 90-iani wl ebidan iRebda.

¹ i qve, 164.

**THE ISSUE OF ADHARBADHAGAN IN THE RELATIONS
BETWEEN GEORGIA AND KHWARAZM**

The issue of Adharbadhagan (Southern Azerbaijan, Northern Persia) was one of the topical directions in the foreign policy of Georgian kingdom. From the 1160's the Georgian kings launched the military campaigns against the Eldiguzid rulers of Adharbadhagan. The confrontation was especially fierce during the reign of Giorgi III and King Tamar. At the end of the 12th c. the Georgian government was actively involved in the fight for the throne of Adharbadhagan after the death of Qizil-Arslan. The Georgians made permanent forays on the territory of Northern Persia. It was at that time that the Georgians found the new rival, the Khwarazmian Empire, which claimed not only Adharbadhagan, but Arran and Shirvan too. Therefore, the military campaign of 1210 in Adharbadhagan and Khorasan was targeted against the Khwarazmian influence too. Although *"Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns"* gives a different account regarding its reasons and aims, but the other Georgian and foreign sources clearly show the real goals of the campaign. The confrontation between Georgia and Khwarazm was continuing during Tamar's successors. The Khwarazm Shah Ala ad-Din Muhammad's military preparations and his son Jalal ad-Din's campaign against Georgia are the clear signs of the continuing conflict.

dimetri Svelize, erekle astaxi Svili

giorgi metormetis kapitulanturi
politikis mizezebi da Sedegebi (1798-1801 ww.)

erekle meoris gardacval ebam rusetis imperiis xelisuflebas didi dabrkolebam mouxna. axlama ukve SeeZlo metodurad ganexorciel ebina qarTl-kaxetis samefos dapyroba-gauqmeba. saamisod rusetis axal imperators pavle pirvels, araerTi garemoeba uwyobda xels: kavkasiis Zveli baton-patronebi Zalagamocil ebi iyvnen. osmal eTsqarTl-kaxetisa da armosavl eT amierkavkasiisaTvis brZolis Tavi arahonda. manisis iyo egipte dakarga da izulebuli gaxda, rusetTan kavSirc ki Seekra. Canda, rom aramahmad-xanis sikvdilis Semdeg, verc irani gaswevda did winaarmdegobas. dasavl eT evropasi iwyeboda napolionis omebis epoqa da kavkasiuri periferiebisaTvis iqnaklebad ecal at.

armosavl ur-kavkasiuri saxanoebi mzdaiyven didi winaarmdegoba gaewiat rusetis mzardi eqspansiisaTvis, magram Zlieri mokavSireebis gareSe, maTisamxedro SesaZlebebi erTob SezRuduli gaxl dat.

Tvit qarTl-kaxetis, ganuwyveteli omianobit gadarili mosaxleoba, loial urad iyo ganwyobil rusetis mimarT. iran-osmal eTis magier rusetis Canacvl ebit is dids arafers dakargavda, SeZenit ki SeeZlo dapirebuli mSvidobianoba da agresori mezoblebisagan dacva-daxmarebami ero. amaze mianisnebda, Tbilisis mosaxleobis mier rusta batal ionebis ketil ganwyobil daxvedra, rasac imperiis moxel eebi amarlebuli entuziazmit arwerdnen.

rac mtavaria, qarTl-kaxetis samefo taxtze ij axali mefegiorgi XII – susti, uarresad mimndobi, saxel mwifo moRvawisaTvis damaxasiaTebeli unar-Tvisebebisagan srul iad ganZarculi pirovneba. rusetis imperatoris sasaxle vercinatrebda, sakuTari miznebisat-

vis gamosayenebl ad iseT Sesaferis kandidats, rogoric qarTI -kaxeTis axal i xel isufal i gaxl daT.

amgvari sagareo da saSinao foniT daiwyo ruseT-saqarTvel os mfarvel obiT-mokavSireobiTi urTierTobis morigi cikl i, romel ic 1798-1801 wl ebs moicavda.

Tavdapirvel ad, TiTqos yvel aferi Zvel eburad gagrZel da. 1798 wl is 18 april s ruseTis imperatorma pavl e pirvel ma, giorgi XII-s, mefobis damadasturebel i sigel i gamougzavna, qarTI -kaxeTis kanonier mefed aRi-ara da mis memkvidred cno batoniSvil i daviTi.

qarTI -kaxeTTan urTierTobaSi pavl e pirvel i, j er-j erobiT mainc, fuZemdebl ur dokumentad aRiarebda georgievskis traqtats da swored am xel Sekrul e-bis mesame muxl is safuZvel ze, `amtkicebda" giorgis mefed, xol o mis Svil s, daviTs, mis "memkvidred"¹.

magram amis Semdeg, mokl e xanSi, ruseTis saimperatoro xel isuflebam, xel i aiRo georgievskis traqtatze, rogorc ruseT-saqarTvel os urTierTobis ganmsazRvrel samarTI ebriv-politikur dokumentze. axl a mas, qarTI -kaxeTis samefos gauqmebaSi, 1783 wl is xel Sekrul eba piriqIT, xel SemSiel barierad eqca. ruseTs rogorme imisaTvis unda mieRwia, rom qarTI -kaxeTisaTvis, „mfarvel obiT-mokavSireobiTi" statusi moeSala da mis magivrad „qveSevrdomobis" statusi daemkvidrebina. amit mas gaexsneboda gza, qarTI -kaxeTis inkorporaciisaken. amavdroul ad, imperiis xel isuflebas ise unda moegvarebina saqme, rom qveSevrdomoba, TviT qarTvel ebs eTxovaT.

aq ki imperiis xel isuflebas daufasebel i sam-saxuri gauwia giorgi XII-em. ruseTis didmoxel eTa da TviT imperatoris zewol iT, meores mxriv, gauaresebul i saSinao da sagareo viTarebiT da sakuTari uZl urebiT SeSinebul ma qarTI -kaxeTis mefem, sakuTari samefos, ruseTis imperiis qveSevrdomobaSi gadacema gadawyvita. 1799 wl is 7 seqtembers giorgi XII-em Tavis warmomadgenl ebs ruseTis imperatoris karze: garsevan WavWavaZes, el izbar fal avandiSvil s da giorgi ava-

l i Svil s miwera e.w. „hazrni moxsenebani“, romel ic maT pavl e pirvel isaTvis unda gadaecaT. am SemTxvevaSi, „hazrni moxsenebani“, Cven unda gaviazroT, rogorc ruseTTan dasadebi axal i xel Sekrul ebis proeqti. gi- orgi XII Tavis warmomadgenl ebs swerda:

„umsxverpl eT yovel i samefo da samfl obel oi Cemi uzakvel iTa da qristianebrITa WeSmaritebiTa msxverpl ebiTa da daudeviT ara Tu mfarvel obasa qveSe udidebul ebasa didsa ruseTsa saimperatorosa taxtsa, aramed daanebeT srul sa nebasა da mzrunvel obasa maTsa, raTa amierTagan daidvas samefo qar- TI osianTa saimperiod ruseTisad wesiTa miT, viTar- ca sxvani igi ruseTisa Sina pyrobil ni provinciani sargebl oben“² („Чтобы с этих пор царство Картлосианов считалось принадлежащим Держав Рассиской с теми правами, которыми пользуются находящиеся в России другия области“).

Tumca mefes ar aviwydeboda, rom damouki debl o- ba-dakargul i misi qveyana, formal urad samefod unda darCenil iyo da mis STamomaval bagrationebs mefoba unda SeenarCunebinaT: imperatorma, „saxl sa Sina Cemsa ara aRayenos mefeni, garna oden samefos memkvidriTi memkvi dre viTarca wi naparni Cemni“, anu „не прекращать в доме моем царского звания“ da a. S.³

ruseTis saimperatoro kari friad kmayofil i darCa giorgi XII-is marTI ac gul ubryvil o gul ux- vobiT. mi uxedavad amisa, am dokumentma etyoba mainc ver daakmayofil a bol omde peterburgel i dipl oma-tebi. saWi ro iyo dokumentis kidev ufro daxvewa da masSi erTi, saWi ro da aucil ebel i terminis Casma, es termini „qveSevrdomi“ gaxl daT. qarTI -kaxeTis mefes ruseTis imperatoris qveSevrdomad unda eRIarebina Tavi.

rogorc cnobil ia, qarTI -kaxeTis morCil ma me- fem, arc am SemTxvevaSi daixia ukan da sakuTari ne- biT gauTxara samare Tavis mefobasac, memkvi dreebsac da sakuTar samefosac. 1800 wl is 24 ivniss Sedga, gi- orgi XII-is mier ruseTis imperatorisadmi warsadge- ni e. w. „saTxovari punqtebi“. am dokumentiT, qarTI -

kaxetis mefe, rusetis imperiis qvsevrdomad asxadeb-
da TavS: "...навсегда принять подданство всероссийской Импе-
рии..." da snobda rusetis imperators "как наследстве-
нного (природного) своего государя и самодержца"⁴. faqtu-
rad, giorgi XII auqmebda, mamamisis mier rusetTan ga-
formebul georgievskis traqtats da qarTI -kaxetis
vasal uri saxel mwifos statuss cvl ida, rusetis im-
periaSi Semaval i qarTI -kaxetis, rogorc imperiis Se-
madgenel i administraciul -avtonomiuri erTeul is
statusiT.

bunebrivad ibadeba kiTxva, ra mosazrebit ambob-
da qarTI -kaxetis ukanasknel i mefe uars, saxel mwi-
fosa da sakuTari samefo personis suverenul ufl e-
bebze. aq mizezad mxol od is ar gamodgeba da ar ik-
marebs, rom yvel aferi giorgi XII-is gul ubryvil o-
bas, mimndobl obas, mis „qristianul -moral istur“
principebs Tu pirdapir bedovl aTobas davabral oT.
ra Tqma unda CamoTvl il pirad TvisebaTa gaTval is-
wineba aucil ebel ia, magram umTavresi mizezi giorgi
XII-is kapitul anturi pol itikuri kursisa gaxl daT,
Zl ieri zemoqmedeba, romel sac rusetis xel isufl eba
axorciel ebda qarTI -kaxetis mefeze.

1799 wl is 26 noembers qarTI -kaxetis samefos te-
ritoriaze Semovida rusetis jaris ori batal ion-
general l azarevis meTaurobit. mosaxl eobis ruseti-
sadmi l oial uri ganwyoba al baT gaaZl iera 1800 wl is
7 noembris kakabettan momxdarma brZol amac, romel -
Sic rusTa da qarTvel Ta gaerTianebul ma j arma sas-
tikad daamarcxa omar-xanis l ekTa didi l aSqari.

qarTvel i mosaxl eobis farTo fenebma j er ar
uwodnen, rom samSvidobo misiit Semosul i rusTa
jari, faqtobrivad saokupacio j ars warmoadgenda.
Tavdapirvel ad, saqarTvel oSi myofi rusul i jari,
ar iyo sakmarisi, mTel i qarTI -kaxetis dasakavebl ad.
magram igi srul iad sakmarisi aRmoCnda imisaTvis,
rom qveynis sataxto qal aqze da adgil obriv samefo
xel isufl ebaze, kontrol i daemyarebina. ukve 1800

wl is oqtombrisaTvis, rusul i kontingentis ricxvi 1224 j ariskacsa da oficers iTvl ida. cecxI sasrol i iaraRiT da zarbaznebiT aRWurvil i rusTa regul arul i armiis es raodenoba, savsebiT sakmarisi iyo imisaTvis, rom imdroindel qarTI -kaxeTis samefoSi, nebismieri antirusul i wamowyeba, an romel ime batoniSvil is arasasurvel i qmedeba da daqsasul i feodal uri l aSqris Sekrebis mcdel oba aRekveTa.

rac mTavaria, TviT Tbil isi, rusTa j aris srul kontrol s daeqvemdebara. ukve 1799 wl is 22 dekembri-saTvis, qarTI -kaxeTis samefos sataxtoSi, „qal aqSi simSvidisaTvis“, dawesda rusTa j aris nawil ebisagan Semdgari sayaraul oebi da saguSagoebi⁵. isini akontrol ebdnen Tbil isis quCebs, cixe qal aqis Semosavl el -gasavl el ebs, adgil obrov didmoxel eTa da TviT mefis sasaxl eebS, mimdebare teritoriebs da yvel a arakeTil saimedo piris adgil samyofel s.

rusma moxel eebma, imperiis ministrma-warmomadgenel ma saqarTvel oSi, koval enskim da general ma l azarevma, faqtobrivi tyveobaSi moaqcies erekl e meoris qvrivi – dedofali darej ani. mas aukrZal es qal aqidan gasvla da mkacrad akontrol ebdnen mis sacxovrebel -Tan misavl el quCebs. amis Sesaxeb l azarevis weril i ufro karg warmodgenas Segviqmnis, romel ic man kavkasiis rusul i j arebis ufross knorings miswera: 7 ivl iss ministr koval enskis l azarevisaTvis Seutyobinebi a: `вдовствующая царица Дария вознамеревается выехать из города и е. в. (mis umaRl esobas e.i. giorgi XII-s – avtorgebi) угодно, что я предпринял свои меры в отвращению ея отъезда, не подавая виду о присмотривание за нею, то так как она жительство имеет в авлабар и в оною изключая лазаретного, никаких караулов нет, то я лучшим способом почел учредить по всем дорогам ведущим в авлабар, ночные секретные бекеты (пикети), а по оному предместью учредить частые патрули”⁶.

is, rom koval enski-l azarevis tandemi, Tbil isis baton-patronebi iyvnen, giorgi meTormetis biograf-istorikos pl aton iosel iansac SeumCnevia, magram

amis aRiareba ar unda, radgan rusebze erTi mrude sityvac ar unda rom Tqvas. rodesac giorgi XII-em da misma oj axobam ruseTis imperatoris erTgul ebaze daifices, meore dRes koval enskis mouTxovia, rom qarTvel didmoxel eefs da samRvdel o pirebsac daedoT aRTqma da xel i moeweraT imperatoris erTgul ebaze. koval enskis „moTxovna“ saswrafod iqna Sesruli ebul i. rac Seexeba jars da „Reneral I azarevs“, isini iosel ianis ganmartebiT, Tbil isSi Sesul an da yofil an „mcvel ad mefisa da sataxtoisa qal aqisa“.

giorgi XII ministr koval enskis srul gavlenasi moeqca. mefem araferi icoda da Sesazl oa verc warmoidgenda, rom rus moxel eefs, saiduml o instruqciit eval ebodaT, misi yovel i nabijis gakontrol eba, oRond ise, rom mefis gul ubryvil o personisatvis es Seumcnevi i darCenil iyo. mefe usazRvrod endoboda da pl aton iosel ianis mowmobit, Zal ian uyvarda ruseTis ministri-warmomadgenel i.

gansxvavebit koval enskisagan, giorgi XII ver SeTvisebia I azarevs. rogorc mis Sesaxeb arsebul i daxasiaTebebidan Cans, general i I azarevi yofil a tipiuri rusi sal dafoni, uxeSi, mkacri, jiuti da ewiviani pirovneba. mal e „Reneral -maiori I azarevi, saxel iT ivan petroviCi“, ase uwodebs mas giorgi XII-is mexotbe istorikosi pl aton iosel iani, mwvaved daupirispirda ministr koval enskis. I azarevi jaris ufrosi iyo da koval enskisTan farul konkurenciaSi imyofeboda. mal e „ivan petroviCi“ qarTl -kaxeTis faqtiuri diqtatori gaxda. pl aton iosel iani wers: „Tavad da ganmged yovel Tave saqmeTa, Semdgomad mefisa ganmxnevebul isa rusTa jarisa masTan yofnisa, nacvl ad mowodebul isa ruseTad koval enskisa, iyo Reneral i I azarevi“⁷.

I azarevs iseve hqonda daval ebul i qarTl -kaxeTis mefis Tval Tval i da kontrol i, rogorc „gul keTil “ koval enskis. ai ras aval ebda saiduml o instruqcia general ivan petroviC I azarevs: „По прев-

ратности тамошних владельцев и двоякости, часто их руководствующей, должны также вы не терять из виду и поступков самого царя, дабы никагда не могло им ничто учинено быть вопреки интересов высочайшего двора". Tu aseTi ram moxdeboda, I azarevs eval eboda saswrafod Seetyobinebina imperiis sagareo saqmeTa kol egiisaTvis an kavkasiis xazis sardl isaTvis. Tu osmal ebi, amierkavkasie l i xanebi, yizil baSebi an I ekebi, `с какими либо от них или от правителей их предложениями, то не упускать вам, чтоб царь, не скрывая того от вас, советовался о сем с вами, уведомлял вам о присилке тех посланцев сию коллегию и пограничного начальника"⁸. rogorc Cans, giorgi XII yovl dRiuri Tval - Tval isa da mkacri farul i kontrol is qveS imyofeboda, igi rusi moxel eebisa da oficrebis garemocvaSi iyo moqceul i, xol o mis "dacvas" Tbil isSi myofi rusul i kontingenti warmoadgenda, rac sabol oo j amSi, mis tyebaSi yofnas niSnavda. faqtiurad, mefes arc SeeZl o wi naaRmdegoba gaewia rusul i garemocvi saTvis.

qarTul istoriografiaSi damkvidrebul ia azri, rom giorgi XII, dabadebidanve Tu ara, cxovrebis didi xnis manZil ze mainc, - ganukurnebel i sneul ebiT Sepyrobil i adamiani iyo. sadac qarTI -kaxeTis mefes axseneben, misi sneul ebac aucil ebel atributad saxel deba⁹. morigi miTia. mefis upirvel esi biografi pl aton iosel iani, giorgi XII-s sxvagvar pirovnebad warmogvidgens. igi savsebiT normal uri j anmrTel obis mqone kaci gaxl daT. taxtis memkvidrem Tavi isaxel a aspinZis brZol aSi. mas tyuil ubral od abral ebdnen, TiTqos ar miexmara krwanisSi mebrZol qarTvel Ta ZiriTad Zal ebs. igi am dros, erekl e mefis brZanebiT, kaxeTSi idga da qveyanas omar xanis mosa l odnel i Tavdasxmisagan icavda. swored am brZanebis Sesrul eba iyo mTavari mizezi imisa, rom aRa-mahmad-xans kaxeTSi Sesvl a arc ufiqria, ise gaecal a qveyanas. is garemoeba, rom giorgi XII saxel mwifo saqmeeb sa da sadil obas Tanabar dros - sam-sam saaTs uT-mobda, mis j anmrTel obaze ufro metyvel ebs, vidre

avadmyofobaze. 1796 wel s, ganj aze l aSqrobisas, erek-
l em ufrosi Svil i qveynis mmarTvel ad datova Tbi-
l isSi da roca dabruna, friad kmayofil i darCeni-
l a, giorgis unariani mmarTvel obiT.

sneul eba, giorgi XII-s mefobis mesame – 1800 wel s
daewyo. `mefobisa pirvel sa orsa wel iwadsa, – wers
pl aton iosel iani, – mibrZandeboda abanosa cxeniTa
da mesamesa wel sa, viTarca sneul sa, miyvandnen trax-
trevaniTa. traxtrevaniTve mibrZandeboda xarebisa ek-
l esiasa...¹⁰ am periodidan real uri Zal a l azarevis
xel Si iyo. roca Tbil isSi xma dairxa, TiTqos 22 de-
kembers daviT batoniSvil is momxreebi unda Sekrebi-
l iyvnen da daviTis erTgul ebas da mis gameFebaze
unda daeficaT, l azarevi Tavis j arianad myisve sio-
nis ekl esiaSi gaCnda, rom msgavsi ram ar daeSva.

general i l azarevi RameebSac ki uTevda sneul
mefes. "первый раз, когда царю сделалос худа, – moaxsenebda
`ivan petroviCi- Tavis ufross general knorings, –
то его соборовали маслом и он исповедовался и я всю ночь
провел при нем"¹¹. l azarevi namdvil ad ar iyo giorgi
XII-is gul iTadi megobari da Tu mainc RameebS uTev-
da avadmyof mefes, es al baT, garkveul i mosazrebiT -
rusul i mxaris interesiT xdeboda.

rusi general i mefis axl obl ebs, masTan Sem-
svl el -gamomsvl el ebs da TviT mkurnal eqimsac akon-
trol ebda. 25 dekembers l azarevi isev knorings wer-
da, rom rogorc 21 dekembris wina weril Si mogaxse-
neTo, `e. в царю стало гораздо лучше, а нине еще лучше. Так
что я и лекарь имеем надежду, хотя не к совершенному ею
извлечению, но к большему облегчению"¹².

saeWvoa, rom moxel e-generl ebs giorgi XII-is
j anmrTel obis bedi didad awuxebdaT. arc saimpera-
tori kari unda yofil iyo didad dainteresebul i me-
fis gamomj obinebiT. piriqiT, peterburgis mTavrobac,
mozdokSi myofi knoringic da Tbil isSi gapirvel ka-
cebul i l azarevic, gafacicebiT emzadebodnen mefis
sikvdil is Semdgomi mosal odnel i movl enebis gasa-

kontrol ebl ad. ukve gadawyvetil i iyo samefos gauqmeba. cocxal i mefis pirobebSi, samefos ver gauqmebdnen, misi sikvdil is SemTxvevaSi ki _ batoniSvil davits aRar gaamefebdnen. amitom moTminebiT Tu mouTmenl ad el odnen mefis gardacval ebas.

imperator i pavl e 1800 wl is 15 noembers special uri reskriptiT aZl evda miTitebas kavkasiis xazis jarebis sardal s general -l eitenant knorings: "Ослабление здоровья царева дает повод ожидать его кончины: почему и отправьте, коль скоро ония последует, немедленно туда объявление от имени нашего, чтобы допущения от нас соизволения... не было приступаемо к назначению преемника на царство грузинское". amastan, imperatori ganumartavda Tavis general s, rom mal e Tbil isSi Camovidodnen qarTvel i el Cebi da Camoitandnen, mefis xel mosawer sigel s "о желании их быть в нашем подданстве и под управлением наших законов"¹³.

peterburgis sasaxl e mxol od erTs el odeboda giorgi XII-gan – xel moweras, qarTI -kaxetis samefos ruseTis imperiis qveSevrdomobaSi Sesvl is Sesaxeb, zemonaxseneb sigel ze. amis Semdeg, ukve gadawyvetil i iyo samefos gauqmeba. knoringi I azarevs 2 dekembers ubrZanebda, rom mefis sikvdil is ambavi saswrafod SeetyobinebinaT mistvis da ar daeSvaT memkvidris gamefeba. sagangebo da gaZl ierebul badragS unda yvel a piroba Seqmnoda, Tbil isidan, Crdil o kavkasiaSi gadasavl el gzaze, raTa special ur macnes mokl e vadaSi Caetana mefis gardacval ebis ambavi.

ruseTis saimperatoro karma mizans mainc ver miarwia. qarTI -kaxetis mefe imaze cota xniT adre gardacval a, vidre es pavl e pirvel is sasaxl es awyobda. roca giorgi XII 1800 wl is 28 dekembers aResrul a, qarTvel i el Cebi j er kidev ar iyvnen Camosul ni peterburgidan da sigel ic, qarTI -kaxetis samefos ruseTTan SeerTebis Sesaxeb – xel mouwerel i darCa. yvel aferi wyal Si Caiyara. peterburgs imedi gaucruvda. giorgi XII-is Txovnebma, ruseTis imperiasTan qve-

Sevrdomobis statusiT SeerTebis Sesaxeb, iuridiul i xel Sekrul ebis saxe ver miRo _ georgievskis traqtati Zal aSi darCa.

dipl omatiuri marcxiT gaRizianebul i imperiis xel isufl eba "mokavSire" qveynis pirdapiri dapyrobis gzas daadga. qarTI -kaxeTis faqturma diqtatorma, general ma I azarevma, j aris nawil ebi ganal aga qarTI Si da mis Semosasvl el ebSi da gansakuTrebul i zomebi miRo "siwynarisa da simSvidis dasacavad adgil obriv mxareSi". I azarevis brZanebiT Sekribes qarTvel i Tavadznauroba da imperatoris brZanebis miRebamde, morCil eba da I odini ubrZanes.

giorgi XII-is gardacval ebisTanave, general ma I azarevma weril ebi daugzavna saufli swul oebSi Camxdar qarTvel batoniSvil ebs _ ar daeSvaT vinmes mefed gamocxadeba: `поставляю объявить Е. И. В. Волю, что доколе от него не последует Высочайшее соизволение никого бы преемником царства Грузинского избран не был, а доколе всем остоваться в почтении в царскому роду, который остается в теперешнем его положении, а народ в пределах повиновения,..."

gansakuTrebul yuradRebas iqcevd a `weril is" uk-anasknel i abzac i: `...все же повеления будут подписываться и печать прикладываться е(го) св(етлости) Царевича Иоана, Игнатия-дивана и моя"¹⁴.

es iyo saxel mwifo gadatrial eba.

erTaderTi samarTI ebriv-iuridiul i da Tan saer-TaSoriso xel Sekrul eba, romelic gansazRvravda qarTI -kaxeTis samefosa da ruseTis imperiis urTierTobis xasiaTs, gaxl daT 1783 wl is xel Sekrul eba _ georgievskis traqtati. masSi gansazRvrul i iyo mefoḿdis miReba-damtkicebis wesi. Tavdapirvel ad, mefed cxaddeboda, wina mefis mier memkvidred gamocxadebul i batoniSvil i. amis Semdeg, ruseTis imperatori amtkicebda memkvidre-mefes, rac gamoixateboda sigel isa da samefoniSnebis gamogzavnaSi. Semdego etapi iTval iswinebda damtkicebul i mefis mier ruseTis imperatoris erTgu-

I ebaze ficis miRebas. amas mohyveboda adgil obrivi qarTul i ekl esiis meTauris mier mefis cnoba-dal ocva.

memkvidre-mefis dasaxel eba – qarTvel i mefeebis prerogativad rCeboda da mas afiqsirebda georgievskis traqtatis mesame muxl i: "xsenebul i igi mefeni odes _ igi miivevian memkvidreobiT samefosa zeda maTsa, mswrafl auweybdnen amisaTvis karsa saimperatorosa ruseTisa..."¹⁵.

meore safexuri _ iTxovda imperatoris ზოგჯერ დამტკიცებას და amazec traqtatis mesame artikuli i iuwyeboda: "... da iTxovdnen despanTa TvisTa mier samefosa zeda TvisTa imperatorebrsa დამტკიცებასა investურისა weril iTa..."

mesame safexuri – iyo qarTl -kaxetis momdevno mefeTa daficeba imperatorebis erTgul ebaze da amisaTvis traqtats darTul i hqonda "ficis nimuSi" da damatebiTi muxl i – "Sesasrul ebel i artikuli"¹⁶.

general ma I azarevma, pavl e pirvel is brZanebiT, aRkveTa giorgi XII-ის მერ memkvidred dasaxel ebul i da imperatorisagan dadasturebul i, daviT batoni Svili is mefed gamocxadebis SesaZl ebl oba. rusma general ma xel isufl ebis uzurpacia moaxdina. mis mier brZanebebis gamocemisa da beWedis dasmis ganmaxorciel ebel i dasaxel ebul i sameul idan, egnate iosel iani mdivani gaxl daT. ioane, mefis Svili, samefo dinastის warmomadgeneli iyo da cxadia, ufl ebamosilic, rom qveynis droebiTi pirvel i piris roli Seesrul ebina, magram real uri Zal a rusi general is xel Si iyo da xel isufl ebis faqtobrivi ganmaxorciel ebel ic igi gaxl daT.

momdevno movl enebi aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi ise ganvitarda, rom ruseTis imperiis xel isufl ebis gadawyvetil ebas, gaeuqmebina qarTul i samefo – metnaki ebi winaRmdgomi da winaRmdegoba ar Sexvedria. am procesis droebiTi Seferxeba mxol od pavl e pir-

vel is mouI odnel ma sikvdil ma gamoiwvia. 1801 wl is 11 marts igi SeTqmul ebis msxverpl i gaxda.

axal ma imperatorma al eqsandre pirvel ma 1801 wl is 12 seqtembris manifestiT sabol oo ganaCeni gamoutana qarTul saxel mwifoebriobas – qarTI –kaxetis samefo, ufro swored ki, rogorc manifestSi iyo aRniSnul i – „saqarTvel os samefo“ (царство грузинское) gauqmeful ad gamocxadda.

D. SHVELIDZE, E. ASTAKHISHVILI

REASONS AND RESULTS OF CAPITULANT POLITICS OF GIORGI XII (1798-1801)

After the death of Erekle II, the authority of Russian Empire finally decided to abolish the kingdom of Kartl-Kakheti. In November, 1799, the Russian army and officers who were in Kartl-Kakheti, more concretely, in Tbilisi, practically captured King Giorgi XII. As a result of Russian officials' strong influence, Giorgi XII agreed to be the vassal of Russian Empire and sent a relevant request to Emperor Paul I. The danger that the patronage terms of Treaty of Georgievsk could be abolished by the status of vassality was real. This did not happen, the reason of which was death of Giorgi XII.

Capitulant pro-Russian politics of the last King of Eastern Georgia, favored the conquest of Kartl-Kakheti kingdom by Russia.

damowmebul i wyaroebi da l iteratura:

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saerovnebaTaSoriso urTierTobis sakiTxis saTvis
saqarTvel os demokratiul respublikaSi

bol o wl ebSi erovnebaTaSoriso urTierTobis gansakuTrebul ma gamwvavebam rogorc saqarTvel oSi, ise mTel msofi ioSi, sazogadoebaTmcodneTa winaSe daayena wina Taobebis mier am probl emis gadaWris ideol ogiuri safuZvl ebisa Tu praqtikul i moRvaweo-bis kritikul i anal izis aucil ebl oba. rom Tavidan avicil oT Secdomebi da gaugebrobebi, unda kargad vicodeT Tu sad Secda wina Taoba, ra ver gaiTval is-wina, ra pozituri Tu negaturi Sedegi gamoiRo maTma saerovnebaTaSoriso politikam. es miT ufro aucil ebel i gvesaxeba dRes, roca aSkarad SesamCnevia Tanamedrove qarTul istoriografiaSi demokratiul i saqarTvel os istoriis mimarT zedmetad l oial uri damokidebul ebis gamJRavnebis survil i, roca surT Seqmnan axal i `saistorio simarTl e-, angariSi ar gauwion arsebul faqtebsa da movl enebs da 1918-1921 wl ebis saqarTvel o harmoniul i keTil dReobisa da politikuri Seucdoml obis savaned gamoacxadon.

Cveni statiis mizania Seviswavl oT da Sesabamisad SevecadoT obieqturad warmovaCinoT demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis wl ebSi rTul i erovneba-TaSorisi probl emebi, gavarkvioT sad iyo xel isuf- l ebis Secdomebi da nakl ovanebebi da sad ucxoetis specsamsaxurebis warmatebul i muSaobis Sedegi, gamovavl inoT erTaSoris dapirispirebis rogorc ideol ogiuri, ise politikuri fesvebi. am procesiebis Seswavl a Cven ramdenime wl is win daviwyeT¹ da gvsurs misi gagrZel eba saerovnebaTaSoriso urTier-Tobis rigi sakiTxis ukeT gaazrebis safuZvel ze.

ideol ogiuri fesvebi. rom ukeT gavigoT Cvens mier Sesaswavl i sakiTxis arsi, pirvel rigSi unda SevexoT demokratiul i saqarTvel os mmarTvel i po-

litikuri partiis – social -demokratiis memarj vene frTis erovnul i pol itikis ideol ogiur safuZvl ebs. es partia demokratiul i saqarTvel os mmarTvel i pol itikuri Zal a iyo, is yvel a arCevnebis dros mudam xmis umravl esobiT imarjvebda da swored Tavisi msofl mxedvel obiTi principebidan gamomdinare mar-Tavda qveyanas.

qarTvel i social -demokratebi ruseTis muSaTa social -demokratiul i partiis organul da gavl enian pol itikur Zal ad iTvl ebodnen. sakmarisia imis gaxseneba, rom qarTvel i memarj vene social -demokratebi: n. Jordania, i. wereTel i, k. CxeiZe, a. Cxenkel i _ ruseTis muSaTa am partiis aRiarebul i l iderebi iyvnen.

erovnul sakiTxze partiis Sexedul ebebis ideol ogiuri safuZvel i iyo marqsistul i moZRvreba proletariatis msofl io istoriul misiis Sesaxeb da am saqmeSi kl asobrivi brZol is upiratesi mniSvnel oba, romel sac unda dafuZneboda da daqvemdebareboda erovnul i sakiTxis real izeba.

marqsistul i moZRvreba cal saxad internacional isturia. marqsistebs miaCndaT, rom saerTaSoriso burJuaziis batonobas, rac aseve cal saxad internacional uria, msofl io proletariati mxol od internacional uri erTianobiT unda dapirispireboda. am msofl io istoriul i amocanis gadaWraSi erovnul sakiTxs daqvemdebarebul i, meoradi mniSvnel oba eni-Weboda. k. marqsi mkacrad miuTitebda: `Tu bal kaneTis sl avi xal xis moZraoba proletariatis interesebTan kol iziaSi aRmoCndeba... me vityvi, Sesdeqit! Tqven Segizl iaT imdenive moiTminoT, ramdensac evropis proletariati iTmenda. roca is ganTavisufal deba, Tqvenc Tavisufal i gaxdebiT-2.

aSkaraa, rom marqsizmis kl asikosebi daTmobisaken, erovnul i interesze ufro maRI a kl asobrivi sol idarobis ideis dayenebisaken mouwodeben, magram aris bevri gamonaTqvami, sadac marqsizmis kl asikosebi erovnul i probl emebisadmi saTanado yuradRebas

da maT gadaWras moiTxoven. ai magal iTad: `Cven aravi-Tar SemTxvevaSi ar varT mowodebul ni... STavagonoT maT, TiTqos erovnul i damoukidebl oba internacional izmis Tval sazrisiT iyos metad meorexarixovani saqme, maSin, rodesac igi piriqiT, yovel gvare internacional uri TanamSroml obis safuZvel ia⁻³. ai, kidev erovnul i sakiTxiT maTi dainteresebis kidev ufro Tval saCino gamoxatul eba: `eropul i erebis WeSmari-tad saerTaSoriso TanamSroml oba im pirobebSia Se-saZl ebel i, roca TviToeul i maTgani mTI ianad iqneba ganmkargul ebel i Tavis sakuTar saxl Si⁻⁴.

motani i amonaridebi aSkarad miuTiteben, rom marTal ia, marqsisTul i moZRvrebisaTvis wamyvani iyo prol etariatis internacional isturi SekavSireba, magram erovnul damoukidebl obasac isini did mniS-vnel obas aniWebdnen. magram ar SeiZl eba ar davina-xoT, rom am or politikur movl enas Soris garkveul i antagonizmi arsebobs da es gamowveul ia ekonom-i-kuri determinizmiT – rac marqsi zmi saTvis aqsi omaa – marqsisTul i moZRvreba, ekonomikuri determinizmi dan gamomdinare, momxrea Zl ieri, didi saxel mwifoebisa, uaryofs separatizmis, gancal kevebis nebis mier gamovl enas, rac daasustebS prol etariatis saerTaSoriso brZol as kapital is winaaRmdeg. gancal keveba, erovnu-l i sakiTxis gafetiSeba marqsi zmi saTvis feodal uri partikul arizmis gadmonaSTia, rac unda warmatebiT daZl ios prol etariatma da mxol od amis safuZvel ze momaval Si Camoyal ibdeba axal i sauflo _ prol eta-riatis saerTaSoriso msofli o respublika.

am `wminda miznidan- gamomdinare yvel a eris so-cial -demokrati, gansakuTrebiT XX saukunis dasaw-yisSi, gaafrebiT ibrzoda erovnul i SezRudul obis winaaRmdeg, prol etariatis internacional isturi Se-kavSirebisaTvis. erovnul isa da internacional uris urTierTmarTebis sakixi gansakuTrebiT mwvaved dadga mraval erovan qveyenebSi (ruseTi, avstria-un-greTi da a.S.).

ruseTSi social -demokratiul i moZraoba Tavidanve mkacrad ebrZoda erovnul gancal kevebas (magall iTad, gavixsenoT ebrael muSaTa pol itikuri gaerTiane bis _ `bundis- winaaRmdeg partiis l iderebis Seurigebel i brZola partiis ll yril obaze) da am saqmeSi erT-erTi pirvel ebi qarTvel i social -demokratebic iyvnen. Cven erT-erT weril Si⁵ isic davasabuteT, rom 1907 wel s n. Jordania pirwavardnil i international isti iyo, romelic xSirad `romis papze ufro met kaTolikobas- icenda proletariatis international uri SekavSirebis principebis dacvis saqmeSi.

ruseTis social -demokratebi erTgul ad misdednen partiis ll yril obaze miRebul i programis saxel - mZRvanel o debul ebebs nacional ur sakiTxze: `farTo saol qo TviTmmarTvel oba, saol qo TviTmmarTvel oba im adgil ebisatvis, roml ebic gansxvavdebian gansakuTrebul i sayofaxovrebo pirobebiT da mosaxl eobis Semadgenl obiT, mosaxl eobis ufl ebas miRos ganaTl eba mSobl iur enaze, rac uzrunvel yofil i iqneboda amisaTvis saWiro skol ebis SeqmniT saxel mwifosa da TviTmmarTvel obis organoebis xarj ze. TviToeul i moqal aqis im ufl ebas, rom mSobl iur enaze el aparaka krebebeze, mSobl iuri enis SemoRebas yvel a adgil obriv sazogado da saxel mwifo dawesebul ebebSi saxel - mwifo enis Tanabrad. saxel mwifos Semadgenl obaSi Semaval i yvel a eris TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebas-⁶.

social -demokratiul i partiis es saprogramo debul eba ar Sevl il a carizmis arsebobis mTel periodSi, miuxedavad imisa, rom social -demokratiaSi, gansakuTrebul ad ki qarTul Si, iyo sxvadasxva mosazreba, romelic xSirad scil deboda miRebul ZiriTad saprogramo moTxovnebs⁷.

qarTvel i social -demokratebi, rogorc memarjveenebi (menSevikebi), ise memarcxenebi (bol Sevikebi) gamoirceodnen partiis saprogramo debul ebebsadmi mtkicerTgul ebiT. yvel a isini aRiarebdnen erovnul i sakiTxis meorad, daqvemdebarebul mdgomareobas pol itikur

brZol ebis dros. Tumca XX saukunis 10-ian wl ebSi Se-
 imCneva memarj vene social -demokratiaSi avstriel i so-
 cial -demokratebis o. bauerisa da k. Springeris erov-
 nul i programis gaziarebis Zl ieri survil i. am moaz-
 rovneebma, romel Tac awuxebdaT avstria-ungreTis im-
 periaSi mzardi separatistul i ganwyobil ebebi da da-
 Zabul i erTaSorisi urTierToba, erovnul i sakiTxis
 social -demokratiul principebze gadasawvyetad moi-
 fiqres e.w. `kul turul -nacional uri avtonomia-, romel
 ic aRiarebda eqsteritoriul erovnul gaertiane-
 bebs `erovnul i sabWoebiT-, `erovnul i seimebiT-,
 `erovnul i kongresebiT- saTaveSi. es `sabWoebi-, es
 `kongresebi- uxel mZRvanel ebdnen erebis kul turul -
 saganmanaTI ebl o cxovrebas ukidegano imperiis nebis-
 mier adgil as. avstriel i marqsisdebis am Sexedul ebe-
 bis aRiareba n. Jordaniis naazrevSi mkafiod Cans 1912
 wel s da aman memarcxene social -demokratis, ioseb
 stal inis safuZvl iani kritika gamoiwvia.

i. b. stal inisaTvis `kul turul -nacional uri av-
 tonomia- nacional izmis daxvewil i saxe iyo, romel
 ic arRveda proletariatis saerTaSorisi erTobas.
 is aseve mkacrad akritikebda erovnul sabWoebis,
 erovnul kogresebs, romlebic mowodebl ni iyvnen
 exel mZRvanel aT erebis eqsteritoriul i gaertianebe-
 bisatvis. is partias sTavazobda `saol qo avtonomi-
 as-, rogorc saSual ebas ruseTis imperiaSi gadawyvi-
 til iyo erovnul i urTierTobis probl ema⁸. i. b. stal
 inis es mosazreba, v. i. Leninis dasturiT, memarcxe-
 ne social -demokratiis erT-erTi ZiriTadi amosaval i
 debul eba gaxda erovnul sakiTxSi.

dava social -demokratiis or frTas Soris erov-
 nul i programis ZiriTad sakiTxebze daemTxva l msof-
 lio omis momzadebisa da misi realizaciis drama-
 tul periods. omma gaaqarwyl a marqsisdul i ideol o-
 giis bevri dogma da mosazreba, manve safuZvel i Cau-
 yara bevr axal il uzias da pol itikur ideal s.

ruseTSi 1917 wl is Tebervl is revol uciis Semdeg social -demokratiis am or farTas erovnul probl emasTan dakavSirebiT ar Seucvl ia Tavisi ZiriTadi mosazrebebi - isini erTiani da ganuyofel i ruseTis proletariatis mier revol uciuri brZol ebis gagrZel ebisa da erTiani demokratiul i ruseTis SeqnisaTvis ibrZodnen. amaze migvaniSnebs qarTvel i rogorc memarj vene (k. CxeiZis, i. wereTI is, a. Cxenkel is), ise memarcxene (i. stal ini, s. orj onikiZe, a. enuqiZe) social -demokratebis aqturi monawil eoba petrogradSi mimdinare politukur procesebSi Tebervl is revol uciis Semdeg. viTareba radikal urad Seicval a mxol od 1917 wl is oqtombris bol Sevikuri gadatrial ebis Semdeg, roca damyarda `proletariatis diqtatura- _ komunisturi partiiis SeuzRudavi batonoba.

kavkasiis frontze Seqmnil ma rTul ma samxedro politukurma viTarebam, brest-l itovskis separatul -ma xel Sekrul ebam ruseT-germanias Soris, Turqetis samxedro agresiam saqarTvel os mmarTvis saTaveSi myofi memarj vene social -demokratebi daabnia da isini daTanxmdnen jer amerikavkasiis, xol o mogvianebiT saqarTvel os damoukidebel arsebobas, risi principuli mowinaaRmdogeni isini sul ramdenime Tvis winiyven. aman qveyanaSi gamoiwvia garkveul i fsiqo-social uri viTareba, rac xel isufl ebisaTvis mTI ad sasurvel i ar iyo: maT araqarTvel i erovnebis politikuri moRvaweebi abral ebdnen amierkavkasiis xal xebis erTianobis gawyvetas, germaniis imperial izmTan ali anss, nacional izmis poziciebze daSvebas da a.S. aseT mosazrebebs gamoTqvamdnen rusebi, somxebi Tbil isSi gamomaval rusul enovan gazeTebSi⁹. ra Tqma unda, saqarTvel os damoukidebel i saxel mwifos mSenebl obarom daewyo im politikur Zal as (magal iTad, erovnul -demokratiul partias), roml is wevrebi jer kidev partiis Seqmnamde, XX saukunis dasawyisidan iRvwodnen saqarTvel os damoukidebl obisaTvis, SeiZl eba amas aseTi mkveTri reaqcia ar gamoewvia.

magram saqarTvel os memarj vene social -demokratebma j iutad Tavis xel Si aiRes iniciativa da daiwes damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mSenebl oba _ pirvel rigSi gamoqveynda saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis dekl aracia – fundamenturi dokumenti, romel ic gansazRvravda saqarTvel os momaval i politikuri ganviTarebis ZiriTad magistral ur xazs.

magram swored am mniSvnel ovan dokumentSi gaipara, Cveni azriT, ori sabediswero Secdoma, rac swored memarj vene social -demokratebis ideol ogiuri SezRudul obidan da maTi apriorul i mosazrebebidan momdinareobda. **pirvel i Secdoma:** dekl araciaSi dadasturebul ia, rom `meTvramete saukunis dasasrul s yovl i mxriv mtrisagan Seviwroebul i saqarTvel o **Tavisi nebiT** (xazgasma Cvenia – a. d.) SeuerTda ruseTs...~ da **meore Secdoma,** `saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublika ganvTarebis Tavisufal asparezs gauxsnis mis teritoriaze mosaxl e yvel a ers-¹⁰.

es ori debul eba ar Seesabameba istoriul WeSmaritebas da aSkarad social -demokratiis ideol ogiuri arsenal idan aris aRebul i. pirvel i mtkicebul eba aSkarad unisonSi j deba breJnevisdroindel i sabWoTa itoriografiis mtkicebasTan saqarTvel os ruseTis imperiaSi nebayofl obiTi Sesvl is Sesaxeb, rac dRes ukve uaryofil ia axal i qarTul i historiografiis mier¹¹.

meore mosazrebac arasworია. TviT social -demokratiul i ideol ogiis principebidan gamomdinare saqarTvel oSi cxovrobda mxol od erTi eri – qarTvel i eri da erovnebad formirebis stadiaSi myofi afixazi (afsua) xal xi. danarCeni araqarTvel i mosaxl eoba – es iyo `natexi erebi~, diasporebi, romel Ta ZiriTadi eTnosi sxva saxel mwifoSi cxovrobda (igul isxmebian osebi, somxebi, azerbaij anel ebi, aisorebi, berZnebi, ebrael ebi, rusebi da a.S.).

Cven ar SevudgebiT aq msjel obas eris formirebis, misi niSnebisა da Taviseburebebis Sesaxeb. amis Sesaxeb mkiTxvel i waikiTxavs Cvens sxva naSromSi¹². saer-

Tod, Cveni azriT, saqarTvel os social -demokratiam bevri probl ema Seuqmna qarTvel xal xs imiT, rom evropul i termini `nacia- gadmoTargmna `erad- da amit moaxdina am ori, sxvadasxva Sinaarsisa da mniSvnel o- bis pol itikuri terminis sinonimuri aRqma¹³.

magram Cven qvemoT `eris- cnebas ise ganvixil avT, rogorc qarTvel pol itikosebs esmodaT XX saukunis pirvel mesamedSi.

saqarTvel os memarj vene social -demokratiam, Tavisi ideol ogiuri SecdomebiT damZimebul ma da marqszimis moZRvrebiT gaj erebul ma, isargebl a Tavisi pol itikuri zegavl eniT da 1. Tavisi partiul i programa moaxvia qveyanas TavS; 2. gadawda saqarTvel oSi erovnul i sakiTxis social -demokratiul i msofil mxedvel obiT marTva – saqarTvel oSi Seiqmna `erovnul i sabWoebi-: qarTvl ebis, rusebis, somxebis, osebis, aisorebis, berZnebis, ebrael ebis da a.S.

erovnul i sabWoebi. Tebervl is revol uciis Semdeg, isargebl es ra Tavisi pol itikuri zegavl eniT, memarj vene social -demokratebma mTel i ruseTis masStabiT, maT Soris amierkavkasiaSic, xel i Seuwyves erovnul i sabWoebis Seqmnas. maTi mtkice rwmeniT, es sabWoebi eriTani saxel mwifos SigniT uzrunvel yofden eris (sadc unda ecxovra mas) erovnul i da kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o interesebis dacvas.

Zal ian niSandobl ivia, rom saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWoc swored am mizniT Seiqmna da mogvianebiT faqtobriv - parl amentad gadakeTda.

rogorc aRiniSna, 1917 wl is Teberval -dekembris periodSi saqarTvel os memarj vene social -demokratia kvl av idga ruseTis revol uciaSi prole tarul i partiebis erTianobis Tval sazrisze, winaaRmdegi iyo separatizmisa da erovnul sabWoebis aniWebden mxol od ufl ebas yofil iyvnen eqsteritoriul i organizaciebi, roml ebic mxol od kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o muSaobas gaswevden da daicavden Tavis eris warmo-

madgenl ebis interesebs ruseTis erTiani saxel mwi-
fos nebsmier kuTxesi.

oqtombris gadatrial ebam, bol Sevikebis mier Za-
l aufl ebis uzurpaciამ da maT mier damfuZnebel i
krebis garekvam, amierkavkasiaSi Seqmnil ma pol iti-
kurma da samxedro viTarebam **aiZul a qarTvel** i soci-
al -demokratebi (roml ebic viTarebisda gamo xel i-
sufl ebis saTaveSi aRmoCnენ) swored saqarTvel os
erovnul i sabWos safuZvel ze gamoecxadebinaT saqar-
Tvel os damoukidebl oba, rac maT Zal ian ar unda-
daT. amaze miuTitebs gazeT `erTobaSi~ gamoqveynebu-
l i weril i `saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba da Cveni
nacional istebi~, romel Sic xazgasmul ia: `Cveni de-
mokratia, romel ic ibrZoda ruseTis demokratiასTan
erTad da mzad iyo kvლ av am Zvel i, nacadi gziT ev-
l o, dRes **iZul ebul i Seiqmna** (xazgasma Cvenia _ a.d.)
Tavis moqmedebis asparezi saqarTvel os sazRvrebIT
ganesazRvra... erTi mxriv saerTasoriso mdgomareobam,
garese mtris safrTxem da, meore mxriv, amierkavkasi-
is mTl ianobis darRvevam **aiZul a** (xazgasma Cvenia -
a.d.) qarTul i demokratia gamoecxadebina saqarTvel
os damoukidebl oba¹⁴.

amrigad, memarj vene social -demokratiისათვის sa-
qarTvel os damoukidebl oba iZul ebiTi nabiji iyo da
is ganxorციელ da saqarTvel os erovnul i sabWos sa-
სუალ ებიტ, რომელ საკ პარლ ამენტის ფუნქცია მიენივა, e.i.
man Tavis ufl ebamosil ebas (ideaSi arsebul s) gadaa-
Warba. aman ki cudi magal iTi moitana (amas qvemoT da-
vinaxavT).

qarTvel i memarj vene social -demokratebi
Tvl idnen, rom erovnul i (nacional uri) sabWoebis
Seqmna erovnul i sakiTxის მოვსრიგების აპრობირე-
ბლი და საუკეთესო ფორმა იყო. როგორც არვინსნეტ, sa-
qarTvel oSi Seiqmna სხვადსხვა ეთნიკური და რელიგი-
ური ჯგუფის erovnul i sabWo, რომლებიც ideaSi unda
yofil iyვენ central ur xel isufl ebasTan `sakuTari
eris~ warmomadgenl ebi, unda ezrunaT `sakuTari

eris- kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o da sxva sakiTxe-
bis gadasawyvetad.

is, rom erovnul i sabWo zrunavs `sakuTari
eris- probl emebis gadasawyvetad, saqarTvel os sinam-
dvil eSi nonsensia da aSkarad miuTitebs memarj vene
social -demokratiis erovnul i programis nakl ovane-
bebze, roml is aRiarebac, faqtebis miuxedavad, parti-
is l iderebsa da ideol ogebs ar undodaT. amis Sesa-
xeb mokl ed...

roca ruseTis ukidegano imperiaSi Seiqmneboda
`qarTvel ebis erovnul i sabWo-, is gaakontrol ebda
da Seqmnida xel sayrel pirobebs yvel a qarTvel is
kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o Tu sxva yovel dRiuri
sakiTxis mosawesrigebl ad, sadac unda ecxovra mas -
iqneboda es Soreul i aRmosavl eTi, petrogradi, qu-
Taisi Tu baqo. es garkveul wil ad samarTI iani ga-
dawyvetil eba iyo. aseve `somexTa erovnul sabWos-
unda ezruna odesel i, moskovel i, Tbil isel i, erevne-
l i da sxva teritoriebze mcxovrebi somxebis kul tu-
rul -saganmanaTI ebl o moTxovnil ebebis dasakmayofi-
l ebl ad, mas unda gaertTianeбина mTel i somxoba.

magram oqtombris gadatrial ebis Semdeg, roca
radikal urad Seicval a konkretul -istoriul i viTa-
reba, `erovnul i sabWoebis- funqciebi kvl av Zvel ebu-
ri darCa (e.i. eris interesebis gamoxatva), rac rea-
l uri safrTxis Semcvel i iyo, radgan daSl il impe-
riis nawil Si _ saqarTvel oSi ukve sabWoebis ufl e-
bebi da amocanebi vrcel deboda `Camotexil erebze-
anu diasporaze, romel ic mxol od mcire nawil i iyo
erisa. aseT SemTxvevaSi aseT `Camotexil erebs- ar
SeiZl eba obieqturad iseTive survil ebi da amocanebi
hqonodaT, rogoric hqonda mTel ers.

aqedan gamomdinare, saqarTvel oSi darCa `Camote-
xil i erebis- sabWoebi, romel Tac hqondaT saqar-
Tvl os `erovnul i sabWos- gamocdil eba, romel mac
saxel mwifos parl amentis funqcia SeiZina da amave
dros hqondaT igive ufl ebebi da mi znebi, rac hqonda

ruseTis erTiani saxel mwifos daSI amde: unda exel - mZRvanel aT eris kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o moT-xovnebisatvis, yofil iyvnen sakuTari `erebis- warmomadgenl ebi central ur xel isufl ebaSi. es kidev ufro seriozul i safrTxis Semcvel i iyo. memarj vene social -demokratias unda gadaesinaj a Tavisi damokidebul eba `erovnul i sabWoebisadmi-, an unda gaeuqmebina isini, an unda SeezRuda misi ufl ebamisil eba. magram es ar gakeTda.

`nacional urma sabWoebma- rom Zal ian mal e Seuqmes probl emebi saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas, es Zal ian mal e gamoCnda...

xel isufl ebis orientacia `nacional uri sabWoebisadmi- didxans ar Secvl il a. 1919 wl is agvistoSic Seiqmna axal i _ asiriel ebis nacional uri sabWo¹⁵. demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis pirobebsi moxda rusul i, somxuri nacional uri sabWoebis ramdenjerme gadarCeva¹⁶, garkveul i organizaciul i probl emebi hqonda asiriel Ta erovnul sabWos¹⁷.

Cven migvaCnia, rom saqarTvel oSi `erovnul i sabWoebis- arsebobam ar gaamarTI a. is saqarTvel os politikuri sistemis mexuTe, usargebl o borbal i gaxda da mniSvnel ovnad Seuwyo xel i saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTnosebis dapirispirebas, konfliqtibs, eTnikur omebs.

`erovnul sabWoebSi- rom saqme sagangaSod iyo, amas oficiozic grZnobda. pirvel i seriozul i ukmayofil eba gamomJRavnda 1918 wl is oqtomberSi. gazeT. `erTobis- mowinaveSi xazgasmul ia: `isini (e.i. `erovnul i sabWoebi- _ a. d.) Tavisi eris kul turul -saganmanaTI ebl o interesebis samsaxurIT rodi kmayofil -debian. maT gadauwyvetiat rogorc saSinao, ise sagraeo saqmeebSi Tavisi erovnebis warmomadgenl oba ikisron-¹⁸. `samxret oseTis erovnul ma sabWom... moindoma Zal aufl ebis xel Si Cagdeba-¹⁹, `afxazetis erovnul i sabWo savsebit ver axorciel ebs Tavisi moqmedebis swor xazs-²⁰. msgavsi Sinaarsis ara erTi weri-

l i gamoqveynda im wl ebSi. raSi iyo saqme? hqonda sa-
fuZvel i saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas yofil iyo ukma-
yofil `erovnul i sabWoebis- muSaobiT?

masal ebis Seswavl a adasturebs, rom ukmayofi-
l ebisaTvis safuZvel i namdvil ad iyo. `erovnul i sab-
Woebi- (gansakuTrebiT saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi mniS-
vnel ovani eTnosebis warmomadgenl ebi) aSkarad Zal a-
ufl ebisaken miiswrafodnen, undodaT yofil iyvnen sa-
kuTari eTnosis erTaderTi warmomadgenel ni, cdi-
l obdnen hqonodaT Seiarareba, SeeqmnaT Tavistvis da
sakuTari diasporisaTvis privil egiebi. ai magal iTic,
Tbil isSi, e.w. `aramiancis saxl Si- ganl agebul som-
xebis erovnul i sabWoSi, mimdinareobda Tbil isel i
axal gazrda somxebis Cawera somxeTis armiaSi, romel
lic maSin saqarTvel os eomeboda²¹.

rusta nacional urma sabWom 1919 wl is 9 seeqte-
mebers gaugzavna saqarTvel os mTavrobas Txovna, rom
monawil eoba mieRo borCal os neutral uri zonis
mmarTvis aparatSi, raTa daecva rogorc Tavisi, ise
l ores rusi moqal aqeebis interesebi⁻²².

miuxedavad osebis erovnul i sabWos mimarT sxva-
dasxva dros gakeTebul i Semrigebl uri gancxadebebi-
sa, 1919 wl is ivnisSi saqarTvel os xel isufl eba iZu-
l ebul i gaxda eRiarebina: `samxreT oseTis (asea do-
kumentSi. saerTod am saxel wodebas demokratiul sa-
qarTvl oSi `--is gareSe xmarobdnen, rac, ra Tqma un-
da, dauSvebel i iyo - a. d.) erovnul ma sabWom ... moin-
doma Zal aufl ebis xel Si Cagdeba, romel mac adgi-
l obriv cxovrebaSi isev arev-dareva Seitana da amit
farTo niadagi moumzada Zarcva-gl ej as⁻²³. aseve, `af-
xazTa erovnul i sabWo savsebiT ver axorciel ebs Ta-
visi moqmedebis swor xazs, magram es gamoucdel obiT
mosdis⁻²⁴.

amrigad, 1919 wl is meore naxevarSi ukve aSkarad
gamoCnda, rom `erovnul ma sabWoebma- Tavisi amocana,
anu saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis imedebi ver Seasru-
l es da gadaiqcnen eTnikuri urovnebaTaSoriso urTi-

erTobebis gamwvavebis mniSvnel ovan faqtorad. amas adasturebs isic, rom 1921 wl is konstituciaSi aRar vxvdebiT `erovnul sabWoebS- rogorc saerovnebaTa-Soriso urTierTobebS mowesrigebis saSual ebas. maT adgil s ikavebs `erovnul i kavSirebi- (ra Cveni azriT arafers ar Secvl ida da saxel mwifos ki seriozul zians moutanda)²⁵. ratom ar dadga maT mimarT damokidebul ebis radikal uri Secvl is an Tundac maTi saerTod l ikvidaciis sakiTxi 1921 wl amde ufro adre?

mizezi memarj vene social -demokratiis ideur Sededul ebebSi unda veZeboT, gansakuTrebiT ki erovnul programaSi, roml is safuZvel i iyo marqsisTul i dogma `prol etarebo yvel a qveynisa, SeerTdiT!-. oficiozis, gazeTi `erTobis- imJamindel i nomrebis gacnoba adasturebs, rom marTal ia, saqarTvel os memarj vene social -demokratiam `Seifera- eris winamZRol oba (`igi icavda ra Tavis kl asobriv interesebS da amis gamo adamiSis Tavisufal i ganviTarebis arsebiT pirobebs, imTaviTve gaxda matarebel i mTel i eris saerTo miswrafebebis⁻²⁶), praqtikul moqmedebaSi xSi-rad mainc marqsisTul i dogmatikiT ifargl eboda. Tavis mmarTvel obis arcert etapze maT uari ar uTqvamT prol etariul i internacional izmis marqsisTul dogmaze. amaze aSkarad miuTiTebS maTi imdroindel i publ ikaciebi, sadac isini aSkarad upirispirdobodnen `qarTul i saqmis- mkeTebl ebs, erovnul -patriotul Zal ebs maT nacional istebsa da SovinistebS uwodebdnen da somex, rus nacional istebTan awyvil ebdnen: `yvel a eris nacional istebs - qarTvel zubrebs, somex SovinistebS, rus Savrazmel ebs ise ar axarebT, rogorc es tendencia qarTvel i eris demokratiaSi nacional isturi midreki ebepis gamoRviZe-bis. am provokacias Cven ar wamovegebiT...⁻²⁷. es imaze miuTiTebS, rom mmarTvel i partia erovnul i midreki ebepis gamovl enas provokaciad Tvl ida.

drom, mkacрма pol itikurma viTerebam mainc didi xnis ganmal obaSi ver Seacvl evina memarj vene soci-

al -demokratias marq̄sistul i dogmatikuri Sexedul e-
bebi, miT ufro, rom maTma Svil obil ma `erovnul ma
sabWoebma-, maTive aRiarebiT, `Tavis ufl ebebs gadaa-
Warbes- da ver SeZl es saqarTvel os demokratiul i
saxel mwifos garSemo saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi eTno-
sebis gaerTianeba. moxda ki piriqiT. am viTarebas au-
cil ebl ad unda daeyenebina maTi erovnul i programi-
sa da pol itikis Secvl is sakiTxi. magram es ase ar
moxda...

1919 wel sac gaz. `erToba- xazgasmiT acxadebda:
`social -demokratiul i partia qadagebs da axorcie-
l ebs kidec cxovrebaSi Zmoba-erTobisa da xal xTa
Soris sol idarobis ideas, awarmoebs sastik brZo-
l as yovel ive nacional isturi mimdinareobis winaaR-
mdeg, roml ebic gezs ubneven muSaTa kl asobriv TviT-
Segnebas da aRviveben nacional istur SuRl s-²⁸. wy-
ro danamdvil ebiT rom ar vicodeT, vifiqrebdIT im
wl ebis `pravdidan- an gvian del i `komunistidan- aris
aRebul io. ufro metic...

damfuZnebel i krebis saarCevno pl atformaSi (ro-
mel ic Cveni azriT Zal ian mokl ea) qarTvel ma social -
demokratebma sakuTari erovnul i programa da pol iti-
ka sul ramdenime sityviT Camoayal ibes: `social -demok-
ratebi winaaRmdegni arian erTi eris mier meore eris
daCagvrisa da Seviwroebis. saqarTvel os demokratiul i
respubl ikis sazRvrebSi **yvel a eri** (xazgasma Cvenia – a.
d.) Tanaswori unda iyos da TviToeul maTgans **srul i
saSual eba mieces Tavisi erovnul i moTxovnebis dakma-
yofil ebisa** (xazgasma Cvenia – a. d.).

saarCevno pl atformis es punqti, Cveni azriT, Za-
l ian zerel ea da kvl av marq̄sistul i dogmatikis
principebs efuZneba. es mianiSnebs, rom qarTvel i so-
cial -demokratia (misi ZiriTadi, xel mZRvanel i nawi-
l i) erovnul sakiTxSi kvl av idga dogmatikur prin-
cipebze da qveyanaSi social ur-pol itikuri da erov-
nul i urTierTobebis cval ebadobis miuxedavad, rac
moiTxovda erovnul i pol itikis kardinal uri mimar-

Tul ebebis evol ucias, ganviTarebas, srul yofas, radikal ur Secvl asac ki, amas ver axerxebda, rac xel s uwyobda qveyanaSi arsebul `muxuTe kol onas- gaZl ierebul iyo da xel i SeeSal a saxel mwifos konsol idaciis procesisaTvis.

unda aRiniSnos, rom seriozul i Teoriul i statiebiT erovnul i sakiTxis Sesaxeb sazogadoebis wi-naSe imJamad ar gamosul an partiis ideol ogiuri frontis xel mZRvanel ebi: noe Jordania, akaki Cxenkel i, irakl i wereTel i da sxvebi. gazeT `erTobaSi-ufro ibeWdeboda meore, mesame eSel onis partiul i moRvaweebis Teoriul i statiebi erovnul sakiTxebe. mxol od demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis bol o periodSi, roca xangZl ivi `nacional uri omebis- Semdeg (rogorc amas. orj onikiZe aRniSnavda), gadawyda erovnul i sakiTxis rigi probl emis Teoriul i damu-Saveba, daiwyo gazeT `erTobaSi- sayuradRebo statiebis beWdva. misi avtori iyo I. naTaZe. am weril ebis saerTo saTauri aseTia: `erovnul umciresobaTa uzrunvel yofa-. weril ebis Sinaarsis gacnoba aSkarad migvaniSnebs, rom erovnul sakiTxSi saqarTvel os social -demokratias `arc araferi daviwyebia da arc araferi uswavl ia-. oto bauerisa da karl kauckis orTodoqsal uri mosazrebebis moSvel iebiT avtori kvl av cdil obs ideurad daasabuTos erovnebaTaSorisi urTierTobis is pol itika, romel sac mmarTvel i partia atarebs qveyanaSi da miuxedavad imisa, rom ganvl il i Tveebis ganmavl obaSi mmarTvel partias hqonda safuZvel i radikal urad Seecval a pol itika erovnul i pol itikis real izaciis dros, mainc weril ebis avtoris amosaval ia prol etariatis internacional izmis marqsisitul i dogma. swored es aiZul ebs avtors ganaxcados Semdegi, rom saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi `erovnul i uciresobani- ufl ebamosil ni arian skol ebi erovnul niadagze moawyon, `daubrko- l ebl ad gauZRvnen Tavis erovnul saqmeebs, **ganavi Ta-**

ron Taviani kul utura, gaaZI ieron Tavisi erovnu-
li i Tviseba- (xazgasma Cvenia – a. d.)²⁹.

aSkaraa, rom weril ebis avtori, partiis lidere-
bis msgavsad, saqarTvel os Tvl is mraval erovan qvey-
nad da marqsistuli dogmatikidan gamomdinare mie-
sal meba saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi `yvel a eris- kul -
turul ganvitarebas `kul turul -nacional uri avto-
nomiis- safuZvel ze.

Cven zemoTac arvniSneT, rom saqarTvel os mrava-
li erovan saxel mwifod warmodgena damaxasiaTebel i
iyo social -demokratiis orive fraqciisaTvis, rac
SeiZi eba gamarTi ebul i iyo ruseTis imperiis dros,
magram am Tezisis pirdapiri gadmotana damouki debe-
li saqarTvel os arsebobis dros arc Teoriul ad da
arc praqtikul ad ar Seesabameboda WeSmaritebas da
amitomac warmoSobda seriozul probl emebs – rad-
gan qveyanaSi cxovrobd mxol od erTi eri: qarTvel i
da erovnebad formirebis stadiaze myofi afxazi
xal xi (unda ariniSnos, rom sabWoTa istoriografia
da meTodol ogia afxazebs erovnebis, da ara eris, ka-
tegorias akuTvnebda). danarCeni eTnosebi, eseni iyvnen
diasporebi, `natexi erebi~, roml is miCneva erad, ro-
mel sac unda ganuvitaro kul tura, literatura, dam-
werl oba – nonsensia, radgan es upiratesad ZiriTadi
eris arsebobis pirobebSia SesaZI ebel i. avstriel i
social -demokratebis `kul uturul -nacional urma-
tonomiam saqarTvel oSi gamoiwvia seriozul i gaugeb-
robebi da dapirispirebac ki.

modi ganvixil oT es sakiTxi cal k-cal ke diaspo-
raTa mixedvit...

rusebi – ruseTis imperiis gabatonebul i da pri-
vil egirebul i eri, romel ic gaj erebul i iyo imperiu-
li azrovnebit (al baT, mcire gamonakl isis garda:
social -demokratiul i da intel igenciis garkveul i
nawil i), isini `ertiani da ganuyofel i ruseTis- ide-
is damcvel ebi da cxovrebaSi gamtarebel ni iyvnen. sa-
qarTvel oSi, ra Tqma unda, arsebobdnen social -de-

mokratiul i Sexedul ebebis mqone rusi muSebi, magram ufro meti iyvnen rusi Cinovnikebi, oficrebi, pol iciaa da specsamsaxurebis TanamSroml ebi. isini ZiriTadad uaryofiTad Sexvdnen saqarTvel os damoukidebl obas da gansakuTrebiT ukmayofil oni iyvnen memarj vene social -demokratebis pol itikiT. ratom?

saqarTvel os memarj vene social -demokratia 1917 wl is oqtombris gadatrial ebamde mtkiced icavda ruseTis saxel mwifos erTianobas – ara romanovebisaTvis, aramed prol etariatis saerTaSoriso interesebidan gamomdinare. Cven vvaraudobT, rom roca 1917 wl is Tebervl is revol uciis Semdeg, kavkasiis mefisnacval -ma, didma mTavarma nikol oz nikol ozis Zem sasaxl eSi erT-erTi pirvel ebi qarTvel i memarj vene social -demokratebis l iderebic daibara, swored imiT unda aixsnas, rom imedovnebda – isini ruseTis saxel mwifos ar daangrevdnen. es imedi mas, marTI ac, gaumarTI da. qarTvel i memarj vene social -demokratebi aqtiurad monawil eobdnen `axal i ruseTis- mSenebl obaSi da droebiT mTavrobaSi ki Sevidnen (irakl i wereTel i), xel mZRvanel obdnen petrogradis muSaTa da jariskacTa deputatebis sabWosac (karl o CxeiZe) da a.S.

magram oqtombris gadatrial ebis Semdeg kavkasi -aSi da saerTod ruseTSi Seqmnil ma pol itikurma da samxedro viTarebam saqarTvel os memarj vene social -demokratias sul sxva mizani – damoukidebel i saqarTvel os mSenebl oba daakisra da maT es nabij i gadadges: rogorc aRiniSna, j er amierkavkasia Camoacil es ruseTs, Semdeg saqarTvel o gamij nes danarCeni respubl ikebisagan. am pol itikurma nabij ma saqarTvel oSi mcxovrebi bevri ruis aSkara Tu farul i ukmayofil eba gamoiwvia. Tbil isSi SeimCneoda rus mosaxl e -obaSi saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebasTan dakavSirebiT ironiit gaJRenTil i sarkastul i saubrebi. magal iTad, Tbil isis saxazino Teatris komisarma mTavrobaStan daasmina rusi momRerl ebis j gufi, roml ebic arakoreqtul ad saubrobdnen saqar-

Tvel os damoukidebl obisa da misi l iderebis Sesa-
xeb³⁰. momRerl ebi sasamarTl os sanqciis gareSe daa-
patimres, ramac Tbil isis Teatral ur wreebSi ukma-
yofil eba gamoiwvia. scenis muSakTa profkavSirma ga-
aprotesta es arademokratiul i aqti da moiTxova ma-
Ti dauyovnebl ad gaTavisufl eba³¹.

qarTvel ma mil iciel ma revol uciuri meTodiT –
sasamarTl os gareSe daapatimra rusi moqal aqe, rome-
l ic Tavis saxl is ezoSi mReroda `boJe caria xrani!³²
aseTi qmedeba yovl ad dauSvebel ia demokratiul i qvey-
nisaTvis (zedmeti ar iqneba gavixsenoT, rom caristu-
l i ruseTis am himnisa da kidev qarTul i erovnul i him-
nis _ `di debis- simRerisaTvis administraciul i sasj e-
l iT isj ebodnen sabWoTa saqarTvel oSic).

unda aRiniSnos is garemoeba, rom saqarTvel os
damoukidebl obis gamocxadebis pirvel save dReebSi
saqarTvel os oficial ur xel isufl ebas seriozul ad
gaurTul da saqme rusebis diasporasTan. is iZul ebu-
l i xdeboda daexura rusul enovani gazeTebi, zogi
ramdenime Tve, zogi – saerTod. maT xel isufl eba
`kontrevol uciuri ideebis propagandas- abral ebda.
damoukidebl obis gamocxadebis pirvel save dReebSi
daxura rusul i gamocemebi: `znamia truda-, `voz-
roJdenie- da a.S.³³. unda aRiniSnos, rom `znamia tru-
da- (eserebis gazeTi) daxures imis gamo, rom gazeTma
gamoaqveya statia `К объявлению независимости Грузии-,
romel Sic qarTvel memarj vene social -dmokratebs
Seaxsenebdnen im fics, romel sac isini ucxadebdnen
proletariatis saerTasoriso erTobas da ruseTis
saxel mwifos demokratiul i Zal ebis mTl ianobas sul
ramdenime Tvis win, rac, statiis avtorebis azriT,
qarTvel ma menSevikebma daiwiwyes, wamoegnen `naciona-
l istur ganwyobil ebas- da Seqmnes amierkavkasiaSi
anarqiis safrTxe.

rusebis diasporis aSkara dapirispireba da ukma-
yofil eba saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis mimarT Zal ian
mal e Seicval a `l odinis poziciiT-, roca Seiqmna

`rusebis erovnul i sabWo~ da cxovreba SedarebiT normal ur kal apotSi Cadga. am organizacias Sefarebul i rusebi xan denikinis TeTrgvardiel ebs el odnen, xan ingl isel ebis Semosvl as, xanac bol Sevikuri ruseTis j arebs.

es ganwyobil eba kargad Cans im uamrav weril sa da TxovnaSi, rasac rusTa `erovnul i sabWo~ ugzavni da saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis xel isufl ebas, sayvedurebdnen sxvadasxva probl emis mougvarebl obis gamo, imuqrebodnen `erovnul i sabWos~ TviTl ikvidaciit – raxan mTavroba arcert maT winadadebas da Txovnas ar akmayofil ebda da amit rusi mosaxl eobis Tval Si sabWos avtoritets dabl a scemda³⁴.

Tumca xazgasmiT unda aRiniSnos, rom daZabul i urTierTobis miuxedavad, demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis periodSi dapiripireba `rusTa erovnul sabWosTan~ sisxl ian Setakebamde ar misul a.

somxebi im periodSi saqarTvel oSi mcxovreba araqarTvel eTnosebs Soris yvel aze mraval ricxovani eTnosia. misi Tavisebureba is iyo, rom iyofoda or mniSvnel ovan Semadgenel nawil ad – saqarTvel oSi uxsovare droidan mosaxel e somxebad, roml ebic ZiriTadad saqarTvel os Sida teritoriebze, did qal aqebSi cxovrobdnen da roml ebic adaptirebul ni, bevr SemTxvevaSi gaqarTvel ebul nic ki iyvnen. maT marto grigorianul i sarwmunoeba akavSirebdaT eTnikur somxebTan, da meore, aseve Zal ian didi j gufi somxebisa, roml ebic XIX saukuneSi saqarTvl os rusetis agresivul i aRmosavl uri politikis Sedegad Semoexiznen da imJamad cxovrobdnen saqarTvel os sazRvro teritoriaze – axal qal aqsa da l oreSi, afxazeTsi, aWarasa da baTumSi. isini ar iyvnen integrirebul ni saqarTvel os sazogadoebasTan, amitomac advil ad yvebodnen rogorc somexi, ise rusi politikosebis mcdel obebs – CamoeSorebinaT maTi sacxovrebel i garemo saqarTvel os ZiriTadi organizmsagan.

ruseTis imperiis arsebobis periodSi xel isuf-
l ebis diversiul i demografiul i pol itikis wyal o-
bit somexi burJuaziis navsayudel i Tbil isi gaxda,
romel ic aseve iTavseabda somxebis kul turul -ekono-
mikuri centris Tavsmoxveul funqciasac. Tbil isSi
cxovrobdnen da saqmianobdnen imperiis masStabiT
cnobil i safinanso da ekonomikuri wreebis warmomad-
genl ebi: mirzoiani, bozarj ianci, enfianj ianci, iara-
l ovi, xatisovi (es ukanasknel i Tbil isis qal aqis Ta-
vic iyo), adel xanovi da mraval i sxva.

I msofi io omis Sedegebma, radikal urma pol iti-
kurma Zvrebma, amierkavkasiis damoukidebel i saxel mwif-
foebis Seqmnam Zal ian mal e gamoavl ina interesTa kon-
fli qti, ramac somxebTan metad saSiSi xasiaTi miiRo.

marTal ia, saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamoc-
xadebisTanave, metad gavlenianma somxurma pol iti-
kurma organizaciam `daSnakciutunma- ukve 1918 wl is
31 maiss Tavis oficial ur Sekrebaze ganaxada: `vi-
RebT ra saqarTvel os damoukidebl obas, rogorc aR-
srul ebul faqts, kreba rCevas aZl evs partiul amxa-
nagebs l oial uri damokidebul eba iqonion saqarTve-
l os saxel mwifosTan da gauwion mas daxmareba de-
mokratiul i safuZvl ebze mowyobaSi... kreba saWirod
cnobs aRniSnos, rom saqarTvel os sazRvrebSi mcxov-
reb somxebs, musl imaneps da **sxva erebs** (xazgasma Cve-
nia – a. d.) unda mieceT iseTive ufl ebebi, rogori-
Tac isargebl eben qarTvel i moqal aqeebi³⁵.

ar SeiZl eba ar aRvniSnoT, rom am gancxadebaSi
dafiqsirebul i sityva `sxva erebs- SeiZl eba gadmota-
nil ia saqarTvel os `damoukidebl obis dekl araciia-
dan-, romel Sic es social -demokratiul i gaugebroba
gaipara da axl a ukve somexi nacional istebi (aseTi
iyo am partiis arsi) cdil oben daayenon `qarTvel e-
bi- _ qveynis ZiriTadi mosaxl eoba da saqarTvel oSi
sxvadasxa dros Semoxiznul i sxvadasxa eTnikuri
j gufi, romel ic veraviTar SemTxvevaSi ver iqneboda
`eri-, erT pol itikur sibrtyeze.

miuxedavad l oial uri tonisa, `daSnakciutunis- l iderebis es gancxadeba l itoni sityva aRmoCnda. es mal e gamoavl ina l msofil io omSi germaniis sastiki damarcxebis Semdeg axl adSeqmnil i somxuri saxel - mwifos mesveurebis eqspansiurma pol itikam (romel - sac Tu ar mfarvel obda, arc aSkarad amuxruWebda didi britaneTi). somxeTis pol itikurma wreebma, maT Soris `daSnakciutunis- l iderebma CaTval es, rom saqarTvel os megobris - germaniis imperiis damarcxeba da `antantis- gamarjveba, roml is l iderebi ukve Sem- Cneul ni iyvnen prosomxur orientaciaSi, xel s Seuwyobda somxeTs ganexorciel ebina istoriul i ocneba - aRedgina tigran didis `didi somxeTi- sakuTari mezobl ebis teritoriebis miTvisebis xarj ze.

1918 wl is dekemberSi somxeTis samxedro eqspediciam samxreT saqarTvel oSi, l ores mosaxl eobis aSkara mxardaWeram da monawil eobamac ki am avanturaSi, `daSnakciutunis- Tbil isis organizaciis ZirgamomTxrel ma saqmianobam, ra Tqma unda, saqarTvel os mTavrobis adekvatur reagirebas gamoiwvia.

pirvel rigSi gaiCxrika `somexTa erovnul i sabWos- ofisi, sadac didZal i iaraRi aRmoCnda. gaiCxrika somxeTis saxel mwifos oficial uri warmomadgenl is samxedro ataSe pol kovnik dol uxanovis rezidenciac, sadac aseve miagnes dokumentebs, roml ebic adasturebdnen pol kovnikis antiqarTul moRvaweobas, mis mier Tbil isis somexi mosaxl eobis gadabirebis faqtebs³⁶.

Tbil isel i somxebis pol itikuri l iderebis upasuxismgebl o, antiqarTul ma saqmianobam aiZul a saqarTvel os xel isufleba 1919 wl is 5 ianvars ganexorciel ebina Tbil isSi, somxebiT dasaxl ubul ubnebSi, masiuri Cxreka da somexi mosaxl eobis erTi jgufis dpatimreba³⁷.

saqarTvel os Sinagan saqmeTa saminstros specrazmebis aseTma qmedebam gaaRiziana cnobil i memarjvene social -demokrati arSak zurabovi (rsdmp ll

yril obis monawil e) da man noe Jordaniyas saprotes-
to Ria weril i gaugzavna. weril Si dagmobilia is
`vakxanal ia- rasac Tbil isis quCebSi adgil i hqonda
5 ianvars, roca `mil iciis agentebi aCerebdnen quCeb-
Si gamomvl el ebs, pasportebis usinj avdnen da ekiTxeb-
bodnen: `somexi xom ara xaro-.

gazeTi `erTobis- komentatorebi a. zurabovis am
weril s `daSnakurs- uwodeben da qarTul i mxaris
moqmedebas amarTi eben omis viTarebiT _ `veZebdiT im
somxebis, roml ebic aSkarad cnobil ni iyvnen saqarTvel
l os respubl ikis moZul eobiT.³⁸

saomari dapirispireba mal e Sewyda da ingl ise-
l ebis daxmarebiT (roml ebmac germanel ebi Secval es
amierkavkasiaSi da aSkarad prosomxuri orientacia
hqondaT) dapirispirebul i mxareebi morigdnen _ Sei-
qma saqarTvel osaTvis arcTu saxarbiel o - l ores
neutral uri zona.

saqarTvel os demokratiul xel isufl ebas mtki-
ced sj eroda, rom samxedroo konfl i qti Sedegi iyo
somexi kapital istebisa da nacional istebis Zal is-
xmevis, rom somxuri demokratia, somexi prol etaria-
ti kvl av mtkiced dadgeboda qarTul demokratiisa
da saqarTvel os prol etariatis gverdiT. swored ama-
ze miuTiTebis is nabij ebi, rac saqarTvel os mTavro-
bam gadadga omis damTavrebisTanave konfl i qtur re-
gionSi - borCal oSi. iq gaigzavna special uri komi-
sia, romel sac unda Seeswavl a adgil obrivi somexi
mosaxl eobis guneba-ganwyobil eba, mTavrobasTan l oi-
al obis xarisxi. komisi am mTavrobis mol odini gaa-
marTi a da daadastura: `araviTari adgil obrivi mi-
zezi aj anyebisa... ar iyo. arc adgil obrivi qarTul i
administraciis, arc saqarTvel os armiis moqmedeba,
arc pol itikuri Tu ekonomikuri sakiTxebi ar iZl eo-
da amis safuZvel s.³⁹

komisiis angariSSi motanil ia masal a adgil ob-
riv somex mosaxl eobaSi Catarebul i gamokiTxvis Sede-
gebi, sadac dasturdeba l oial uri damokidebul eba

Tbil isis xel isuflebis mimarT. Cveni azriT, am komisiis muSaobis masal ebi ar asaxaven regionSi arsebul WeSmarit viTarebas da sasurvels real obad asaRebs.

am, istoriaSi pirveli, somex-qartveli Ta Seiara-Rebuli dapirispirebis Semdeg, 1919 wl is agvistoSi Tbil isSi daapatimresm gavleniani somexi biznesmenebi: a. manTasevi, s. manTasevi, o. manTasevi, p. mirzoiანი, l. aivazovi, და სხვები⁴⁰. iyo somexi kapitalistebis tairovisa და აღიანოვის qarxnebis gaCxrekvis faqtebic⁴¹.

sxva, analogiuri faqti dapirispirebisa, 1921 wl is Tebervlis leres provokaciამდე, adgil obriv somxebTan saqartvel os xel isuflebas aRar yofila.

osebi. viTareba saqartvel os Crdil oet sazRvartan, osebit dasaxlebul regionSi, saqartvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebiStanave daiZaba. osebis etnokratiis erტი jgუფი Tavidანვე uaryofiTad Sexvda saqartvel os damoukidebl obas და Zalian malე დაბადარusebTan SeerTebis, Cr. osebtan politიკური urTierTobis დამყარების სურვილი. საყმე იმასია, რომ frontidan dabrunebul ma osma jariskacebma Camoitანes bol Sevikური განუყოფილები, revolუციური მაქსიმალ izმი და სვისი qonebis დაუყოვნებლივ gadანაწილების idea.

osebSi, rogorc dRes, ise pirveli msოფლიომის periodSi, ori araTanazომიერი jგუფი გამოიყოფოდა – ZiriTადი და მნიშვნელოვანი ნაწილი oseბის cxovroბდა qarტილ-კახეთის regionSi, Tbil isSi qarTvel ebTan uარესად მწიდრო ეკონომიკური და ნატესაური კავსიების viTareბასი, ისინი კარგად ფლობდნენ qarTულ ენას, იყვნენ ქრისტიანები და qarTულ კულტურულ გარემოში განუყოფელი ნაწილს warmoadგენდნენ (ეს procesი საბოლოო xel isuflebis wl ebSi კიდევ უფრო გაზლიერდა).

problემას qმნიშვნელოვანია და მის regionSi მცხოვრები oseბი, რომლებიც qarTულ სამყაროსTan ნაკლებად იყვნენ დაკავსიებულინი და Tავის ინტერეს რუ-

seTi saxel mwifos samsaxurSi xedavdnen (amj erad es bol Sevikuri ruseTi iyo).

ukve 1918 wl is zafxul Si osebis erTma jgufma SeZl o mosaxl eobis nawil is ayol ieba da bol Sevikuri l ozungebiT aj anyeba moawyves. unda xazgasmiT aRiniSnos, rom amave dros da daaxl oebiT amave regionSi (duSeTSi, saCxereSi), samegrel oSi seriozul i antisamTavrobo gamosvl ebi mimdinareobda. Cveni azriT, amis mizezi bol Sevikur propagandasTan erTad, gaxda mwvave social uri probl emebi, mmartvel i politikuri partiis – memarjvene social -demokratiis politikuri orientaciis mkveTri Semobruneba, rusETTan politikuri da ekonomikuri kavSiris gawyveta, maTi politikuri miznebisa da amocanebis swrafi Secvl a. mosaxl eobis garkveul ma jgufebma (maT Soris qarTvel ebmac) ver gaiges, Tu ratom gaxdnen aseT swrafad ruseTze mudam orientirebul i da ruseTis mTl ianobis momxre menSevikebi, prodasavl uri, progermanul i orientaciis, ratom daiwyes mosaxl eobidan iaraRis amoReba, roca partiul programaSi xal xis total ur SeiaraRebaze saubrobdnen da a.S.

vfiqrobt, rom es dapirispireba SeiZl eba nakl ebi an sul ac ar yofil iyo, rom saqarTvel os xel isuflebaSi mosul iyo is Zal a, romelic didi xani saqarTvel os damoukidebl obas qadagebda da am mizniT seriozul pl ol itikur nabij ebs dgamda (magal iTad, saqarTvel os erovnul -patriotul i Zal ebi).

roca komunisturi diqtatura arsebobda da istorikosebisagan aucil ebl obiT moiTxovdnen istoriul i movl enebisadmi kl asobrivi midgomis principebis dacvas, bol Sevizmis apol ogias, 1918-1921 wl ebSi osebis, duSeTisa da saCxeris, samegrel os mosaxl eobis da sxva antisamTavrobo gamosvl ebi dadebit istoriul movl enad iTvl eboda, xol o menSevikebis qmedeba _ uaryofiTad fasdeboda.

magram dRes, roca TviTon ruseTSi bol Sevikuri moZraoba miCneul ia regresad, sazogadoebis ganviTa-

rebis magistral uri xazidan gadaxvevad da a.S. aseT vi-
TarebaSi 1918-1921 wl ebSi nebsmieri antibol Sevikuri,
Zal ismieri qmedeba unda Sefasdes progresad, sazoga-
doebis ganviTarebis obieqturi kanonebis dacvad, anar-
qiisa da pol itikuri qaosis winaaRmdeg mimarTul au-
cil ebel qmedebaT. aseTia istoriis l ogika.

dRes, roca mavanni cdil oben demokratiul i sa-
qarTvel os periodSi osebis winaaRmdeg Catarebul i
samxedro operaciebi warmoadginon rogorc `genoci-
di- _ maT unda aRiaron, rom es iyo saqarTvel os xe-
l isuflebis mxridan anarqiisa da bol Sevikuri il u-
ziebis winaaRmdeg mimarTul i srul iad kanonieri moq-
medeba.

Cven zemoT aRvniSneT, rom osi mosaxl eobis sakma-
od didi nawili, romlebic cxovrobdas saqarTvel os
sxva, qarTvel ebit dasaxlebul regionebsi, Tavidanve
gaemij na Tavisi erTi muWa Tanamamul eebis avanturis-
tul moqmedebas. swored maT Tval sazriss aviTarebda
saqarTvel os osi moqal aqe, romelic gazeT `erTobaSi-
werda: `vin ar icis, rom Cven osebi saukuneebis ganma-
l obaSi qarTvel gl exobastan erTad erT tafaSi vi-
vodiT... Tu es ase, ra mosazrebit fiqroben is aram-
kitxe pol itikosebi, rom osebi unda gamoeyos saqar-
Tvel os... aseT saqmes xel s uwyoben erTi muWa xal xi
(wyaros stil i dacul ia _ a. d.)⁴².

samwuxaro, rogorc XX saukunis 90-ian wl ebSi,
ise 1918-1920 wl ebSi saqarTvel os xel isuflebam
efeqtianad ver gamoiyena proqarTul ad ganwyobil i
osebis didi umravlesobis Sesazlebel obebi (piradi
social ur-ekonomikuri interesebidan gamomdinare
proqarTul i tendencia, amitomac sakmaod Zlieri) da
survilebi, konfliqtis garese ecxovrat da esromat
qarTvel ebis gverdit. samagierod social -demokrati-
ul ma xel isuflebam gamoiyena revoluciuri daT-
rgunvis metodebi. martalia, igive metodebi gamoiyena
xel isuflebam sacxeris, duSetis, samegrel oSi qar-
Tvel i mosaxleobis gamosvlebis winaaRmdeg, magram

istorias mainc ciudad Semorça val iko j uRel is sam-xedro eqspedicia osebis winaaRmdeg.

Cven vTvl iT, rom araadekvaturia da zedmetad mkacri demokratiul i saqarTvel os general uri Stabis 1920 wl is 19 ivnisis gadawyvetil ebac, romel ic val iko j uRel is angariSis safuZvel ze miRes Sesasrul ebl ad: `...a) sofel i roki srul iad moispos, garda sanapiro j arebis binebisa. b) oseTidan Cr. kavkasiaSi (dval eTSi) yvel a gadasavl el i gzebi, garda misonisa, iqnes afeTqebul i, sabol ood gafuWebul i. g) ayril da Cr. kavkasiaSi wasul osebs ar mieces ukan dabrunebis neba. im osebs, roml ebmac gamoCines Cveni l oial oba, neba mieceT darCnen Taviant sofl ebSi...; d) srul ebiT gasaxl ebul ni iqnen j avis midamoebis osebi (l iaxvisa da facis xeobebi)... e) ar dabrundeT osebs Camortmeul i pirutyvi ... (dokumentis stil i dacul ia - a. d.)⁴³.

aSkaraa, rom es gadawyvetil eba zedmetad mkacria, rac ar Seefereba social -demokratiul i xel isufl ebis principebs internacional izmisa da xal -xTa uryevi megobrobis Sesaxeb. magram isic marTalia, rom 1918-1920 wl ebSi osebis antiqarTul ad ganwyobil i j gufis xel mZRvanel obiT ara erTi gamosvl a dafiqsirda, romel sac Tan sdevda osebisatvis tradiciul i Zarcva-rbeva, qarTul i sofl ebis awiokeba, maradiroba⁴⁴. aseT vitarebas verc erTi xel isufl eba ver moitmenda.

metad sayuradRebo garemoebaa is, rom seriozul i dapirispireba hqondaT qarTvel da os bol Sevi-kebsac. es ukanasknel ni, arRvevdnen ra komunisturi partiis sawesdebo moTxovnebs, TiTqmis ar emorCil ebodnen Tbil isis partiul komitets, uSual od ukav-Sirdebodnen moskovis central ur xel mZRvanel obas, asmendnen da akritikebdnen qarTvel amxanagebs, auc- l ebl ad moitxovdnen ruseTTan SeerTebas. am das- kvnis gakeTebis saSual ebas gvaZl evs sergo orj oni- kiZis pirad arqivSi aRmoCenil i, 1920 wl is 2 ivnisiT

daTariRebul i, osi komunistebis memorandumi, romel - Sic sakmaod mkafiod aris Camoyal ibebul i maTi pozicia: 1. samxreT oseTi aris sabWoTa ruseTis daumar-cxebel i nawil i; 2. samxreT oseTi Sedis sabWoTa ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi uSual od, saerTo safuZvel ze; 3. ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi Sesvl as ara uSual od, aramed saqarTvel os, an romel ime sxva respubl ikis meSveobiT, Tundac is sabWoTa iyos, Cven araviTar SemTxvevaSi ar davuSvebT⁴⁵.

am dokuments xel s aweren j avis, rokis, osTevis, cxinval is, wunaris, kudaros da sxva (sul 17) partiul i organizaciebis xel mZRvanel ebi. es dokumenti SeiZl eba arafrad CagveTval a, rom ara xel momwerTa gvarebi - bevri maTgani saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg xel mZRvanel obdnen samxreT oseTis avtonomiuri ol qis partiul da sabWoTa struqturebs (vl . sanakoevi, s. gagl oevi, a. abaevi da sxvebi).

am dokuments araviTari iuridiul i Zal a arc maSin hqonda da arc dRes aqvs, magram dokumentSi gamoTqmul i Sexedul ebebi os komunistebis ert j gufs didxans gahyva da aSkarad Tu farul ad masSi gamoTqmul i antiqarTul i Sexedul ebebis real izacias mudam cdil obdnen.

amrigad, osi mosaxl eobis mniSvnel ovan nawil - Tan demokratiul saqarTvel os xel isufl ebas daZabul i urTierToba hqonda.

mahmadiani mosaxl eoba saqarTvel os demokratiul i respubl ikis mcxovrebtTa mniSvnel ovan nawil s warmoadgenda. Tavisebureba is iyo, rom am mosaxl eobis Zal ian did nawil ze saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebis periodisaTvis ar vrcel deboda Tbil isis Zal aufl eba - TiTqmis mTel i samusl imano saqarTvel o Turqebis mier iyo okupirebul i. maT Zal momreobis gamoyenebiT moaxerxes baTumis ol qSi referendumis Catareba, romel ic TurqetisaTvis sarsagebl od CaiTval a. Turqetis emisrebi mahmadian qarTvel ebSi avrcel ebdnen antiqarTul ganwyobil ebebs.

ufro rTul ad iyo viTareba axal cixeSi, arTvinis, kol a-artanis mxareSi, sadac Turqetis propagandas beveri mahmadiani qarTvel ic (erovnul cnobiereba dakarguli ebi) ahyva. unda aRiniSnos, rom Turqetis Zal adobrivma meTodebma am okupirebul mxareSi gamoiwvia rusetis sagareo saqmeTa komisris – g. CiCerinis 1918 wl is seqtembris saprotetso nota, rasac Tavisi istoriul i mniSvnel oba dResac ar daukargavs⁴⁶.

Cveni azrit, es ZirZveli qarTul i teritoriebi, romel ic mefis ruseTma Turqetis XIX saukunis warmatebul i omebis safuzvel ze waartva da Tavisi imperias SeuerTa, saqarTvel os mier didi xnis dakargul i iyo. misi dabruneba saqarTvel osatvis didi mniSvnel obis istoriul i movl enaa da am dabrunebaSi qarTul ma miliciam garkveuli rolic Seasrula, magram unda gvaxsovdes (amas xSirad iviwyeben), rom es teritoriebi ruseTma ara saqarTvel os (aseti ram XIX saukunis bol os iuridiul ad ar arsebobda), aramed saktar imperias, kavkasiis samefisnacvl os SemouerTa da yvel anairad cdil obda iq sabol ood armoefxvra proqarTul i ganwyobil eba, rac isedac Sesustebul i iyo Turqetis mxridan aqtiuri social ur-ekonomikuri da rel igiuri politikiS gatarebis Sedegad.

am axl adSemoerTebul teritoriebze metad rTuli social ur-ekonomikuri, rel igiuri, etnikuri da politikiuri viTareba iyo. rusetis administracia yovel mxri aferxebda qarTvel i patriotebis mcdel obas am kutxeSi aeRorZinebinaT qarTul i cnobiereba. rusetis sinodis erTi gavleniani warmomadgeneli aSkarad acxadebda: `rac Seexeba qarTvel Ta mondomebas, rom am mxareSi qarTul i marti madidebi oba gaZi ierdes, es CvenTvis ar aris misaRebi da maT amaSi xeli unda SevuSal ot, radgan qarTvel ebi nacional istebiarian da isini daiwyeben am axal SemoerTebul mxareSi nacional isturi ideebis qadagebas da es ki CvenTvis saxifaToa⁴⁷.

ruseTis mcdel obasTan erTad, qarTvel Ta erTianobis winaaRmdégi iyo mahmadis rj ul i, SariaTi, mahmadianuri yofa da tradiciebi. samarTlianad Senisnavs didi qarTvel i mamul iSvil i m. abaSiZe: `Cven miznad davisaxeT qarTvl i musul imanebis nawil Si Segvetana erovnul i cnobiereba, rac ... ukiduresad gaZnel ebul i iyo da CvenTvis arc Tu mTlianad uxifaTo, radgan...sityva `qarTvel i- Cveni musul imanebisatvis iyo qristianobis sinonimi... Cvenma pirvel ma gamosvl ebma am mimarTul ebiT ganicada didi marcx⁴⁸.

samusl imano saqarTvel oSi es sirtul eebi, rogorc aRiniSna, rel igiuri gansxvavebebiT iyo nakarnaxevi da isic gasaTval iswinebul ia mahmadiani qarTvel ebis garkveul nawil s erovnul cnobierebasTan erTad dakargul i hqonda erovnul i-qarTul i ena, rac kidev ufro aZnel ebda maTTan muSaobas, mxol od mahmadiani qarTvel ebis garkveul j gufs hqonda SemorCenil i sametyvel o qarTul i ena. aseTi viTareba samusl imano saqarTvel os mahmadian mosaxl eobas ufro Turqetisken orientirebul s xdid, rac saeriozul probl emebs uqmnida Tbil iss.

mdgomareobas kidev ufro Zabavda baTumis ol qis gansakuTrebul i geopol itikuri mniSvel oba, baqo-baTumis navsadeni (imJamad msofi ioSi navTobis mopovebis 40 procenti baqoze modioda), romel ic yvel a j uris imperial ists izidavda da mis xel Si Cadgebas lamobda. aq ekonomikuri interesebi hqonda dasavl eT evropel kapital istebs (rotsil ds, nobel s) rus da somex saqmosnebs, Turqetis saxel mwifos da a.S. yvel a am arsebul Tu SesaZl o patrons baTumis ol qSi Tavisi agenturul i qsel i hqonda da cdil obda mosaxl eobaSi gavl enis mopovebas, sakuTari interesebis real izebas. ase iyo ruseTis imperiis arsebobis periodSi. es geostrategiul i interesebi kidev ufro gamwvavda pirvel i msofi io omisa da ruseTis imperiis daSl is, samoqal aqo omis eskal aciis paral el urad.

baTumis ol qSi proTurqul i pol itikuri partia
`sedai mil eTi~, prorusul i rusul i saTvisto, proa-
zerbaijanul i da prosomxuri pol itikuri Zal ebi
cdil obdnen es mniSvnel ovani geostrategiul i regi-
oni sakuTari saxel mwifos iurisdiciisaTvis daeq-
vemdebarebinaT.

imperial istur omSi germaniis damarcxebisa da
baTumis ol qis ingl isis mier okupaciis Semdeg, seri-
ozul i probl eebi Seiqmna samcxe-j avaxeTSic. 1919
wl is Teberval Si es teritoria Sevida dasavl eT ami-
erkavkasiis `saxel mwifoSi~, roml is centri gaxda
yarsi. am xel ovnuri saxel mwifo gaerTianebeis mizani
iyo mahmadiani mosaxl eobis gaerTianebeis safuZvel ze
Seeqmna Turqetze damokidebul i buferul i saxel mwifo.
am, aSkrad antiqarTul i saxel mwifos l ideri iyo
server beg-aTabagi (j ayel i). is Tavis prokl amaciebSi
mouwodebda qarTvel mahmadianebs ar CaebarebinaT
mTavrobisaTvis iaraRi, ar mieRoT monawil eoba sa-
qarTvel os damfuZnebel i krebeis arCevnebsi da a.S.⁴⁹

am xel ovnuri saxel mwifo gaerTianebeis agitato-
rebi sargebl obdnen regionSi Seqmnil i vitarebiT,
dadiodnen sofel -sofel da proTurqul , antiqar-
Tul rezol uciebs aRebinebdnen adgil obriv mosax-
l eobas.

unda aRiniSnos, rom imJamad adgil obrivi mahmadi-
ani mosaxl eoba gamoirCeoda dabal i kul turul -sayo-
facxovrebo doniT, rel igiuri fanatizmiT, pol itiku-
ri umwifrobiT, ris gamoc xSirad xdeboda, rom erTi
da imave sfel Si iRebdnen sxvadasxva Sinaarsis, pol i-
tikuri orientaciis amsaxvel rezol ucias: xan pro-
Turqul s, xan proazerbaijanul s, xanac proqarTul s.

mahmadian qarTvel ebSi Zal ian popul arul i iyo
`farTo avtonomiis- idea⁵⁰. misi avtori da damcvel i
iyo m. abaSiZec, romel mac moaxerxa da 1919 wl is ag-
vistoSi Sekriba mahmadiani qarTvel ebeis avtoritetu-
l i warmomadgenl ebeis sxdoma, roml is dadgenil ebaSi
aris gamoTqmul i gadawvetil eba saqarTvel osTan

farTo avtonomiis safuZvel ze baTumis ol qis Seer-
Tebis Sesaxeb. krebis 85 del egati eswreboda, aqedan
40 – xel i ar moawera am dadgenil ebas⁵¹. qarTul is-
torigrafiaSi ar aris erTi azri am krebis l egiti-
murobis Sesaxeb⁵².

aRsani Snavia, rom m. abaSiZem krebis gadawvetil e-
bis safuZvel ze special uri weril iT mimarTa didi
britaneTis konsul s Tbil isSi o. uardrops da moiT-
xova baTumis ol qis saqarTvel os iurisdiciaSi dab-
runeba⁵³. magram ingl isis, da saerTod `antantis- po-
zicia baTumis sakiTxSi prorusul i iyo. pirvel
msofli o mSi gamarj vebul ebi imedovnebdnen, rom
ruseTSi mal e aRdgeboda l egitimuri xel isufl eba
da amierkavkasia ruseTis Semadgenl obaSi moiazereb-
dnen (ar unda dagvaviwdes, rom imJamad ingl isic da
safrangeTis uzarmazar kol oniur imperiebs fl ob-
dnen da maT daSl a-daqucmacebas ar apirebdnen).

ingl isis poziciis gamo baTumis ol qSi Cinebu-
l i pirobebi SeeqmnaT ruseTis erTiani imperiis aR-
dgenis msurvel ebs. imJamindel i qarTul i presa ima-
zec amaxvil ebda yuradRebas, rom baTumis ingl isur
administraciaSi gansakuTrebiT mouxsires stumroba
azerbaj anel ma emisrebma. roml ebic ekonomikuri mo-
sazrebebiT (baqo-baTumis navsadguri), rel igiuri faq-
toriT da a.S. asabuTebdnen am kuTxis azerbaj ani-
saTvis gadacemis aucil ebl obas⁵⁴.

saqarTvel os am istoriul miwaze seriozul
pretenzias acxadebda somxeTis axl adSeqmnil i sa-
xel mwifo, romel sac surda Sav zRvaze gasasvl el i.

am rTul viTarebaSi saqarTvel os demokratiul -
ma xel isufl ebam mxari dauWira m. abaSiZis pol iti-
kur daj gufebas, magram maincdamainc ar moswonda
`farTo avtonomiis- abaSiZiseul i proeqti, radgan es
Zireul ad ewinaaRmdegeboda memarj vene social -demok-
ratebis erovnul programasa da praqtikas. Cveni az-
riT, swored amitomac gaWianurda m. abaSiZis proeq-

tze muSaoba, riTic saqarTvel os mTavrobam m. abaSi-
Zis kritika daimsaxura⁵⁵.

regionSi viTareba kidev ufro daiZaba, roca
1920 wl is zafxul Si ingl isi iZul ebul i gaxda dae-
tovebina es kuTxe da teritoria saqarTvel os demok-
ratiul respubl ikas gadasca. qarTul i jari baTumSi
Sevida. adgil obriv mosaxl eobaSi gaerTianebis gamo
eiforia Zal ian mal e Seicval a imedgacruebiT. amaze
qarTul istoriografiaSi gamoTqmul ia Sexedul eba⁵⁶.

saqme imaSia, rom dapirebis miuxedavad saqarTve-
l os xel isufl eba ol qisaTvis `farTo avtonomiis-
micemas im etapze aRar varaudobda. aWaris umaRl esi
komisari b. CxikviSvil i saj arod acxadebda, rom `ar
vTvl i saWi rod am sakiTxis gadaWras, radgan es mis-
Tvis miuRebel i iyo-. baTumis saqal aqo sabWoSi depu-
tati k. gogol aZe umtkicebda aWarel deputatebs,
rom avtonomiis sakiTxis dayeneba naadreviao⁵⁷. Tvi To
oficiozi, gazeTi `erTobac- aRniSnavda, rom `arse-
bul pirobebSi ol qSi SesaZl ebel ia mxol od sagange-
bo marTva-gamgeobis Sefardeba samxedro wesebTan...⁵⁸.

saqarTvel os xel isufl ebis orWofobam, dapirebis
gadavadebam axal i Zal ebi Semata regionSi antiqarTul
propagandas, daiwyes saubari baTumis ol qis TurqeT-
Tan SeerTebaze, iyo damoukidebel i aWaristanis saxel -
mwifos Seqmnis ideac. aWaraSi dafiqsirda saubari:
`qarTul i xel isufl eba matyuaraa, radgan is xal xs
dapirda avtonomias da araferi ar gaukeTebia-. iyo ase-
Ti saubaric, rom `maTTvis miuRebel ia gurjebis xel i-
sufl eba, radgan is aramahmadianuria-. zogi imasac am-
bobda, rom `osmal eTi kvl av SemoierTebs Cvens mxares.
is gurjebiviT xal xs ki ar moatyuebs, aramed Seusrul
ebs imas, rasac dapirda, mxedvel obaSi maqvs Cveni mx-
risaTvis namdvil i avtonomiis miniWebi-. `osmal eTis
jarebi mal e baTumSi Semovl en da Cveni kuTxe kvl av
Cven TanamoZneebis SeuerTdeba⁵⁹.

viTareba rom baTumsa da mis ol qSi iyo daZabu-
l i, feTqebadi - amis Sesaxeb xel isufl ebis yuradRe-

bas amaxvil ebda damfuZnebel i krebis wevri p. gel e-
iSvil ic: `am ol qSi, ra Tqma unda baTumis gamokl e-
biT, arc erTi axal i momxre da moyvare Cveni qveyni-
sa, ar SegviZenia da raca gvyavda, sul saerTod mog-
vimdurebia da mtrisa da mowinaaRmdegis banakSi ga-
dagvirekia⁶⁰.

amrigad, aSkaraa, rom memarj vene social -demok-
ratebis pol itika samahmadiano saqarTvel os mimarT
iwvevda daZabul obas, ramac saval al o Sedegebi gamo-
iRo (amis Sesaxeb qvemOT).

afxazeTi da afxazebi. erT-erTi urTul esi prob-
l ema, romel sac saqarTvel os demokratiul i respub-
l ikis mesveurebi SeeWidnen, es afxazeTis probl ema
iyo. mkiTxvel s Sevaxseneb, rom rogorc samxereT-da-
savl eT saqarTvel o, es kuTxec ZirZvel i qarTul i ter-
ritoria iyo, sadac mudam umravl esobas qarTvel ebi
warmoadgendnen. amas mowmobs uamravi material uri
kul turis Zegl i. magram istoriul i bedukuRmarTo-
bis gamo – gareSe mtris mier Seviwroebul i da da-
qucmacebul i saqarTvel os saxel mwifo veRar akon-
trol ebda centridan daSorebul kuTxeebs, ramac ga-
moiwwia am miwebze Crdil o kavkasiidan Zvel afxazeb-
Tan eniT monaTesave eTnosis (afsua) Camowol a, ro-
mel Ta kul turul i done Sors iyo erTiani saqarTve-
l os Semqmnel i afxazuri eTnosisagan. qristianul i
rel igiis poziciebis dasustebam, mahmadianuri da
zog SemTxvevaSi warmarTul i sarwmunoebis aRorZine-
bam, am kuTxis mosaxl eobis nawil Si mTI ianad aRmof-
xvra erTiani saqarTvel osadmi, erTiani kul turul -
istoriul i areal isadmi kuTvnil ebis idea da aqedan
gamomdinare fsiqo-social uri grZnobebi. Tumca sa-
megrel osTan intensiuri dinastiuri Tu kul turul -
sayofacxovrebo kontaqtebi, samurzayanos mosaxl eo-
bis qarTul i warmomavl oba da aq arsebul i qristanu-
l i sinamdvil e j er kidev axerxebda sabol ood ar
gamqral iyo da dakargul iyo erTianobis istoriul i
tradicia. amaze miuTitebs rogorc afxazi aristok-

ratiis qarTul i gvarebi, mosaxl eobis garkveul i nawil is intensiuri kavSirebi dasavl eT saqarTvel osTan, qarTul kul turul garemosTan.

ruseTis imperiam afxazeTi SeierTa rogorc damoukidebel i samTavro da yvel aferi gaakeTa, rom dramatul i istoriul i procesebisagan momdinare saqarTvel osTan afxazebis gaucxovebis tendencia gaeRrmavebina. miuxedavad imisa, rom ruseTma afxazeTs Tavs daatexa genocidic, samSobl odan gaasaxl eba (muhaj iroba), miaweba `moRal ate eris- iarl iyi, aukrZal a qal aqebSi cxovreba, mainc, gansakuTrebiT XX saukunis dasawyisidan, reseTis rogorc saero, ise saekl esio xel isufl ebis mier yvel a SesaZl o xerxiT afxazeTSi inergeboda prorusul i ganwyobil eba da Rvivdeboda qarTveel ebisadmi undobl obis damokidebul eba. ra Tqma unda, afxazeTis intel igenciis garkveul i warmomadgenl ebi (samwuxarod, Zal ian cota) icavdnen qarTul -afxazuri kul turul -istoriul i urTierTobis tradiciebs, hqondaT intensiuri kavSirebi saqarTvel os gamoCenil mamul iSvil ebTan, magram es kontaqtebi ver faravdenen gaucxovebis im Sedegebs, rac araiSviaTad vl indeboda da garkveul i probl emebic Seqmna ukve demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis wl ebSi.

Tebervl is revol uciis Semdeg, pol itikurma vnebaTRel vam afxazeTSic SeaRwia. afxazebis eTnokrati- as gauCnda pol itikuri interesebi, romel ic yovel - Tvis ar emTxveoda qarTul s.

saqarTel os mmartvel i pol itikuri Zal a aRiarebda erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebas. amitomac afxazebisac gauCndaT survil i gamoeyenebinaT es ufl eba. roca saqarTvel o ruseTis saxel mwifos Semadgenl obaSi iyo, es survil i aSkarad ar vl indeboda. rogorc kargad aris SemCneul i qarTul istoriografiaSi, `erovnul sakiTxebSi ZiriTadi qarTul i partieb- is SeTanxmebis, interpartiul i sabWos daarsebis (1917 w. agvisto) da l erovnul i yril obis mowvevis

mzadebis dawyebisTanave, isev da isev SovinistTa waqezebiT afxazTa gaaqtiureba, Crdil oeT kavkasiuri orientaciis gaZl iereba mohyva-⁶¹.

es periodi qarTvel i politikosebisaTvisac rTul i iyo. memarj vene social -demokratebi, marqsis-tul i Sexedul ebebidan gamomdinare, proletariatis saerTaSoriso Zmobaze saubrobdnen da oqtombris gadatrial ebamde ruseTis saxel mwiffos erTianobas icavdnen. aseT viTarebaSi saqarTvel os erovnul sabWosa da afxazTa erovnul sabWos Soris mol aparakeba SedarebiT nayofieri Cans60. probl emebi nakl ebia amierkavkasiis seimis drosac. magram viTareba mkveT-rad icvl eba saqarTvel os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebisTanave.

migvaCnia, rom am viTarebis WeSmarit Sinaars bol omde ar vacnobierebT. saqme ki ase: **afxazebi Tanaxmani arian qarTvel ebTan erTad iyvnen kavkasiis, amierkavkasiis federaciaSi Tanaswor ufl ebriv viTarebaSi. maT ar surT iyvnen martodmarto qarTvel ebTan, daqvemdebarebul _ avtonomiur mdgomareobaSi. damoukidebel i saqarTvel os arseboba maT ambiciebs kuds ukvecavs, tovebs ra maT qarTvel i eris amara. am fsiqo-social ur viTarebas iwvevs qarTul saerto saxel mwifoSi yofnis istoriul i mexsierebis dakargva, qarTvel ebTan kul turul -rel igiuri Tanacxovrebis praqtikis moSi a, Crdil o kavkasiastan genetikuri kavSiris arseboba da tendencia-survil i am kavSiris ganmtki ceba-ganvi Tarebisa.**

xazgasmit unda ariniSnos, rom afxazur-qarTul i urTierTobebis konkretul i sakiTxebi 1918-1921 wl ebSi Cinebul ad aris Seswavi l i qarTul istoriografiaSi da istorikoss aqvs saSual eba am urTierTobis TiTqmis yovel dRiur faqtebs gaadevnos Tval i. SemCneul ia am urTierTobebis nakl ovani, danaSaul ebrivi momentebic. sxvadasxva mizezis gamo (bol Sevikebis aventura, denikinis Semoteva) saqarTvel os mxed-rionis monawil eobit 1918 -1919 wl ebSi afxazeTSi

ramdenime samxedro operacia ganxorciel da. am dros zogj er adgil i hqonda Zal is gadametebis faqtebsac. es SemCneulia Tanamedrove qarTul istoriografia-Sic. miuTiteben, rom qarTvel Ta `samxedro operacias Tana axl da zedmetad mkacri da represiul i zomebi mSvidobiani mosaxl eobis mimarT-⁶² da a.S.

unda aRiniSnos, rom afxazebis winaaRmddeg Cadenil Secdomebze oficiozi `erTobac- miuTitebda ukve im wl ebSi, roca werda: `Seucdomel i aravinaa da Cven ar vuaryofT, rom Secdomebi iyo daSvebul i, SeiZl eba **didi Secdomebi**- (xazgasma Cvenia - a. d.)⁶³.

gazeTi ar akonkretebs `ra didi Secdomebi- iyo daSvebul i afxazebTan mimarTebaSi, magram Cven SevecdebiT erT-erT maTganze SevaCeroT mkiTxvel is yuradReba. es aris afxazeTis avtonomiis sakiTxi, rac dResac azrTa sxvadasxvaobas iwvevs.

qarTul istoriografiaSi amtkiceben, rom ukve 1918 wl is 11 ivnisis xel Sekrul ebis safuZvel ze `real urad afxazeTi iqca saqarTvel os avtonomiur erTel ad-⁶⁴.

migvaCnia, rom am daskvnisaTvis real uri safuZveli ar arsebobs. memarj vene social -demokratebisTvis `avtonomia- rogorc erovnul i sakiTxis gadawyvetis forma miuRebel i iyo (amaze Cven ukve gvqonda saubari samusl imano saqarTvel os avtonomiasTan dakavSirebit). memarj vene social -demokratiis principi ar iyo erTiani saxel mwifos daqucmaceba teritoriul -avtonomiuri gaertianebebit. maTi mizani iyo demokratiis principebis safuZvel ze yvel a erisa da xal -xis gaertianeba prol etarul i internacional izmis droSis qveS.

mxol od 1921 wl is Teberval Si, roca sabol ood Camoyal ibda saqarTvel os konstitucia, masSi aisaxa avtonomiis aucil ebl obis sakiTxi saqarTvel os zogierTi teritoriisaTvis (afxazeTi, samusl imano saqarTvel o). Tanac isic xazgasasmelia, rom am droisaTvis ar iyo gansazRvrul i am avtonomiis Sinaarsi,

ar iyo centrisa da adgil obrivi mmarTvel obis uf-
l ebaTa gamij vna, risi gakeTebac momaval Si cal ke,
sagangebo kanoni T igegmeboda⁶⁵.

unda isic aRini Snos, rom gaugebrobebs warmoSobs
TviTon demokratiul i saqarTvel os xel isufal Ta ga-
mosvl ebi da mtkicebul ebebi, roml ebic winaaRmdegobis
Semcvel ia. magal iTad, didi britaneTis del egaciasTan
(gen. brigsi, gen. biCi) Sexevedrisas saqarTvel os demok-
ratiul i respubl ikis warmomadgenl oba (e. gegeWkori,
n. ramiSvil i da sxv.) 1919 wl is 23 maiss aRni Snavs: `dRe-
vandel dRes afxazeTi avtonomiurad imarTeba afxaze-
Tis saxal xo sabWos mier...⁶⁶.

TiTqmis imave dros oficiozi gaz. `erToba- af-
xazeTis Sesaxeb acxadebs Semdegs: `am ol qis sakiT-
xis gadaWra SeuZl ebel ia nacional ur-teritoriul
niadagze.⁶⁷ 1919 wl is 2 agvistos damfuZnebel i kre-
bis trubunidan n. ramiSvil i acxadebda: `afxazeTis
mosaxl eobis umravl esoba mxars uWers saqarTvel os
fargl ebSi **konstituciit garantirebul i** (xazgasma
Cvenia – a.d.) avtonomiur marvTa-gamgeobas⁶⁸. ramdena-
dac konstitucia j er ar iyo damtkicebul i, amj erad
n. ramiSvil is naTqvami mxol od momavl is keTil sur-
vil ad unda iqnes gagebul i. aqedan gamomdinare in-
gl isis del egaciasTan qarTvel i xel isufl ebi am sa-
kiTxSi ar iyven bol omde gul wrfel ni.

is rom afxazeTs araviTari avtonomia ar hqonda,
am Sexedul ebas aZl ierebs 1920 wl is 4 noembers (da-
moukidebl obis dakargvamde darCa 4 Tve) saxel mwif-
fos l ideris n. Jordanas Semdegi gancxadeba: `...af-
xazeTis avtonomiis sakiTxi eWvgareSea, konstituciis
SemuSavebis prerogativa ki mxol od damfuZnebel kre-
bas ekuTvnis. afxazeTs avtonomia unda mieces saerTo
konstituciis miRebis Semdeg⁶⁹.

amrigad, aSkaraa, rom memarj vene social -demok-
ratebi bol omde erTgul ni darCnen Tavisi `centra-
l izebul i erTiani saxel mwifos- marqsistul i gage-
bisa da mxol od mmarTvel obis dasasrul s izul e-

bul ni gaxdnen daTanxmebul iyvnen avtonomiuri mowyo-
bis sakiTxS.

migvaCnia, rom imJamad `avtonomia- (rogorc afixa-
zeTis, ise samusl imano saqarTvel os) pirobebSi iyo
garkveul i satyuara, riTic kvebavda social -demokra-
tiul i xel isufl eba oponentebs da mxol od mmarTve-
l obis dasasrul s Seitanes avtonomiis moTxovna kon-
stituciaSi ise, rom ar daazustes misi Sinaarsi.

amrigad, aSkaraa, rom saqarTvel os memarj vene
social -demokratiul xel isufl ebas seriozul ad
hqonda garTul eba afixazeTSic, rac zogj er Seiara-
Rebul i konfliqtebiT mTavrdeboda.

ra Secdomebi hqonda saqarTvel os central ur
xel isufl ebas saerovnebaTaSoriso probl emis mowes-
rigebis dros? raSi cdeboda xel isufl eba? miT uf-
ro, rom, rogorc zemoT aRvniSneT, am sakiTxSi Sec-
domebs, `SeiZl eba did Secdomebsac- ki oficial uri
xel isufl eba aRiarebda.

unda aRiniSnos, rom Cven ver mivakvl iet masa-
l as, romel ic dagvidastureben Tu TviTon saxel mwif-
fos pirvel i pirebi raSi xedavdnen am Secdomebs,
`did Secdomebs-. Cven SevecdebiT Cven mier mopovebu-
l i masal is warmoceniT garkveul ad pasuxi gavceT am
SekiTxvas.

1.mTavari da upirvel esi, Cveni azriT, iyo arse-
bul i politikuri real obis araadekvaturi aRqma. sa-
qarTvel os memarj vene social -demokratiam, romel ic
mudam winaaRmdegi iyo ruseTis erTiani saxel mwifos
daSl a-daqucmacebisa da msopl io proletariatis in-
ternacional ur erTobaze ocnebobda (swored amaze
miuTitebs Tbil isSi 1920 wl is Semodgomaze II intena-
cional is liderebis stumrobac), izul ebul i gaxda
erovnul i saxel mwifos mSenebl oba daewyo erovnul
sakiTxSi Zvel i – social -demokratiul i il uziebiT
aRsave programiT. amaze, rogorc zemoT davinaxeT,
miuTitebs social -demokratiul i partiis politikuri
pl atformis erovnul i programa, riTic partia

damfuZnebel i krebis arCevnebze wavida da romel ic Zvel i, marqsishtul i dogmebiT iyo gaj erebul i: isini kvl av moiTxovdnen `erTa TviTgamorkvevis ufl ebas, yvel a eris ufl ebas mSobl iur enaze swavl is, saxel -mwifo dawesebul ebebSi maTi enebis funqcionirebis~, rac sinamdvil eSi il uzorul i mizani iyo, radgan seriozul probl emebs warmoSobda saTanado resursebis, kadrebis, material uri pirobebis nakl ebobis an saerTod maTi uqonl obis gamo.

saqarTvel os memarj vene social -demokratias radikal urad unda Seecval a Tavisi erovnul i programa da saqarTvel os real iebidan gamomdinare SeemuSavebina axal i. maSin es ar gakeTda.

2.qarTvel ma memarj vene social -demokratebma (da ara marto maT) rogorc Semdgari faqti, ise miRes virtual ur ocnebaSi arsebul i `Tamarisdroidel i saqarTvel o~, romel ic faqtobrivad ruseTis imperiis ori gubernia da ramdenime administraciul i ol qi iyo. maT pretenzia ganacxades mTel am sivrceze mxol od istoriul i warsul is da istoriul i pretenziebis, rigiti qarTvel is virtual ur ocnebaSi arsebul i `nikofsiidan darubandamde gadaWimul i saqarTvel os- masStabebiT, rac Sors iyo im real obidan, rac arsebobda da swored es iwvevda araswori pol itikis SemuSavebasa da siZnel eebis maT real izaciaSi.

am teritoriebze, roml is ZiriTadi nawil i ruseTis imperiis Zal isxmeviT (Tumca xSirad qarTul i miliciis aqtiuri monawil eobiT) iyo dabrunebul i da SemoerTebul i, mTel i saukunis manZil ze ruseTis saxel mwifo manqana mTel i daSvebul i da dauSvebel i formebiT cdil obda gaeRrmavebina istoriul i saqarTvel os teritoriaze (roml ebic isedac Secvl il i iyo sayofacxovrebo, rel igiur-konfesiuri, moral ur-fsiqol ogiuri, social ur-ekonomikuri vitarebis gamo), qarTvel ebisadmi adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis gaucxovebis tendencia. obieqturi vitarebis gamo adgil obrivma mcxovrebl ebma (rogorc qarTvel ebma, ise

araqarTvel ebma) daiviwyes erTiani saqarTvel osadmi sakuTari kuTvnil eba (gavixsenoT m. abaSiZis weril i), istoriul i kavSirebi da amitomac, maincdamainc, saqarTvel os damoukidebl oba da maSTan daqvemdebarebul i pol itikuri kavSiri did sikeTed ar miaCndaT. saWiros iyo am mimarTul ebiT udidesi muSaoba, didZali material uri da sul ieri resursi, magram amisaTvis arc dro iyo da arc saSual eba iZebneboda. amitomac sityvieri apel irebebi - `qarTvel ebi da afxazebi Zmebi arian-, `qarTvel i musl imanebi mxol od reli giit ganxvavdebian qarTvel ebisagan- _ xSir SemTxvevaSi rCeboda `xmad mRaRadebl isa udabnosa Sina-.

3.seriozul i Secdomad Cans, rom cneba `avtonomia-, romel ic gansakuTrebiT popul arul i iyo im periodSi eTnokratiis l iderebs Soris, saqarTvel os xel isufl ebam satyuarad gadaaqcia da misiT Jangl irebda. SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom rogorc afxazeTSi, iseve samusl imano saqarTvel oSi `avtonomia-, `farTo avtonomia-, romel ic ewinaaRmdegeboda memarjvene social -demokratebis erovnul programasa da pol itikas, iyo virtual uri dapireba, roml is Seusrul ebl oba mudam aRizianebeda meore mxares, adgil obriv eTnokratias. rogorc zemoT aRvniSneT, qarTul special ur literaturaSi dafiqsirebul ia m. abaSiZis ukmayofil eba saqarTvel os central uri xel isufl ebis mier samusl imano saqarTvel osaTvis avtonomiis miniWebis procesis gaWianurebis gamo.

aWaraSi avtonomiis sakiTxis ignorirebas kargad iyenebdnen Turqi emisrebi, roml ebic agitacias uwevdenen am kuTxis TurqeTTan SeerTebas. aman garkveul i Sedegebi gamoiRo da am kuTxis mahmadian qarTvel ebSi dafiqsirda aSkarad antiqarTul i saubrebi, razec ukve gvqonda miniSneba. zemoT Cven ukve davinaxeT, rom satyuarasaviT iyenebda saqarTvel os xel isufl eba `avtonomias- afxazeTis eTnokratiasTan mimarTebaSic.

amrigad, dapirebis Seusrul ebl oba da tyuil i, rogorc saerovnebaTaSoriso urTierTobis gamwvavebis saSual eba.

4. seriozul i probl ema iyo `ganTavisufl ebul i monis sindromi~. memarj vene social -demokratebi marqsisitebi, revol ucionerebi iyvnen da isini aRiarebden Zal momreobas – rogorc istoriul i ganviTarebis mniSvnel ovan demiurgs. Tavisi xel isufl ebis manzil ze maT ver moiSores revol uciuri frazeol ogia da praqtika. cdil obden, magram ver aicil es Tavidan `ganTavisufl ebel i monis sindromic~, es gansakuTrebit saCino iyo CinovnikebSi, mil iciasa da saxal xo gvardiis rigiT wevrebSi. amisi bevri magal iTia. damfuZnebel i krebis wevri p.i. brul i borCal os mazris rusul i, germanul i, somxuri sofl ebis Semovl is Semdeg aRniSnavda: `komisrebis, gvardiel ebis, oficrebis, mil icionerebis, zogierTi erobis muSakisa da Cinovnikis saqmianoba aRweras ar eqvemdebareba... patara mefeebiv iT iqcevan. es pirdapir dacinvaa adamianis ufl ebebisa da Tavisufl ebebis, demokratizmi Zl ivs SeimCneva. samagierod uxvad aris nacional izmi ki ara, Sovinizmic ki. germanel kol onistebs xSirad eubnebian: _ mokete, axl a Cven varT baton-patroni, waeTrie Tqvens vil hel mTan (germaniis imperatori – a. d.) da imas el aparake⁷⁰.

baTumis ol qis SemoerTebis Semdeg damfuZnebel i krebis wevrma p. gel eiSvil ma imogzaura aWaraSi da Tavis moxsenebaSi aRniSna antiqarTul i tendenciebis gaZl iereba.

amrigad, `ganTavisufl ebul i monis sindromi~ da usamarTI oba, rac gancxadebebis miuxedavad, mainc arsebobda real ur cxovrebaSi da arTul ebda saerovnebaTaSoriso probl emas.

5. Zal momreoba. im wl ebSi saqarTvel os central uri xel isufl ebis sxvadasxva konfl iqtur situa-ciaSi samxedro Carevebi yovel Tvis ar iyo gonieri da viTarebasTan adekvaturi. ra Tqma unda, amboxebu-

l i qarTul i regione bis (duSeTis, samegrelo, saCxereda sxv.) winaaRmdogac igzavne boda damsjel i eqspediciebi, magram araqarTul regione bSi (afxazeTi, samacabl o, borCal o) obieqturi mizezebiT (bol Sevikuri amboxeba, separatistul i gamosvl ebi) ganxorciel ebul i samxedro operaciebis dros, al baT aj obebda, ufro loial uri, ufro rbil i politika gaetarebinaT da ara iseTi, rogorc zemoT vnaxeT (mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs rokisa da sxva osuri sofl ebi mimarT ganxorciel da samxedro operaciebis Sedegebi). gvaqvs inglisuri wyaros cnoba soWis ol qSi qarTvel i samxedroebis araadekvaturi moqmedebebisa da simkacris Sesaxebac⁷¹.

gansakuTrebul i usamarTi oba da simkacre gamoicines qarTvel ma milicionerebma axl adSemoerTebul i qobul eTis sofel koxSi, sadac ubral o Sel aparakebis gamo adgil obrivi muslimani qarTvel i jer sastikad scemes, xol o mere, roca dazaral ebul ma Tavis Seuracxmyofl ebi daxoca, qarTul i miliciis aq Cayenebul ma nawil ma gadabuga mTel i sofel i⁷².

qarTvel i oficrebi da rigitebi afxazeTsi samxedro eqspediciebis dros yovel Tvis rom ar icendnen koreqturobas da zedmetad mkacrad eqceodnen adgil obriv mosaxl eobas, rogorc arvniSneT, es ukve SemCneul ia qarTul special ur literaturasi.

amrigad, Zal is araadekvaturi gamoyeneba, rogorc erTaSorisi urTierTobis gauaresebis mnisvnelovani faqtori.

6. marTvis revol uciuri meTodebi (rekviziciebi). miuxedavad imisa, rom qveyanaSi demokratiul ufl ebebsa da Tavisuflebebs oficial urad aRiarebdnen, saqarTvel os social -demokratiul i mTavroba da misi pirvel adi ujredebi, sakmaod aqtiurad iyenebdnen marTvis revol uciur meTodebs, mxol od revol uciuri mizanSewonil obidan gamomdinare, sanqciis gareSe, apatimrebdnen moqal aqeebs, Cxrekdnen binebsa da dawesebul ebebs, arTmevdnen qonebas, saqonel s, sacxovre-

bel binasac ki – sasamarTI os special uri sanqciis gareSe. aris uamravi dokumenti, romel ic mianiSnebs, rom TviTon Sinagan saqmeTa ministri n. ramiSvil i aqtiurad iyenebda revol uciur meTodebs – rekvizicias, dpatimrebebs, Cxrekvas prokuroris sanqciis gareSe. rogorc ukve aRiniSna, Sinagan saqmeTa ministri sasamarTI o sanqciis gareSe, mxol od dasmenis safuZvel ze, apatimrebda msaxiobebis j gufs, xuravda ara qarTul presas, Tuki masSi raime ar moewoneboda, an mas saqarTvel os saxel mwifosaTvis mavned miCnevda. ase daxura n. ramiSvil ma gazeTebi: `vozroJdenie-, `znamia truda- da sxv. qarTvel ma gvardiel ebma sanqciis gareSe 1918 wl is agvistoSi gaCrxrikes tairoviz, adel xanovis da tol es qarxnebi.

roca saqarTvel oSi amerikis dipl omatiuri misia Camovida, qal aqis centrSi Sesafebi Senobidan rekviziciiT gamoasaxel es moqal aqeta j gufi, maT Soris rusebic iyvnen⁷³.

milicionerTa Zal adobas zogjer kuriozamde midioda – maT gadamal ul i Saqris maragis gamovlenis sababiT gaCrrikes ... iranis sakonsul os Senobacki⁷⁴.

amrigad Zal adoba, marTvis revol uciuri meTodebis gamoyeneba, rogorc erovnebaTaSoriso urTierTobis gamwvebis saSual eba.

axl a modi vnaxoTra Secdomebsa da danaSaul obebs Cadiodnen zogierTi araqarTvel i eTnosis eTnokratia da mas ayol il i `farTo masebi-.

1. upirvel es yovl isa es iyo **wregadasul i pretenziebi da politikuri ambiciebi**. saerTod, eTnokratiis interesi erTia – ar dakargos zegavl ena sakuTari eTnosis marTvis procesebze, uzrunvel yos sakuTari batonoba da moaxerxos maqsimal uri privilegiebis miReba. unda aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvel oSi eTnokratiis es Tavisebureba kargad hqondaT SemCneuli politikur xel mZRvanel ebs da ideol ogebs. gazeTi `ertoba- im wl ebSi werda: `afxazetis Tavadebs asul - dgmul ebT siZul vil i demokratiisadmi. nu SeexebiT

memamul eebis miwebsa da batonobas, daicaviT feodal uri privil egiebi da afxazeTis gabatonebul wreebSi Tqven ipoviT erTgul s megobrebs, roml ebic iseve erTgul ad moiTxoven afxazeTis gaqarTvel ebas, rogorc dRes imave afxazebis garusebas moiTxoven. swore es kl asiuri, wodebrivi interesebia, rom gabatonebul wreebs xan Turqofil ad xdis, xan denikinel ad an bol Sevikad~75.

swore da samarTI iani SeniSvnaa! unda aRiniSnos, rom imJamad gansakuTrebit afxazeTsa da samusl imano saqarTvel oSi eTnokratia ZiriTadad TavadaznaurTa wridan iyo gamosul i da `demokratiasac- isini waroadgendnen. am kuTxis Tavadaznaurul intel igenciis (es wodeba maT pirobitad SeiZl eba vuwodoT, radgan maTma didma umravl esobam wera-kiTxvis garda sxva araferi icoda) zegavl ena adgil obriv mosaxl eobaze sakmaod didi iyo. cnobil ia, rom sabWoTa xel isufl ebis pirvel wl ebSi aWaris maRal mTian regionebSi gl exoba adgil obriv begebs gadasaxads 1927 wl amdec uxdi da76.

unda isic aRiniSnos, rom eTnokratiis cal keul i l ideris `demokratiul frazeol ogiaSi- im wl ebSi Cinebl ad iniRbeboda gankerZoebis, separatismis muxtebi. kl asobrivi, rel igiuri da kuTxuri Taviseburebebi yvel aze ufro proqarTul ad ganwyobil politikur moRvawebsac gamousworebel Secdomebs adeninebda. sayovel Taod cnobil ia udidesi Rvawl i m. abaSiZisa da misi politikuri jgufisa samxreT-dasavl eT saqarTvel os deda-samSobl osTan dabronebis saqmeSi. miuxedavad amisa, ar SeiZl eba ar SevninoT, rom m. abaSiZis mier Sedgenil i `programa da instruqcia samusl imano saqarTvel os ganTavisufl ebis komitetisa- faqtobrivad moiTxovs musl imani qarTvel ebisaTvis `saxel mwifos saxel wifoSi- _ radganac is iTval iswinebs srul damoukidebl obas sarwmunobriv saqmeSi, sasamarTI os Sariatze dafuznebas, swavl a-ganaTI ebas medresebSi, sofl is meurneobis

musl imanur miwis kanonze mowyobas, vaWrobis damoukidebl obas da a.S.⁷⁷

es proeqti seriozul i safrTxis Semcvel i iyo. misi real izacia gamoiwvevda saqarTvel os umniSvnel ovanes geostrategiul regionSi ZiriTadi eTnosi-sagan gansxvavebul i eTno-social uri da eTno-kul turul i garemos dakonservebas, saqarTvel os saxel mwifoebri konsolidaciis procesis kidev ufro Seferxebas.

Cveni azriT, swored amitom gaWianurda am proeqtis ganxil va demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis dros da swored amitomac daiwunes is 1921 wl is zafxul Si ukve sabWoTa xel isufl ebis wl ebSi rogorc saxel mwifos, ise saqarTvel os intel igenciis Tval saCino warmomadgenl ebma (k. gamsaxurdiam, v. kotetiSvil ma, T. RI ontma)⁷⁸. amitomac iyo n. Jordaniას mTavrobis damokidebul eba am proeqtis mimarT frTxil i da amitomac misi ganxil va gaWianurda.

kidev ufro wregadasul i iyo `osi demokratiis-warmomadgenel ebis pretenziebi saqarTvel os oficial uri xel isufl ebis mimarT. saqarTvel os osebs Tavadaznauroba ara hyavda. mis funqcias yofil i strajnikebi, gabol Sevikebul i jariskacebi asrul ebdnen, roml ebic ver faravdnen ruseTTan SeerTebis survil s. am mizniT isini aj anyebebsac ki awyobdnen, romel sac Tan erTvoda morodiorobis saSinel i faqtebi (amis Sesaxeb ukve gvqonda saubari), rac sariozul probl emebs uqmnida Tbil iss.

wregadasul i, arasamarTI ebrivi survil ebi da pretenziebi ki warmoSobnen sakonfl iqto situacias, qmnidnen daZabul obis kerebs. eTnokratiis es warmomadgenl ebi ar iTval iswinebdnen Tavianti pretenziebis istoriul , samarTI ebriv safuZvl ebs, arc obiteqtur real iebis da pol itikuri ambiciebiT Sepyrobil ebi ayenebdnen iseT winadadebebs, romel sac veranairi demokratiul i mTavroba ver gadaWrida dadebitad, radgan es gamoiwvevda saxel mwifos istoriul i

teritoriebis gasxvisebas. es ki safuzvel Sive ewina-
aRmdegeba saerTaSoriso samarTI is normebs. swored
aseTi wregadasul i pretenziebis tipiuri da saval a-
l o nimuSia osi bol Sevikebis memorandumumi, roml is
Sesaxebac zemoT ukve gvqonda saubari.

magram am sakiTxeze msjel obisas, isic unda ga-
viTval iswinoT, rom imJamad msofil io pirvel i msofil
io omis Wriil obebs iSuSebda, rac erTob mtkivneul
ad mimdinareobda, iqmneboda axal i saxel mwifoebi,
Cndeboda uamravi gaumarTI ebel i politikuri svur-
vil i Tu amocana, rasac kanonzomierad acxadebdnen.

advil i l ukma-. xazgasmiT isic unda aRiniSnos,
rom XX saukunis 20-ian wl ebSi politikuri kul tur-
ris done saqarTvel oSi, gansakuTrebiT provinciaSi,
maRal i ar iyo. wera-kiTxvis mcodneTa ricxvi ar aRe-
mateboda 36,7 procentis, sofl ad es macvnebel i kidev
ufro dabal i iyo, xol o araqarTul i eTnosebiT da-
saxl ebul regionebsi - wera-kiTxva TiTo-orol a
kacma Tu icoda. aseT vitarebaSi Znel ia isaubro ima-
ze, rom adgil obrivi mosaxl eoba kargad erkveoda
politikur vitarebaSi, esmoda saxel mwifos dasavl u-
ri Tu armosavl uri politikuri orientaciis mniSvne-
l oba, arkvevda gansxvavebebs arsebul politikur
jgufesba da mimarTul ebebs Soris (saqarTvel oSi es
procesi dResac Wirs da mtkivneul ia).

amitomac iyo SemTxvevebi, roca erTi da igive
el eqtorati (sofel i) erTnairi enTuziazmiT aZl evda
xmas proqarTul , proTurqul , proazerbaj anul re-
zoluciebs. rogorc ukve aRiniSna, saqarTvel oSi
1919-1920 wl ebSi gansakuTrebiT gaaqtiurdnen mezobe-
l i saxel mwifoebis emisrebi, roml ebic xvdebodnen
adgil obriv mosaxl eobas, pirdebodnen rZis mdinare-
ebsa da kisel is napirebs- da el eqtoratic maTTvis
sasurvel gadawyvetil ebas iRebda. am movl enis tipi-
uri magal iTia qobul eTis mcxovrebTa Sekrebis gadaw-
vyetil eba. imJamad iq Zal ian aqtiurobda azerbaij an-
nis burJuaziul i saxel mwifos agentura, romel mac

moaxerxa adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis Tavyril obis mowyoba. krebam miRo Semdegi rezolucia: 1. Cven unda ganvaxorciel oT cxovrebaSi vil sonis (aSS prezidenti _ a.d.) principebis mixedvit TviTgamorkvevis ufl eba...; 2. Cven protests vucxadebT saqarTvel os mTavrobas, romel ic pretenziebs acxadebs baTumze da baTumis ol qze; 3. Cveni xal xis umravl esobis mtkice gadawyvetil ebaa, raTa Seiqmnas Cveni ol qisagan saxel mwifo aWaristani, romel Sic Seva baTumic...⁷⁹

aseTi, antiqarTul i rezoluciebi miRebul ia afxazetis, osebis sofl ebSi, samxret-dasavl eT saqarTvel os (axal cixe-axal qal aqis) regionSi imisda mixedvit, Tu romel i pol itikuri Zal a eufl eboda adgil obriv teritorias.

MexuTe kol ona~. zemoT aRweril i moral ur-fsiqol ogiuri ganwyobil ebebi, adgil obrivi eTnokratiis wregadasul i pretenziebi da mosaxl eobis dabal i kul turul -pol itikuri done, mZime social uri viTareba, sakuTari eTnosis primatis aRiareba, demokratiul i saqarTvel os saxel mwifo struqturebisadmi upativcemul oba, saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis garkveul nawil s (erTmesameds mainc) saqarTvel os saxel mwifos erTgul ebisTvis ar ganawyobda. amas isic unda daematos, rom jer kidev Zl ieri iyo `nikol ozis rusetis_ stabilizaciis savanisa da SedarebiTi maRal i cxovrebis donisadmi nostalgis xsovna. es satyura Ziritadad saqarTvel os araqarTvel eTnosebze axdena zemoqmedebas da es ganwyobil eba aSkarad ikveTeboda nebismieri pol itikuri Tu samxedro krizisis dros. es ki iwvevda am regionis adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis qmedebas qarTul i saxel mwifos winaaRmdeg. magal iTad, rogorc zemoT aRiniSna, saqarTvel o-somxeTis samxedro konfl iqtis dros `somxeTis erovnull i sabWo~ SeamCnies antiqarTul saqmianobaSi. saqarTvel os mosaxl eobis garkveul i nawil i am omis dros somxeTis saxel mwifos mxareze ibrzoda. Tvi-

Ton saqarTvel os xel isufli ebac aRiarebda, rom sxvadasxva konfliqtur situaciis dros arcerTi mahmadiani ar iRebda monawil eobas saqarTvel os samxedro struqturebSi⁸⁰.

roca qarTul -somxuri dapirispirebis Semdeg special urma komisiam borCal os somxur sofli ebSi Seiswavl a viTareba, adgil obrivma mcxovrebl ebma darwmunes komisiis wevrebi, rom maT Tbil istan politikuri qarTul eba ar undodaT da loial urebi arian, magram faqtebi aSkarad RaRadebdnen, rom adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis didi umetesoba aSkarad mxars uWerda somxetis saxel mwifos. es mxardaWera kidev ufro aSkarad gamoCnda 1921 wl is Teberval Si, roca swored am kuTxis mcxovrebl ebi auj anydnen saqarTvel os mTavrobas da komunistebisagan Seugul ianebul ebma, qarTvel i bol Sevikebis winamZRol obiT Semoiyvanes saqarTvel oSi sabWoTa ruseTis XI armia.

SemTxveviTi ar aris, rom `rusTa erovnul ma sabWom-, romelic mudam pretenziul obiT gamoirCeoda, 1921 wl is 26 Teberval s, komunisturi ruseTis mier saqarTvel os okupaciis meore dResve, Sewyvita Tavisi ufl ebamisil eba Semdegi motiviT: `radgan xel isufli eba gadavida axal i mTavrobis xel Si, romelic mmarTvel obis organizacias axorciel ebs sabWoTa sistemis safuZvel ze, rac izl eva kanonis winaSe yvel a eris Tanasworobis garantias-⁸¹. aSkaraa, rom Tbil isel rusebsa da maT liderebs total itarul i ruseTi erCiaT, demokratiul saqarTvel os. amiT `erovnul ma sabWom- gamoavl ina potenciaSi arsebul i antiqarTul i muxti, romel sac Tavisi arsebobis mTel manZil ze gul dasmiT niRbavda loial obis mantiis qveS.

amrigad, aSkaraa:

1. saqarTvel os demokratiul i respublikis arsebobis periodSi saerovnebaTaSoriso urTierToba efuZneboda social -demokratiul moZRvrebas proletarul i internacional izmisa da avstrie-

l i social -demokratebis praqtikas `kul turul -nacional uri avtonomiis- Sesaxeb.

2. saqarTvel oSi saerovnebaTaSoriso urTierTobebis mosawesrigebl ad Seqmnil i `erovnul i sabWoebi- am probl emebs ver agvarebdnen da TviTon xel isuflebis aRiarebiT gadaiqcnen Zal aufl e- bis uzurpaciis, anarqiisa da saerovnebaTaSoriso dapirispirebis saSual ebad. am aRiarebis miu- xedavad, `erovnul i sabWoebisadmi- damokidebul eba ar Secvl il a demokratiul i saqarTvel os arsebobis periodSi.
3. saqarTvel oSi erovnebaTaSoriso urTierTobebis daZabvas garkveul wil ad xel s uwyobda memarj vene social -demokratiis (mmarTvel i partiis) ruse- Tis social -demokratiul i muSaTa partiaSi xan- gZl ivi yofniT gamowweul i ideol ogiuri SezRu- dul oba, ruseTi saxel mwifoebri vi erTianobis, ruseTis revol uciis saqmisadmi erTgul ebis qa- dageba, memarj vene social -demokratebis mier Te- bervl is revol uciis Semdeg gakeTebul i pol iti- kuri gancxadebebi, rac radikal urad ewinaaRmde- geboda im saqmianobas, rac maT daiwyes saqarTve- l os damoukidebl obis gamocxadebis Semdeg.
4. garkveul wil ad saerovnebaTaSoriso urTierTo- bas Zabavda saqarTvel os demokratiul i respub- likis xel isuflebis mier Seqmnil i istoriul i real iebis araadekvaturi aRqma, imis arasaTana- dod Sefaseba. **imJamindel i saqarTvel o iyo ruse- Tis imperiis samxreT kavkasiaSi moRvaweobis Se- degi, romel ic ruseTis imperiis interesebidan gamomdinare Wrida da keravda guberniebsa da ol qebs, xel s uwobda antiqarTul i tendenciebis ganviTareba-gaZl ierebas.** am intensiuri muSaobis Sedegad, romel sac amagrebda istoriul i bedu- kuRmarTobac, qarTvel ebi 4 konfesiur j gufSi iyvnen gaerTianebul ni, afxazebi da osebis nawi- l i – pol itikur orientacia Secvl il ni, rusebi,

ukrainel ebi, somxebi, berZnebi – ruseTis Zal a-
 ufl ebis aRdegnaze meocnebeni, mahmadiani qarTve-
 l ebi da araqarTvel ebi – Turqetis suzerenite-
 tis moml odineni. aseTi rTul i erovnebaTaSoriso
 viTareba moiTxovda xangZl iv, frTxil propa-
 gandistul -aRmzrdel obiT muSaobas, sazogadoe-
 bis pol itikur konsol idacias qarTul i saxel -
 mwifos garSemo. am amocanis gadawyveta saqar-
 Tvel os demokratiul ma respubl ikis xel mZRvane-
 l obas ver SeZl o.

5. zemoT Tqmul idan gamomdinare, saqarTvel os sa-
 xel mwifoebri vi damoukidebl obis mimaRT es
 gul gril i, araqarTvel i mosaxl eoba advil ad
 iqceoda ucxo pol itikuri Zal ebis (bol Sevikebi,
 denikini, Turqeti, somxeTi) gavl enis qveS, avl en-
 da antiqarTul ganwyobil ebas da zogjer iara-
 RiT xel Sic ebrZoda qarTul saxel mwifoebri o-
 bas. swored amitom damoukidebel i saqarTvel os
 arsebobis periodSi eTnikuri omebi TiTqmis per-
 manentul i xasiaTis iyo.
6. garkveul wil ad Zabavda saerovnebaTaSoriso vi-
 Tarebas mmarTvel i partiis marqsistul i SezRu-
 dul oba, erTiani (unitarul i) saxel mwifos Seq-
 mnis survil i da `avtonomiis- ideiT Jangl ireba,
 rac seriozul probl emebs qmnida mas afxazeTSi,
 samusl imano saqarTvel oSi.
7. seriozul probl emebs qmnida qarTul i samxedro-
 bis, gvardiel ebis da mil iciis muSakebis araadek-
 vaturi samxedro qmedebebi (ganTavisufl ebul i
 monis sindromi-), rasac mimaRTavdnen aj anyebi T
 mocul i regione bis (afxazeTi, samaCabl o) mimaRT.
8. aSkaraa, rom saqarTvel os demokratiul ma res-
 publ ikis xel mZRvanel obam ver SeZl o swori po-
 litikis SemuSaveba da real izacia saerovnebaTa-
 Soriso urTierTobebis mosawesrigebl ad da am-
 iT garkveul wil ad Seamzada pol itikuri katas-
 trofa, rac 1921 wl is Teberval Si moxda.

**FOR ISSUE OF RELATIONSHIPS AMONG NATIONS
IN GEORGIAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

In the period of existence of Georgian Democratic Republic, relationships among nations were based on social-democratic doctrine of proletarian internationalism and on the practice of Austrian Social-Democrats about “cultural-national autonomy”.

“National Councils”, formed in Georgia for regulation of relationships among the nations in Georgia, could not solve these problems and as the authority itself acknowledged, they became the instrument of power usurpation, anarchy and contradictions among the nations. In spite of the above-mentioned acknowledgment, the attitude towards “National Councils” did not change in the period of existence of Democratic Georgia.

Ideological scantiness, caused by the long-term existence of Rightist Social-Democracy (ruling party) in Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party, exhortation of political unity of Russia and devotion towards the revolution of Russia, political declarations of Rightist Social-Democrats after the February Revolution, partly favored to tense relationships among the nations in Georgia. All these radically resisted the activity that they started after announcement of independence of Georgia.

Relationships among the nations were also tensed by inadequate perception and evaluation of historical layers by the authority of Georgian Democratic Republic. **Georgia of that time was the outcome of activity of Russian Empire in the South Caucasus which created provinces and regions following from the interest of Russian Empire and favored to develop and strengthen anti-Georgian tendencies.** As a result of these intensive activities, the propitious factor of which was historical misfortune too, Georgians were united under 4 confessional groups: Abkhazians and some Ossetians – they changed their political orientation; Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Greeks – they dreamt about restoration of Russia’s power; Moslem Georgians and non-Georgians – they waited for sovereignty of Turkey. **Such difficult situation among the nations demanded long-term, careful propagandistic-educative activity and political**

consolidation of society around the Georgian state. The authority of Georgian Democratic Republic could not solve this problem.

Following from the above-mentioned, non-Georgian population, who had indifferent attitude towards Georgian state independence, got under the influence of stranger political forces (Bolsheviks, Denikin, Turkey, Armenia). They showed anti-Georgian mood and sometimes even fought against the Georgian political system by arms. For this reason, in the period of existence of independent Georgia, ethnical wars were permanently.

Relationships among the nations were also tensed by Marxist scantiness of the ruling party, their wish of creation of united (Unitarian) state and their permanent juggling by the idea of “autonomy” which caused serious problems in Abkhazia, Moslem Georgia.

Inadequate military activities (“syndrome of a liberated slave”) towards rebelled regions (Abkhazia, Samachablo) by Georgian guardsmen and militia caused serious problems.

It is evident that the authority of Georgian democratic republic could not outline and realize the right politics for regulation of relationships among the nations which finally caused political catastrophe that happened in February, 1921.

damowmebul i wyaroebi da literatura:

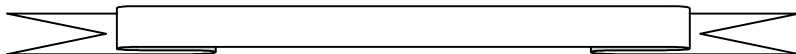
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dal i gi orgaZe

“samosei i sagi ovel i”

xal xur tradiciaSi saukeneebis ganmavl obaSi Camoyal ibda sul ieri kul turis erT-erTi yvel aze konservatiul i da mdgradi bunebis mqone micval ebul is msaxurebasTan dakavSirebul i wes-Cveul ebebi da rwmena-warmodgenebi. isini erTiandebian mecnierebaSi sayovel Taod miRebul i “micval ebul is kul tis” saerTo saxel wodebis qveS. xal xur yofaSi damkvidrebul i am kul tis mniSvnel ovan nawil s warmoadgens samgl oviaro wes-Cveul ebaTa mTel i sistema, romelic mraval i el ementisgan Sedgeba. amj erad Cven SevexebiTerT-erT maTgans, romlis saSual ebiTac Wirisufali garegnul ad gamoxatavda did mwuxarebas axl oblis gardacval ebis gamo.

Znel ia Tqma imisa, Tu rodis gaCnda mwuxarebis, dardis gamomxatvel i samgl oviaro tansacmel i qarTvel Ta Soris, magram faqtia is, rom me-5 saukunis qarTul agiografiul nawarmoebSi (“SuSanikis wameba”) ukve gv xvdeba aseTi samosis aRmniSvnel i dRemde SemorCenil i termini “ZaZa”, es garemoeba ukve metyvel ebs misi warmomavl obisa da arsebobis siZvel eze. mgl oviareTaTvis gankuTvnil i gansxvavebul i samosis arsebobaze miuTiTebis vaxuSti batoniSvil i Tavis naSromSi da aRniSnavs, rom “mgl oviareni STaicvian ZaZa-fl asni da daixurian Txisurni CaCni” (4, 24). es samosei i gl ovis yvel aze damaxasiaTebel atributs warmoadgens dResac.

samgl oviaro samosei i masalis ubral oebiT, formis TaviseburebebiTa da feriT ganirCeoda yovel -

dRiuri Cveul ebrivi tansacmel isagan. Zvel i weril o-
biTi Zegl ebis, arqeol ogiuri da eTnografiul i mona-
cemebis mixedviT aseTi samosisaTvis Tavdapirvel ad
gamoiyeneboda sel is da kanafisagan damzadebul i qso-
vil ebi, Semdgom ki – abreSumis, bambis, til os, Sal is
qsovil ebi. dRes samgl oviaro tansacmel i yvel a saxe-
obis materiisagan ikereba. Tumca, sagareod Casacme-
l ad ufro xarisxiani, ZviradRirebul i qsovil ia gamo-
yenebul i. Ees samosi mortul obisa da mosarTavebis
gareSe dResac inarCunebs ubral oebasa da sisadaves,
rac Zvel Taganve iyo mistvis damaxasiaTebel i. Uunda
aRiniSnos Semdegic: qarTul i eTnografiul i masal a
naTl ad warmoaCens saSinao Tu sagareo tansacml is im
mraval ferovnebas, roml iTac imosebodnen saqarTve-
l os sxvadasxva kuTxis mcxovrebl ebi. samgl oviaro
samosma SeinarCuna TiToeul i kuTxisaTvis damaxasia-
Tebel i Cacmul oba, magram mas daemata gl ovis ganmas-
xvavebel i niSnebi. es niSnebi gansakuTrebiT kargad
qal Ta Cacmul obaSi gamovl enil i. Tumca gl ova mama-
kacebisaTvisac adgenda garkveul wesebs. magal iTad,
TuSeTSi mgl oviare mamakaci Savi feris Coxa-axal uxs
icvamda, mkl avze Savi feris naWris Semoxvevac scod-
niaT – marcxena mxares ikeTebdnen im SemTxvevaSi, ro-
desac col is mxridan gardaevl ebodaT, marj vena mxar-
es ki – Tavisianis gl ovisas (16,75). samegrel oSi Savi
RarTis (mamakacis samosi samegrel oSi) patroni zog-
jer sagangebo "Savs" ar ikeravda, Savi mitkl is naW-
riT faravda gul ze masrebs, Severcxl il satevarsa
da qamris nawil ebs, Tavze yabal axis msgavsad Sav mit-
kal s ixuravda (28,170). aqve unda aRiniSnos is, rom sa-
qarTvel os zogierT kuTxeSi WirisufI ebi gadabrune-
bul samossac atarebdnen gl ovis gamosaxatavad. xev-
sureTSi mgl oviare mamakaci axal tal avars ki ar Ca-
icvamda, aramed gl ovis niSnad gadabrunebul Coxas,
perangsa da paWiWebs xmarobda (16, 75). gl ovisas gadab-
runebul i tansacml is xmarebis faqti samegrel oSi c
dasturdeba (21, 285). isic unda iTqvas, rom gl ovisas

tyav-kabis xmarebac icodnen: TuSeTSi micval ebul is uaxl oesi naTesavebi Tavze tyav-kaba Camocmul ebi is-xdnen xol me (36, 104). gadabrunebul i bewviani tyapuWis xmareba scodniaT kaxeTsa da svaneTSi (45, 188-189). micval ebl Tan dakavSirebiT bewv-gadabrunebul i samosis xmareba damaxasiaTebel i Cans kavkasiis mTianeTisaTvis (25, 42; 42, 51). n.bregaZis azriT am SemTxvevaSi adgil i hqonda "mokvdav-aRdgenadi sol arul i RvTaebis zoomorful i niSnis mqone samosis – cxvris gadmobrunebul i qurq-tyapuWis samgl oviarod gamoyenebas" (10, 324). ritual uri wesi samgl oviaro samosis moxmarebis sakiTxs gansazRvravda, xol o gl ovis xarisxi ganapirobebda Sesabamisi samgl oviaro niSnebis da samgl oviaro feris moxmarebis wess. amasTan dakavSirebiT unda aRiniSnos, rom micval ebul is gl ova oj axis wevrebis, naTesavebis, mogvareebis mier met-nakl ebi simZimiT xdeboda imis mixedviT, Tu vin iyo gardacvl il i – axal gazrda Tu moxuci, qal i Tu kaci, ra naTesaaurTierTobaSi imyofebodnen gardacval ebul Tan. es vitareba sagl oviaro samosel Sic airekl eboda, rasac Zal ian kargad warmoaCens xevsureTis eTnografiul i masal a (2, 17).

samgl oviaro samosis saxeobaTa Camoyal ibebaze, rogorc Cans, orma garemoebam iqonia gavl ena. erTi iyo yofis social uri mxare, romel mac gansazRvrada TiTqmis daakanona kidec Tu ra saxeobis samosi unda CaecvaT oj axis wevrebsa da naTesavebs. meore mizezi iyo gl ovis simZime da masTan dakavSirebul i gl ovis garkveul i periodebi (gl ovis pirvel wel serTi saxis da feris samosi, meore wel s – sxva da a.S). samgl oviaro samosis nairsaxeobam Tavis mxriv mis aRmniSvnel terminol ogiaSi hpova asaxva.

eTnografiul i masal is mixedviT, samgl oviaro tansacmel i axal i ikereboda da mzad unda yofil iyo dakrZal vis dRisaTvis. Mmis damzadebaSi Wirisufal i ar monawil eobda, amas sxva gvaris mezobel i qal ebi akeTebdnen. es samosi ZiriTadad ul azaTod Sekeril i,

bol oSemouqobavi, zoggan napirebdakbil ul i, koWebamde grZel i da farTo unda yofil iyo imdenad, rom xel is mtevnebic ki dafarul iyo. zogierT kuTxeSi igi zeda da qveda nawil isagan Sedgeboda, zoggan ki mTI ian kabas warmoadgenda. Tavzec Tavsafari eburat, romel sac qal ebi gl ovisas sxvadasxvanairad ixvevdnen (2, 20; 16, 73). samegrel oSi did manZil ze mgzavrobisas, gl ovis yvel aze mZime periodSi, qal ebi nabdis formis mqone napirebdakbil ul, winCaxsnil grZel mosaxams xmarobdnen, romel ic mTI ianad faravda adamians, mas mxol od Tval ebi mouCanda. igi "anaforis" // "qoxis" saxel iT aris dafiqsirebul i (8, 125). amgvvari Cacmul oba l eCxumSic arsebobda, romel ic adgil obriv mosaxl eobas samegrel odan Semotani ad miaCnda (35, 182).

gansakuTrebul yuradRebas imsaxurebs svaneTisa da samegrel os mcxovrebtTa samgl oviaro Sesamosel i, radgan maT yofaSi gvianobamde Semoinaxes gl ovis sxvadasxva etapis da simZimisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i Sesabamisi Casacmel i. es tansacmel i samegrel oSi Semdegi terminebiT aRiniSneboda: "uCa mukakunal i" (Savi tansacmel i), "jigari mukakunal i" (RviZl isferi tansacmel i), "Wkiril i uCa" (daWril i Savi), "CxviCvel i uCa" (fesvebCamoSl il i Savi), "ZaZa", "jigari uCa" // "wiril i uCa" (Zal ze Savi) da sxv. samgl oviaro tansacml is saxel wodebebSi SemorCa, agreTve, zogadi xasiaTis Zvel i saxel wodebac – "onweral i" (samwaro). saxel wodebaTa es simravle samgl oviaro samosl is sxvadasxva iers ukavSirdeba. magal iTad, "Wkiril i" da "CinCxvel i uCa" sxvadasxva saxel s atarebs mxol od imis gamo, rom maTi napirebi sxvadasxvanairad aris gawyobil i, orives saerTo saxel wodeba ki aris "ZaZa". amaTgan gansxvaveebiT "uCa mukakunal i" napirebSemotexil i samosel ia (8, 124).

svanuri samgl oviaro samosic ipyrobs yuradRebas Tavisi mraval saxeobiT. Aaqac gl ovis simZime gansazRvravda samosis formas, romel ic sami saxiT iyo

warmodgenil i. gl ovis mTel manZil ze, garkveul i vadiT, samive saxis samoss xmarobdnen. TiToeul i maTgani usamkaul o da Savi ferisa iyo. gl ovisas Tavdapirvel Casacmel s "ZaZar" ewodeboda, roml is zeda da qveda nawil ebs napirebi mercxl is kudis msgavsad hqondaT SeWril i. Aaseve iyo SeWril i Tavsafris ki-deebic. "ZaZar"-s cvl ida napirebCamoSI ili samosi "l aRfural l ereqv"-i, bol os ki Sav, Semotexil "meSxe l ereqv"-ze gadadiodnen (7, 185). svaneTSi samgl oviaro tansacmel s sami wl is ganmavl obaSi xmarobdnen, rac saerTo qarTul wess warmoadgenda. swored am periodSi xdeboda samgl oviaro samosis sxvadasxva saxeTa monacvl eoba. samgl oviaro samosis aratu ganaxl eba, aramed gaxeul is gakervac ki ar SeiZl eboda imis SiSiT, rom oj axis sxva wevrebis gardacval eba ar gamoewvia. am tansacml is daxeviT unda dasrul ebul iyo gl ova-mwuxareba (26, 168). Tu ar SemoacvdebodaT, saqarTvel os yvel a kuTxeSi wesad iyo miRebul i misi dawva ezos gareT, an safl avze gatana da iq datoveba, wyal Si gadayra an qvriv-obl ebisTvis micema. magram, isic unda iTqvas, rom xSirad Wirispatroni mTel sicocxl es samgl oviaro samosSi atarebda.

istoriul wyaroebSi samgl oviaro Casacmel is aRmniSvnel ad ramdenime saxel i gamoiyeneboda: "samosel i sagl ovel i", "samosel i quriobisa", "ZaZa", "ZaZa-flasi". Cveni azriT, maT ricxvs unda daematos "samosel i saguemelic", roml is Sesaxebac qvemoT gveqneba saubari.

termini "samosel i sagl ovel i" moixsenieba Zvel ebraul naTargmn Zegl ebSi, magal iTad: "esTerma ganizarcua samosel i igi patiosani misgan da yovel i samkaul i Tavisa misisaÁ da Seimosa man samosel i sagl ovel i. maave "dabadebis" qarTul TargmanSi dasaxel ebul ia garkveul i daniSnul ebis samgl oviaro tani-samosis saxel wodeba "samosel i quriobisa". mag: ivdiTma "Seimosa wel Ta mista ZaZaÁ da emosa mas samosel i quriobisa TÁnier xuTSabaTisa" anda ivdiTma

"ganiZarcua samosel i quriobisa" (39, 77-78) da svx. rogorc vxedavT, wyaroebSi erTmaneTisgan aris gamijnul i "samosel i sagl ovel i" da "samosel i quriobisa". am ukanasknel is saxel wodeba meuRI is damkargavi mgl oviaris Cacmul obis aRsaniSnavad aris gamoyenebul i anu mgl oviareTagan erT-erTis, gansazRvru- l i social uri mdgomareobis mqone piris samosis aR- mniSvnel ia. am terminebis urTierTSej erebis Sedegad aSkara xdeba, rom "samosel i sagl ovel i" ufro far- To Sinaarsis matarebel i anu ufro metis momcvel ia, rasac adasturebs Tundac terminis "samosel i quriobisa"-s arseboba. amitom migvaCnia, rom igi "samosel i sagl ovel is" Semadgenel nawil s unda warmoadgendes.

samgl oviaro samosel is erT-erTi uZvel esi terminia "ZaZa", romel ic dResac farTod aris gavrcel ebul i. igi naxsenebia "dabadebis" qarTul TargmanSi, g.mTawmindel is cxovrebaSi, daviT aRmaSenebl is istorikosTan (39, 78) da svx. istoriul i wyaroebis mixedviT, "ZaZis" CacmiT Tu "ZaZis" SemortymiT adami Nebi gamoxatavdnen, rogorc pirad, ise saerTo mwuxarebas. rogorc Cans, "ZaZa" Zvel Taganve dardis, gl ovis simbol od iyo miCneul i. sul xan-saba orbel ianis ganmartebiT "ZaZa" aris "Razl is Sal i", xol o "Razl is Sal i - matyl is mkedi svxvil i. mkedi - mosxo Zafi. Sal i - matyl is naqsovi (30), e.i "ZaZa" iyo matyl is msxvil i Zafisagan damzadebul i qsovil i. "qarTul i enis ganmartebiT l eqsikonsic" "ZaZa", erTi mxriv, aRniSnavs uxeS qsovil s; meore mxriv ki es aris samgl oviaro samosel i, Tal xi da Semouqobavi. "Zvel i qarTul i enis l eqsikonis" mixedviT, "ZaZa" aris "fiCvi, Tal ia, tomari, uxeSi qsovil i Txis matyl isa" (1). rogorc vxedavT, "ZaZa" iyo uxeSi, msxvil i Zafisagan damzadebul i qsovil i. sainteresoa is rom samegrel oSi vxvdebiT sityva "ZanZas", roml iTac aRiniSneboda sel isa da kanafis qsovil i. dRes ki igi ewodeba jval os (uxeS) tomaras (26, 131) da erTgvarad ukavSirdeba ZaZas, rogorc uxeSi qsovil is aRmniSvnel sityvas.

es kidev erTxel adasturebs imas, rom ZaZis saqsovi nedl eul i uxeSi iyo. amasTan mimarTebaSi yuradRebas imsaxurebs eTnol og l.beriaSvil is saintereso gamokvl eva (6), romel ic exeba saqarTvel oSi gavrcel ebul uZvel es parkosan mcenares – ZaZas. istoriul i wyaroebisa da eTnografiul i masal is Seswavl is Sedegad, avtori midis im daskvnamde, rom mcenare ZaZis boWko unda yofil iyo gamoyenebul i tl anqi qsovil is dasamzadebl ad, romel sac sxvadasxva saxiTa da daniSnul ebiT iyenebdnen. Cveni azriT, dasaSvebia, rom igi samgl oviaro samosis dsamzadebl adac yofil iyo gamoyenebul i, radgan, rogorc cnobil ia, mgl oviaris samosisaTvis sagangebod arCevdnen uxeS qsovil s. Tavistavad ibadeba kiTxva – Tu am mizniT mcenare ZaZisagan miRebul qsovil s xmarobdnen, amitom xom ar ewoda “ZaZa” samgl oviaro samossac?

Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT imas, rom “ZaZa” aRniSnavda uxeSi Zafisagan damzadebul qsovil s, romel sac mwuxarebis Jams xmarobdnen, maSin gasagebi xdeba ratom daukavSirda igi Wirisufli is TviTgvemis Cveul ebas da ratom iqca igi “samosel i saguemel is” dasamzadebl ad. am mosazrebas amyarebs “SuSanikis wamebaSi” dacul i cnoba, romel ic exeba sapyrobel eSi myofi nawamebi dedofli is samoss, romel sac igi atarebda mal ul ad, gareSe Tval Tagan dafarul ad, Zvirfasi mosaxamis qveS: “Sinagan ZaZa emosa da arvin icoda CemsagareSe, xol o garegan kacTa Tval sa, antioqiis pal ekarti emosa”. iakob xucesi amis gamo SuSaniks eubneba: “ZaZis samosel i mcired-Ra Segeracxaa saguemel ad” (33, 234). Aaq Cvens yuradRebas ipyrobstermini “saguemel i”, romel ic Zvel qarTul Si ramdenime mniSvnel obiT ixmareboda. igi aRniSnavda Sol ts, sacemel s, satanj vel s (1). Aam SemTxvevaSi sainteresois, rom am terminTan “tanj vaa” gaigivebul i. amitomac Rirebul ia “SuSanikis wameb”-is avtoris Sexedul eba ZaZis samosze, rogorc “saguemel ze”. Aanu samosze, romel ic satanj vel ad, gvemisTvis aris gamoyenebul i.

amrigad, ZaZa anu uxeSi qsovil isagan damzadebul i samosi sagangebod aris gamoyenebul i mwuxare qal isagan. amave mniSvnel obiT anu TviTgvemisaTvis (tanj visaTvis) aris "ZaZa" moxsenebul i "giorgi mTawminde l is cxovreba"-Si: "ij mna srul iad Rvinisagan dawvel isa da hmosed samosel ad misa qveSe ZaZaÁ ficxel i, xol o mas zeda safarvel ad CoxaÁ erTi". Zvel i qarTul i mwerl obis Zegl ebSi dacul am cnobebTan mimarTebaSi yuradRebas imsaxurebs gl ovasTan dakavSirebul i CvenSi arsebul i zogierTi wes-Cveul eba. sityva "saguemel "-is Sinaarsis asaxva Cven SeiZl eba davinaxoT mwuxarebis niSnad xal xur yofaSi gvianobande SemorCenil TviTgvemis iseT faqtebSi, rogorebicaa mgl oviaris fexSiSvel i siarul i, Wil ofze ul oginod Zil i, zurgze maTraxis cemiT sisxl is gamodena, garkveul i saxis sakvebis miRebis akrZal va da sxva. maT ricxvs unda mivakuTvnoT mgl oviareTagan uxeSi qsovil isagan Sekeril i tansacml is xmarebac: uaxl oesi adamianis gardacval ebis gamo damwuxrebul i mgl oviarisaTvis uxeSi materiisagan damzadebul i Sida da gare Casacmel i iqneboda TviTgvemisaTvis misadagebul i. aSkaraa, rom mgl oviarisaTvis satanj vel ad gankuTvnil i tansacmel i aris uxeSi qsovil isagan damzadebul i "ZaZis" saxel wodebiT arsebul i tansacmel i. "saguemel i samosel i" unda warmoadgendes "samosel i sagl ovel is" sinonims, romelic Sinaarsobrivad ufro mkveTrad warmoaCens aseTi Cacmul obis matarebel i pirovnebis dards. Tavis mxriv ki "ZaZa" gvevl ineba mwuxarebis sinonimad, ramac al baT, ganapiroba is, rom igi iqca samgl oviaro samosis aRmniSvnel zogad da yvel aze gavrcel ebul saxel ad.

samgl oviaro samosel is saxel wodebidan yuradRebas ipyrobs termini "fl asi". Ees termini vel ze muSao bisas (12) TuSeTSi Cvenc davamowmeT. TuSi mTxrobel ebis gadmocemiT, rodesac vinme gardaicvl eboda, wl isTavamde "meÁze (taxtze an gawyobil ficrebze) fl ass dasxmen" (12) anu gardacvl il is tansacmel s gaSl idnen.

qiziySi damkvidrebul i Sexedul ebiT ki "fl asi" Wiri-
 sufl is samgl oviaro Casacmel i da mZime gl ovis mima-
 niSnebel i iyo, romel sac qal i Svil is an qmris dakar-
 gvis dros xmarobda. mwuxareba "fl asis" garegnul sa-
 xeSic airekl eboda – es iyo bol oSemoutexavi, grZel i,
 ul azaTod Sekeril i samosi. aseTive samosi qvrivisa
 guriaSic "ZaZa-fl asis" saxel iT aris damowmebul i. "Za-
 Za-fl asians" sacvl ebic ki Savi unda scmoda.

sul xan-saba orbel ianis ganmartebiT "fl asi"
 aris bal nis ZaZa" (30). "qarTul i enis ganmartebiTi
 l eqsikonis" mixedviT ki – "fl asi" (sparsul i pal as
 – uxeSi qsovil i) – samgl oviaro Tal xi samosel ia".
 "Zvel i qarTul i enis l eqsikonis" mixedviT "fl asi"
 aris Cul is, ZaZis, bewvis Casacmel i – "samosel -
 sa...fl asisa Caacumodes"; "sabl ardnel ad misa iyo
 fl asi erTi mcirÃ"; "ecua...gareSe varimandi fl asi-
 saÁ" da sxv. (1). Casacmel is mniSvnel obiT vxvdebiT
 mas TuSeTSic, romel ic mocemul SemTxvevaSi gardac-
 vl il is samosis aRsaniSnavad gamoiyeneba.

"fl asi" rogorc samgl oviaro Casacmel i moxsene-
 bul ia "vefxistyaosanSi" ("aqaT sam wel ar movide, ma-
 Sin gmarTebS gl ova-fl asi" anda "erTmaneTsa gaveyar-
 neT, Zoweul ni gagvifl asden"). Teimuraz bagrationis
 cnobiTac "fl asi ars ZaZa Savi Sesamosel i mgl ovia-
 reTa" (3, 62). Aamrigad, "fl asis" samosi dakavSirebu-
 l ia iseT Zl ier mwuxarebasTan, roml is drosac adami-
 anisaTvis yvel aferi ufasurdeba, yvel aferi hkargavs
 mistvis mniSvnel obas (amitomac gvaqvs poeturad naT-
 qvami "Zoweul ni gagvifl asden"-o). aseTi mwuxareba ki
 mxol od gl ovisaTvis iyo damaxasiaTebel i.

Tu mxedvel obaSi miviRebT l eqsikonebSi mocemul
 ganmartebes, istoriul i wyaroebis monacemebs da eT-
 nografiul masal as, davinaxavT, rom "fl asi" adami-
 nis udidesi mwuxarebis dros gamoyenebul i samosia,
 romel ic droTa ganmavl obaSi daukavSirda gl ovis
 samosis aRmniSvnel sxva sityvas _ "ZaZa"-s, ris gamoc
 miviReT samgl oviaro tansacml is saxel wodeba "ZaZa-

fl asi". vaxuSti batoniSvil ic aseT samoss "ZaZa-fl ass" uwodebs. ori terminis "ZaZasa" da "fl asis" erTdroul ad moxsenieba unda migvaniSnebdes imaze, rom "fl asi" ubral o, uxeSi qsovil isagan damzadebul ZaZas-samgl oviaro tansacmel s ewodeboda.

yuradRebas ipyrops kidev erTi termini, romel ic istoriul wyaroebSi axl obel i adamianis gardacval ebis gamo mgl oviaris Cacmul obas ukavSirdeba. mxedvel obaSi gvaqvs "grigol xanzTel is cxovrebaSi" dacul i cnoba, sadac aRniSnul ia: mtrisagan (eSmakisagan) friad tanj ul ni Zeni adarnerse Ael mwifisa gurgen kurapal ati da submat, romel Ta tanj vis mizezi adarnerse mier sj ul ieri meuRI is sasaxl idan ganpatiJeba iyo, "mswrafl ...waravl ina fersaTs (maTi dedis gardacval ebisa da dakrZal vis adgil as, romel ic afxazeTs mdebareobda) samosl iTa sagl axakoAT da SesawiraviTa saxel mwifoATA l ocvad saf-l avsa mas sanatre l sa dedufl isasa".

"Zvel i qarTul i enis l eqsikonSi" "sagl axako" ganmartebul ia rogorc gl exebis sadgomi (1). sul xansabasTan da "qarTul i enis ganmartebiT l eqsikonSi" "sagl axakos" nacvl ad mocemul i gvaqvs "sagl axaos" (gl axakTaTvis) da "sagl exos" (gl exebisaTvis gankuTvnil i) ganmartebebi. aSkaraa, rom "sagl axakoc" da "sagl axaoc" social urad dabal safexurze mdgomi adamianevisaTvis iyo gankuTvnil i. CvenTvis saintereso SemTxvevaSi ki mefis ZeTa "samosel i sagl axakoA" unda miuTiTebdes ufl iswul ebis mier maTTvis ucveul o mdabioTa ubral o samosiT mwuxarebis, gl ovis gamoxatvis SesaZl ebl obaze. Ees kidev erTxel ganamtkicebs azrs imis Sesaxeb, rom samgl oviaro samosi aucil ebl ad ubral o, usaxuri unda yofil iyo, romel ic adamianis tanj vas usvamda xazs. "sagl axako samosel i" TviTgvemis gamoxatul ebad miaCnda s. WanturiSvil sac (38, 211).

samgl oviaro tansacml is erT-erTi ZiriTadi damaxasiaTebel i niSani iyo gansazRvrul i feri, riTac

igi ganirCeoda yovel dRiuri Casacmel isagan. iseve rogorc msofl ios mraVal i xal xis yofaSi (evropaSi – Savi, CineTSi – TeTri, TurqeTSi – I urji, egvipteSi – yviTel i da a.S.), qarTvel Ta Sorisac droTa ganmavl obaSi moxda ferTa mkacri regl amentacia: zogerTi feri samgl oviaro Cacmul obas daukavSirda, isini gl ovis xarisxis ganmsazRvrel adac ki iqcnen.

samgl oviaro ferTa aRmniSvnel i terminol ogia, romel sac saqarTvel os sxvadasxva kuTxeSi vamowmebT, Semdegia: ZaZa, Savi, uCa (samegrel o), jigari (TuSeTi, samegrel o, I eCxumi, imereTi), Tal xi, I ega (TuSeTi). Aam dasaxel ebul i terminebidan – Savi, ZaZa, Tal xi – samgl oviaro samosis zogad saxel wodebebadac gvevl inebian. magram, rogorc irkveva, saqarTvel oSi samgl oviarod sxva ferebic iyo gamoyenebul i. kerZod, svaneTSi gl ovis niSnad qal ebis mier muqi wiTel i feris TavSal i ixmareboda, rasac svanuri poeziis nimuSebic adastureben (32, 133, 285). Savi da wiTel i ferebis erTad gamoyeneba gl ovis aRsaniSnavad xevSic mowmdeba (16, 75). Aamas garda, rigi monacemebi miuTiTeben, rom samgl oviaro ferTa ricxvi ufro didi unda yofil iyo. kerZod, Savi da TeTri ferebis xmareba samgl oviarod garkveul wil ad dakrZal vis wes-Cveul ebebTan iyo dakavSirebul i. Zvel ad saqarTvel oSi wesi yofil a – Tu qmars col i moukvdeboda an piriqiT, dasafl avebis dRes mgl oviares TeTri saqorwino tansacmel i unda scmoda, romel sac dasafl avebis Semdeg Secvl ida SaviT. Amas exmaureba qsnis xeobaSi arsebul i Cveul eba, rodesac qal i meuRI es TeTri saqorwino kabiT daiTirebda, dasafl avebis Semdeg ki Savebs Cai cvamda (9, 52). aseT Cveul ebas ivj avaxi Svili Zvel qarTul wesad miiCnevda da varaudobda, rom warsul Si samgl oviaro ferad SavTan erTad TeTric ixmareboda (39, 77). magram, ara mxol od Zvel ad, aramed uaxl oes warsul Si samegrel oSi samgl oviarod TeTrfers iyenebdnen uaRresad didi mwuxarebis – erTaderTi Svil is an mordil is (gazrdil is) gardacval ebis

SemTxvevaSi. saqarTvel oSi samgl oviarod xmarebul ferebs iisferic emateboda. kerZod, samegrel oSi iisferi samgl oviarod yofil a miCneul i (40, 55). Teimuraz bagrationi aRniSnul i feris Sesaxeб ambobs, rom igi "aziurisa zneobaTa da Cveul ebaTa samgl oviaro feri ars, msubuqi samgl oviaro".

aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os mTianeTSi, kerZod TuSfSav-xevsureTSi, Sav ferTan erTad samgl oviarod ixmareboda "I ega" (nacrisferi), "j igari" (moSavo-moyavisfro, RviZl isferi (es feri samgl oviarod ixmareboda agreTve samegrel oSi, l eCxumSi, da sxv.), l urj i. aqve, Tu SesaZl ebl oba ar hqondaT, Zvel tansacmel s "saSaveSi" amoavl ebdnen (SeRebavdnen). Ggarda amisa, isini samkaul ebit da naqargebit mortul i - "moWrel ebul i" yovel dRiuri kabisaTvis samgl oviaro el feri rom miecaT, Ril mZivs aaWridnen anda naWers gadaakerebdnen maTi dafarvis mizniT. wl istavis gadaxdis Semdeg am naWers wvavdnen, rac garkveul wil ad unda ukavSirdebodes saqarTvel os sxva kuTxeebSi gavrcelebul i samgl oviaro tansacml is dawvis Cveul ebas.

TuSeTSi samgl oviaro tansacmel s erTgvarad avsebda gul ze Camosakidi "samgl oviaro j aWvi" // "qoqira" (Zvel i saomari j aWvis perangis narCeni an oqromWedl is naxel avi l iTonis wvril i rgol ebisagan wmindad naqsovi viwro, mogrZo j aWvi). mas meorenairad "ubis j aWvsac" uwodebdnen. samgl oviaro j aWvs ganskaTrebit didi danakl isis - vaJiSvil is, qmrIs, mamisa da Zmis gardacval ebisas ikeTebdnen, (21, 170-171; 16, 84).

ferTa mixedvit samgl oviaro tansacml is Cacmis Tanmimdevroba ukavSirdeboda gl ovis cal keul periods. rogorc zemoT aRiniSna, Zvel i qarTul i wesis mixedvit gl ova sam wel iwads grZel deboda. marTalia, Semdgom gl ova erTi wl iT ganisazRvra, magram saqarTvel os zogierT kuTxeSi Zvel i wesi gl ovisa Zal auneburad SenarCunebul iqna bol o dromde, rascac xel i Seuwyo iq gavrcelebul i samgl oviaro samosis mraval saxeobam. swored aq vl indeba naTI ad

TiToeul i saxis samgl oviaro tansacml is kavSiri gl ovis cal keul periodTan (j er ixmareba ZaZa, Semdeg – Savi, bol os ki – Tal xi). imis gasarkvevad Tu ra datvirTva hqonda Sav fers am ritual ur samosSi, Cveni azritYuradReba unda mi vaqci oT warmodgenebs micval ebul Ta adgil samyofel is Sesaxeb.

qarTvel Ta uZvel esi rel igiuri rwmenis Tanaxmad, arsebobda gansakuTrebul i samyaro, sadac micval ebul Ta sul ebi imyofebodnen. rwmenis Tanaxmad, micval ebul Ta aseTi samyofo miwis qveS mdebareobda. SemTxveviTi ar aris, rom saqarTvel os sxvadasxva kuTxeSi saiqios – “sul Ta samyofel s” – “SaveTs” uwodebdnen, radgan Savi feri Seesabameboda miwis siSaves, im adgil s, sadac micval ebul s marxavdnen. Wiris patroni sxvadasxva saSual ebebiT cdil obda saiqios mikrosamyaros Seqmnas da amave samyaros binadrad gaxdomas, rasac ferTa simbol ikac uwyobda xel s: Savi feri Seesabameboda sul eTis fers, sadac gardacvl il i midioda. gl ovis dros sxvadasxva saxis akrZal vebi, sibnel eSi ganmartoeb, cocxal i mgl oviaris yofas amgvanebda micval ebul isas, roml is erT-erTi gamovlineba unda iyos samgl oviaro samosel is Savi feriT gamoxatul i sibnel e. am feris samosel iT Wirisufal i Tavis mdgomareobas sul eTSi yofnasTan aTanabrebda, anu gardacvl il Ta wreSi mkvidrdeboda, rasac Sesabamisi garegani niSniT – Savi feris samosiT gamoxatavda. aRsaniSnavia isic, rom xal xur rwmena-warmodgenebSi samgl oviaro tansacmel s praqtikul i daniSnul eba hqonda miniWebul i. xal xuri rwmenis Tanaxmad, mkvdris patronis Savi samosi, micval ebul s im qvey nad Crdil ad daadgeba da sicxisagan dai cavs (15).

ibadeba kiTxva – ra gaxda Wirisufal TaTvis gan kuTvnil i samosel is warmoSobis mizezi, ram ganapiroba misi arsebobis aucil ebl oba, ratom damkvidrda ase myarad yofaSi es Cveul eba.

special ur l literaturaSi azrTa sxvadasxvaoba arsebobs samgl oviro tansacml is warmomavl obis Se-

saxeb. erTi Sexedul ebis Tanaxmad mas safuZvl ad daedo rwmena boroti sul is Sesaxeb – samgl oviaro tansacmel i miznad isaxavda boroti sul is daSinebas anu SeniRbvas misgan dasacavad; meore Tval sazrisis mixedviT, samgl oviaro tansacml is genezisi uSua- l od micval ebul is uwmindurobis Sesaxeb arsebul i warmodgenebidan momdinareobda da is daedo safuZ- vl ad sagangebo samgl oviaro tansacml is xmarebis praqtikas; igi Wirisufal s SesaZl ebl obas aZl evda daecva yovel dRiuri tansacmel i micval ebul isagan momdinare uwmindurobisagan. am ukanasknel mosazre- basTan mimarTebaSi sayuradReboa gardacvl il Tan da- kavSirebul i qarTul i eTnografiul i masal a. upirve- l es yovl isa, sainteresoa micval ebul is kul tis am- saxvel i qristianobamdel i rwmena-warmodgenebi, rac ase kargad bol o dromde Semoinaxa qarTvel mTiel - Ta rel igiurma azrovnebam. xal xuri rwmena-warmodge- nebis mixedviT, micval ebul i uwminduri iyo da yve- l aferi is rac mas miekareboda aseve uwminduri xde- boda (15, 21). Micval ebul is uwmindurobis ideiT io ganpirobepul i momakvdavi adamianis gareT gamoyvanis Cveul eba (2, 15, 14), micval ebul is kul tis msaxurTa garkveul i j gufis – narevebis // mireul ebis arseboba (16, 22), romel Ta moval eobas Seadgenda gardacvl i- l is gapatiosneba, Cacma, Ramis Teva, sanTI is anTeba, dasafl aveba. narevi // mireul i niSnavda gauwmindure- bul s micval ebul isagan, ris gamoc maT xel monaki- debs aravin ar gaekareboda, maT arc sakuTar saxl Si da arc sal ocavSi ar miesvl ebodaT garkveul i saxis ritual uri ganwmendis gareSe; aseve, j varis xuccess ekrZal eboda micval ebul is msaxureba; j varis // xa- tis msaxuri ar mividoda, arc saWmel -sasmel s ar gae- kareboda mkvdrisgan gauwmindurebul oj axSi; amitom sagangebo pirs – sul is xuccess eval eboda Sendobis Tqma, cxenis dakurTxeba micval ebul isaTvis, xarj eb- sa da sul is mosaxsenebel dReebSi sakl avis dakvl a da tabl is dal ocva.

Tu ra Zl ieri iyo xal xSi rwmena micval ebul is uwmindurobis Sesaxeb, amas mowmobs me-20 saukunis 40-ian wl ebSi fSavSi al .oCiauris mier Caweril i masala, saidanac irkveva: sof. uZial aurTas mcxovrebnikopal as (saTemo RvTaeba) ymebi yofil an, kopal as ki Zal ian sZul da "civTan" (gardacvl il Tan) namyofi adamiani. amitom uZil aurni eridebodnen micval ebul is oj axSi misvl as. "nacivar" saxl Si vinc iyo namyofi, sanam ar ganibaneboda, ver mividoda vercerTi uZil aurel is saxl Si. vinc am wess daarRvevda, mas wyevl a-krul viT moixseniebdnen. xandaxan xdeboda isec, rom Tu sxva sofl el ebi ar mividodnen, dammarxveli aRaravin iyo xol me. uZil aurebi ambobdnen: "Cvens sal ocavs yvel aze metad "civi" revs, wyreba... "civi" metad saridoa, radgan sul iwmda masSi aRararis, sul i amosul ia da adamianis gvami uwminduri rCeba roca sul i aRar udgas" (24). aseve sainteresoa, rom TuS-fSav-xevsureTSi gardacvl il s sasafI aoze wasvenebisas xatis miwaze ar aatarebdnen. imdenad didi iyo rwmena micval ebul is uwmindurobisa, rom "sof. SenaqoSi (TuSeTi) erT oj axs gamosaval oTaxSi sve-fori hqonia da iqiT ar gamoutarebia micval ebul i, sxva mxares kedel i gauRvevia da iqidan gautaniaT mkvdari" (11, 303). rogorc irkveva, mTiel Ta Sexedul ebiT, micval ebul is usicocxl o sxeul i uwminduri iyo, misi sul i ki - "wmida". swored amaze miuTitebs sul ebis saxel wodeba "sul iwmda", sul ebis RvTis Svil ebTan baasisa da xvewna-mudaris ufl eba, aseve sikvdil is Semdeg gardacvl il is sul is gaRvTaebrivebis SemTxvevebi. amrigad, xal xur warmodgenebSi sxeul i da sul i warmocenilia rogorc "erTianoba diametriul i Rirebul ebebisa, romel Tagan sul i gansaxierebda casa da ciurs, xol o xorci uwminduri miwisgan iyo miRebul i da miwadve unda qceul iyo" (31, 10-11). (gavixsenoT dakrZal visas miRebul i formul a - mimarTva micval ebul isadmi "miwa xar da miwad iqec"). aq rel igiuri azrovnebis ganvitarebis or safexur-

Tan unda gvqondes saqme, romel Tagan uwmindurobis rwmena meoreul i Cans, mas win uswrebs periodi, rodesac micval ebul s uyurebdnen rogorc sazianos, ukve ucxos, sxva samyaros kuTvnil ebas da amdenad saSiSs, rac ganapirobebda kidec Sesabamisi wes-Cveul ebebisa da rwmena-warmodgenebis Camoyal ibebas. xal xuri rwmenis Tanaxmad, uwmindurad iTvl eboda micval ebul is oj axic, radgan gardacvl il isagan gauwmindurebul saxl Si angel ozebi aRar "dgebodnen". amito mac SemuSavebul iqna iseTi ganmwendi saSual ebebi, rogoric iyo sul is xucesis mier xbos an batknis sisxl is mosxureba gardacvl il is saxl sa da axl omaxl o gzebze, gardacvl il is sal oginis dawva, dakrZal vamde ezosa da sasafI aoze cecxl is danTeba (cecxl is gamoyeneba emyareboda qarTvel i xal xis uZvel es rwmenas cecxl ze, rogorc avi sul ebis sawina aRmdego da uwmindurobisagan ganmwend Zal aze (5, 126-127). qarTvel mTiel Ta ritual ur praqtikaSi uwmindurad miCneoda aramxol od micval ebul i da misi kuTvnil i nivTebi, aramed masTan kontakTsi myofi pirebic, upirvel es yovl isa, misi oj axis wevrebi. amis damadasturebel ia im akrZal vebis arseboba, roml ebic ukavSirdebian samgl oviaro samosSi myof adami nebs. maT ekrZal ebodaT sal ocavSi misvl a, oj axSi l ocvisas Sav samosSi yofna, batonebian oj axSi misvl a da sxv. samgl oviaro samosTan dakavSirebul i akrZal vebi miuTiTebis imaze, rom rwmenis Tanaxmad uwmindurdeboda aramxol od gardacl il Tan kontakTsi myofi adamiani, aramed misi samosic. zemoTmotanil i qarTul i eTnografiul i masal a saSual ebas gvaZl evs gamovTqvaT azri, rom samgl oviaro samosis warmoSobis ZiriTad safuZvel s micval ebul is uwmindurobis rwmena warmoadgenda. rogorc Cans, am uwmindurobisagan damcav erT-erT saSual ebad Wirisufal TaTvis gankuTvnil i sagangebo samosic iqca. Soreul warsul Si aseTi tansacml isaTvis gamoiyeneboda sel is da kanafis nawarmi, rasac adastureben Zvel i weri-

I obiTi wyaroebis, arqeol oghiuri da eTnografiul i masal is monacemebi. amis safuZvel s qmnida qarTvel tomTa yofaSi farTod danergil i kanafis da sel isgan miRebul i qsovil ebi (aRsaniSnavia, rom sel i gvi-anbrinj aos xanis ganaTxar masal aSia mikvl eul i (29, 179); xol o yvel aze Zvel i weril obiTi wyaro sel is Sesaxeb herodotes istoriaSia dacul i Zv.wT. V sauk). Zvel i ebraul i "dabadebis" qarTul TargmanSi swored samosel i sel isaa moxsenebul i: "samosel i sel isaÁ ganwmendil i Seimosos da nifxavi sel isaÁ iyos misad da sartyel i sel isaÁ Seirtyas da varSamagi sel isaÁ daixuros (39, 163). sel isa da kanafis qsovil i gamoiyeneboda rogorc Cveul ebrivi, aseve micval ebul isaTvis gankuTvnil i ritual uri samosisa da Wirisufal Ta tansacml istVisac. es ganpirobebul i unda yofil iyo imiT, rom am mcenareTa nawarms sayovel - Tao moxmarebis garda, sakul to mniSvnel obac hqonda miniWebul i. amitomac mosaxl eoba, uZvel esi droidanve kul tmsaxurebisaTvis mcenareul i Zafisagan damzadebul qsovil s aZl evda upiratesobas. swored sarwmunoebrivi xasiaTis aRkveTiT ganpirobeul i Cveul eba iyo mcenareul i masal isgan damzadebul sudaraSi micval ebul is dakrZal vis saval debul o wesi, rac saqarTvel os zogierT kuTxeSi gvianobamde SemorCa (17, 157-158). es garemoeba Wirisufal Ta Sesamosel sac unda Sexeboda: bunebrivia, arsebobda ra warmodgenebi micval ebul is uwmindurobis Sesaxeb, iarsebebda, agreTve, misgan momdinare uwmindurobisagan cocxal - Ta Sel axvis rwmnac. amis gamo SemuSavdeboda saSual ebebi am uwmindurobisagan maT dasacavad. erT-erTi (iqneb ZiriTadic ki) saSual eba unda yofil iyo micval ebul is axl obl ebi s mier sagangebo samosl is xmareba, romel ic aucil ebl ad unda etarebinaT gardacvl il Tan kontaqtis gamo. aseTi samosisTvis ki Zvel ad sayovel Taod iqneboda gamoyenebul i sel is da kanafis nawarmi, romel Tac miniWebul i hqondaT zemoTdasaxel ebul i Tvissebebi. SesaZl oa, sakul to da-

niSnul ebis mqone mcenareTa qsovil isagan damzadebul samoss magiuri, ganmwendi xasiaTis datvirTva hqonda uwmindurobisagan dasacavad. aqve unda aRvniSnoT, rom Tu es tansacmel i mgl oviarisatvis micval ebul is uwmindurobisagan damcav saSual ebad aRiqmeboda, gareSeTaTvis igi mosaridebel s warmoadgenda. amitomac gvaqvs istoriul wyaroTa cnobebi, saidanac irkveva, rom ZaZaSemosil s mefis karze misvl a ekrZal eboda: "araj er iyo Sesvl ad misi ZaZaSemosil isa da nacargardasxmul isa"; sagangebod aris miTiTebul i "nu daiXuTav fiCusa qurivisasa", "ara iAuTo samosel i qurivisasaA", "arawminda iyos yovel save...tyavsა gina ZaZasa" (22, 79-99). zemoTmotanil i cnobebi mianiSnebs imaze, rom ZaZiT Semosil is tansacmel i gardacvl il isagan gauwmindurebul s ekuTvnoda, romel sac sxvbi unda moridebodnen.

iseve rogorc micval ebul isaTvis gankuTvnil i "sul is tal avari", samgl oviaro samosic ritual ur samoSta ricxvs unda mivakuTvnoT, romel ic saukuneTa siRmeSi unda warmoSobil iyo. ar aris gamoricxul i, rom igi micval ebul is ritual uri samosis warmoSobis periods ukavSirdebodes; rom isini erTdroul ad, erTmaneTis paral el urad damkvidrdnen yofaSi. sainteresod migvaCnia Semdegi garemoeba: eTnografiul i masal is mixedvit ritual uri Sesamosel i da samgl oviaro tansacmel i erTidaimave terminiT – "saSiSl o" // "saSiSvl o"-Ti moixsenieba (samegrel o). I ixT-imereTis sofel wifaSi Cven mier damowmebul iqna samgl oviaro tansacml is saxel wodeba "saSiSo" (15). msgavsi termini mowmdeba TuSeTSic, sadac igi "sudaris" anu gardacvl il is Sesamosel is sinonimad gvevl ineba, xolo "sudari" cocxal Ta Zvel i Sesamosel is aRmniSvnel terminebs Sorisac saxel deba (sabl ardnel i // mosabl ardnel i // Sesamosel i // saxvevi // sudari // mosasxami). rogorc vxedavT msgavsi terminebiT aRiniSneba gardacvl il isa da mgl oviaris Sesamosel i. erTidaigive saxel wodebebi orive ritual uri tansacml isa

kidev erTxel warmoaçens maTi warmoSobisa da arsebo-
 bis safuZvl is identurobas – micval ebul is uwmindu-
 robis rwenas. Tu mgl oviaris ritual uri samosis
 warmoSobis safuZvl ad vaRiarebT gardacvl il is uw-
 mindurobisadmi SiSsa da rids, gasakviri ar unda
 iyos rom samgl oviaro samossac igive saxel wodeba mi-
 eRo, rac gardacvl il is Sesamosel s. aqedan gamomdina-
 re, Tu cocxal Ta da gardacvl il Ta Sesamosel i er-
 TmaneTisagan ar gansxvavdeboda saxel wodebiTa Tu ma-
 sal is erTnairobiT, maSin gasagebi xdeba ratom gvaqvs
 eTnografiul i masal is mixedviT mgl oviarisa da gar-
 dacvl il is samosis identuri saxel wodebebi – “saSi-
 Si” // “saSiSl o” // “sudari”.

zemoTqmul i monacemebidan gamomdinare SeiZl eba
 davaskvnaT, rom gardacvl il isagan momdinare uwmin-
 durobisagan Tavis dasacavad, mgl oviareTaTvis saWi-
 ro iyo yovel dRiuri tansacml isagan gansxvavebul i
 samosis xmareba. es gansxvaveba, upirvel es yovl isa,
 misi aRmniSvnel i terminebis arsebobaSi gamoixata.
 magram, aseTi samosisTvis ara mxol od saxel wodebebi
 gaCnda, aramed samgl oviaro samosis ganmasxvavebel i
 niSnebic Camoyal ibda, rasac gansakuTrebiT kargad
 warmoaçens eTnografiul i monacemebi. es ganmasxvave-
 bel i niSnebia: 1. masal a, roml isganac es samosi ike-
 reboda; 2. Taviseburi forma (saxe) am samosisa; 3. mis-
 Tvis SerCeul i sagangebo feri. aseTi tansacml is Zi-
 riTad funqcias warmoadgenda micval ebul isgan mom-
 dinare uwmindurobis Tavidan acil eba. ZaZiT mosil i-
 saTvis es samosi warmoadgenda damcav saSual ebas;
 gareSe pirTaTvis ki igi gamafrTxil ebel i mosaride-
 bel i niSani iyo. es tansacmel i tradiciiT damkvidre-
 bul i wesis Tanaxmad garkveul i drois Semdeg unda
 moeSorebinaT dawvis, daxevis, gadayris, Robeze gada-
 fenis an sxva saxiT. mizani erTi iyo – gauwmindure-
 bul i samosisgan gaTavisufl eba. esec iseTive saval -
 debul o wesi Cans, rogorc narevebisatvis SemuSavebu-
 l i ganmwendi saSual ebebis arseboba. samgl oviaro

tansacml is xmarebis praqtika erTi mxriv Wirisuf-
l is yovel dRiur samoss icavda uwmindurobisagan; me-
ore mxriv – gareSe pirTaTvis warmoadgenda advil ad
sacnob niSans imisas, rom moridebodnen gardacvl i-
l is axl obl ebs. am orive moTxovnas akmayofil ebda
gansxvavebul i feris da formis samgl oviaro samosi.

samgl oviaro samosel is daniSnul eba yvel gan er-
Ti – mwuxarebis gamoxatul eba iyo. igi axl obl is
gardacval ebis gamo mwuxarebis garegan warmocenas
warmoadgenda. misi xmarebis wessa da xangrZl ivobas
micval ebul is msaxurebasTan dakavSirebul i ritua-
l ur qmedebaTa mTel i wyeba gansazRvravda. samgl ovia-
ro tansacmel i mis mfl obel s vizual urad gamoarCev-
da sazogadoebis sxva wevrebisagan da misi, rogorc
gansakuTrebul, sagangebo viTarebaSi myof, sxvebis-
agan gansxvavebul e.w. “mgl oviares” mdgomareobaze mia-
niSnebda. amasTanave, Cveul ebrivi, yovel dRiuri tan-
sacmel isagan gansxvavebul i samosi Tval Si advil ad
mosaxvedri iqneboda garSemomyofTaTvis (ucxosTvis).
Tu Zvel ad samgl oviaro tansacmel i gareSeTaTvis mo-
saridebel s warmoadgenda, dRes igi miანიSnebs axl o-
bel i adamiანis damkargav mwuxare adamiანze.

amrigad, micval ebul is uwmindurobis rwmenam ga-
napiroba gardacvl il Tan dakavSirebul i tabuaciis
sistemis SemuSaveba, roml is erT-erTi gamovl ineba
Wirisufal TaTvis gankuTvnil i ritual uri samosel is
warmoSoba da arseboba iyo. mwuxarebis mauwyebel i
tansacml is mraval saxeoba erTiandeboda “samosel i
sagl ovel is” zogadi saxel wodebis qveS. isve ro-
gorc gardacvl il isaTvis gankuTvnil i “sul is tal a-
varis” SemTxvevaSi, aqac saqme gvaqvs saukuneTa siR-
rmeSi warmoSobil i ritual uri samosis erT-erT sa-
xesTan, romel ic Tavisi daniSnul ebiT ucvl el i dar-
Ca da yofas dRemde myarad SemorCa.

MOURNING CLOTHES

Mourning is the revelation of the grief caused by the Human's passing. Mourning apparel is one of the most typical signs of the grief. Most evident characteristics of mourning clothes are presented in women's apparel, differing from casual clothes in color and in its simplicity, that was to be obliterated after the mourning period.

Mourning apparel is to be rendered to the number of ritual clothing dating back to the centuries. The description of the mourning apparel was already used in Georgian Hagiographic writing of the 5th century.

According to the ancient Georgian written sources and ethnographic materials the belief about the passed human's filth served as the ground for formation of the mourning apparel.

Wearing mourning apparel saved the person's casual clothes from filth and at the same time served as the mark for avoiding such persons.

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qarTul i xal xuri musiki s
harmoni i s saki Txebi

metyvel eba da musika dakavSirebul ia adami anis azrovnebaTan. es ori el ementi bgeriT (ˆAmiT-) gamoixateba. Tavdapirveli intonacia _ umartivesi metyvel ebis (ˆsityvis-) el ementarul i gamovlineba _ adami anis mier ama Tu im movlenis aRqmisa da Sesabamisi SegrZnebis, gancdis, sulieri mRel varebis Sedegia. aqedan gamomdinare, sametyvel o intonacia, ufro mogvianebit, musikal uri intonacia organul ad aris dakavSirebul i sul Tan. amitom aris musika RvTaebrivi movlena, romel mac mniSnel ovani adgil i daimkvidra rogorc qristianobis winare xanis rwmena-warmodgenebSi, ise qristianul RvTismetyvel ebaSi.

sagul isxmoa, rom sazogadoebis ganvitarebis erT-erT adreul etapze intonacia emijneba metyvel ebas da gaiazreba rogorc musikal uri el ementi. igi moicavs mocemul enaze bgerebis, bgeraTa SeerTebis Sedegad warmoqmnili JReradobis da sityvis Tanmxlebi emociis Taviseburebas, romel ic adami anTa garkveul i j gufisaTvis (mogvianebit eTnosisaTvis) aris damaxasiaTebel i. amgvarad, gansazRvrul bunebriv garemoSi, adami anis Tu adami anTa garkveul i j gufis mier ama Tu im movlenis SegrZnebiti aRqma da Sesabamisi ganxda mJRavndeba sametyvel o intonaciebSi, romel ic, ufro mogvianebit, uSual od zemoqmedebis musikal ur-intonaciuri azrobrivi erTeulis, Tavdapirveli mel odiuri formul is, SemdegSi ama Tu im eTnosisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i musikal uri fuZe-enis formirebaze. naTel ia, rom musikal uri enis Camoyalibe uSual o kavSirSia geografiul garemosTan, social ur fsiqol ogiasTan da eStetikasTan.

fiqroben, rom magiuri qmedebebi musikal uri intonirebis warmoqmnis erT-erTi safuZveli unda yofi-

I iyo. igi daxasiaTebul ia rogorc gardamaval i safe-xuri sametyvel o da musikal ur intonaciaTa Soris. magiur qmedebeks ukavSireben musikal ur-esTetikuri arqetipis Camoyal ibebas, roml is maxasiaTebul ebia: ganmeorebadoba, erTgvarovneba da regl amenturoba (sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT ix. Woxonel iZe: 1983, 8-12; ba-RaSvil i: 2005, 24).

musikal uri intonirebis pirvel i faza erT tonze intonirebaa. garkveul intonaciur TanafardobaSi ori bgeris SeuRI eba musikal uri intonaciis, agreTve kil os safuZvel ia. ori tonuri simaRI iT diferencirebul bgeribs Soris garkveul i urTierTdamokidebul eba myardeba, rac gamoixateba am bgerebis interval ur SefardebaSi, urTierTmizidul obaSi da `Sinagan brZol aSi~. Sedegi maTi funcional uri diferenciaciaa. maT Soris erT-erTi maTgani central uri bgeris mniSvel obas iZens (Woxonel iZe: 1983, 8-12). sagul isxmoa, rom es central uri bgera, kil os Camoyal ibebis Semdgom procesSi, banis funqcias SeiZens. pirvel adi kil os daxasiaTebisas i. tiul ini aRniSnavs, rom kil os sayrdenebi, warmoqmnisTanave, iseT interval ur urTierTobaSi imyofeba, romel ic TviT sametyvel o intonaciebisaTvis aris damaxasiaTebel i. kil os kvartul i da kvinturi sayrdenebis gaCenas i. tiul ini metyvel ebiT intonaciebSi maT arsebobas miawers (Тюлин. ix. Woxonel iZe: 1983, 12). sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT aranaki eb sainteresoar. gruberis mosazreba: adamiani gamoyenebul i tonebis diapazonis TandaTanobiTi gafarToebisas aRwevs ra kvartas, didxans Cerdeba masze. es aixsneba ara mxol od sametyvel o intonaciebTan misi diapazonis SesatyvisobiT, aramed umTavresad imiT, rom kvarta pirvel ia im interval Tagan, roml ebic miRebul ia `intonaciuri aris- TandaTanobiTi gafarToebis procesSi, ober tonul i naTesaobis mqone interval Ta gamoyenebis safuZvel ze (Грубер: 1941, 50).

zemoxsenebul i msj el obidan gamomdinare, me vi-
 ziareb qarTvel da sazRvargareTis musikismcodneTa
 erTi nawil is mosazrebas musikal uri intonirebis
 anu myari bgerul i simaRl eebis sametyvel o intonaci-
 ebidan warmomavl obis Sesaxeb. rac Seexeba sxvaTa mo-
 sazrebas, roml is mixedviT musikis saTave kol eqtiu-
 ri cekvis metro-ritmSia saZiebel i (Скребков. ix. Wo-
 xonel iZe: 1983, 7). vfiqrob, rom cekvas (al baT igu-
 l isxmeba magiuri qmedebani) mniSvel ovani rol i un-
 da Seesrul ebina musikal uri intonaciur-azrobrivi
 erTeul is Camoyal ibebaSi. aqve davsZen, rom musikis
 warmoSobasTan dakavSirebul mosazrebebs Soris sa-
 yuradRebod mimaCnia herbert spenseris mosazreba mu-
 sikis emociuri metyvel ebidan anu metyvel ebis proso-
 diul i el ementebisagan SesaZI o gaCenis Sesaxeb (ix.
 Jordania: 2009, 252-268, 254).

miuxedavad imisa, rom musikismcodneTa mier ga-
 mokvl eul ia bgeraTrigis intonaciuri aTvisების გზე-
 bi (1. sekundur-terciul i gafarToeba, 2. naxtomi da
 3. naxtomis sekunduri Sevseba (Тюлин. ix. Wo-
 xonel iZe, 1983, 13), gamoTqmul ia mosazreba myari bgerul i simaR-
 l eebis aTvisების gansxvavebul i gzis arsebobis Sesa-
 xeb: qarTul xal xur musikaSi dadgenil ia mel odiis
 ori mimarTul eba _ aRmaval i da daRmaval i. sworxa-
 zovani daRmaval i mimarTul eba mel odiis erT-erTi
 uadresi saxeobaa. daZabul obis gamo momReral i iRebs
 diapazonis umaRl es bgeras da Semdeg eSveba qveda
 bgeramde, ZiriTad sayrden tonamde. amgvari mel odia
 ufro dekl amaciaa da sityvieri teqstis damxmare
 el ementi (asl aniSvil i: 1954; 96-122). qarTul xal xur
 simRerebSi mel odiis mimarTul ebis ufro gavrcel e-
 bul saxeobad daRmaval moZraobas miCneven. bgeraTa
 dacurebiT, gl isandirebul moZraobaSi j er kidev
 naTI ad ar aris gamokveTil i yvel a bgerul i simaR-
 l e, gaurkvevel ia interval uri damokidebul eba safe-
 xurebs Soris, e. i. bgerul i sistema ar aris diferen-
 cirebul i. daRmaval -dacurebiTi mel odiis sawyisi,

`mwverval i saTave-intonaciurad ufro gamokveTil ia da, SesaZl oa, igi myari tonuri simaRI is mqone upirvel es bgerad Camoyal ibebul iyo, Tumca isic ar aris momRerI is mier yovel Tvis zustad fiqsirebul i da garkveul i `smeniTi zonis- fargl ebSi meryeobs. Semsrul ebel s simReris dros ZiriTadi yuradReba gadatanil i aqvs sityvieri teqtis Sinaarsze. gl isandirebul i mel odia dasarul s iq poul obs, sadac mTavrdeba l eqsis striqoni. mel odiis daRmaVal -dacurebiTi moZraobis im formaSi, sadac diapazoni scil deba kvartis da kvintis interval s, yvel aze gvian tonikuri sayrdeni iCens Tavs. `mwverval i saTavis- Semdeg, upirvel es yovl isa, kil os Sua sayrdeni ikveTeBa, xolo Semdeg _ tonika (Woxonel iZe: 1983, 14-16, 21).

vfiqrob, rom bgeraTa gl isandirebul moZraobaSi Tavdapirvel ad zeda bgeriTi simaRI eebi _ seqsta, septima, oqtava _ gamokveTil i ar aris. damaj erebellia mosazreba imis Sesaxeb, rom `mwverval i saTave-intonaciurad ufro gamokveTil ia, magram, rogorc aRiniSna, isic ar aris yovel Tvis zustad fiqsirebul i da meryeobs garkveul i `smeniTi zonis- fargl ebSi (simReris amgvar Sesarul ebas xSirad Sevswrebi var rel igiur dResaswaul ebSi (xatobebSi) aRmosavl eTsaqarTvel os mTaSi, xeVsurreTSi. sityvieri teqtis Sinaarsi qristianobis winare xanidan momdinare rwmena-warmodgenebis kval s Seicavs. simRera emociurad datvirTul ia da ZiriTadad eZRvneba romel ime RvTaebas an naxeVradgaRvTaebrivebul gmirs). bgeraTa daRmaVal -dacurebiT moZraobaSi mudam gamokveTil ia mel odiis damabol oebel i (mogvianebiT sakadanso) nawil i anu is bgerebi, roml ebic emociur sawyisze damyarebul i zeda bgerebisagan gansxvavebiT, Cveul ebriv, sametyvel o (sal aparako) enis diapazonis Sesatyvisia. igi xasiaTdeba bgeraTa daRmaVal i moZraobiT kil os kvartidan qveda sayrden bgeramde anu tonikamde. variantebSi warmodgenil ia met-nakl ebad gansxvavebul i ritmul -intonaciuri JReradobiT da gafarToebul ia

kvintamde (seqstamde, septimamde, oqtavamde). es mel odiuri formul a, romel sac me fuZe-hangi anu saerTo qarTvel uri musikal uri fuZe-ena vuwode, universal uria, masSi Tavsiyris yvel a adre arsebul i musikal ur-smeniTi monapovari. amastanave igi garkveul i struqturis mqone musikal ur-intonaciur areSi Tav-sdeba da gamoirCeva mxol od mistvis damaxasiaTebel i fonol ogiuri da morfol ogiuri wyobiT, raSic imTaviTve arsebiTi rol i unda Seesrul ebina sametyvelo enis intonaciur Taviseburebas. vfiqrob, rom farTo diapazonis (seqsta, septima, oqtava) momcvel daRmaival -dacurebiT mel odiaSi (romel ic udavod mniSvnel ovania kil os Camoyal ibebaSi) emociur sawyisze damyarebul i zeda bgerebis diferencireba da maTi musikal ur-azrobrivi datvirTva (musikal uri bgerebis gamokveTa) ufro gvian moxda. upirvel es yovl isa gamoikveTa kil os kvarta (an kvinta) da _ tonikuri bgera. Semdeg ki _ `mwverval i saTave- (Маисурадзе: 1990, 5-87). maT Soris kvarta, ufro mogvianebiT, daRmaival -dacurebiT mel odiaSi `Sua sayrdenismniSvnel obas izens. niSandoblivia, rom xevsurul `xmiT- natirlebsi, septimis diapazonis mqone daRmaival mel odiaSi, musikal uri strofebis SemaerTebel i bgera kil os meoTxe safexuria (kvartaa) (asl aniSvili: 1956, 40; Маисурадзе: 1990, 40-41).

dadgenilia, rom `kil os organizeba musikal uri enis da azrovnebis aucil ebel i safuZvelia- (Мазель: 1954, 22). qarTul xal xur simRerebSi banis gaCena uSualo kavSirSia kil os organizebasTan, fuZe-hangis, musikal uri fuZe-enis Camoyal ibebasTan, romlis damabol oebel i bgera imTaviTve gansakuTrebul mniSvnel obas izens. es SemTxveviTi ar aris, radgan polifoniuri azrovneba qarTvel Ta fsiqikis struqturuli el ementia, `qarTul i musikis Sinagani ganvitareba _ warmatebis nayofia- (j avaxiSvili: 1990, 278, 303), TiToeul i Homo Poliphonicus-is Tandayol il i Tviseba da

ganuyofel i atributia (Zemtsovsky: 2002, 37, 39, 47, 48).
 musikal ur fuZe-enaSi, fuZe-hangSi musikal uri azris
 damabol oebel i bgera am hangis sayrdeni bgeraa anu
 tonikaa, roml is mimaT sxva danarCeni bgerebi gar-
 kveul funqional ur damokidebul ebaSi imyofeba da
 romel ic dasabams aZl evs mraVal xmianobis burdonul
 formas (hangis damabol oebel i ritmul ad myari say-
 rdeni bgeris gaazreba banis saxiT). amgvarad, mraVal -
 xmianobis real izebas musikal uri azrovnebis ganviTa-
 rebis garkveul etapze eZl eva biZgi, kerZod maSin, ro-
 ca ukve Camoyal ibebul ia ZiriTadi musikal ur-bgeriT
 fondi da mraVal xmianoba gaiazreba rogorc musika-
 l ur bgeraTa Sexamebis garkveul i forma. musikal uri
 masal is anal izi Tu terminol ogia qarTul i mraVal -
 xmianobis (da sazogadod, mraVal xmianobis) stadial u-
 robaze miuTitebs. sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT Cemi yurad-
 Reba miqcia samecniero l iteraturaSi warmodgenil ma
 erTerTma Tezam: `musikal ur-komunikaciuri sistema,
 romel mac umTavresi roli Seasrul a danawevrebul i
 metyvel ebis Camoyal ibebaSi, musikal uri kul turis
 niSnebs izens misi komunikaciuri moval eobebisagan
 ganTavisufi ebis Semdeg- (Жордания: 1989, 296). me vfiq-
 rob, rom es Teza, miuxedavad misi avtoris sapirspi-
 ro mosazrebisa (rom mraVal xmianoba arastadial uria)
 udavod mraVal xmianobis stadial urobaze miuTitebs.
 musikal uri kul turis am el ementis _ mraVal xmiano-
 bis real izeba, rogorc zemoxsenebul i naazrevidan
 Cans, moiTxovda musikal uri azrovnebis ganviTarebis
 saTanado dones, rac, Tavis mxriv, sazogadoebis ganvi-
 Tarebis garkveul etaps ukavSirdeba. aqve davsZen, rom
 TezaSi `musikal ur-komunikaciuri sistemis- nacvl ad,
 am SemTxvevaSi, unda iyos `intonaci ur-komunikaciuri-
 radgan Znel i dasaj erebel ia, rom komunikacia dasaba-
 midanve gaazrebul i iyo, rogorc musikal uri, anu bge-
 riT mxatvrul saxeebSi asaxul i real oba da miT ume-
 tes, mraVal xmianoba _ rogorc musikal ur bgeraTa Se-
 xamebis garkveul i forma. es sakiTxi gansakuTrebul

mniSvnel obas iZens eTnikuri istoriis, eTnogenezis
kvl evisas (maisuraZe, 2010, 211-213).

musikal ur literaturaSi gamoTqmul ia mosazreba, rom qarTul musikal ur sistemaSi termin `tonikis- gamoyeneba Znel deba, vinaidan gabatonebul i central uri funqcia dinamiuria, Tavisi bunebiT aramyaria... gabmul i burdonul i simRerebic ki, cnobil i tonikal urobiT, saqarTvel oSi aRiniSneba umniSvnel ovanesi TaviseburebebiT: burdoni aq dinamiuria, aqtiuria da, Sesabamisad, aramyari _ mudam iTxovs gadawvetas. misi arasimyare igrZnoba mTel i JReradobis manZil ze... ar arsebobs arcerTi qarTul i simRera, ufro metic, arcerTi varianti(!), roca simRera mTavrdeba igive Sekavebul burdonul tonze, gadnacvl ebis gareSe. avtoris daskvna aseTia: termin `tonikis- gamoyeneba qarTul i xal xuri musikal uri sistemis mimarT gaumarTI ebel ia, vinaidan igi mokl ebul ia misi ZiriTadi Taviseburebebidan erT-erT maTgans _ simyares. mizanSewonil ia ZiriTad funqcias ewodos `central uri-, rac miuTitebs sistemis centris Sesabamisad, mTel i sistemis aramyar, dinamiur bunebaze... qarTul xal xur musikal ur sistemaSi musikal uri azris ganviTarebis zemoxsenebul i principidan gamomdinare _ `aramyari→myari- (am ukanasknel i el ementis SedarebiTi simyarisas) SeiZl eba dadastureba, rom yvel a sakadanso formebi Tavisi TavSi Semdgomi ganviTarebis Sesazl ebl obas Seicavs (an zogjer iTxovs). simRera viTardeba erTi aRmaival i dinamiuri xaziT da daskvna _ es `fatal uri aucil ebl oba- JRers Cveul ebriv, sakmaod pirobiTad, romelic ufro metad gvagonebs nawarmoebis ara l ogikur dasrul ebas, aramed pirobiT SeCerebas im adgil ze, sadac is met-nakl ebad mosaxerxebel ia... (Жордания: 1989, 47, 48-49, 94). sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT, xevsurul i akvnis nanas variantebis ganxil visas avtori aRniSnavs: erT-erTi maTgani mTavrdeba bgeraTrigis meore safe-xurze da, Sesabamisad, gamotanil ia daskvna, rom swo-

red igia centri (tonika). sxva variantSi intonireba mTavrdeba pirvel safexurze, ramac warmoSva sxva versia, roml is mixedviT centri (tonika) ara meore, aramed tetraqordis pirvel i safexuria. arsebobs mesame variantic... avtori svams kiTxvas, ramdeni centri da tonika SeiZl eba hqondes am martiv hangs da, misi dasrul eba romel adgil ze SeiZl eba miviCniOT sworad... avtoris ganmarteba amgvaria: `akvnis nanas- saerTod ar gaaCnia dasasrul i. misi intonireba xdeba musikal uri formis ara l ogikur dabol oebamde, aramed im dromde, vidre ar aris real izebul i Tavadin tonirebis social uri funqcia (daiZina bavSvma). amis Semdeg. ama Tu im adgil ze intonirebis Sewyveta sakmaod nebismierad xdeba. amitom ar aris gamarTI ebul i moanaxos dasrul ebis erTaderTi swori wertil i da sxva variantebi CaiTval os `arasworad- (Жордания: 1989, 95).

zemoxsenebul sakiTxebTan dakavSirebiT gansxvavebul i mosazreba maqvs. vidre xevsurul i `akvnis nanas- variantebze visaubreb, upirvel es yovl isa, qarTul musikal ur sistemaSi termin `tonikis- gamoyenebis sakiTxs Sevexebi. rogorc zemoT aRvniSne, fuZehangSi Tavsi iyris yvel a adre arsebul i musikal ursmeniTi monapovari. musikal uri azris damabol oebel i bgera hangis sayrdenia anu **tonikuri bgeraa**, romelic dasabams aZl evs mraval xmianobis burdonul formas. igi gaazrebul ia rogorc mel odiisaTvis ritmul ad myari bgera, romelic mogvianebiT banis funqcias iZens da safuZvl ad edeba harmoniul el ementTa Semdgom gafarToeba-ganviTarebas. magal iTad, qvemoT warmodgenil i sail ustracio masal idan #1-Si (Sesrul ebul ia sakravis Tanxl ebis gareSe), kil os tonika (re) gaiazreba rogorc mel odiis sayrdeni, myari tonikuri bgera, romelic mTel winadadebaze vrcel deba, anu ar xdeba tonikuri bgeris droebiTi gadanacvl eba kil os VII safexurze.

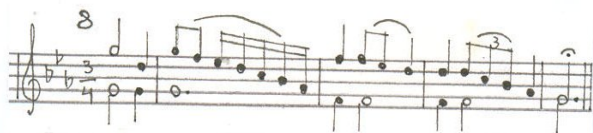
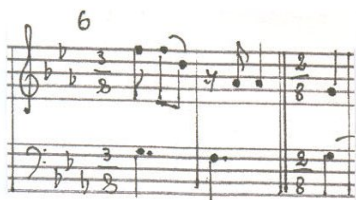
igive SeiniSneba #2 simReris akompanementSi (garmoni), sadac bani mTel i winadadebis manZil ze uc- vl el ia. #3-Si (Sesrul ebul ia sakravis Tanmxl ebis gareSe) winadadebis bol os Cndeba bgera re. igi gai- azreba rogorc banis VII dominanturi safexuri, romel ic kvl av ubrundeba I, ZiriTad safexurs. #4-Si warmodgenil ia reCitatiul i burdoni. aqac Cndeba ba- nis VII safexuri, romel ic iqve ubrundeba I safe- xurs.

harmoniul el ementTa TandaTanobiTi ganviTare- bis procesi da imavdroul ad maT Soris mWidro ur-

¹ #1, 2, 3 _ asl aniSvil i: 1956, 187, 188, 169; #4 _ asl aniS- vil i, 1954, 30.

TierTkavSiri mkafiod Cans aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os
mTiel Ta saferxul o simRerebSi.

2



² #5, 7, 10 _ maisuraZe: 1971, danarTi #3, 2, 1; #6, 8, 9 -
asl aniSvil i: 1956, 81, #39; 65, #13; 64, #12; #11 _ Cxi kvaZe:
1960, 83.



#7-Si kil os meore safexuri gafarToebul ia. Se-
 sabamisad amisa, banSi VII safexuri, romel ic mel odi-
 aSi warmodgenil i kil os gafarToebul i meore safe-
 xuris harmoniul i sayrdenia, agreTve gafarToebul ia.
 #8-Si, banSi VII safexuri Cndeba kil os gafarToebul
 meore safexurze (I a), romel ic ZiriTadad imeorebs
 mel odias. Semdegi variantebidan pirvel maTganSi
 cal keul i frazebi, xol o meoreSi yvel a fraza banSi
 kil os gafarToebul VII safexurs emyareba, romel ic
 frazis bol os kil os pirvel safexurSi gadadis. ma-
 gal iTebidan Cans, rom banSi VII safexuri TandaTan
 farTovdeba da mel odias ZiriTad harmoniul sayrde-
 nad iqceva, ris gamoc igi scil deba VII safexuris
 (dominanta) funqcias da ormagi funqciis matarebel i
 xdeba: erTi mxriv, gafarToebul i VII safexuria, fra-
 zis bol os mocemul i ZiriTadi kil os I safexuris
 (tonika) mimarT, meore mxriv, gafarToebis Sedegad
 miRebul i axal i kil os I safexuria, Tumca es ukanas-
 knel i srul damoukidebl obas mainc ver aRwevs da
 kvl av gadadis Tavdapirvel i kil os I safexurSi. ama-
 ve dros Cndeba modul aciuri kadansis (eol iuri ka-
 dansi-) Canasaxi da a. S. mraVal ferovani musikal uri
 masal a SesaZI ebl obas gvaZI evs Tval i gavadevnoT

harmoniul el ementTa l ogikuri ganviTarebis process. es procesi am el ementTa mWidro urTierTkav-SirSi mimdinareobs. aqve davsZenT, rom qarTul i xal - xuri simRerebisatvis damaxasiaTebel kil oTa Soris uZvel esi, Tavdapirvel i kil oebia frigiul i da eol iuri. doriul , miqsol idiur da ionur kil oTa win wamoweva dakavSirebul ia banSi damxmare safexurTa gafarToebasTan. es is kil oebia, roml ebsac ZiriTadad emyareba qarTul i xal xuri musika.

samxmiani simRerebis banSi ZiriTadi kil os V-IV safexurebi VII-VI safexurTa gafarToebis Sedegad mkvidrdeba. musikal uri masal is anal izi cxadyofs, rom banSi warmoqmnil i damxmare safexurebi, erTi mxriv, erTiandeba Tavdapirvel kil oSi, meore mxriv, axal i, damoukidebel i kil os tonikad gvevl ineba. am mxriv sayuradReboa V-IV safexurebi, roml ebic damoukidebel i kil os l safexuris funqciis SeZenisas, Tavdapirvel i kil os tonikaSi modul aciis saSual ebit gadadis. simRerebSi kil oTa monacvl eoba garkveul kanonzomierebas emyareba. gurul simRerebSi harmoniul el ementTa ganviTareba specifikurad mimdinareobs. bani uaRresad mobil uria. I, VII, VI, V, IV safexurTa monacvl eobas adgil i aqvs ara marto erTi kil os fargl ebSi, aramed im kil oebSic, roml ebic banSi damxmare safexurTa gafarToebis Sedegad warmoiqmneba. ufro metic, banis safexurTa gafarToebiT miRebul damoukidebel kil oTa damxmare safexurebi, zog SemTxvevaSi TviT iZens droebiT damoukidebl obas. vfiqrob, rom aWarul oTxmian simRerebSi banis anu dabal i banis warmoSoba dakavSirebul ia samxmian simRerebSi banis safexurTa gafarToebasTan. am mxriv sayuradReboa IV safexuri, romel ic damoukidebel i kil os tonikis mniSvel obas iZens. mogvianebit igi ukve ZiriTadi kil os tonikad gvevl ineba da Tavdapirvel i kil os tonikis paral el urad Tanaarsebobs, Cndeba ori tonika, romel Tagan pirvel i Tavdapirvel i kil os tonikaa, meore _ banSi IV safexuris dam-

kvidrebiS Sedegia. swored es ukanasknel i unda iyos bani anu dabal i bani, xol o Tavdapirvel i kil os tonika, romel ic kvinturi bgeraa _ maRal i bani anu Semxmobaru (maisuraZe, 1982, 441-444). niSandobl ivia, rom simReraSi dabal i banis Sematebamde maRal i bani kil os tonikis funqcias asrul ebs, magram rodesac simReras dabal i bani uerTdeba kil os tonikuri bgeris saxiT, maRal i bani mis kvintur bgerad iqceva (axobaZe, 1961, 20-22).

amgvarad, erTi harmoniul i el ementis win wamoveva sxva danarCen el ementTa urTierTmimarTebis axali i formebis warmoqmniSa da Camoyal ibebis sawindaria. yovel ive amis safuZvel i ki, Tavdapirvel i, myari, burdonul i bania, roml is mimarT sxva danarCeni bgerebi garkveul funqcional ur damokidebul ebaSia da, romel ic dasabams aZl evs harmoniul el ementTa Semdgom ganvitarebas. modul aciis Sedegad miRebul droebiT Tu damoukidebel axal kil oSi myisierad gaiazreba kil os l, sayrdeni safexuri, saidanac iweyeba axal i musikal uri azris improvisireba kvl av modul aciebis mraVal ferovani variaciebiT; frazis, winadadebis Tu simReris bol os warmodgenil i modul aciuri kadansebiT, rac sabol oo jamSi gvaZl evs erT mTi ian ganumeorebel kompozicias. swored amasia qarTvel i xal xis unikal uri pol ifoniuri azrovnebis mental uri Tavisebureba.

zemoxsenebul i msj el obidan gamomdinare, vfiqrob, rom formul a aramyari → myari unda Seicval os formul iT myari → aramyari da a. S... garda amisa, mimacnia, rom termini `central uri funqcia- ar unda gamoricxavdes qarTul musikal ur sistemaSi termin `tonikis- gamoyenebas.

rac Seexeba xevsurul `nanas- variantebs, rogorc zemoT ariniSna, i. Jordania yuradRebas amaxvil ebs am variantebis dabol oebis sxvadasxva versiebze da svams kiTxvas, ramdeni centri da tonika SeiZleba hqondes am martiv hangs da, misi dasrul eba ro-

mel adgil ze SeiZl eba miviCnioT sworad. misi into-
nireba xdeba musikal uri formis ara l ogikur dabo-
l oebamde, aramed _ im dromde, vidre ar aris real i-
zebul i Tavad intonirebis social uri funqcia (dai-
Zina bavSvma). amis Semdeg intonirebis Sewyveta sakma-
od nebismierad xdeba. amitom ar aris gamarTI ebul i
moinaxos dasrul ebis erTaderTi swori wertil i da
sxva variantebi CaiTval os `arasworad-.

me vfiqrob, rom `nanas- variantebis arsebobas,
upirvel es yovl isa, ganapirobebs Semsrul ebel Ta indi-
vidual uri gamomsaxvel obiTi xerxebi da, aqedan gamom-
dinare, srul iad bunebrivia am variantTa dasrul ebis
sxvadasxva versiebis arsebobac. yovel versias gaaCnia
Tavisi l ogikuri dasasrul i. maT Soris im versiasac,
romel ic `kil os meore safexuriT- mTavrdeba.



gasaTval iswinebel ia, rom `simRera- sityvieri
teqstis (l eqsis) da musikal uri teqstis (mel odiis)
erTobl iobaa. es ori el ementi semantikurad erTma-
neTs Seesatyviseba. mel odia Sesrul ebis xasiaTiT
esadageba sityvieri teqstis (l eqsis) Sinaarss. ni San-
dobl ivia, rom simRera niSnavs `l eqsis damRerebiT
Tqmas-. simReris amgvari interpretacia ukanasknel
dromde SemorCaT aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os mTiel ebs
(maisuraZe: 2009, 309-310). simReraSi frazebi an musika-
l uri strofi (Tu winadadeba) mudam emTxveva l eqsis
strigons an strofs. amave dros simRera yofis el e-
mentia. magal iTad, akvnis nanas Sesrul ebis Tu bav-
Svma daiZina, am konkretul SemTxvevaSi, bunebrivia,
Semsrul ebel i mReras daasrul ebs. zemoxsenebul i
`nanas- musikal uri teqstidan irkveva, rom simRera

³ #12 _ Cxi kvaZe: 1960, 6.

`Sewyvetil i- ki ar aris, aramed aq musikal uri azri
 dasrul ebul ia: `nanas- yovel i fraza kil os meore
 safexuriT (re) mTavrdeba, rasac momdevno frazebis
 dasawyisSi mosdevs kil os pirvel i safexuri, tonika
 (do). es ukanasknel i kil os meoTxe safexurTan (fa)
 erTad mel odiis harmoniul sayrdens warmoadgens.
 sayuradReboa, rom ev. Woxonel iZe SeCerebas meryev
 tonze, musikal uri azris gameorebis da amastanave
 gamomsaxvel obis axal saSual ebad, formis Semqmnel
 el ementad miicnevs (Woxonel iZe: 1983, 23-24). meore sa-
 fexuri, am SemTxvevaSi frazebis SemaerTebel i bgeris
 funqcias iTavsebs. magram simReris bol os bgera re
 kil os meore safexurad gaiazreba? Tu davukvirdebiT
 pirvel i musikal uri strofi (Sedgeba oTxi frazisa-
 gan) mTavrdeba kil os meore safexuriT, romel ic
 sityvieri da musikal uri teqstebis azrobrivi mniS-
 vnel obidan gamomdinare fermataTi aRiniSneba. igi
 garkveul wil ad umartivesi frigiul i kadansis Sede-
 gad miRebul i frigiul i kil os pirvel i safexuris
 el fers iZens. magram momdevno, meore musikal uri
 strofis pirvel i frazis mimarT igi kvl av meore sa-
 fexuris funqcias ubrundeba. simReris dasasrul s ki,
 kil os meore safexuri frigiul i kil os pirvel i sa-
 fexuris anu tonikis mniSvnel obas iZens, roml is mi-
 marT bgera do (Tavdapirvel i kil os tonika) VII sa-
 fexuria. am mosazrebas ganamtkicebs qarTI uri akvnis
 simRera `nanina Svil o-.

4



⁴ #13 – kal andaZe-maxaraZisa, 2004, 15.

Tu gaviTval iswinebT, rom pol ifoniuri azrovneba qarTvel i xal xis fsiqikis strukturul i el ementia, Sinagani bunebaa, simReris erTxmianobas ganapirobeps mxol od da mxol od misi Sestrul ebis wesi (funqcia yofaSi). aseT viTarebaSi erTxmiani simReris mowyveta harmoniul i gaazrebisagan, vfiqrob, ar unda iyos swori. qarTul xal xur erTxmian simRerebSi banis gaazrebis araerTi SemTxveva gvxdeba. magal iTad, erTxmian `orovel aSi~ mi-bemol i Cndeba winadadebis damabol oebel frazaSi, rac migvaniSnebs imaze, rom aq, banSi gaazrebul i unda iyos I a kil os gafarToebul i VII safexuri (sol).



am mosazrebas mxars uWers is garemoebac, rom pirvel i winadadebis bol os mocemul frazaSi, romelic sakadanso saqcevs ganamtkicebs, Cndeba nagul isxmevi banis VII safexuri (sol), romelic kil os pirvel safexurTan erTad mel odiisaTvis harmoniul i sayrdenis funqcias izens (maisuraZe: 1981, 171-172). farul i orxmianoba agreTve SeiGrZnoba erTxmiani simReris uSual od yofaSi mosmenisas, rodesac momReral i mel odias sakravis Tanxl ebis gareSe asrul ebs im SemTxvevaSi, Tu mas im dros sakravi xel T ara aqvs (amgvvari erTxmiani nimuSebi xandaxan xal xuri simRerebis krebul ebSic gvxdeba).

modul aciuri kadansebi da misi variantebi Tu variaciebi, roml ebic mravl ad gvxdeba qarTul xal - xur simRerebSi, orgvari funqciis Semcvel ia: erTi mxriv, es musikal uri nageboba simReraSi harmoniul el ementTa axial i formebis warmoqmnis sawindaria. meore mxriv igi **kadansia**, romelic mudam mTavrdeba

myar tonikur bgeraze, anu simReris bol os misi SeCe-
reba xdeba modul aciis Sedegad miRebul axal i ki-
l os l safexurze anu tonikaze, romel ic amave dros
ritmul ad myaria (garda amisa, sakadanso svl as Tan
axl avs agreTve simReris tempis Senel eba, sakadanso
saqcevis gameoreba da a. S.).

modul aciuri kadansi, romel ic Tavdapirvel ad
martivi struqturis mqone simRerebSi Cndeba, sazoga-
dod, qarTul xal xur sasimRero SemoqmedebaSi, gansa-
kuTrebiT ki, maRal ganviTarebul pol ifoniur simRe-
rebSi, virtuozul i xasiaTis Tavisufal i improvizacia,
romel ic simReris bol os, garkveul wil ad, ka-
denciis mniSnel obas iZens. am mxrivac qarTul i xal -
xuri simRera udavod unikal uria.

musikal uri masal a saSual ebas iZl eva Tval i ga-
vadevnoT qarTul xal xur simRerebSi harmoniul
el ementTa istoriul i ganviTarebis process.

N. MAISURSADZE

ISSUES OF GEORGIAN FOLK MUSIC HARMONY

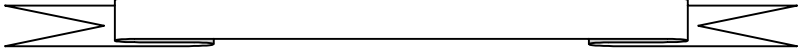
The paper covers the development of harmonic elements.

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saqarTvel os ekl esiis istoria



el dar bubul aSvil i

qarTI -kaxeTis eparqia egzarqosobis dros

saqarTvel os ekl esiis avtokefal iis gauqmebis (1811 wl is 30 ivnisi) Semdeg, 1818 wl is 28 dekembers qarTI -kaxeTis eparqia daarsda, romel ic XIX saukunis meore naxevidan saqarTvel os eparqiadac iwodeboda. Tumca, unda aRiniSnos, rom saqarTvel os ekl esiis avtokefal iis gauqmebis Semdeg aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi, qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiis daarsebamde (1818 wl is 28 dekemberi), orjer moxda eparqiaTa raodenobis cvl il eba. daarsebis dros qarTI -kaxeTis eparqia mxol od aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os moicavda. Semdeg, kavkasiaSi ruseTis teritoriis gafarToebasTan erTad, qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiis iurisdqiis sazRvrebi TandaTan gairzarda. istoriul i qarTul i miwa-wyl is garda igi araqarTul teritoriebsac moicavda.

XI saukunis dasawyisidan aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oerTiani saqarTvel os Semadgenel nawil s warmoadgenda da ekl esiurad mcxeTis sakaTal ikosos iurisdqiaSi iyo moqceul i. XV saukunis bol os, feodal uri daqumacebul obis Semdeg, aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os teritoriaze Camoyal ibda ori samefo _ qarTI is da kaxeTis. amave saukunis 70-ian wl ebSi pol itikur daqumacebul obas Tan mohyva saekl esio dayofac. pol itikur niadagze imereTis samefos iniciativit mcxeTis sapatriarqos gamoeyo lixT-imereTis anu afxazeTis sakaTal ikoso. aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi ori erTmaneTisagan pol itikurad damoukidebel i, qarTI isa da kaxeTis samefos arsebobis miuxedavad, maT aertianebdaT mcxeTis sapatriarqo, radgan maT teritoriaze

arsebul i saepiskoposoebi isev mcxeTis sapatriarqos iurisdiciaSi Sedi odnen. mcxeTis sapatriarqos agreTve eqvemdebareboda zemo qarTl i anu samxret saqarTvel o, romel ic samcxe-saaTabagos saxel iT iyo cnobil i. XV-XVI saukuneebSi samcxis aTabagebma ramdenj erme scades Tavianti samTavro aramarto pol itikurad, aramed ekl esiuradac CamoeSorebinaT erTiani saqarTvel osTvis, magram mcxeTis kaTol ikos-patriarqis pol itikuri gamWriaxobis wyal obiT Tavianti Canafiqri ver ganaxorciel es. magram mas Semdeg rac samcxe-saaTabago XVI saukunidan osmal eTis batonobis qveS moeqca, iq arsebul i 13 eparqia gauqmda da XVI-XVIII saukuneebSi ganxorciel da am kuTxis isl amizacia. aRni Snul is gamo mcxeTis sapatriarqos iurisdiciis sazRvrebis sagraZnobl ad SeizRuda.

XVI-XVIII saukuneebSi gartul ebul i sagareo da saSinao pol itikis gamo qarTl -kaxeTis samefo mZime mdgomareobaSi Cavarda. iran-osmal eTis gamudmebul i Semosevebis Sedegad sagraZnobl ad Semcir da mosaxl eobis raodenoba. XVII saukuneebSi gareSe mtrebis Semosevebis gamo erTian saqarTvel os teritoriul ad da ekl esiurad agreTve CamoSorda istoriul i kuTxe _ saingil o. qarTl -kaxeTis samefos gansakuTrebit zians ayenebda XVII-XVIII saukuneebSi gaxSirebul i l ekianoba. l ekianobis Sedegad mraval i sofel i da dasaxl ebul i adgil i gaukacriel da, ramac sagraZnobl ad Seamcira saepiskoposoebis raodenoba. saingil os teritoriaze XVIII saukunisTvis saqarTvel os ekl esias arcerTi eparqia aRar gaaCnda, Camosaxl ebul i musl imani mosaxl eobas garda adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis didi nawil i gamahmadianda. saingil os gristiani mosaxl eoba farul ad kaxeTis ekl esiebSi daiarebodnen wirval ocvebze dasaswrebad. gareSe mtrebis Semosevebis Sedegad, XVII saukunis 70-iani wl ebisaTvis aoxrebisagan dacl il i iyo giSis, samebis, Weremis, xodaSnis, axtal is, mangl isis, wal kis, bol nisis, winwyaros da dmanisis saepiskoposoebi¹.

mZime pol itikuri da ekonomikuri viTarebis gamo arasaxarbiel o mdgomareoba iyo moqmed eparqiaSi. magaliTad, wil knisa da xarWaSnis eparqiebSi mrevl is raodenoba imdenad iyo Semcirebul i, rom eparqias TiTqmis araviTari Semosaval i ar gaaCnda. garda amisa, wina saukuneebTan SedarebiT, ekl esia-monastrebSi kulturul -SemoqmedebiTi muSaoba didi intensivobiT aRar mimdinareobda. am mxriv, gamonakl iss warmoadgenda ioane naTI ismceml is udabno, sadac XVII-XVIII saukuneebSi didi siZnel eebis miuxedavad, SemoqmedebiTi muSao-ba sakmaod warmatebul ad xorciel deboda².

XVIII saukunis bol osa da XIX saukunis dasawyisSi qarTI -kaxeTis teritoriaze arsebobda Tbil isis, samTavros, ruisis, wil knis, mangl isis, urbnisis, samTavisis, niqozis, al averdis, bodbis, ninowmindis, rustvel is, nekresis da xarWaSnel is eparqiebi. TiToeul eparqias ganagebda mRvdel mTavari. gamonakl iss warmoadgenda al averdis eparqia, romel sac uSual od kaTal ikos-patriarqi anton II marTavda. qarTI is 4 eparqia (Tbil isi, samTavro, ruisi, wil kani) samitropol itos warmoadgenda da Sesabamisad maTi mRvdel -mTavrebi mitropol itebi iyvnen. kaxeTSi samitropol itod iTvl eboda bodbis da ninowmindis eparqia. mTavarepiskoposebi ganagebdnen qarTI Si mangl isis, xol o kaxeTSi rustvel is eparqias. episkoposis xarisxs atarebdnen qarTI Si: urbnel i, samTavnel i da niqozel i; kaxeTSi _ nekresel i da xaWaSnel i³.

XIX saukunis dasawyisistvis aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi iyo sul 9 saarqimandrito, qarTI Si: qvaTaxevis, SiomRvimis, ikorTis, I argvisis, Tiris; kaxeTSi: daviT garej is, ioane naTI ismceml is, kaxeTis da SuamTis. CamoTvl il i saarqimandritoebis garda am droistvis qarTI Si kidev arsebobda ananuris, mcxeTis j vris, xobis, ul umbos monastrebi, magram gareSemtrebis Semosevebis Sedegad CamoTvl il monastrebSi sagrZnobl ad iyo Semcirebul i ber-monazvnebis raodenoba. dacariel ebis piras myofi monastrebi miweri-

l i iyo maxl obel saarqinamdritoebze. kaxeTSi TiT-
qmis dacariel ebul i iyo boWormis, wm. sabas da xir-
sis monastrebi⁴.

qarTI -kaxeTis samefos gauqmebis (1801wl is 12
seqtemberi) Semdeg ruseTis axal ma mmarTvel obam XIX
saukunis dasawyiSi, saqarTvel os ekl esiis xel mZRvan-
nel Ta mier mowodebul cnobebze dayrdnobiT, zusti
monacemebi Seadgina am droistvis mcxeTis sakaTal i-
koss eparqiebis mRvdel mTavarTa da maT gamgebl obaSi
arsebul i sakuTrebis Sesaxeb. am monacemebis mixed-
viT, mcxeTis sapatrjarqos ganagebda mefe erekl e ll-
is Ze, kaTal ikos-patriarqi anton II, romel ic agreTve
iTvl eboda mcxeTis, al averdis da samTavros eparqi-
is mmarTvel adac. saqarTvel os kaTal ikos-patriarqis
kuTvnil ebas XIX saukunis dasawyisisaTvis warmoad-
genda qarTI Si arsebul i 88 sofel i, xol o kaxeTSi _
58. mis uSual o daqvemdebarebaSi imyofeboda qarTI Si
6 monasteri, kaxeTSi _ 5. monacemebis mixedviT qar-
TI Si arsebul i eparqiebis mmarTvel ebi iyvnen: Tbi-
l el i mitropol iti arseni (bagratiun, nadibaZe, ro-
mel sac qal aq Tbil isis garda eqvemdebareboda mis
garSemo arsebul i 18 sofel i. mis samwysos teritori-
aze mamul ebi gaaCndaT 3 Tavadsa da 4 aznaurs. rui-
sis mitropol itis iustines (maRal aSvil i) samwysoSi
Sedioda 46 sofel i 21 TavadiTa da 95 aznauriT. wil -
knis mitropol itis ioanes (qaruSiZe) gamgebl obaSi
iyo 46 sofel i da, agreTve, masve eqvemdebareboda mo-
xeveebi, mTiul ebi, gudamayrel ebi, xandosxevel ebi,
WarTI el ebi. misi eparqis teritoriaze 14 aznauri
saxl obda. urbnel i mitropol itis iul onis (Tuxare-
l i) samwysos moicavda 20 sofel s, romel zec 5 Tava-
di da 8 aznauri iyo dasaxl ebul i. samTavisel i epis-
koposis gervasis (maWavariani) samwysoSi Sedioda 17
sofel i 1 TavadiTa da 8 aznauriT. niqozel episko-
pos aTanases eqvemdebareboda 18 sofel i. igive mona-
cemebis mixedviT, XIX saukunis dasawyiSi kaxeTis ie-
rarqebi iyvnen bodbel i mitropol iti ioane mayaSvil i,

roml is samwysosi Sedioda 31 sofel i 28 TavadiT. ni-
nowmindel i motropol itis mixeill is samwysosi iT-
vl eboda 30 sofel i 1 TavadTan erTad. rustvel mTva-
repiskopos stefanes (j orj aZe) samwysos teritoriaze
arsebobda 8 sofel i 1 TavadiT. nekresel i mitropo-
litis ambrosis (miqaZe) saepiskoposoSi Sedioda 14
sofel i 5 TavadiT⁵.

saxel mwifeobriobis gauqmebis (1801 wl is 12 seq-
temberi) Semdeg saqarTvel os ekl esiis reorganizaci-
is mizniT ruseTis xel isufl eba aqtiurad ereoda ek-
l esiis saSinao saqmeebSi. xel isufl ebis gaaaqtiureba
imiT iyo ganpirobetul i, rom igi TandaTan amzadebda
niadags saqarTvel os ekl esiis avtokefal iis gauqmebi-
saTvis. am mxriv, gansakuTrebiT aqtiurobda saqarTve-
l os mTavarmarTebel i pavl e cicianovi (1803-1806). misi
gankargul ebiT saqarTvel os kaTal ikos-patriarqs aek-
rZal a gardacvl ili eparqiis mmarTvel ad axal i
mRvdel mTavris daniSvna. garda amisa, mTavarmarTebel -
Tan SeTanxmehis gareSe saqarTvel os mwiyemsmTavars ar
SeeZl o axal i sasul iero piris xarixSi ayvana. ruse-
Tis xel isufl ebis mier saqarTvel os ekl esiis reor-
ganizaciisaken gadadgmul nabij s warmoadgenda 1807
wl is imperatoris mier gamocemul i gankargul eba,
roml is Zal iT qarTI -kaxeTis dabal i samRvdel oeba
gaTvisufl da ymohisagan da isini ruseTis imperiis sa-
sul iero pirebs ufl ebrivad gauTanabrdnen.

saqarTvel os ekl esiis avtokefal iis gauqmebisaT-
vis didad iRvawa mTavarmarTebel ma al eqsandre tor-
masovma (1809-1811). man 1811 wl is dasawiySi, adgil ob-
riv monacemebze dayrdnobiT, ruseTis xel isufl ebas
saintereso statistikuri cnobebi moawoda im droin-
del qarTI -kaxeTSi arsebul i eparqiaTa Semosavl ebis,
ekl esia-monastrebis, sasul iero pirTa, saekl esio
gl exTa raodenobis Sedaxeb. am cnobebis mixedviT, 1811
wl isaTvis qarTI -kaxeTSi arsebul 13 eparqiaSi iric-
xeboda 2218 aTasi koml i saekl esio gl exi⁶. amave wl is
monacemebiT 9 saarqimandritos ekuTnoda 637 samonas-

tro gl exi. al . tormasovis Sekrebil i masal ebis mi-xedviT, qarTI Si arsebul eparqiaTa (mcxeTis, samTavros, ruisis, urbnisis, wil kanis, samTavisis da niqozis) Semosaval i avtokefal iis gauqmebamde daaxl oebiT Sedgenda 1696 vercxl is maneTs, xol o kaxeTis eparqiebis (al averdis, ninowmidis, rusTvel is, nekresis da bodbis) Semosaval i udrida 9500 vercxl is maneTs⁷. amave cnobebiT, 1811 wl isaTvis aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi arsebul 13 eparqiaSi iyo 7 mRvdel mTavari, 6 eparqia umRvdel mTavro iyo da igi miweril i iyo sxva eparqiaze. am droisTvis qarTI -kaxeTSi sul iyo 799 ekl esia, da 746 mRvdel i, 146 diakoni da sxva danadCeni ekl esiis msaxuri 661⁸.

1811 wl is 30 ivniss ruseTis imperatoris gankargul ebiT gauqmda saqarTvel os ekl esiis avtokefal ia. aRniSnul i gadawyvetil ebiT aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi 13 eparqiis nacvl ad Seqmnes ori: pirvel i _ mcxeTisa da qarTI is; meore _ al averdisa da kaxeTis. ruseTis imperatoris dadgenil ebiT qarTvel i samRvdel oebis umaRl esi ierarqi iwodeboda „uwmindesi sinodis egzarqosi saqarTvel oSi.“ 1811 wl is 1 ivl isis gadawyvetil ebiT saqarTvel os egzarqosad dainiSna varl am erisTavi, romel ic iTvl eboda agreTve mcxeTisa da qarTI is eparqiis mitropol itad. mcxeTisa da qarTI is eparqiaSi gaerTianda mcxeTis, Tbil isis, goris, samTavros, samTavisis, ruisis, wil knis, urbnisis da niqozis eparqiebi. egzarqos varl amis wardgenil ebiT meore _ al averdisa da kaxeTis eparqiis mmarTvel ad dainiSna mitropol iti ioane mayaSvil i, romel ic manamde bodbis eparqiis mmarTvel i iyo. am eparqiis iurisdiciis sazRvrebi gavrcel da manamde arsebul rusTvel is, nekresis, bodbis, al averdis da ninowmidis eparqiebis teritoriebze. ruseTis imperatoris amave gadawyvetil ebiT cxra saarqimandritos nacvl ad Seiqmna xuTi. zogi monasteri, magal iTad ikortis, l argvisis da Tiris, mcire Semosavl ianobis gamo, gauqmda da samrevl od gadakeTda, danarCeni ki

gamsxvil da. bodbis eparqia saarqimandritod aqcies. reorganizaciis Sedegad aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi xuTi saarqimandrito funqcionirebda: qvaTaxev-Siom-Rvimis, kaxeTis, bodbis, daviT garej is da ioane naTlismceml is⁹.

avtokefal iis gauqmebisTnave egzarqosis Tavmj domareobiT daarsda administraciul i mmarTvel obis organo _ sasul iero dikasteria, romel mac 1811 wl idan 1814 wl amde aRwera da dawvril ebiT cnobebi Sekriba bodbis, al averdis, xirsis, anagis, maRaros, mcxeTis, avWal is, metexis da sxva ekl esia-monastrebis gonebisa da maTze miweril i gl exebis Sesaxeb.

mcxeTisa da qarTl is saepiskoposo, roml is mmarTvel ad saqarTvel os egzarqosi iTvl eboda, sakmaod vrcel teritorias moicavda. bunebrivia, saqarTvel os egzarqoss, romel sac agreTve eqvemdebareboda saqarTvel os saegzarqosos damoukidebl obaSi myofi eparqiebi (imereTis, guria-samegrel os, soxumis), gauWirdeboda qarTl -kaxeTis vrcel i eparqii marTva. am mizniT, eparqii daarsebisTanave SemoiRes egzarqosis nacvl is anu moadgil is, vikar-episkoposis Tanamdeboba, romel ic zogjer qorepiskoposadac iwodeboda. 1812 wl is 30 ianvars mcxeTisa da qarTl is eparqii teritoriaze Camoyal ibda goris saqorepiskoposo, roml is mmarTvel ad dainiSna mTavarepiskoposi dosiTeosi (fircxel auri).

aRniSnul i gardaqmniT aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi dasrul da saqarTvel os ekl esiis reorganizaciis pirvel i etapi. meore etapi daacqara 1814 wl is dasavl eT saqarTvel os sakaTal ikosos gauqmebam. 1814 wl is 30 agvistos goris vikar-episkoposis dosiTeosis (fircxel auri) wardginebis safuZvel ze, ruseTis uwmindesi sinodis gadawyvetil ebiT, gauqmda sasul iero dikasteria da mis nacvl ad Tbil isSi daarsda „saqarTvel o-imereTis sinodal uri kantora.“ amave gadawyvetil ebiT, aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi manamde arsebul i ori eparqii nacvl ad (mcxeTisa da qar-

TI is, al averdisa da kaxeTis) Sei qmna sami eparqia: I _ qarTI is; II _ Tel avis da saqarTvel o-kavkasiis da III siRnaRisa da qiziyis. qarTI is eparqiiis mmarTvel i kvl av saqarTvel os egzarqosi iyo xarisxiT „mitropol iti mcxeTisa, Tbil isisa da qarTI isa;“ Tel avisa da saqarTvel o-kavkasiis eparqiiis xel mZRvanel ad dainiSna mTavarepiskoposi dosiTeosi (fircxel auri), romel ic egreTve 1815 wel s aRdgenil i „oseTis sasul iero komisiis“ Tavj domaris moval eobasac asrul ebda. mesame eparqias ganagebda yofil i al averdisa da kaxeTis eparqiiis mmarTvel i mitropol iti ioane mayaSvili, romel ic iwodeboda „episkoposi siRnaRisa da qiziyisa.“ saqarTvel os egzarqos daqvemdebarebul, qarTI is eparqiaSi arsebul i vikar-episkoposad dainiSna wil knis yofil i eparqiiis mmarTvel i gervasi (maWavariani), romel ic iwodeboda „Призваннл Викарии Грузинского и Терискии“¹⁰. axal i kanonmdebl obiT saarqimandrito monastrebis raodenoba erTi erTeul iT gazarda. Tel avTan siaxl ovis gamo aRdga SuamTis monasteri, romel ic adre ioane naTI ismcemel Tan iyo gaerTianebul i. mis winamZRvars ewodeboda Tel avis episkoposis monacvl e da rodesac mTavarepiskoposi eparqiaSi ar imyofeboda, mas eval ebida eparqiiis marTva.

saqarTvel os ekl esiis reorganizaciis mesame etapi dakavSirebul ia saqarTvel os egzarqosis Teofil aqte rusanovis (1817-1821) saxel Tan. misi wardginebis safuZvel ze 1818 wl is 28 dekembers imperatoris gankargul ebiT aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi arsebul i sami eparqiidan darCa erTi qarTI -kaxeTis eparqia. aRniSnul i eparqia XIX saukunis meore naxevidan rusul wyaroebSi xSirad saqarTvel os eparqiiis saxel iT ixsenieba. misi mmarTvel oba kvl av saqarTvel os egzarqos daeval a. masve daeqvemdebara goris savikariuso, roml is marTvel ad dainiSna stefane (j orjaZe). qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiaSi agreTve Sei qmna meore qiziyis savikariuso, roml is xel mZRvanel ad gardacval ebamde (1837 w.) iyo mitropol iti ioane mayaSvili.

misi gardacval ebis Semdeg qiziyis savikariuso gauqmda. mogvianebiT, 1886-1912 wl ebSi kaxeTis teritoriaze arsebobda al averdis savikariuso, romel ic moicavda Tel avis, yvarel is, gurj aanis, siRnaRis, saga-rej os, l agodexis da dedofl iswyaros raionebs.

XIX saukunis meore naxevidan kavkasiaSi, ruseTis imperiis sazRvrebis gafarToebis Semdeg „qarTI -kaxeTis eparqii sazRvrebi gaizarda. am droidan Tbil isis guberniis garda misi iurisdicia vrcel -deboda baqos, erevnis, el izavetepol is guberniebze, yarsis ol qze, zaqaTal is mxareze, daRestanisa da imierkaspiis regionebze. baqos guberniaSi marTI madi-debel i mrevl is momravl ebis Semdeg, 1905 wl is 19 ma-iss qarTI -kaxeTis eparqias daeqvemdebara baqos savi-kariuso, romel ic am saxiT 1917 wl is martamde arsebobda. 1912 wl is ivl isSi qarTI -kaxeTis eparqii Semadgenl obaSi erevnis savikariusos saxel iT Camoyal-libda axal i eparqia, roml is iurisdicia erevnis guberniaze vrcel deboda. 1917 wel s saqarTvel os ekl esiis avtokefal iis gamocxadebis Semdeg misi statusi Seicavl a. 1875-1885 wl ebSi qarTI -kaxeTis eparqii Semadgenl obaSi imyofeboda vl adikavkazis savi-kariuso, Semdgom igi kavkasiisa da ekaterinoradis eparqiaSi gaerTianda.

mefis xel isufl ebas saqarTvel os ekl esiis avtokefal iis gauqmebiStanave surda ekl esiis reorganizaciis sakiTxebis mogvareba, magram aRniSnul i sakiTxi, didi winaaRmdegobebis gamo, avtokefal iis gauqmebis pirvel ive wl ebSi ver ganaxorciel da. saqarTvel os pirvel ma egzarqosma varl am erisTavma (1811-1817) Tavisi moRvaweobis dros moaxerxa saqarTvel os saegzarqosos struqturul -organizaciul i sakiTxebis mogvareba. xol o saekl esio qonebis srul i aRwera, Semosavl ebis dazusteba da misi sekul arizacia mitropol it varl amis moRvaweobis Semdeg TandaTanobiT, etapobrivad ganxorciel da.

pirvel rigSi aucil ebel i iyo qarTI -kaxeTSi arsebul i saekl esio aznaurebisa da saekl esio gl exebis zusti raodenobis gansazRvra da maTi gadasaxadebidan Semosul i Tanxebis dadgena.

XIX saukunis 20-ian wl ebSi Catarebul i aRweriT gl exebis raodenoba Seadgenda 14700 mamrobiT sul s¹¹. maTi gadasaxadebidan moRebul i Semosaval i am droisTvis Seadgenda 30 aTas maneTs¹². sxva monacemebiT, 1830 wel s aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi iyo 4021 saekl esio koml i, xol o maTgan Semosul i gadasaxadis raodenoba Seadgenda 25124,7 maneTs¹³. XIX saukunis 20-ian wl ebSi Catarebul i aRweris mixedviT, qarTI -kaxeTSi saekl esio aznaurTa 108 oj axi fl obda 552 koml ymagl exs. didi mcdel obis miuxedavad xel isufl ebam ver moaxdina saekl esio aznaurTa Semosavl ebis zusti dadgena. 1841 wl is 8 ivl isis ruseTis imperatoris gadawyvetil ebiT qarTI -kaxeTis aznaurebi Tavianti yma-mamul ebiT xazinis kuTnil ebad gamocxadda¹⁴.

xel isufl eba dainteresebul i iyo, rom saekl esio Semosavl ebi xazinaSi ful adi TanxebiT Sesul iyo, magram avtokefal iis gauqmebis pirvel xanebSi saekl esio Tanxebis akrefa kvl av Zvel i formiT, naturiT xdeboda. sxvadasxva social uri j gufebi ekl esiis sarsargebl os ixdidnen dramas, kul uxs, Ral as, saxucos da maxtas. avtokefal iis gauqmebis Semdeg naTel i gaxda, rom ruseTis xel isufl ebisaTvis miuRebel i iyo saekl esio vl adebul ebis Zvel i formis datoveba, vinaidan saqarTvel oSi axl adSemoRebul i saekl esio mmartvel oba, sasul iero saswavl ebl ebi da sxva dawesebul ebebi saekl esio Semosavl ebidan finansdeboda. aRniSnul i mizezis gamo, xel isufl ebas surda momxdariyo saekl esio gadasaxadebis komutacia anu natural uri gadasaxadis Seavl a ful adi rentiT.

saekl esio gadasaxadebis komutaciis ganxorciel eba dakavSirebul ia egzarqos Teofil aqte rusanovis (1817-1821) saxel Tan. 1818 wel s man ruseTis uwminness sinodTan SeTanxmebiT gamosca gankargul eba sa-

ekl esio gadasaxadebis komutaciis Sesaxeb. axal i sagadasaxado sistemIT saadgil mamul o gadasaxadi (drama, saxuco da sxva) unda gaRebul iyo ful adi TanxiT. rogorc wyaroebiT dasturdeba, komutaciis Sedegad saekl esio ful adi gadasaxadi orjer gairzarda, ramac qarTI -kaxeTis mosaxl eobis ukmayofil eba gamoiwvia. aRniSnul is gamo, 1819-1820 wl ebSi kaxeTis sofl ebSi (bodbeSi, bodbisxevSi da sxva) gl exTa SeTqmul ebas hqonia adgil i¹⁵. Axal i sagadasaxado sistemis SemoRebiT ukmayofil eba Tbil isis saekl esio moqal aqeebsac gamouxatavT¹⁶.

xel isufl ebis mier XIX saukunis pirvel naxevarSi ganxorciel da qarTI -kaxeTis saekl esio qonebis ara marto srul i aRricxva, aramed amave dros daiwyes saekl esio mamul ebis sekul arizacia, romelic ramdenime etapad ganxorciel da. pirvel etapze (1811-1841 ww.) garkveul i nabij ebi gadaidga saekl esio mamul ebis sekul arizaciis gzaze. XIX saukunis 40-ian wl ebSi saekl esio gl exoba ekonomikurad saqarTvel o-imereTis sinodal uri kantoris Semadgenl obaSi imyofeboda. maT mier saekl esio miwiT sargebl obisaTvis gadaxdil i ful adi Tanxa xazinis kuTnil ebad iqca. 1828 wl is 4 noembris gadawyvetil ebiT saekl esio gl exebi da saekl esio mamul ebi droebiT saqal aqo sammarTvel os gankargul ebaSi gadavida da am mdgomareobaSi isini iyvnen 1852 wl amde¹⁷. saekl esio qonebis sekul arizaciis meore etapze (1843-1853 w.w.) aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os 6150 oj axi saekl esio gl exi (46150 sul iT) Tbil isis guberniis saekl esio saxazino uwyebaSi gadavida¹⁸. sxva monacemebiT, am droisaTvis qarTI -kaxeTis saekl esio gl exTa ricxvi Seadgenda 6126 oj axs, romel Sic Sedioda orive sqesis 45873 sul i¹⁹. aRniSnul i droisaTvis saekl esio mamul ebi 279 aTas desetinas Seadgenda²⁰. unda aRiniSnos, rom 1853 wels aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os saekl esio qoneba xazinas gadaeca gamgebl obaSi da ara sakuTrebaSi, radgan saekl esio gl exebi isev am statusiT

rĉebodnen. mxol od gvian, sekul arizaciis mesame etapeze, 1869 wel s aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os saekl esio uzrav-moZravi qoneba samudamod gadavida saxel - mwifo xazinis sakuTrebaSi. saekl esio gl exebi amis Semdeg saxel mwifo gl exebad aRricxes da maT saxel - mwifo gadasaxadebi dauweses²¹.

qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiis reorganizaciis Sedegad sagrZnobl ad Semcirda samrevl o ekl esiebisa da samRvdel oebis raodenoba. qarTI -kaxeTis ruseTTan SerTebamde 80 aTas marTI madidebel s 800 mRvdel i emsaxureboda anu yovel 100 sul ze erTi mRvdel i modioda. reformis Semdeg ki 300 sul s 2 mRvdel i unda momsaxureboda²². avtokefal iis gauqmebis Semdeg samRvdel oebis erTi nawil i Statian mosamsaxured iTvl eboda da xazinidan xel fas iRebda, meore nawil i _ uStatod, roml ebic mxol od Semowirul oebis xarj ze imyofebodnen. ekl esiis reorganizaciis Sedegad gaTavisufl ebul i sasul iero pirebis material uri uzrunvel yofa xel isufl ebis daxmarebiT unda momxdariyo, magram usaxsrobis gamo misi ganxorciel eba ver moxerxda. XX saukunis dasawyisSi qarTI -kaxeTis anu saqarTvel os eparqiaSi statistikuri monacemebiT iricxeboda 40 dekanози, 577 mRvdel i, 82 diakoni da 702 medaviTne. amasTan unda aRiniSnos, rom qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiis samRvdel oebis j amagiri da pensia ramdenjerme Camorĉeboda ruseTis Siga guberniis eparqiis mRvdel msaxurTa anazRaurebas. saSual od QqarTI -kaxeTis eparqiis sasul iero pirTa wl iuri xel fasi 150-300 maneTs Soris meryeobda, xol o pensia 70-90 maneTs ar aRemateboda. xel mokl e sasul iero pirTa daxmarebis mizniT xel isufl ebam 1863 wl idan saqarTvel oSi, ruseTis magal iTisamebr, daaarsa samzrunvel oebi, romel Tac mTavrobisgan hqondaT miTiTeba, rom sofl is samRvdel oebis sayofacxovrebo pirobemis gaumj obesebisatvis adgil ebze mouZebniaT saWiرو Tanxebi²³. marTal ia, ekl esiis reorganizaciis Sedegad qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiaSi 5 saarqimandrito

Seiqmna, magram maTi raondenoba TandaTanobiT gairzarda, rogorc zemoT aRiniSna, 1841 wel s aRdga SuamTis monasteri, xol o 1821 wel s egzarqosma Teofil aqtem Tbil isSi dedofal darejanis sasaxl is teritoriaze daarsa feriscval ebis monasteri. 1889 wel s ruseTis imperatoris gankargul ebiT bodbeSi aRdgenil i iqna monasteri. XX saukunis dasawyisSi qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiaSi moqmedi iyo Semdegi monastrebi: axtal is, varZiis, daviT grej is, ioane zedaznel is, qvaTaxevis, safaris, xarsis, SiomRvimis, SuamTis, beTaniis da ioane naTI ismceml is mamaTa monastrebi. bodbesa da mcxeTaSi, samTavroSi, funqcionirebda dedaTa monastrebi. am droisaTvis qarTI -kaxeTis monastrebSi msaxurobda 310 sasul iero piri. aqedan mRvdel monazoni iyo 81, morCil i _ 89; monazoni dedebi iyvnen 27, xol o morCil i dedebi _ 113. XX saukunis pirveli oceul is dasasrul s mcire cvl il eba ganicades qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiis monastrebma. 1917 wl is dasawyisSi, qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiis gauqmebamde mis Semadgenl obaSi iyo mamaTa monastrebi: Tbil isi feriscval ebis, SuamTis, qvaTaxevis, varZiis, martyofis, al averdis, zedaznis, safaris, SiomRvimis, kobis, daviTgarej is da ioane naTI ismceml is; dedaTa monasteri iyo: axtal is, bodbis, mamkodis da mcxeTaSi samTavros monastrebi²⁴. monastrebi iyofoda Statian, roml ebic saxel mwifosagan finansdebodnen da uStato monastrebad, roml ebic Semowirul obebiT da maT gangebl obaSi sekul arizaciis Semdeg darCenil i miwis nakveTebidan Semosul i Semosavl ebiT arsebobdnen.

qarTI -kaxeTis, anu saqarTvel os eparqia dayofil i iyo sabl aRoCino ol qebad. saeparqio sabl aRoCino sazRvrebi aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi arsebul mazris sazRvrebs Seesabameboda. Tbil isis mazraSi 4 sabl aRoCino ol qi arsebobda: Tbil isis saqal aqo ekl esiaTa bl aRoCini, romel sac hyavda agreTve Tavisi TanaSemwe, radgan igi sakmao vrcel teritorias moicavda. meore iyo tbil isis axl o-maxl o ekl esiaTa

bl aRoCini, mesame samebis bl aRoCini, da meoTxe martyofis bl aRoCini. duSeTis mazraSi iyo sami bl aRoCini: mcxeTis, sofel yvavil is da ananuris; goris mazraSi -qarTI is, kavTisxevis, cxisis, ruisis, Sindsis, cxinval is; Tel avis mazraSi: qal aq siRnaRis, zemo maCxaanis da vel iscixis; axal cixis mazraSi: qal aqi axal cixe; erevnis guberniaSi: qal aqi erevani, al eqsandropol is (gumbri) bl aRoCini; ganj is guberniaSi: ganj is, nuxis, varTaSenis, dil ij anis samrevl oebis emsaxureboda erTi bl aRoCini; baqos guberniaSi iyo qal aq baqos bl aRoCini. yarsis ol qSic erTi bl aRoCini iricxeboda. TiTo-TiTo bl aRoCini iyo sangil oSi (sof. kaxi), xevsureTSi, j avsa da kobSi²⁵.

qarTI -kaxeTis eparqiaSi gauqmebul i ekl esia-monastrebi, siZvel isa da mouvl el obis gamo, fizikurad nadgurdeboda. saval al o mdgomareobaSi imyofeboda moqmedi ekl esia-monastrebic. Tumca, maT adgil obrivi sasul iero pirebi patronobdnen, radgan mTavrobas Sesabamisi Tanxebi ar gaaCnda maT gansaaxl ebl ad. gansakuTrebiT mZime mdgomareobaSi aRmoCnda mcxeTis sveticxovl is taZari, romel ic axal i mmartvel ebis dros mTavar taZrad aRar iyo miCneul i. saqarTvel os egzarqosis ZiriTad taZrad Tbil isis si-oni iTvl eboda. mecxramete saukunis 20-ian wl ebSi uyuradRebobis gamo sveticxovl is taZris gal avani da samrekl o daingra, safrTxe TviT taZars daemuqra. saqarTvel os egzarqosma evgeni baJenovma (1834-1844) sveticxovl is gal avnis da samrekl os SesakeTebI ad 30 aTasi maneTi gamoyo, magram probl ema mainc ver gadawyda. mecxramete saukuneSi sveticxovl is taZars restavracia samj er Cautarda (XIX saukunis 30 wl ebi, 1860 -1874, 1891-1900 w.w.), magram taZari kvI av yuradRebas moiTxovda. igi mudmivad meTval yureobis qveS unda yofil iyo. am mizniT, saqarTvel os egzarqosma vl adimer bogoiavl enskim (1892-1898) 1897 wel s daarsa, "mcxeTis sapatrjarqo Tormeti mociqul is taZris ganmaaxl ebel i komiteti," roml is pirvel i Tavj doma-

re TviTon iyo. sxvadasxva dros komitetis xel mZRvanel is funqcias asrul ebda episkoposebi: I eonide oqropiriZe, kirion saZagl iSvil i da sxvebi. egzarqos isidore nikol skis (1844-1858) dros SekeTda Tbil isis sionis, al averdis, samTavros, martyofis da qvaTaxevis monastrebi. gatarebul i RonisZiebebis miuxedavad, ekl esia-monastrebi didi nawil i savaval o mdgomareobaSi myofeboda, mouvl el obis gamo nadgurdeboda iq dacul i siwmindeebi da Zvel i xel nawerebi. gansakurTebiT mZime mdgomareoba iyo daviT garej is udabnoSi arsebul monastrebSi. am droisaTvis moqmedi iyo mxol od daviT garej is I avra da ioane naTI ismcelI is monasteri, danarCen monastrebSi arsebul i xel - nawerebi Tu siwmindeebi fizikurad nadgurdeboda. XIX saukunis Sua xanebSi udabnoSi upatronod mitovebul xel nawerebs momTabare mwyemsebi cecxI is asanTebad iyenebdnen. Seqmnil i viTarebis gamo, XIX saukunis meore naxevarSi istorikos dimitri baqraZis iniciativIT qarTvel ma sazogadoebam saekl esio siwmindeebis gadarCenis mizniT ganizraxa saekl esio muzeumis daarseba. 1889 wl is 24 ianvars d. baqraZis mier Sedgenil i wesdeba daamtিকা ruseTis imJamindel ma sinodma, roml is gadawyvetil ebiT saekl esio muzeumi imyofeboda qarTI -kaxeTis eparqis gamebl obaSi da igi daarsda Tbil isis sionis taZarTan arsebul "yovl ad wmin-da RvTismSobl is ZmobasTan"²⁶. wesdebis mixedviT, muzeumis daarseba miznad isaxavda daecva saekl esio siwmindeebi, xol o maTi Tavmoyra da Sekrebi i masal ebisadmi da Tval yuris devneba daval ebul i qonda komitets, roml is Tavj domares saqarTvel os egzarqosi niSnavda. komitetis TaosnobiT Catarebul eqspediciebis Sedegad muzeumSi Tavmoyril i iqna xel naweri wignebi, sigel -gauj rebi, epigrafiul i Zegl ebi, xatebi, jvrebi, saekl esio Sesamosel ebi da sxva. garda amisa, mimdinareobda muzeumSi dacul i masal ebis mecniერი I i damuSaveba. muzeumis grifiT Tavisi arsebobis manZil ze (1889-1991 w.w.), 20 dasaxel ebis saintereso naSro-

mi gamoica, romel Ta Soris aRniSnavia T. Jordanas da m. j anaSvil is saekl esio muzeumis katal ogi, wm ninos cxovreba, ioane bol nel is qadagebani da sxva. saekl esio muzeumSi dacul masal ebs iyeneben mkvl evarebi: k. kekel iZe, p. ingoroyva, iv. j avaxiSvil i, ep. kirion saZagl iSvil i, n. kondakovi da sxvebi. saqarTvel os gasabWoebis Semdeg, 1991 wl is 7 ivl iss, revkomis gadawyvetil ebiT, saekl esio muzeumi gauqmda. amJamad saekl esio eqsponatebis nawil i j vrebi, xatebi, saekesio-Sesamosl ebi da sxva. xel ovnebis muzeumSia dacul i, xol o xel nawerebi _ xel nawerTa erovnul i centris AfondSia warmodgenil i²⁷.

avtokefal iis gauqmebis Semdeg gardaqmnebi gartarda sasul iero ganaTI ebis sferoSic. j er kidev, XVIII saukunis meore naxevarSi qarTI -kaxeTis samefoSi arsebobda Tbil isis sasul iero seminaria (1855 w.w.) da Tel avis seminaria, romel ic 1885 wel s fil osofiur skol ad gadakeTda. garda amisa, ekl esia monastrebTan gaxsnil i iyo samrevl o skol ebi. qarTI -kaxeTis samefos gauqmebisTanave aRniSnul i saswavl ebl ebi daixura. sagraZnobl ad Semcirda samrevl o skol ebis ricxvic. 1817 wel s egzarqos Teofil aqtes iniciativiT Tbil isSi daarsda rusul i sasul iero seminaria, romel ic sasul iero kadrebs amzadebda saqarTvel os saegzarqosos daqmdebarebul i eparqiebi-saTvis. ruseTis sinodis gadawyvetil ebiT sasul iero pirTa Svil ebisTvis 1818-1820 wl ebSi Tbil isSi, gorSi da Tel avSi daarsda orkl asiani samazro saswavl ebl ebi, sadac swavl a rusul enaze 4 wl is ganmavl obaSi mimdinareobda. qal Ta sasul iero ganaTI ebis mizniT, egzarqosma evsevi il inkim (1898-1877) 1866 wl is 5 seqtembris mcxeTaSi, samTavros dedaTa monasterSi, gaxsna „sasul iero wodebis qal wul Ta qarTul i saswavl ebel i“²⁸. egzarqos ioanike rudnevis (1877-1882) dros, 1879 wel s saswavl ebel i gadavida Tbil isSi da igi gadakeTda qal Ta eparqial ur saswavl ebl ad, romel sac egzarqosma sakuTari danazogidan 40 atasi

maneTi Seswira. manve Tbil isis sasul iero seminariis Rarib moswavl eTa daxmarebis mizniT, 1881 wel s daarsa „Zmoba andria pirvel wodebul sa“²⁹. egzarcosma fl abiane gorodeckim (1898-1901) Tbil isis qal Ta eparqial uri saswavl ebel i, romel ic manamde iyo 3 kl asiani (orikursiT TiTo kl asi), gadaakeTa 6 kl asianad da yofil i egzarcosis ioanike rudnevis pativSacemad mas ewoda „ioanikes saswavl ebel i“³⁰.

XIX saukunis 20-40-ian wl ebSi qarTl -kaxetis eparqiaSi TandaTan arDga saekl esio-samrevl o skol ebi, romel ic erT kl asiani iyo, sadac 2-3 wl is ganmavl obaSi adgil obrivi sasul iero pirebi, yovel gvare gamsamrjel os gareSe, ufasod aswavl idnen moswavl eebS wera-kiTxvas, qarTul enas, rusul s, saRmrTo sj ul s, aritmetikas, xel saqmesa da sxva. saekl esio-samrevl o skol ebSi swavl a qarTul enaze mimdinareobda. zusti statistikuri monacemebi qarTl -kaxetis eparqiaSi saekl esio-samrevl o skol ebis raodenobis Sesaxeb ar mogvepoveba. qarTl -kaxetis eparqiaSi sasul iero ganaTl ebis srul yofis mizniT Tbil isSi XIX saukunis meore naxevarSi daarsda „saqarTvel os eparqiiis (igive qarTl -kaxetis eparqiiis _ e. b.) samoswavl o sabWo, roml is Tavj domared iniSneboda qarTl -kaxetis eparqiiis erT-erTi vikar-episkoposi, xol o ZiriTadad da sapatio wevrebod eparqiiis sasul iero saswavl ebel Ta da umaRl esi sero xel isufl ebis warmomadgenl ebi“³¹. sasul iero ganaTl ebis ganvitarebas emsaxureboda egzarcos vl adimir bogoiavl enskis (1892-1898) mier 1895 wel s Tbil isSi „saeparqio samisionero sasul iero saganmanaTl ebel o Zmobis“ daarseba, roml is mizani iyo finansuri mxardaWera armoecina misioneri sasul iero pirebisatvis. arniSnul Zmobas egzarcosma piradi danazogidan ful adi Tanxa Seswira³².

qarTl -kaxetis eparqias, ruseTSi arsebul i sxva eparqiebis msgavsad, ar gaaCndaT saekl esio sabWoebi. maT magivrად arsebobda kancel ariebi. marTalia, qarTl -kaxetis eparqiiis mmarTvel ad egzarcosi iT-

vl eboda, magram rogorc erT-erTi eparqia _ saqarTvel os saegzarqosis daqvemdebarebaSi imyofeboda. igi saqarTvel os saegzarqosos eparqiebs Soris teritoriul i sididiT da mrevl is raodenobiT yvel aze didi eparqia iyo. saqarTvel os egzarqosi qarTI -kaxetis anu saqarTvel os eparqias masSi Semaval i vikar-episkoposebis (goris, al averdis, baqos, erevnis, vl adikavkazis) daxmarebiT marTavda.

ruseTis uwmindesi sinodis 1867 wl is gadawyvetil ebIT yovel wl iurad, erTxel an orj er _ qarTI -kaxetis eparqiaSi tardeboda eparqiis samRvdel oebis saekl esio kreba. krebis muSaobaSi monawil eobdnen TiToeul i samrevl o ol qidan deputatebad arCeul sasul iero pirebi. saekl esio krebase gansaxil vel i sakiTxi, krebis Catarebis dro da adgil i winaswar SeTanxmebul i iyo saqarTvel os egzarqosTan. krebis Catarebas xel mZRvanel obda egzarqosis mier daniSnul i erT-erTi vikar-episkoposi. saekl esio krebase ZiriTadad ixil avdnen eparqiaSi arsebul i sasul iero saswavl ebel Ta mdgomareobas, sasul iero pirTa material ur uzrunvel yofas da sxva. qarTI -kaxetis eparqiis saekl esio krebis TavSeyris adgil i iyo qal aqi Tbil isi.

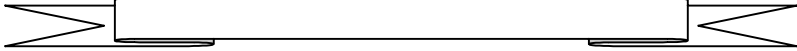
qarTI -kaxetis eparqiis, ise rogorc saqarTvel os saegzarqosos daqvemdebarebul eparqiebs, ruseTis eparqiebisagan gansxvavebiT sakuTari sasul iero xasiaTis beWvdiTi organo ar gaaCnda. 1864-1868 wl ebSi dekanози giorgi xel iZe qarTul da rusul enebze gamoscemda Jurnal „saqarTvel os sasul iero maxarobel i,“ romel Sic, oficial ur masal ebTan erTad, saintereso publ ikaciebi qveyndeboda wminda mamebis, qarTvel i wmindanebis, ekl esia-monastrebis da sxvaTa Sesaxeb. marTalia, Tbil isSi ar gamodioda, magram 1883-1910 wl ebSi Soropnis mazris bl aRoCinis, dekanoz daviT RambaSiZis redaqtorobiT daba yviril aSi (zestafoni) gamocemul i Jurnal i „mwyemsi“ TiTqmis yvel a nomerSi adgil s uTmobda qarTI -kaxetis eparqias. eparqiis Sesaxeb agreTve saintereso cnobebia

dacul i igive dekanoz daviT RambaSizis xel mZRvanel obiT 1886 _ 1902 wl ebSi rusul enaze gamocemul Jurnal Si «Пастирь» qarTI -kaxeTis eparqos ambebs aSuqebda 1891-1906 wl ebSi saqarTvel os saegzarqosos oficial uri organo «Духовный Вестник Грузинкого Экзирхата», romel ic 1910 wl idan 1917 wl amde odnav Secvl il saTauriT" «Вестник Грузинкого Экзирхата» saxel iT gamodioda.

XX saukunis dasawyisSi samRvdel oebam aqtiuri brZol a daiwyo saqarTvel os avtokefal iis aRdgenisTvis. 1905 wl is april Si qarTI -kaxeTis eparqis samRvdel oebam (472 sasul iero piris xel is moweriT) saqarTvel os ekl esiiis damoukidebl obis moTxovniT ruseTs saero da sasul iero xel isufl ebas peticia gaugzavna. imave wl is 31 maisSi igive moTxovniT TbilisSi Camotarebul i kreba egzarqoss al eqsi opoc kis (1901-1905) miTiTebiT sastikad daarbies. qarTI -kaxeTis anu saqarTvel os eparqia saqarTvel os ekl esiiis avtokefal os gamocxadebis (1917 wl is 12 marti) Semdeg kvl av agrZel ebda funqcionerobas. avtokefal iis aRdgenis Semdeg igi saegzarqosos nacvl ad axl ad Seqmnil i droebiT saekl esio mmarTvel obas eqvemdebareboda. 1917 wl is seqtemberSi Catarebul ma pirvel ma saekl esio krebam gaauqma qarTI -kaxeTis eparqia da misi iurisdicciis sazRvrebSi Seiqmna mcxeTis, Tbilisis, al averdis, bodbis, urbnisis da awyuris eparqiebi.

12. i qve.
13. m. TadumaZe, saekl esio miwaTmfl obel oba saqarTvel oSi XIX saukunis I naxevari, Tb., 2006, gv. 20.
14. d. gogol aZe, saqarTvel os social ur-ekonomiuri ganviTareba gvianfeodal ur xanaSi (saadgil mamuli o urTierToba), 1800-1864, 1971, gv. 12.
15. m. TadumaZe, dasax. naSromi, gv. 26-27.
16. v. Cantl aZe, Ffinansebi reformadel saqarTvel oSi (1801-1864 ww.), Tb., 1975, gv. 85.
17. v. CaCaniZe, dasax. naSromi, gv. 88.
18. АКТЫ, Т. 12, с. 349.
19. АКТЫ, Т. 11, с. 453.
20. m. TadumaZe, dasax. naSromi, gv. 18.
21. d. gogol aZe, dasax. naSromi, gv. 20.
22. m. xuciSvil i, saqarTvel o ekl esiis social ur-pol itikuri pozicia XIX-XX saukuneebSi, Tb., 1987, gv. 23.
23. m. xuciSvil i, dasax. naSromi, gv. 26.
24. Кавказкий календарь, 1917 год, 1916, с. 745-746.
25. saqarTvel os kal endari 1891, Tb., 1890, gv. 183-184.
26. А. Натроев, Мцхети, его собор Свети-сховели, Историко-Археологическое описание, Тифлис, 1900, с. 221, 310-312.
27. e. bubul aSvil i, saekl esio muzeumis daarsebis istoriidan, krebuli, saqarTvel os axali istoriis sakiTxebi, Tb., 2003, gv. 222.
28. i. feraZe, saqarTvel os egzarqosebi, Jurnal i, „mogzauri“, 1901, N4, gv. 359.
29. i. feraZe, dasax. naSromi, gv. 361.
30. i. feraZe saqarTvel os egzarqosebi, Jurnal , „mogzauri“, 1901, #5, gv. 483.
31. saqarTvel os kal endari, 1905 wl is, Tb; 1904, gv. 609.
32. i. feraZe, saqarTvel os egzarqosebi Jurnal i, „mogzauri“, 1901, #5, gv. 581.

arqeol o g i a



anzor si xarul i Ze, l i a bi TaZe, el i so yvavaZe,
Torni ke asaTi ani , qeTevan di Rmel aSvi l i

samTavros monastris ezoSi dakrZal ul i
qal batoni s vi naobi s gansazRvri saTvi s
Catarebul i kompl eqsuri kvl evis Sedegebi

2011 wl is ivni sSi samTavros wmind a ninos deda-
Ta monastris macxovris ferisval ebis taZris dasav-
l eTi fasadis mimdebare teritoria gamoiyo saTavso-
ebisa da saxel osnoebis mSenebl obisaTvis. mZime teq-
nikiT miwis CamoTxris dros dazianda aguriT naSeni
akl dama, rac gaxda aRniSnul i teritoriis arqeol o-
giuri Seswavl is mizezi (tab. 1-2).

gaTxrebi s Sedegad aRniSnul teritoriaze ga-
movl inda oTx i sxvadasxva periodis kul turul i fe-
na (gvianantikuri, adreul i Sua saukuneebis, ganviTa-
rebul i Sua saukuneebis da gviani Sua saukuneebis)
sameurneo daniSnul ebis nagebobebiTa da samarxebiT
da XIX s. akl dama (tab. 1-1), romel ic Tavisi saintere-
so monacemebiT kompl eqsuri kvl evis sagani gaxda. wi-
namdebare statia swored am kvl evis Sedegebs asaxavs.

akl dama mdebareobs taZris dasavl eTi stoas
pirdapir¹. arqeol o giuri gaTxrebi s dawyebis momen-
tisTvis misi avTenturi sax e dazianebul i gaxl daT:
monastris mier samSenebl o samuSaoebis warmoebisas
mZime teqnika s moengria akl damis aRmosavl eTis kede-

¹ akl dama agebul ia aRsavl is karis zustad pirdapir, ise,
rom misi gaxsnis dros sakurTxevel idan pirdapir Canda
samarxze aRmarTul i jvari. am garemoebam Tavidanve cxa-
di gaxada, rom samarxi gansakuTrebul i pativiT dakrZa-
l ul i pirovnebis unda yofil iyo.

I i mTI ianad da Crdil oeTis _ nawil obriv. Semdeg ki akl damis mongreul i kedl ebi da TaRis nawil ic TviTneburad amoeSenebinaT imave aguriTa da cementsiT (tab. II-1). akl damas CaWriil i da amdenad, dazianebul i aqvs adre, ganviTarebul i da gvian Sua saukunebis periodis fenebi (tab. II-2).

akl dama naSenia duRabze brtyel i wiTel i e.w. qarTul i aguriT (20.4-24×4-5 sm)². kedl ebi emyareba special urad gakeTebul kirxsnarian Semzadebas, romel zec aguris pirvel i wyeba simaRI ezea dal agebul i. aRniSnul doneze mdebareobs akl damis ormagi agurfenil i iataki. akl damis kedl ebi aguris 12 horizontal uri wyebaa, romel ic simetriul ad gadadis aguriTve nageb TaRSi. TaRze zemodan gakeTebul ia aguris 8 wyebiT nagebi horizontal uri gadaxurva. akl damis gare zomebia: sigane _ 1.25 m; sigrZe - 2.68 m; saerTo simaRI e (horizontal uri gadaxurviTurT) - 2 m. xol o Sida zomebia: sigrZe - 2.24 m; sigane - 0.75 m; simaRI e - 0.92 m (tab. II-1,2)³.

micval ebul i Casvenebul i gaxl daT Rviis xisgan gakeTebul sasaxl eSi (tab. III-1), romel ic Signidan amofenil i iyo bambis qsovil iT (pal inol ogiuri kvl evis mixedviT) da garSemokrul i sel isa da kanafis qsovil ze bambisa da abreSumis oqromkediT naqargi maqmanisebri arSi iT (tab. VI-1,2). sasaxl is marj vena kedel ze, Tavis areSi, maqmaniT gakeTebul i iyo gviril isebri disko. maqmani sasaxl eze mimagrebul i iyo Wikartisebri manWvl ebiT. sasaxl es gverdebze or-ori, xol o Tavsa da bol oSi TiTo-TiTo brinj a os nal iseburi saxel uri hqonda. isini rkinis moZravigol ebiT magrdeboda da imave dros amagrebdnen

² akl damis agurebis zomebi imeorebs gvian Sua saukuneebSi (konkretul ad ki XVIII s. da XIX s. dasawyisSi) saqarTveli oSi gavrcel ebul i aguris zomebs (j Ramaia 1980: 83-85).

³ akl damas, Cveul ebriv, unda hqonoda raime saxis niSnul i (j vari, qva, qandakeba), magram, samwuxarod, araferia SemoRcenil i, rac masSi dakrZal ul is vinaobaze mi gvi TiTebda.

brinj aos Txel i firfritisgan nakeTeb Wwirul siuJetur gamosaxul ebebs (sul eqvsi, inv.#109). TiToeul is siuJeturi aRwera aseTia (tab. III-4; IV-1): erTmaneTisken anfazSi warmodgenil or angel ozs marj vena da marcxena xel iT uWiravs gamosaxul ebis centri - diskoseburi dafa. dafa mrgval i gvirgvinia, romel - Sic Casmul ia xuTnawil ad Wdeul i sveti Tavisi orsafexuriani postamentiTa da kapitel iT. svetidan marj vniv da marcxniv gamodis or-ori foTol i, romel - Tagan zedebs mtevnebic axl avs. gvirgvinis Tavze gakeTebul ia yvavil isebri gvirgvini. qveda zol i siuJetisa, romel sac mTI iani gamosaxul eba eyrdnoba, warmoadgens Wdeul horizontal ur sartyel s, romel zec marj vniv da marcxniv mimagrebul ia (kompoziciis sasrul i) fiWwis (Tu naZvis) girCi da yurZnis mtevani.

micval ebul i dakrZal ul i gaxl daT qristianul i we- sis dacviT - gul aRma gaSotil i, TaviT dasavl eTiT, idayvebSi maqsimal urad moxril i xel ebi mkerdze hqonda dakrefil i (tab. III-2). qal batoni dakrZal ul i iyo abreSumis sudara-vual iT. mkerdze dawyobil i hqonda abreSumisve xel TaTmanebi (tab. III-3; VI-3-4,9-10). marj vena xel ze wamocmul i saqorwino oqros beWedi saxel obiTi aRmoCnda (inv.#110): Si da mxridan gakeTebul ia rusul i warwera: „ФТ 9 Ноябрь 1828~ (tab. IV-1,2,3). vfiqrobT, beWdis warwera qal - batonis qorwinebis TariRs unda aRniSnavdes, inicial ebi ki, savaraudod, misi meuRI is unda iyos. zogadad, beWdebze saxel Ta amokveTa Zvel i droidanve gaxl daT gavrce- l ebul i. Tu saqme exeboda beWMed sabeWdavebs, maSin masze mfl obel is saxel i ikveTeboda, magal iTad, armazisxevSi aRmoCenil i asparug erisTavis beWedi (afaqiZe... 1955: 23); vanSi aRmoCenil i dedatosis beWedi (I orTqifaniZe 1973: 52) da sxv. aseve cnobil ia SemTxvevebi, rodesac saqorwi- no, anda Zvirfasi Tvl iT gawyobil beWMedze meuRI eTa sa- xel ebis amoWraa dafiqsirebul i, saxel dobr, armazisxevSi aRmoCenil i karpakisa da zevaxis warweriani Tval i (afaqi- Ze... 1955: 24-26). rac Seexeba CvenTvis sainteresoso periods, saqorwino beWdebze qorwinebis TariRis, anda meuRI eTa

saxel ebis Tu inicial ebis datana XIX s. da XX s. I naxe-
ris saqarTvel os sinamdvil eSi imdenad dadasturebul i
faqtia, rom man asaxva hpova qarTul mwerl obaSic. maga-
l iTad, niko I orTqifaniZis Tavsafrian dedakacs saqor-
wino vercxl is beWedze meuRI is saxel i hqonda amoWril i
(I orTqifaniZe 1977).

micval ebul is srul i anTropol ogiuri kvl eva
ganpirobepul ia imiT, rom ConCxis Zvl ebi kargi dacu-
l obisaa, yvel a Zval i devs Tavis anatomiur adgil ze.
nawil obriv dazianebul ia marcxena mxris, sxivisa da
I aviwis Zvl ebi, qveda yba (Zl ierad), menj i (nakl ebad).
dazianeba gamoixateba am Zvl ebis danaxSirebaSi, ro-
mel ic adrec iyo gamovl enil i pavl e firfil aSvil is
mier. Zvl ebis arasrul i wva daxurul sivrcesi gare-
Se faqtorebisgan damoul idebl ad Jangbadis nakl ebo-
bis dros aRiniSneba.

micval ebul is sqesi Tavis qal asa da menj is
Zvl ebis mixedviT ganisazRvra.

Tavis qal as gl uvi da sada rel iefi, mcire zo-
mis dvril isebri morCebi, yvrimal Ta rkal i Txel i,
Tval budeebi qal asTan SefardebiT didi, Tval budee-
bis gareTa konturi momrgval ebul i, xol o zeda kide
maxvil i, garkveviT gamoxatul i Txemis Zvl ebis bor-
cvebi, qveda yba gracil uri, mcire zomis kbil ebi
(tab. V-1,3) mdedrobiT sqesze miuTiTebis.

menj is Zvl is mixedviT sqesis dadgena yvel aze uf-
ro zustia, radgan mamakacisa da qal is menj i mniSvne-
l ovnad gansxvavdeba Tavisi agebul ebiT. am SemTxvevaSi,
menj is Zval i srul ia. masze aRiniSneba: boqvenis kuTxe
90 gradusze didi, ganivad gaSI il i TeZos frTebi, ze-
modan daxedvisas menj is gasaval i mrgval i formis,
boqvenis simfizi dabal i, samkuTxedis formis daxuru-
l i xvrel ebi (tab. V-2,4). zogadad, qal is menj i dabal i
da farToa. yvel a CamoTvl il i niSnis mixedviT, akl da-
maSi dakrZal ul i individi mdedrobiTi sqesisaa (abdu-
Sel iSvil i 1976; Алексеев 1964).

asaki ganisazRvra Tavis qal as nakerebis Sezrdis (obl iteraciis) da kbil ebis cveTis mixedviT. nakerebis Sezrda garkveviTaa gamoxatul i (qul a 3) gvirgvinovani nakeris safeTql is nawil Si da isrisebri nakeris obel ionis nawil Si (40-50 wel i). kbil ebis cveTis mixedviT qal batonis asaki 25-30 w. ganisazRvra. Tumca, qveda ybaze (tab. V-1) sicocxl eSive aqvs dakargul i marcxena pirvel i molari (M_1) da marj vena pirvel i da meore mol arebi (M_1, M_2).

koreqtirebul i, biol ogiuri da ara pasportul i asaki 35-40 wel ia.

Tavis qal asAaRweril obiTi niSnebia: 1. Tavis qal as forma zemodan (Norma verticales) kvercxisebria (Ovoides) (tab. IV-5); 2. sustadaa gamoxatul i warbzeda aris profil i (qul a 1) da rel iefi. nadrekis gavrcel eba aRiniSneba mxol od medial ur nawil Si; 3. mxli sebri Sesavl is qveda kide adami anuri (Atropina) formisaa (tab. IV-6); 4. cxviris wina wvetis (spina nazalis anterior) gamoxatuli oba fasdeba 3 qul iT.

Tavis qal as aRweril obiTi niSnebiT (warbzeda are, cxviris wina wveti) dakrZal ul is zemoT gansazRvrul i sqesi dasturdeba.

ZiriTadi kraniometrul i niSnebis ganawil eba warmodgenilia cxril 1-Si.

Tavis qal a xasiaTdeba: saSual o, grZivi da ganivi diametrebiT, ris gamoc, Tavis qal as maCvenebl i mezokranul ia; qal asarqvel i mcire simaRl is, Subl is Zval i saSual o siganis, xol o Subl -ganivi maCvenebl i saSual oze maRal i; qal as fuZe mcire sigrZis, yvrimal TaSua diametri da saxis Sua sigane mcire, xol o zeda sigane saSual oze ganieri, aseve mcirea saxis zeda nawil is simaRl e, horizontal uri profil irebis kuTxeebi zomierad maRal i, vertikal ur proeqciaSi saxe mezognatul i, cxviri saSual oze ganieri, mcire simaRl is, cxviris maCvenebl i saSual oze maRal i, cxviris unagiris dakrionul i da simoturi simaRl ebi mcire, simoturi da dakrionul i maCvenebl ebi mcire, xol o cxviris Zvl ebis kuTxe

saxis profil Tan saSual oze maRal i, Tval buceedi saSual o simaRI isa da mcire siganis.

unda aRiniSnos, rom Seswavl il i Tavis qal a, kavkasia-Si gavr cel ebul i kraniotipebisagan gansxvavdeba dabal i dakrionul i da simoturi maCvenebl ebiTa da saxis horizontal uri profil irebis SesustebiT. amave dros, ZI ierad daSvebul i cxviris Zvl ovani nawil i (kavkasiuri), saSual oze maRal i cxviris Zvl ebis kuTx e profil is xazTan, mezo-natul i saxis vertikal uri profil i miuTiTeb s am qal batoni morf ol ogiur ierSi gansxvavebul kompl eqsebis arsebas. morf ol ogiur niSanTa kompl eqsis safuZvel ze samTavros dedaTa monastris ezoSi dakrZal ul i qal batoni, romel ic Cveni azriT, sxva artefaqtebis mixedviT, maRal i sazogadobebis wridan unda yofil iyo, Sereul i warmomavl obiT gamoirCeoda. postkraniel uri ConCxis gazomviTi niSnebiT gansazRvrul ia: sx eul is saSual o simaRI e (1635 sm) ramdenime avtoris (m. troteri da g. gl ezeri, I . manuvrie, k. pirsoni da a. l i, v. bunaki, g. debeci) mi xedviT (Алексеев 1966); sx eul is wona, ConCxis pirobiTi mocul obis maCvenebl is (50,2kg) da regresiis gantol ebis (62,7kg) safuZvel ze gamoTVl il i (Добец 1964) mniSvnel ovnad gansxvavebul i aRmoCnda; v. bunakis formul is gamoyenebiT (Бунак 1961) sx eul is simaRI is gansazRvra, SesaZI ebel s xdis sx eul is korpusis sigrZis da porciebis dadgenas. intermembral uri maCvenebl iT zeda da qveda kidurebis Sefardeba miuTiTeb s ufro did qveda kidurebze. amave dros, mxar-barZayis indeqsiT irkveva, rom mxari SedarebiT grZel ia barZayze, anal ogiuria sxiv-barZayis Sefardebac wiv-barZayTan.

fiziol ogiuri stresis markerebidan, romel Ta safuZvel ze j anmrTel obis Sefaseba da cxovrebis donis rekonstruqciaa SesaZI ebel i, aRiniSneba sicocxl eSive kbil ebis dakargva da kariesiM (M_2) qveda ybaze. am qal - batons cxviris Zgide gamrudebul i qonda. Seviwroveba aRiniSneba marj vena mxares da vfiqrobT, sunTqvis probl emebi qonda surdosa da marj vena gverdze Zil is dros. SesaZI oa, awuxebda gul is ukmarisobac.

Tavis qal aze aRiniSneba 11 anomal ia. saxel dobr: Tval budis zeda xvrel ebi (Foramina supraorbitalia), Subl is, cxviris, sacremi e da zedaybis Zvl ebs Soris CarTul i Zval i (Os. prae frontale) (marcxena mxares), Tval budis qveda mravl obiTi xvrel ebi (Foramina infrorbitalia) (Zal ian wril i, Cans mxol od gamadidebl iT), CarTul i Zvl ebi safeTql is yifl ibandis areSi (Os. epiptericum incomplectus), safeTql is qicvis zeda horizontal uri kidis swori forma (Margo superior horizontales squamae temporales), CarTul i Zval i dvril isebri yifl ibandis areSi (Os. asterion) (Zal ian patara orive mxridan), kefis CaRrmavebaF (Fovea occipitalis), sasis SeRrmaveba (Torus palatinus), sasis ganivi nakeris forma (Sutura palatina transversa) (Cazneqil i forma), sasmeni xvrel is medial uri nawil is patara xvrel ebi (Foramina tympanica), kefis rokebs ukan iSviaTi xvrel ebi (Canalis condyloideus).

ni Sandobl ivia, rom saqarTvel os Tanamedrove mosaxl eobaSi (qal ebSi) gavrcel ebul ia 39 anomal ia. aqedan, 24 ZiriTadi anomal ia adre brinj aos xanidan moyol ebul iTiTqmis mTl iani kompl eqsiT vl indeba sxvadasxva drois mosaxl eobaSi, ris gamoc, adre Cvens mier gamoTqmul i iyo mosazreba, rom es ZiriTadi niSanTa birTvi mosaxl eobis genetikur memkvidreobiTobas adasturebs. aseve, anomal iebi, romel Ta dafiqsireba ar aris damokidebul i gamokvl eul Ta raodenobastan da vl indeba rogorc eneol iTis erT Tavis qal aze, aseve Sua brinj aos 19 da ganvitarebul i Sua saukuneebis 795 Tavis qal aze, damaxasiaTebel ia am teritoriaze mcxovreba mosaxl eobisaTvis (biTaZe 2005). samTavros dedaTa monastris ezoSi dakrZal ur qal batons aReniSneba Tanamedrove mosaxl eobaSi gamovl enil i anomal iebis ZiriTadi speqtri, maT Soris Zal ian iSviaTi niSani: patara CarTul i Zval i yifl ibandis areSi. zemoT aRniSnul i epigenetikuri niSnebic adasturebs qal batonis adgil obriv (kavkasiur) substratze, Tumca, ikveTeba saxis profil irebis Sesusteba. am faqtorebis gaTval iswinebiT, SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom misi warmomavl oba ori erTmaneTisa-

gan gansxvavebul i ni SanTa kompl eqsis matarebel wi napreb-
Tanaa dakavSi rebul i.

cxr.#1. ZiriTadi kraniol ojluri ni Snebis ganawil eba

Martini	zomebi	qal batoni, asaki - 35-		
		n	X	qul a
1	grZivi diametri (G-op)	1	175.5	3
8	gani vi diametri (eu-eu)	1	138.0	3
17	qal as simaRI e (b-ba)	1	119.0	1
8:1	Tavi s qal as maCvenebel i	1	78.9	3
9	Subl is umc. sigane (ft-ft)	1	92.0	3
9:8	Subl . gani vi maCvenebel i	1	66.6	3
5	qal as fuZis sigrZe (n-eba)	1	94.0	2
40	saxi s fuZis sigrZe (eba-pr)	1	96.0	3
45	yvri mal TaSua diametri (zy-zy)	1	114.0	1
46	saxi s Sua sigane (zm-zm)	1	86.0	2
43	saxi s zeda sigane (fmt-fmt)	1	103.0	4
48	saxi s zeda simaRI e (n-alv)	1	63.0	2
77	nazomal arul i kuTx e (fmo-n-fmo)	1	140.0	3
Zm ¹	Zigomaqsi l arul i kuTx e (zm-ss-zm)	1	136.0	2

Cxriil i #1-is gagrZel eba

72	saxi s saerTo kuTxe (n-pr)	1	84.0	3
48:45	saxi s maCvenebel i	1	55.3	3
48:17	vetikal uri facio-cerebral uri maCv.	1	52.9	3
40:5	saxi s daxriil Obi s maCvenebel i	1	102.1	4
54	cxviri s si gane (nl-nl)	1	26.5	4
55	cxviri s si maRI e (n-ns)	1	44.0	2
54/55	cxviri s maCvenebel i	1	60.2	5
DS	dakrionul i si maRI e	1	7.0	1
SS	si moturi si maRI e	1	2.0	2
75(1)	cxviri s Zvl ebi s kuTxe profiil i s xazTan xxazTan (RHI-N-PR)	1	25.0	4
51	Tval budi s si gane (ORB-MF)	1	38	1
52	Tval budi s si maRI e ORH	1	33	3
52:51	Tval budi s maCvenebel i	1	86.8	3
DS/DC	dakrionul i maCvenebel i	1	29.1	1
SS/SC	si moturi maCvenebel i	1	8.33	1

cxril i #2 sxeul is proporciebi

#	i ndeqsebi	maCvenebl ebi
1	sxiv-mxaris	71.2
2	mxar-barZayis	72.1
3	intermembral uri	69.4
4	sxiv-wvivi s	65.9
5	wviv-barZayis	72.1
6	l avi w-mxris	40.5
7	xel ebi s sigrZe/sxeul is sigrZe	55.0
8	menj i sigane/mxaris sigrZe	24.6
9	xel ebi s sigrZe/sxeul is sigrZe	55.0
10	menj i s sigane/mxaris sigrZe	24.6
11	mxrebi s sigane ¹	32.1 sm
12	sxeul is sigrZe	163.5 sm
13	sxeul is masa (wona)	50.2 kg

¹ mxrebi s sigane aRdgeni l ia mkerdi s Zvl is tari s sigani sa da l aviwi s Zvl is ormagi sigrZi s mi xedvi T.

amasTanave, samarxis sxvadasxva adgil idan aRebuli iqna 11 organuli naSTis nimuSi da 4 qsovil is sinji, romel ic standartul i meTodiT damuSavda saqarTvel os erovnul i muzeumis pal inol ogiur l aboratoriaSi (tab. VI-1-10). masal a didi raodenobiT Seicavda mcenareTa mtvris marcvi ebsa da sxva organizmebis mikroskopiul naSTebs. gansakuTrebiT saintereso gamodga Tavis qal is aridan aRebuli nimuSi, romel Sic 130-ze meti mtvris marcval i aRmoCnda (tab. V-5). adamianis Tmebi ki yovel Tvis Seicavs im garemos mcenareTa mtvers, romel Sic is cxovrobs (Kvavadze... 2010: 479-494). pal inol ogiuri kvl evis mixedviT qal batonis sikvdil i uecari iyo da gardacval ebis wina dReebSi is vazis Tal ariT daxurul ezoSi trial ebda (tab. V-5). igi daavadebul i yofil a raRac seniT (mucl is areSi dadasturda parazitul i Wiis – fasciol as erTi kvercx), romel sac, rogorc kbil ebis anafxekisa da mucl is areSi aRmoCenil i mtvris marcvi ebi mowmobs, mkurnal obda mraVal ZarRvasa da ar yis nayeniT. am ukanasknel is nayenis gamoyeneba samkurnal od imaze metyvel ebs, rom micval ebul i kargad icnobda saqarTvel os fargl ebs gareT gavrcel ebul xal xur samkurnal o tradiciebs. qarTI Si aRniSnul mcenares samkurnal od ar xmaroben, samagierod, is sakmaod popul arul ia ruseTSi ciebcxel ebis samkurnal od. pal inol ogiur speqtrSi vazis da sxva mcenareebis mtvris⁴, aseve uamravi tkipis da mweris mikroskopiul i naSTi mowmobs, rom qal batoni gardacvl il ia maisis bol os an ivnisis dasawyisSi.

teqstil ebis boWkoebis Seswavl am Semdegi suraTi mogvca: qal batoni dakrZal ul i iyo abreSumis zedataniT, sel is qvedataniT da Sal is windebiT (tab. VI-5-8).

⁴ pal inol ogiuri speqtris mixedviT, gansakuTrebiT ki kompl eqsebSi arsebul i l ikopodiumis, gvimbis da wyal mcenareebis naSTebi miuTitebs, rom XIX s. Sua xanebSi Sida qarTI Si kl imati ufro teniani unda yofil iyo.

ucnobi qal batonis vinaobisa da rangis garkvevisTvis erT-erTi mniSvnel ovani gaxl avT mis sasaxl eze damagrebul i gerbis gamosaxul ebebis gansazRvra. Tu gansaxil vel obieqts heral dikuri Tval - sazrisiT SevxedavT, maSin igi unda miyakuTvnoT XVII s. bol osa da XIX s. dasawyisSi qarTul da rusul heral dikaSi sakmaod gavrcel ebul tips sagerbe ni muSebisa, romel sac gaaCnda gerbis yvel a Tviseba (figurebi, stil izebul i fari, farismtvirTvel ebi, gvirgvini da sxv.), magram moisaql ise bda dasavl eT evropul i kl asikuri heral dikis detal ebsa da iersaxes. aseTi heral dikuri ni muSebi xSirad gv xvdeba im xanebis safl avis qvebze, akl damebze, sagvareul o nivTebze (mag: WurWel i, iaraRi) da a.S.

gerbis zusti atribucia gaZnel ebul ia gamosaxul ebis ara mkafioobis gamo, magram mainc SesaZl ebel ia garkveul i mosazrebebis moyvana savaraudo kuTvnil ebasTan dakavSirebiT⁵.

sagerbe kompozicia (tab. III-4, IV-1) orive mxridan, Tu SeiZl eba ase iTqvas, upyria TiTo angel ozs, riTic isini mogvagoneben heral dikur farismtvirTvel ebs. es ar aris ucveul o movl ena, vinaidan angel ozebi farismtvirTvel ad arc Tu iSviaTad gv xvdeba XVIII-XIX ss. qarTul Tu rusul gerbTmcodneobaSi, sakmarisia gavixsenoT Tundac bagratovanTa adreul i, XVIII s. gerbebi, sadac stil izebul i fari swored angel ozeps upyriaT xel T (qarTul i wigni 1941: 12; rusTvel i SoTa 1841: 41).

gamosaxul ebis central uri figura, savaraudod, ramdenadac mocemul i stil izebul i gamosaxul ebiT SeiZl eba vimsjel oT, aris sveti. sveti qarTul gerbTmcodneobaSi sakmaod gavrcel ebul i figuraa da sxvadasxva saxiT gv xvdeba Semdegi sagvareul oebis ger-

⁵ Cven muSaoba gvixdeboda fotoze, romel zec masal is patinirebis gamo yvel a detal i mkveTri ar gaxl daT, amitom maTi garkveva mcireoden siZnel eebis qmnida.

bebSi: Tavad wereTI ebis (Цихинский 1922: 90), Tavad bara-TaSvil ebis (vadbol ski 1980: 95, naх. 151) da maTi monaTe-save (Sesabamisad gerbebiTas daaxl oebul i) Tavad or-bel ianebis, aznaur ambersaZeebis igive ambrazancev – rogorc ruseTis imperiis `saerTo sagerbeSia" moxseni-ebul i (Общий гербовник . . .1800: 127; РГИА. Ф. 1411. Оп. 1. д. №950), aznaur garsevani Svil ebis, aznaur winamZRvriSvil ebis (vadbol ski 1980: 96, naх. 177), somxuri warmoSobis Tavadebis (erekl e Il-is dros miRebul i titul iTa da gerbebiT) amatunebisa (xel nawerTa instituti. f. Hd, dok. #5565. 1784 w. gv.3) da abamel iqebis, mogvianebiT – abamel ek-l azarevebis (РГИА. Ф. 1343. Оп. 49. д. № 2. 1894 г. ст.5), aseve kaTol ikos domentis (damiane bagrationi) sagerbe beWedSi, romel ic 1672 wl iT TariRdeba da uZvel esia moyvanil gvarTa gerbebs Soris. sveti moTavsebul ia agreTve guriis samTavros gerbSi (barel iefi. saqarTvel os saistorio muzeumis eqspozicia), romel - sac guriel ebic iyenebdnen saTavisod, rogorc samTavros mmarTvel i dinastia.

rac Seexeba svetis simbol ikas, erekl e amatunebis gerbSi aRniSnavs – `sveti simtkicis niSnad"; mixeil vadbol ski gerbebiT svets sagvareul o dedaboZis gamomxatvel ad miicnevs; winamZRvriSvil ebisa da garsevaniSvil ebis gerbebiT ki mas aSkarad rel igiuri, qristianul i datvirTva aqvs da rogorc cans, sakurTxevel s ganasaxierebs. rasakvirvel ia, aseve rel igiuri Sinaarsis aris qarTul simbol ikaSi gavrcel ebul i `sveti cxovel is" gamosaxul eba.

sakvl ev ucnob gerbs TavS adgas Tavaduri gvirgvini. vfiqrobT, es erT-erTi yvel aze advil ad gasarCevi gamosaxul ebaa kompoziciaSi da sakmao sizustiT SeiZl eba marTI ac daxasiaTdes, rogorc saTavado gvirgvini. aqedan gamomdinare, sakmaod darwmunebiT SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom gerbi TavadiSgal s ekuTvnis.

sazogadod, rogorc qarTul , iseve rusul heral dikaSi, marTal ia, arsebobda cal ke keTil Sobil

mandil osanTa gerbebi (qal is gerbi dakanonebul i specificuri TaviseburebebiT xasiaTdeba), magram qal ebi umetesad mainc iyenebdnen maTi sagvareul os gerbs cvl il ebebis gareSe an mxol od mcire SesworebebiT. aqedan gamomdinare, Tu Cveni varaudi sworia da gamosaxul ebis central uri figura marTI ac svets warmoadgens, maSin gerbi, Sesazl oa, dakavSirebul i iyos nebis mier zeviT CamoTvl il qarTul sagvareul osTan, romel Ta simbol ikaSic Sedis svetis figura.

arqeol ogiuri (beWedze mocemul i TariRi da inicial ebi: „ФТ 9 Ноября 1828-), anTropol ogiuri (gardaicval a 35-40 wl is), pal inol ogiuri (gardaicval a mais-ivniSi) da herald dikuri monacemebis gaTval iswinebiT, SevecadeT, meti informacia migveRo qal batonis vinaobis Sesaxeb. yvel a im niuansis gaTval iswinebiT, razec ukve gvqonda saubari, vfiqrobT, qal batoni Tavad-aznaurTa wridan unda yofil iyo. saintereso aRmoCnda is, rom 1850 w. ruseTis imperator nikoI oz I-Tvis Sedgenil qarTvel Tavad-aznaurTa saoj axo siaSi moxseniebul ia TaziSvil i fadei dimitris Ze (Тазиевы Фадей) Tavis oj axTan erTad (meuRI e – kekel a, Svil ebi: Teimurazi, raJdeni da evgenia) (tab.VII) (Wumburize 2005: 144-145). XIX s. qarTvel Tavad-aznaurTa Soris, TaziSvil i fadei is erTaderTi SemTxvevaa, romel ic beWdis inicial ebs Tanxvdeba. Tu ki am detal s raime kavSiri aqvs samTavros monastris ezoSi dakrZal ul qal batonTan, maSin sainteresoa, vin iyvnen TaziSvil ebi? 1783 w. georgievskis traqtatze darTul qarTI -kaxeTis Tavad-aznaurTa siaSi TaziSvil i dasaxel ebul ia, rogorc sakaTal ikoso qarTI eli aznauri⁶ (bagrationi 1997: 144). igives imeorebs

⁶ saekl esio aznauroba saqarTvel oSi gauqmda ruseTis mier qveynis aneqsiis Semdeg. 1811 w. mTavrobam saekl esio aznaurebi saxazino uwyebaSi Caricxa, 1833 wl idan ki yvel a aznauri ruseTis „dvorianstvos- gauTanabrda (SoSiasvil i 1984: 625).

ioane bagrationi Tavis „Semokl ebiT aRwera saqar-
Tvel osa Sina mcxovrebtA TavadtA da aznaurTa
gvarebisa--Si⁷ da dasZens maT warmomavl obasac: `amaT-
ni wina-parni esaxl en samcxes da drosa axal cixis
gandgomisasa STamovidnen qarTI sa 1703 w. da amaT Si-
na iyo ufrosi Tamaza, mcire aznauri mesamisa xaris-
xisa, romel sa Zvel ad uwodnen Tamaza Svil ad da
amaTman gvarTaganman vinmem ganarisxa saqmesa rasmeze
rostom mefe da mefeman Serisxa da ubrZana „Se Ta-
zis Svil oo- (ese igi TaTrul ad mwevris Svil oo) da
merme mis gamo gaugvardaT Tazis Svil oba- (bagrati-
oni 1997: 71-72). Tu ki samTavros ezoSi dakrZal ul
qal batons raimel kavSiri aqvs am oj axTan, maSin gasa-
gebi iqneba, misi gansakuTrebul i pativgebis faqti, me-
ore mxriv, ufro axsnadic micval ebul iTvis Catane-
bul i brinj aos Wvirul i gerbebis gamosaxul eba. ro-
gorc aRiniSna, central uri adgil i aq uWiravs svets,
roml idanac gamodis girCebi da vazis mtevnebi. sve-
tis aqeT-iqIT gamosaxul i angel ozebi da maTi poza
ki cxadad miuTitebs am svets gandisebaze. qarTul
istoriul da rel igiur cnobierebasa da simbol ika-
Si erT-erTi mniSvnel ovani adgil i ukavia qristes
kvarTis gansasvenebel adgil ze amosul libanis ke-
dars (zoggan igi aseve moxseniebul ia naZvad an fiW-
vad – yvel a SemTxvevaSi ki wiwvovan mcenared) da mas-
ze gasul babil os, roml is mtevnebi saswaul moqmedi
Zal is iyvnen („moqcevaÁ qarTI isaÁ- 1963: 130; I eonti
mrovel i 1955: 93-94;101). am ambis I ogikuri dasasrul i
ki, rogorc cnobil ia, angel ozis mier saswaul moqme-
di svets amaRI eba da kuTvnil adgil as dabrZaneba
gaxl daT. vfiqrobt, gerbebi swored sveticxovl is
gandisebas unda gadmoscemdnen, sveticxovel i ki pir-
dapir iyo dakavSirebul i kaTol ikosobasTan.

⁷ nawarmoebi daweril ia XIX s. pirvel aTwl eul Si, magram
ara uadres 1803 wl isa (bagrationi 1997: 5-9).

1850 w. Sedgenil i qarTvel Tavad-aznaurTa saoj axo siebis mixedvit fadeis meuRI e kekel a 1850 w. jer kidev cocxal ia. Tu davuSvebT, rom kekel a da samTavros monastris ezoSi dakrZal ul i qal batoni erTi da igive pirovnebaa, maSin misi biol ogiuri asakis gaTval iswinebit (35-40 wel i), kekel a unda gardacvl il iyo daaxl oebiT 1850-1854 wl ebis Sual edSi. ucnobi qal batonis vinaobis gamorkvevis saqmeSi sicxade unda Seetana saekl esio metrikul wignebs. magram, samwuxarod, 1832⁸-1852⁹ ww. samTavros (anda sveltixovl is) tazris metrikul i wignebi aranair Cventvis sainteres informacias ar Seicavs. amdenad, erTaderT xel CasaWid informaciad isev 1850 w. qarTvel Tavad-aznaurTa saoj axo siebi rCeba.

amdenad, arqeol ogiuri, istoriul i anTropi ogiuri, pal inol ogiuri da heral dikuri monacemebis safuzvel ze samTavros dedaTa monastris ezoSi dakrZal ul i qal batoni migvaCnevina sakaTal ikoso aznauris fadei Tazisvil is meuRI ed. niSandoblivia, rom SemTxveviTma aRmoCenam mogvca saSual eba pirvel ad Cvens sinamdvil eSi dagvedgina dakrZal ul is vinaoba.

⁸ es im SemTxvevaSi, Tu ucnob qal batons ar gavaigivebT Tazisvil is meuRI esTan da mas sxva pirovnebad miviCnevT.

⁹ rac Seexeba 1853-1857 ww. metrikul wignebs, isini saistorio arqivSi dacul i araa.

**A. SIKHARULIDZE, L. BITADZE, E.KVAVADZE,
T. ASATIANI, K. DIGHMELASHVILI**

**RESULTS OF COMPLEX STUDY CONDUCTED FOR
IDENTIFICATION OF A LADY BURIED IN THE SAMTAVRO
MONASTERY YARD**

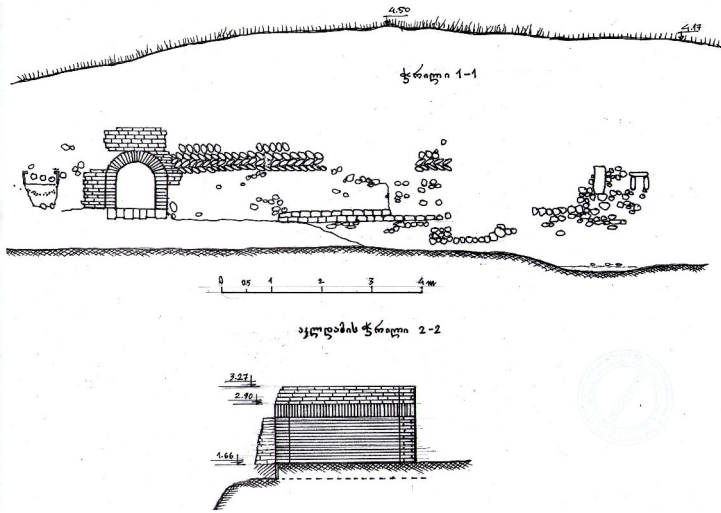
In 2011 a brick sepulchre was excavated in the yard of the Samtavro convent. The burial contains the remains of a lady, interred with a wedding ring bearing a Russian inscription - „F.T. 9 November 1828”, and bronze openwork coats of arms. As a result of complex (archeological, historical, heraldic, anthropological and palinologic) studies it has become clear that the lady buried in the monastery yard had died unexpectedly at the age of 35-40, in the month of May or June; she had suffered from an internal disease and respiratory problems, probably, cardiac insufficiency; she had taken herbal decoctions. The morphological appearance of the lady shows the complex of different features, which must be indicative of her mixed origin.

The coats of arms discovered in the burial depict two angels bearing a shield and a sacred column with a crown, a symbol of nobility, above it. The coats of arms indicate the lady's belonging to nobility. According to archival materials, the deceased may have been the spouse of nobleman Padei Tazishvili, vassal of the Catholicos (*sakatalikoso aznauri*), who must have died between 1850-1854.

tabul ebis aRweril oba:

- I _ 1. samTavros monastris ezoSi Seswavl il i kul turul i fenebisa da akl damis Wril i.
2. samTavros monastris ezoSi saTavsoebisTvis gamoyofil i da teqnikiT CamoWril i farTobi.
- II _ 1. akl dama, Crdil o-aRmosavl eTi mxare.
2. akl dama da kul turul i fenebi.
- III _ 1. akl dama gaxsnis Semdeg.
2-3. akl damaSi dakrZal ul i micval ebul i.
4. micval ebul is sasaxl eze damagrebul i gerbi da saxel uri.
- IV _ 1. micval ebul is sasaxl eze damagrebul i gerbi.
2-3. micval ebul is oqros beWedi.
4-6. micval ebul is kranial uri da postkranial uri Zvl ebi.
- V _ 1. micval ebul is qveda yba.
2. micval ebul is menj is Zval is boqvenis kuTxe da Semaval i xvrel ebi.
3. micval ebul is Tavis qal as frontal uri xedi.
4. micval ebul is menj isa da qveda kidurebis Zvl ebi.
5. micval ebul is Tavis qal as qveS aRmoCeni l i kul turul i vazis (1-4) da xorbl is (5,6) mtvris marcvl ebi.
- VI – pal inol ogiuri masal a:
1. maqmanis qveS gamoyenebul i bambis qsovil i.
2. sasaxl eze Semokrul i maqmanis detal i.
3. sudaris detal i.
4. xel TaTmanis qsovil is detal i.
5, 8. windebis Sal is boWkoebi.
6-7. sel is boWko.
9-10. xel TaTmanis abreSumis Zafi da boWko.
- VII _ fadei TaziSvil is saoj axo geneal ogia 1850 w. qarTvel -TavadaznaurTa saoj axo siis mixedviT.

tabul a I



sur. 1



sur. 2.

tabul a II



sur. 1.



sur. 2

tabul a III



sur. 1



sur. 2



sur. 3



sur. 4

tabul a IV



sur. 1



sur. 2



sur. 3



sur. 4



sur. 5



sur. 6

tabul a V



sur. 1



sur. 2



sur. 3

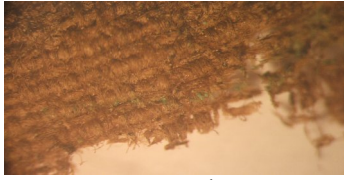


sur. 4



sur. 5

tabul a VI



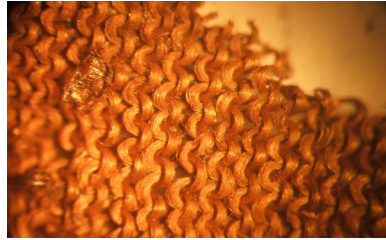
sur. 1



sur. 2



sur. 3



sur. 4



sur. 5



sur. 6



sur. 7



sur. 8

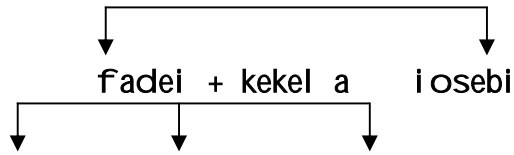


sur. 9



sur. 10

dimi tri TaziSvil i + sidonia



Teimurazi raJdeni evgenia

damowmebul i wyaroebi da l iteratura:

1. abduSel iSvil i m. 1976: *kraniol ogia*. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba „ganaTI eba-.
2. afaqiZe a., gobej iSvil i g., kal andaZe a., l omTa-
TiZe g. 1955: *mcxeTa, arqeol ogiuri kvl eva-Ziebis
Sedegebi*. mcxeTa. l. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba „mec-
niereba-.
3. bagrationi i. 1997: *Semokl ebi T aRwera saqarTve-
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gvarebisa: masal a istoriisaTvis*. red. z. kace-
l aSvil i. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba `dial -.
4. biTaZe l . 2005: *ZiriTadi anomal iebis dinamika sa-
qarTvel os uZvel es mosaxl eobaSi*. J. anal ebi. is-
toriis, eTnol ogiis, rel igiis Seswavl isa da
propagandis samecniero centris Jurnal i. #2.
5. vadbol ski m. 1980: *saqarTvel os heral dikuri sim-
bol ika*. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba `xel ovneba-.

6. I eonti mrovel i. 1955: *ninos mier qarTI is moqceva*. qarTI is cxovreba. teqsti dadgenil i yvela ZiriTadi xel naweris mixedviT s. yauxCiSvil is mier. I. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba „saxel gami-“.
7. I orTqifaniZe n. 1977: *Tavsafriani dedakaci*. Txzul ebani oTx tomad. t. 3. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba „sabWoTa saqarTvel o-“.
8. I orTqifaniZe o. 1973: *vanis naqal aqari*. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba `sabWoTa saqarTvel o-“.
9. „moqcevaÁ qarTI isaÁ-“. 1963: Zveli qarTuli agiografiuli literaturis Zegl ebi. I. dasabeWdad moamzades: il . abul aZem, n. aTanel aSvil ma, n. goguaZem, I . j iqiam, c. qurcikiZem, c. Wankievma da c. j Ramaiam i. abul aZis xel mZRvanel obiTa da redaqciiT. Tbil isi: saq. sssr mecn. akad. gam-ba.
10. rusTveli SoTa. 1841: *vefxis-tyaosani*. axl ad dabeWdili SeerTebuliTa RvawliTa ufalTa [m]. broset, z. fal avandiSvil isa da d. CubinovisaTa. sankt-peterburRi: saxel mw. akadem. mecn. stamba.
11. *qarTuli wigni. bibl iografia (1629-1920 ww.)*. 1941: red. kiksaZe g. t. I. Tbil isi: wignis pal atis gamocema.
12. SoSiaSvili n. 1984: *saekl esio aznauri*. qarTuli sabWoTa encikl opedia. t.8. Tbil isi.
13. Wumburize z. 2005: *qarTI -kaxeTis TavadTa da aznaurTa oj axebi*. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba `artanuj i-“.
14. j Ramai a j . 1980: *samSenebl o keramika feodal uri xanis saqarTvel oSi*. Tbil isi: gamomceml oba „mecni ereba-“.
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kavkasiis da winaaziis kul turebis
urTierTobis probl ema Zv.w. IV aTaswl eul Si

Zv. w. IV-III aTaswl eul ebi kavkasiaSi didi katak-
lizmebis epoqaa, rodesac kul turis winsvl a, Sida
procesebis ganviTarebis paral el urad, gare samya-
ros aqtiuri monawil eobiT xorciel deba.

am periodSi yvel aze mniSvnel ovan movl enad un-
da CaiTval os Suamdinarul i kul turis matarebel i
xal xebis didi masebis gamoCena kavkasiaSi, ramac ar-
sebiTi zegavl ena moaxdina adgil obrivi kul turis
ganviTarebis ritmze, ZiriTadad misi swrafi, `fetqe-
badi- progresis Tval sazrisiT.

am periodis adgil obriv kul turebTan dakavSi-
rebiT, mkvl evarTa Soris j er kidev mraVal i sakiTxi
sadavo da mougvarebel ia, Tumca dReisaTvis maT ir-
gvl iv mainc Camoyal ibebul ia met-nakl ebad misaRebi
koncefcia. igi samxreT kavkasiis central ur nawil Si
varaudoBs qronol ogiurad Tanamimdevrul i da gene-
tikurad erTimeoresTan dakavSirebul i ori kul turis
arsebobas – dasavl eT saqarTvel os sinqronul i masa-
l ebis adekvaturi sionis gvianneol iTuri Zegl ebisa
da wofis gvianeneol iTuri kul turis saxiT, romel ic
gavr cel ebul ia aRmosavl eT da samxreT saqarTvel os
da Crdil o kavkasiis did teritoriebze [1; 2; 3; 4; 5].
am or kul turas Soris ganviTarebis kidev erTi safe-
xuris arsebobas igul isxmeba, romel ic j er kidev ar
aris gamovl enil i. wofis kul turasa da mis momdevno,
mtkvar-arezis adrebrinj aos xanis kul turebs Sori-
sac ganviTarebis gardamaval i safexuris arsebobas va-
raudoben, radgan wofis kul turis keramikul nawar-
mSi j er kidev ara gvaqvs tipiuri mtkvar-arezul i
formebi da maTze mxol od miniSnebebia [6:41; 5:68].

am periodSi samxreT kavkasiis winaaziuri eqspan-
siis ori mZl avri tal Ra faravs – pirvel i, sionis

gvianneol iTuri kul turis epoqaSi, Zv. w. VI-V aTaswl eul ebSi da meore, wofis kul turis arsebobis periodSi, gvianeneol iTur xanaSi, Zv. w. V aTaswl eul is dasasrul sa da Zv. w. IV aTaswl eul is pirvel naxevarSi, romel sac uruqul i eqspansiis saxel wodebit moixsenieben. ufro gvian, Zv. w. IV aTaswl eul is meore naxevarsa da Zv. w. III aTaswl eul Si kavkasiis did nawil Si, aRmosavl eT anatoliaSi, iranisi Crdil o mxareSi, mcire aziasa da evropasiic ki mZl avri kavkasiuri adrebrinj aos xanis mtkvar-arezis kul turaa gavrcel ebul i, romelic, Cemi azrit, mniSvnel ovanwil ad, uruqul i kul turis adgil obrivTan adaptaciisa da integraciis Sedegia. am dros samxreT kavkasiis central uri nawil i kvl av axali, mniSvnel ovani gare gavlenis asparezad iqceva, romelic bedenur kul turad moixsenieba. mis warmoSobas, mravali niSnis mixedvit, jer-jerobit Crdil our samyaros ukavSireben [7], magram es gansjis cal ke Temaada aq mas ar SevexebiT.

amJamad minda visaubro mxol od uruqul i warmomavl obis sazogadoebis farTo fenebis SemoRwevis Sesaxeb kavkasiaSi. Cveni varaudit, Semosul i kul turis mowinave tradiciebma udidesi roli iTamaSa adgil obrivi kul turis Camoyal ibebaSi, arsebitad ucval a mas saxe da srul iad axali, mkveTrad aRmavl obiti mimarTul eba misca Tanadrul i sazogadoebis ekonomikur da social ur ganvitarebas.

Zv. w. V aTaswl eul is dasasrul s da Zv. w. IV aTaswl eul Si samxreT kavkasiaSi ucxo kul turis SemoWris pirveli niSnebi SeniSnes yvirilis xeobaSi, samercxl e da samel e kl dis gamoqvabul ebis kul turul fenebSi adgil obrivisgan gansxvavebul i, Ziritadad maRali xarisxis, morgvze damzadebul i importuli Tixis WurWl is saxiT [8: 6-11]. Semdeg msgavsi masal ebis arseboba aRiniSna wofis eneol iTuri periodis namosaxlaris kvl evis drosac [9: 28-32, sur. 9]. igi gasul i saukunis 50-ian wl ebSi iqna mikvl eul i [5;

10: 178-180]. magram maSin es siaxl e j er kidev srul ad ar iyo gaazrebul i da mis warmomavl obaze raime gar-kveul i Sexedul eba ar SemuSavebul a. Semdeg, samxreT kavkasiaSi msgavsi keramikul i nawarmi aRmoCnda berik-l deebis kargad stratificirebul namosaxl arze, mtkvar-arezul i adreul i kul turul i fenis qveS da Zv. w. V aTaswl eul is dasasrul iTa da Zv. w. IV aTaswl eul is pirvel i naxevriT daTariRda.

vinaidan im periodSi am saxis masal ebi samxreT kavkasiaSi cnobil i iyo mxol od yviril is xeobis gamoqvabul ebi kul turul i fenebidan da zust paral e-l ebs poul obda brwyinval e maikopuri kul turis sameTuneo nawarmTan, miRebul iqna uaRresad didi mecnierul i Rirebul ebi daskvna, rom aucil ebel i iyo sayovel Taod cnobil i maikopuri kul turis TariRis gadasinj va misi daZvel ebi Tval sazrisiT [11; 12]. es monacemebi iqca mTel i kavkasiis masStabiT Zv w. IV-III aTaswl eul ebi arqeol ogiuri kul turebis qronol ogiuri CarCoebis koreqtirebis myar safuZvl ad. amJamad ukve arsebobs araerTi radiokarbonul i anal izis Sedegad miRebul i TariRi, roml ebmac am daskvnaS meti damaj erebl oba Semata [13; 14:74-75; 15:84-99]. Tumca, es srul iad ar niSnavs imas, rom am ori kul-turis Tanaarseboba ganviTarebis Semdgom safexurebze unda gamovricxoT. es mraval ma faqtobrivma masal amac daadastura (uruqel ebi samxreT kavkasiidan rogorc Cans arsad ar wasul an).

samxreT kavkasiis Zegl ebze am inovaciis gaazrebas axal i mimarTul eba mieca mxol od mas Semdeg, rac yuradReba gamaxvil da Crdil o kavkasiaSi maikopuri kul turis, kerZod ki misi l iTonis da keramikul i nawarmis, siaxl oveze Suamdinarul Zegl ebTan [16:39-56]. faqtobrivad aman daudo safuZvel i da sworad warmarTa kavkasiaSi am umniSvnel ovanesi siaxl is gaazreba Suamdinarul civil izaciebTan kavSirSi, ramac dRes gansakuTrebiT aqtiuri xasiaTi miRo [17; 18; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 24; 25].

kavkasiis warsul is kvl evas am konteqstSi mainc srul iad axal i el feri SesZina samxreT da Crdil o-aRmosavl eT kavkasiaSi bol o dros ganxorciel ebul - ma arqeol ogiurma aRmoCenebma. maT safuZvel ze naTel i gaxda, rom SuamdinareTis xal xebis es invazia kavkasiaSi, rogorc Cans, erTj eradi movl ena sul ac ar iyo da sakmao drois ganmavl obaSi ganuwvetl iv xorciel deboda. Tu Suamdinarul i arqeol ogiuri masal ebis aRmoCenebis topografiis mixedvit vimsjel ebT, SuamdinareTidan l tol vil i mosaxl eobis didi masebi mxol od transkavkasiuri sagzao magistral ebiT ki ar moZraobdnen sworxazovnad, manZil is swrafad gadasal axavad, aramed TandaTan saxl debodnen kavkasiis yvel a kuTxeSi, mTasa da barSi, maTTvis Cveul i sameurneo cxovrebis gasagrZel ebl ad.

rogorc Cans, am droidan kavkasiaSi ori, ganvitarebis sxvadasxva doneze myofi sazogadoebis mSvidobiani Tanacxovreba da, pirvel rigSi, metal urgiul warmoebasTan dakavSirebul i erTobl ivi sameurneo saqmianoba iqca maTi Serwymisa da adgil obrivi kul turis swrafi ganvitarebis umTavres muxtad da mTavar berketad. amis naTel i dadastureba unda iyos mtkvar-arezis kul turis metal urgiul i warmoeba, romel ic winare eneol iTur kul turasTan SedarebiT gacil ebiT maRal donezea.

varaudoben, rom SuamdinareTidan uruqel i migrantebis moZraobis ZiriTadi idea iyo l iTonis - spil enZis, oqros da vercxl is nedl eul is Zieba [26:9; 27:46]. Tumca me piradad ara mgonia, rom swori iyos ZiriTadi sacxovrebel i adgil idan adamianebis didi masebis ayra da Sor manZil ze gadaadgil eba mxol od am moTxovnil ebiT yofil iyo ganpirobepul i. cxadia, amisTvis maT sxva, ufro mniSvnel ovani mizezic unda hqonodaT, vTqvaT, Warbi mosaxl eobis probl ema an sxva ram. Tumca, metal urgiul i warmoebis ganvitarebasTan dakavSirebul i konkretul i interesebic arc Tu meorexarixovani unda yofil iyo sazogadoebi-

saTvis, roml is sameurneo cxovrebis erT-erTi mTavari mimarTul eba da kul turis ganviTarebis ZiriTadi stimul atori metal urgiul i warmoeba iyo [26]. es interesi uZvel esi Suamdinarul i sazogadoebisTvis kavkasiis mimarT, romel ic metal urgiis uZvel es centrS warmoadgens [28; 29; 30; 31; 32], srul iad bunebrivad mesaxeba. SesaZl oa swored amaze unda miuTiTebdes samxreT kavkasiis dasavl eTi nawil is mTian regionSi, Crdil o oseTis central ur nawil Si, kavkasionis qedze da mdinare arezis maRal mTiani gamoqvabul ebis kul turul fenebSi uruqul i niSan-Tvisebebis matarebel i, morgvze damzadebul i, maRal xarixovani Tixis WurWl is nawarmis aRmoCena [33; 34; 35; 36; 37; 38; 39], erT SemTxvevaSi l iTonwarmoebis artefaqtebTan erTad [8]. aqedan gamomdinare, ar unda gamoirixos, rom isini swored l iTonis nedl eul is maZiebl ebs an l iTonmwarmoebl ebs ekuTvnis. bunebrivia, dauSvebel ia msgavsi maRal i kul turis matarebel i sazogadoebis warmomadgenl ebi gamoqvabul ebis mcxovrebl ebad migveCnia.

Tavdapirvel ad es Suamdinarul i tal Ra kavkasiaSi ubeidur kul turas miekuTvna [40] da karga xans es mecnierTa Soris miRebul formul irebad iTvl eboda. Tumca amJamad igi, srul iad samarTl ianad, ufro mogviano, uruqul i periodiT ganisazRvra [21; 26; 27], rodesac es Suamdinarul i kul tura gansakuTrebiT did teritoriaze vrcel deba dasavl eTiT da Crdil o-aRmosavl eTiT. rogorc kavkasiis masal ebis mixedviT Cans, amave periodSi maTi sakmaod intensiuri da masiuri moZraoba dasturdeba Crdil oeTiTac.

kavkasiisken uruqel i migrantebis moZraobis ori ZiriTadi gza ikveTeba – erTi aRmosavl eT anatol iidan, evfratis zemo dinebis gayol ebiT, arsl an Tefes regionidan j er mtkvris xeobis zemo wel is marcxena napiris gaswvri, romel ic axal cixe-abasTumnis Semdgom pirdapir Crdil oeTiT miemarTeba, baRdadi-QuTaisis teritoriis gavliT mdinare rionis zemo

wel s ukavSirdeba da mamisonis uRel texil iT Crdil o kavkasiis dasavl eT nawil Si, maikopis kul turis gavr cel ebis ZiriTad regionSi gadadis. amis dasturia Cvens mier sagzao magistral is gayol ebiT Tval - gadevnebul i uruqul i ier-saxis arqeol ogiuri masal is aRmoCena - abasTumani [41], orWoSani [42; 43; 44], ZuZuanis mRvime [33; 34], TeTri mRvime [36; 37], darkveTis mra val feniani exi [35], samel e kl de da samer-cxl e kl de [8]. mTel i es masal a erTobl ivadac aris gamoqveynebul i [45].

tipiuri uruqul i masal iT amJamad cnobil ia mra val ricxovani da metyvel i arqeol ogiuri Zegl ebi samxreT kavkasiis aRmosavl eT nawil Si. maT safuZ-vel ze, Crdil o iranidan mokidebul i, dasavl eT kaspiispireTis gavl iT, Crdil o-aRmosavl eT kavkasiisken uruqul i mosaxl eobis moZraobis sakmaod real uri gza isaxeba.

esenia namosaxl arebi - l eil aTefe, beiuk-kesiki, foil o l da ll, miSarCai, al ikemekTefesi, al xanTefe, Cinar Tefe, abdal aziz Tefe, Somul Tefe, adsiz Tefe, agil Tefe, xodJasani da sxv. [46; 14; 47; 48; 49; 50; 51; 52; 53; 13; 54; 55]. yorRanul i samarxebi - afSeronis naxevar kunZul ze, uC TefeSi, soiug-bul agSi [56; 57; 58; 59; 60]. se girdanis yorRani Crdil o dasavl eT iranSi [27; 61; 62; 63 - miTiTebul ia axundovis, maxmudovas da narimanovis, axundovis da al ievis mixedviT], romel - Sic aRmoCenil i masal a axl o dgas maikopis kul turis artefaqtebTan [64]. agreTve namosaxl arebisa da samarxeul i Zegl ebis mTel i seria rogorc mTian, ise zRvispira daRestanSi samuridan vidre sul akamde - ginCi, vel ikenti, toprakkal e, axal i gaptaxi, serJeniurti, ust j egutinski, gorodskoe, bel iaevo, serker Tefe, miatl i, miskin bul aki, diubendi, seidl ari da sxv. [cnobebi amokrefil ia rukidan, romel ic Tan axl avs monografias [55] da statiebs [65; 27; 66]. rogorc fiqroben, uruqul i kul turis es gavl ena faravs mTel Crdil oeT kavkasiis da kaspiispireTidan

mis dasavl eT nawil Si maikopis kul turis gavrcel e-
bis fargl ebsac ki aRwevs [27; 22].

rodesac uruqel i migrantebis moZraobaze vsaub-
robT samxreTidan Crdil oeTiT, ar SeiZl eba ar mivu-
TiToT rig monacemze, roml ebic maT mier am mizniT
jvris uRel texil is gamoyenebazec migvaniSnebs [67;
68; 69; 39].

imistvis, rom swori warmodgena SeviqmaT uruqe-
l i migrantebis kavkasiis mTel teritoriaze gansax-
l ebis Sesaxeb, aucil ebel ia CamovTval oT maTTvis
damaxasiaTebel i masal iT dReisaTvis cnobil i yvel a
punqti samxreT kavkasiis central ur nawil Sic. bu-
nebrivia, sinamdvil eSi maTi raodenoba bevrad meti
unda iyos, magram, rogorc davinaxavT, amJamad cnobi-
l i masal ebic ki met-nakl ebad srul warmodgenas
gviqmnis am probl emasTan dakavSirebiT. gansakuTrebi-
Taa aRsaniSnavi ivris zeganze, dedofl iswyarostan
aRmoCenil i yorRani didi dasakrZal avi katakomburi
samarxiT. miuxedavad imisa, rom gamTxrel ebs igi gan-
Zis maZiebl ebis mier daxvdaT dazianebul i, mainc mo-
xerxda imis dadgena, rom samarxi kol eqtiuri iyo
mtkvar-arezis kul turisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i Tixis
WurWI iT [70:7-24]. magram gansakuTrebiT mniSvnel ova-
nia is, rom am masal ebTan erTad qvis mogrZo mrgval -
ganivkveTiani insigniac aRmoCnda, roml is erT bol o-
ze cxovel is Tavis rel iefuri gamosaxul ebaa. am
nivTs araerTi zusti paral el i aqvs mtkvris qvemo
dinebis yorRanebSi tipiur uruqul masal ebTan er-
Tad [50: tab. 28, 30, 35; 61:78; 71: sur. 4]. yorRanSi es
nivTi samarxidan mZarcvel ebis mier amonayar nivTeb-
Tan erTad aRmoCnda, ris gamoc misi kuTvnil eba sa-
marxis ZiriTad nivTier kompl eqsTan eWvs ar unda iw-
vevdes. msgavsi insignia SemTxveviT aRmoCnda agreTve
samxreT kavkasiis central ur nawil Si, gomboris qed-
ze, sof. WeremTan (inaxeba saqarTvel os erovnul i mu-
zeumis samxareo arqeol ogiur sacavSi q. gurj aanSi).

uruqel migrantebTan kavSirSi udi desi mniSvnel oba aqvs wofis namosaxl ars, sadac aSkarad uruqul i maRal i xarisxis Tixis WurWel i kul turul fenaSi in situ gvxdeba Tanadroul adgil obriv keramikul masal asTan erTad [72: 55; 5] da berikl deebis mraval fenian namosaxl arze, romel mac saSual eba mogvca dagvedgina am kul turis qronol ogiuri fardobiToba adgil obriv mtkvar-arezul kul turasTan [11; 12]. mniSvnel ovania, rom aqve aRmoCnda am drois oTxkuTxi sakul to nageboba, romel ic erTadertia kavkasiaSi da roml is warmomavl obas wina azias ukavSireben [73: 34,35]. uaRresad didi mniSvnel oba unda mieniWos agreTve mtkvris dabl obSi, sof. kavTisxevTan aRmoCenil did yorRanul samarxs, roml is inventari tipiuri uruqul i Tixis WurWl iT aris warmodgenil i [74]. yuradRebas iqcevs am saxis Tixis WurWl is nawarmis aRmoCena TeTriwyaros namosaxl arzec, sadac am drois sameTuneo morgvis fragmentebsac mi agnes [75: 56,59,72]. msgavsi maRal i xarisxis Tixis WurWel i gamovlinda Tbilisis dasavl eT ubanSic, del isis namosaxl aris kul turul fenaSi [76: 31; 77]. aqve unda mivuTiToT msgavsi masal is arsebobaze araratis vel ze, Texutis namosaxl arze [78] da mdinare arezis erT-erT SesarTav xeobaSi, gamoqvabul areni l-is kul turul i fenis zeda horizontSi [38]. radgan orive es punqti Sual eduri rgol ia SuamdinareTis dasakavSirebl ad kavkasiaTan, am aRmoCenebs gansakuTrebul i adgil i unda daeTmos am probl emis kvl evisas.

nebismier epokaSi migrantTa didi masebi, TavianTi moZraobis gzaze, mkveTr dadebiT an uaryofiT kval s toveben. amdenad, am procesis swor anal izs uaRresad didi mniSvnel oba unda mieniWos adgil obrivi mosaxl eobis warsul is gasaazrebl ad. Cvens mier CamoTvil i monacemebis mixedviT, samxreTidan Crdil oetiT moZravma uruqel migrantTa tal Ram Zv. w. IV aTaswl eul Si mTlianad moicva kavkasiis teritoria. dasawjisSive, rogorc Cans, isini gansaxl dnen sam-

xreT kavkasiis yvel a kuTxeSi, Seeguen bunebriv piro-
bebs, Seerwynen adgil obriv mosaxl eobas da maTTan
erTad ganagrZes Cveul i sameurneo saqmianoba. Tanda-
TanobiT, SesaZl oa ufro metad l iTonsaZiebo samuSa-
oebTan dakavSirebiT, isini ecnobian didi kavkasionis
qedis mTian zol s, uRel texil ebiTa Tu zRvispira ga-
sasvl el ebiT gadadian Crdil o kavkasiaSic da ikave-
ben mis mTasa da bars. savaraudoa, rom swored maT,
dawinaurebul i Suamdinarul i kul turis warmomad-
genl ebma, didi gavl ena moaxdines adgil obrivi kavka-
siuri kul turebis winsvlis procesze da maT swraf
ganviTarebas `feTqebadi- xasiaTi misces. rogorc
fiqroben, adgil obrivi da Semosul i kul turebis in-
tegraciis procesma ganapiroba Crdil o-dasavl eT
kavkasiaSi e.w. maikopis brwyinval e kul turis Camoya-
libeba. ar unda gamoiricxos, rom erTdroul ad
msgavsi procesi intensiurad mimdinareobda samxreT
kavkasiaSic, ramac aqac mniSvnel ovani kval i datova.
es zegavl ena imdenad mZl avri unda yofil iyo, rom
samxreT kavkasiis adrebrinj aos xanis umZl avresi
mtkvar-arezul i kul turis Semoqmedad, adgil obriv
mosaxl eobasTan erTad, SesaZl oa uruqel i migrante-
bic vigul isxmoT.

Zv. w. IV-III aTaswl eul ebSi samxreT kavkasiis te-
ritoriaze xal xTa didi masebis migraciul i moZrao-
bis mimarTul ebebis Sesaxeb arsebobs gansxvavebul i
Sexedul ebebic, rasac, bunebrivia, Tan sdevs Sesabami-
si inovaciuri procesebis Cvengan gansxvavebul i in-
terpretacia.

uruqel i migrantebis mZl avri masis moZraobas
Crdil oetisken, samxreT kavkasiaze gavl iT, ar uar-
yofs avtorTa erTi j gufi. maTi Sexedul ebiT, didi
kavkasionis qedis uRel texil ebiT isini gadadian
Crdil o kavkasiaSi da monawil eoben brwyinval e mai-
kopis kul turis Camoyal ibebaSi. Semdgom ki maTi na-
wil i, rogorc ukve maikopel ebi, ukan brundeba sam-
xreT kavkasiaSi da aq sabol ood saxl deba mtkvris

qveno dinebaSi [52; 55; 71]. Crdil oeTSi ukve damkvidrebul i xal xis samxreTiT uku moZraobis erTaderT sabuTad avtorebs moaqvT is, rom samxreT kavkasiaSi aRmoCnda yorRanul i samarxebi uruqul i masal iT. samarxis am konstruqciis gamarTvis tradicia ki, maTi azriT, uruqel ebma Crdil oeTSi SeiZines da iqidan Camoitanes samxreTkavkasiaSi.

uruqel i migrantebis kavkasiaSi Semosvl isa da moZraobis ramdenadme gansxvavebul marSrutzec migviTiTeben. ase magal iTad, fiqroben, rom uruqel i migrantebis nawil i anatol iidan samxreT kavkasiaSi Semosvl is Semdeg, mtkvris zemo dinebiT rionis ayol ebiT, Crdil oeTiT yubanispireTisken inacvl ebs, meore nawil i ki - rion-yviril is ormdinareTidan Sida qarTI Si gadadis da qveno qarTI is vakis aRmosavl eT monakveTSi mkvidrdeba [79: 182-186]. ratom arcies es gza uruqel migrantTa moZraobis aRmosavl ur marmarTul ebas, romel ic Crdil o iranidan moemartebeda, gaivl ida samxreT kavkasiis aRmosavl eT nawil s da kaspiis zRvis dasavl eTi sanapiros ayol ebiT gadadioda Crdil o kavkasiaSi [80:341], CvenTvis mTI ad natel i ar aris, radgan es ukanasknel i bevrad realuria da dokumenturad ukeT dadasturebul i. amastan erTad, rogorc Cans, arc am SemTxvevaSi gamoricxaven, maikopis kul turis Camoyal bebis Semdeg, misi mosaxl eobis samxreT kavkasiisken moZraobis ukuprocess, vinaidan maTi azriT, maikopuri artefaqtebi samxreTiT vrcel deba didi kavkasionis uRel texil ebit [79:190-191]. ar aris gamoricxul i orive am varauds safuZvl ad edos Crdil oeTisa da samxreTis urTierTobis is ZiriTadi idea, romel ic apriori samarxTa yorRanul i struqturis Crdil oeTidan samxreTiT gavrcel ebas gul isxmobs da Crdil o stepuri garemos gavlenas samxreT kavkasiaze aRmatebul xarixSi warmogvidgens. faqtiurad dRes es mosazreba, SeiZi eba iTqvas, udavo WeSmaritebadaa aRiarebul i. cxadia, mecnierta es pozicia usafuZvl od ar Camoya-

I ibeбуl a. Tavidanve es imiT sabuTdeboda, rom yorRanul i konstruqciis samarxebi ukve Zv. w. IV aTaswl eul idan damaxasiaTebel i iyo Crdil o stepuri zonis Tval uwvdenel i teritoriis Zvel i ormosamarxebis kul turisTvis, maSin roca wina aziaSi am konstruqciis samarxebi saerTod ar gvxddeboda. swored am mizeziT dauSves, rom Crdil o kavkasiis brwyinval e maikopis kul turamac ki, stepur zonasTan kontaqtis Sedegad, SeiZina yorRanul i samarxebis gamarTvis tradicia [81:75].

amJamad real oba mkveTrad aris Secvl il i. radiokarbonul i analizebis didi seriis safuZvel ze myarad aris dadgenil i [15; 82], rom Zvel i ormosamarxebis kul turis yorRanul i samarxebis TariRi mniSvnel ovnad axal gazrdaa maikopur Zegl ebTan SedarebiT. es ki mecnierebs myar safuZvel s aZl evs ivaraudon, rom am tipis samarxebis gamarTvis tradiciis sawyisebi ufro maikopur kul turas ukavSirdeba, roml is adreul obaze migviTiTebis misi kavSiri l evantis da mesopotamiis siZvel eebTanac [15:97]. erTdroul ad, radiokarbonul i TariRebis mTel i seriis mixedviT dadginda, rom samxreT kavkasiis uruqul i masal ebis Semcvel i namosaxl arebi da yorRanul i samarxebi maikopuri kul turis sinqronul ia [13:149-153] da, Sesabamisad, Zvel i ormosamarxebis kul tura da misi yorRanul i samarxebi maTTan SedarebiTac bevrad mogviano periods ekuTvnis. yovel ive amis gamo, amJamad rogorc maikopis kul turaSi, ise Tanadrourl samxreT kavkasiaSi yorRanul i konstruqciis samarxebis gamoCenas stepuri zonis kul turebis gavl enas verafriT ver mivawerT. miT umetes, rom ar arsebobs araviTari xel is SemSl el i winapiroba samarxis am konstruqciis gamarTvis tradicia TviT kavkasiaSi Camoyal ibeбуl iyo.

samxreT kavkasiaSi yorRanul i samarxebis gamarTvis wesCveul eba Semdgomac grZel deba. Zv. w. III aTaswl eul Si yorRanul i samarxebis or j gufs gamoyofen [83]. pirvel i j gufi warmodgenil ia didi yorRanul i

individual uri samarxebiT, wmindā mtkvar-arezul i kul turis final uri stadiis inventariT [84: 29; 31], romel Sic tipiuri Crdil ouri masal ebi iSviaTad gv xvdeba [84:31]. am periodis yorRanTa meore jgufia e.w. bedenuri kul turis samarxebi, samxreT kavkasiurisan aSkarad gansxvavebul i inventariT. samxreT kavkasiis central ur da aRmosavl eT nawil Si samarxTa yorRanul i tipi Zv. w. II aTaswl eul is pirvel na-xevarSic tradiciul i rCeba, mogvianebiT ki iSviaT gamonakl iss warmoadgens.

Cveni msj el obis TematikasTan dakavSirebiT, Zv. w. III aTaswl eul is yorRanul i samarxebidan unda gamovyoT mtkvar-arezul i kul turis final uri stadiis mdidrul inventariani yorRanebis jgufi – romel ic xSirad martyoful i periodis saxel wodebiT moixsenieba. maT Soris gansakuTrebiT unda aRiniSnos al aznis marcxena napirze mdebare didi yorRanul i samarxebi, romel Ta qvis mZl avri j avSniani yril i xSirad 20-25 metris simaRl isaa, diametriT 200-300 metri da gansakuTrebiT mdidrul inventars, maT Soris oqros da vercxl is samkaul s Seicavs [85; 28:235].

vfiqrob, es mtkvar-arezul i kul turis da uruqel migrantTa integraciis bol o safexuria, rodesac sazogadoeba social -ekonomikuri ganviTarebis zenits aRwevs. srul iad bunebrivia ase mkvidrad dabinavebul migrantebis arsebiTi wvl il i ASeetanaT kavkasiis sazogadoebis enobriv fondSic [86: 38-155; 87; 88].

ganmartebas moiTxovs, ase mkveTrad ratom atarebs maikopuri kul tura uruqel migrantTa damaxasiaTebel niSnebs, mtkvar-arezul kul turaSi ki es ar SeiniSneba. vfiqrob amis ZiriTadi mizezia is, rom samxreT kavkasiaSi uruqel migrantTa adgil obriv kul turebTan Serwymis probl ema j er-j erobiT saTanadod ar aris Seswavl il i. arc is unda gamoiricxos, rom mtkvar-arezel ebi Tavis ukve Camoyal ibebul iersaxes ar kargaven ganviTarebis Sida muxtis siZl ieris gamo. Tumca, am kontaqtების ZiriTadi Sedegi

mainc naTel ia, rac mtkvar-arezul i kul turis dasas-
rul s misi winsvl is "feTqebad" xasiaTSi gamoixata.

amgvarad, samxreT kavkasiaSi, mtkvar-arezul i
kul turis final ur etapze ganviTarebis `feTqebadi-
proceSis Cvens mier SemoTavazebul i model i da mas-
Si uruqel i migrantebis monawil eoba mxol od samec-
niero probl emis dasmis cdaa. sabol oo Sedegis miRe-
bamde j er kidev misi yovel mxriv damuSaveba da yvel a
detal is Rrma gaazrebaa aucil ebel i, rac, cxadia,
Cveni statiis daSvebul CarCoebS scil deba.

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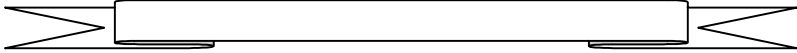
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Semokl ebebis ganmar teba

АЭФК – Археология, этнология, фольклористика Кавказа
 ALBEW.TKTD "FG" IS – Azerbaijan – Land between East and West.
 Transfer of knowledge and technology during the "First globalization" International Symposium
 ВГМГ – Вестник Государственного музея Грузии
 СА – Советская археология
 ssmm – saqarTvel os saxel mwi fo muzeumis moambe
 КСИА – Краткие сообщения Института археологии
 МАК – Материалы по археологии СССР
 ПАИ – Полевые археологические исследования
 РА – Российская археология

L i t e r a t u r a T m c o d n e o b a



nestan sul ava

mi qael modreki l is moRvaveobi s l okal izaci i saTvi s

meaTe saukunis cnobil i qarTvel i himnografis, didi sawel iwdo iadgaris Semdgenl is miqael modreki l is moRvaveobis adgil is Sesaxeb samecniero l i t e r a t u r a S i gamoTqmul ia erTmaneTisagan gansxvavebul i ori Sexedul eba: 1. mecniertA nawil is azriT, miqael modreki l i moRvaveobda wmda grigol xancTel is mier daarsebul Satberdis yovl adwmida RvTismSobl is saxel obis monasterSi, romel sac wyaroebi didebul l avrad moixsenieben da man Seadgina didi sawel iwdo iadgari (T. Jordania, n. mari, g. l eoniZe, p. ingoroyva, e. metreveli); 2. meore nawil i fiqrobs, rom miqael modreki l i moRvaveobda oSkis ioane naTl ismceml is saxel obis monasterSi, romel ic, agreTve, didebul l avrad moixsenieba naratiul wyaroebSi da, didi iadgaris Sedgenis garda, monawil eoba miuRia oSkis//aTonis bibl iis gadaweraSi (k. kekel iZe, l . menabde).

samecniero l i t e r a t u r a S i pirvel ma Tedo Jordaniam ganixil a miqael modreki l is moRvaveoba da aRniSna, rom igi SatberdSi moRvaveobda da misi Sedgenil ia didi sawel iwdo iadgari. misive Sexedul ebiT, miqael i iyo iovane-Tornikesa da iovane-varazvaCes dedis _ mariamis Zma, e. i. maTi biZa, xol o wm. efvTime mTawmidel s bebiis Zmad ekuTvnodea (Jordania, 1892: 112). kornel i kekel iZem, srul iad samarTl ianad, SeuZl ebl ad miicnia am faqtis real uroba, `vinaidan 978-988 wl ebSi, roca miqael s Tavisi krebul i dauweria, ioane da Tornike Rrmad moxucebul i iyvnen (Tornike 985 wel s `siberesa Sina- gardaicval a kidec), da raRa

unda yofil iyo maSin maTi dedis Zma, es xom raRac warmoudgenel ia?~ (kekel iZe, 1960: 175). marTI ac, miqael is geneal ogiidan Cans, rom miqael is diswul ebi iovane-Tornike da iovane-varazvaCe ki ara, iovane berai da daviTi arian, roml ebic SatberdSi moRvaweobdnen.

kornel i kekel iZem Tedo Jordanas Secdomas Semdegi axsna mouZebna: `oSkiS `samoTxis- anderZi, romel ic ori pirisaganaa daweril i, iovane-Tornikesa da miqel modrekil is diswul is _ daviTisagan, erT pirs, daviTs, miawera man- (kekel iZe, 1960: 175). misi azriT, miqael modrekil i aris `is miqel i, Ze varazvaCesi da Zma eqvTime aTonel isa, romel ic 978 wel s oSkis l avraSi Cans da romel ic moxseniebul ia aTonis bibl iis anderZSi amnairad: `miqel Ze varazvaCesi. didi sitkboebaÁ miCuenes amis wignisa Sromasa-. SeiZl eba, miqel i aris erT-erTi gadamweri aTonis bibl iisa da mas ekuTvnis 12 winaswarmetyvel Ta wignis gadawera, rogorc es Cans sityvebidan: `aqamde giorgisi, aqaÁTgan miqael isi waRmarT- (win) da `aqamde miqael isi, romel sac cTomil viyo, RmrTisaTÁs SemindveT da l ocvasa momiÁseneT- (iqve). k. kekel iZisave varaudiT, miqael sa da evfTvimes hyol iaT da, romel sac ori Svil i SesZenia: iovane berai, Satberdis krebul is gadamweri, da daviTi, oSkis `samoTxis- erT-erTi anderZis damweri. k. kekel iZe askvnis: `amnairad, miqel modrekil i aris oSkis moRvawe, Zma eqvTime aTonel isa, da amiT aixsneba, rom misi krebul is 491-e gverdis qvemo arSiaze sweria: `ufal o, Seiwyal e eftÁme codvil i mwarded-. is aris, al baT, ufrosi Zma eqvTimesi~ (kekel iZe, 1960: 176). k. kekel iZe wm. giorgi mTawmidl is hagiografiul Txzul ebaze dayrdnobiT wm. eftvime mTawmidel is Sesaxeb wers, rom im dros, rodesac berZenTa imperatorma daviT kurapal ats dauTmo `zemoni queyanani~, mZevl ad mostxova aznaurTa Svil ebi, mcirewl ovani eftvime konstantinopol s mZevl ad waiyvanes papam abuharbma da iovanes col isZmebma (kekel iZe, 1960: 184).

k. kekel iZis msj el obis mixedviT, miqael modrekil i oSkis didebul i l avris moRvawea, igi ufrosi Zmaa wm. eFTvime mTawmidel isa da Ze iovane-varazvaCe mTawmidel isa. Tu imasac gaviTval iswinebT, rom iovane-Tornike da iovane varazvaCe Zmebi arian, maSin iovane-Tornike miqael s biZad moxvdeba.

anderZ-minawerebis monacemebis gaTval iswinebiT zogi ram kornel i kekel iZis Sexedul ebebSi dasazustebel i da Sesacvl el ia.

saxel i miqael i gvxxvdeba meaTe saukunis 70-80-ian wl ebSi Seqmnil ramdenime xel nawerSi. esenia: 1. Satberdel i moRvawis iovane berais mier Sedgenil i da gadaweril i Satberdis krebul i, anu mraval Tavi, S-1141, (Satberdis krebul i, 1979); 2. oSkis, igive aTonis biblia, Ath.1, gadaweril i 978 wel s sami moRvawis _ miqael varazvaCes Zis, dekanoz stefanesa da giorgigel asis Zis mier; 3. didi sawel iwdo iadgari, S-425, gadaweril i da Sedgenil i 978-988 wl ebSi miqael modrekil is mier; 4. oSkis, igive, aTonis `samoTxe- Ath.9, roml is anderZi daweril ia daviTis, miqael modrekil is diswul is mier.

daviwoT miqael modrekil is himnografiul i krebul is, didi sawel iwdo iadgaris anderZ-minawerebiT, romel Ta daxmarebiT SesaZl ebel i xdeba miqael is udidesi himnografiul i Rvawlis gansazRvra. mogvaqvs anderZ-minawerTa teqstebi: 1. Zl ispirTa da RmrTismSobl isanTa dasrul ebis Semdeg krebul is Semdgenel i wers: `didebaÁ Senda, qriste, daesrul nes SewevniTa Zl ispirni srul ni yovel iTa gangebiTa sadidebel ad saxel isa SenisaTa wmidisa, romel i kurTxeul ars saukuniTgan da ukuniTi ukunisamde, amin. q. mfl obel o ortave sufevaTao, meoxebiTa yovel Ta wmidataÁTa SenTaÁTa umetes adide **Sen mier Rirsad gÄrgÄnosani uZl evel i mefeTa mefÄ daviT kurapal ati**, da dascen yovel ni mterni da winaaRmdgomni mefobisa matisani queSe ferÁTa matTa uZl evel iTa Zal iTa kl avisa SenisaÁTa. amin. iyavn. SewevniTa RmrTisaÁTa

romel i igi ars mizezi yovl isa keTil isaÁ, me, gl axak-
man miqael modrekil man, Zmi swul man RmerT-Semosil isa
mamisa daviTisman, vi Ruawe da yovl iT kerZo SromaÁ va-
Cuene uzeSTaes Zal isa Cemisa da friadiTa xarkebiTa
da gul smodgined ZiebiTa Sevkriben ZI ispirni ese yovl
iT kerZove, romel ni vpoen eniTa qarTvel TaÁTa: me-
xurni berZul ni da qarTul ni srul ni yovl iTa gange-
biTa, davveren wmidasa amas wignsa Sina yovl iTa gan-
martebiTa da WeSmartebiTa da esrÁT ganvawese, TaviT
TÁsiT da umj obes vyav umecrebiTa sigl axakisa Cemi-
saÁTa, rameTu yovel sa Ámasa pirvel ufal o RaRadyavi-
sa ZI ispirni dawveren da Semdgomad gal obaTani TÁni-
er qaragmiTa. da yovl iTurT srul iqmna muSakobaÁ ese
saRmrToÁ Zal iTa da SewevniTa didad saxierisa mxo-
l oÁsa RmrTisaÁTa, romel i kurTxgul ars aw da mer-
meTa maT saukuneTa. amin- (S-425, 24r-v).

amj erad am anderZidan CvenTvis sainteresoa Sem-
degi informaciebi: X saukunis II naxebris erT-erTi
ugamoCinebul esi pirovneba, mefeTa mefe daviTi moix-
senieba kurapal atad. daviTma kurapal atoba miiRo 979
wel s, mas Semdeg, rac iovane-Tornikes meTaurobiT
qarTvel Ta I aSqarma sZI ia barda skl iarosi da bi-
zantiis imperatorma daviTs kurapal atis xarisxi
uboZa. anderZidan naTI ad Cans, rom miqael modre-
kil s 979 wl isaTvis ukve dasrul ebul i hqonda Tavis
iadgaris erTi nawil i _ ZI ispirni da RmrTismSobl i-
sani. miqael modrekil i, romel ic sakuTar Tavsgl ax-
xaks uwodebs, aris RmerTsemosil i mamis daviTis
Zmi swul i. iadgarSi Tavis biZas daviTs ramdenj erme
axsenebs miqael i, xan martos, xan TavisTan erTad.
mag., `ufal o, moiÁsene sul i uRirsTa monaTa SenTaÁ
daviTisi da gl axakisa miqael modrekil isaÁ- (S-425,
56r); aseTive Sinaarsisaa minawerebi 86r-sa da 262v-ze:
`ufal o, wyal obiT moiÁsene sul i daviTisi- (S-425,
73v; 223r). rogorc Cans, miqael modrekil is biZa davi-
Ti cnobil i pirovneba unda yofil iyo, vinaidan miqae-

l i sakuTar Tavze mamamisis Svil obiT ar l aparakobs, mas Tavisi Tavis RmerTSemosil i mamis daviTis Zmiswul ad moxsenieba eamayeba. SesaZl oa, amgvari moxsenieba imiTac iyos ganpirobetul i, rom RmerTSemosil i mama daviTi da miqael modrekil i sasul iero pi-rebi arian, erT l avraSi _ SatberdSi moRvaweobdnen.

2. meore anderZi miqael modrekil s aRdgomis brwyinval e dResaswaul isadmi miZRvnil i sagal obl e-bis Semdeg mouTavsebia, romel Sic sakuTar Tavs sofl i is codvebSi CafI ul adamanad warmoaCens: `SewevniTa didad saxierisa RmrTisaÁTa me, gl axakman da friad udebebiT cxovrebul man, Rel vaTa sofl isaTa danTqmul man da simZimiTa bral Ta simravl isaÁTa daRonebul man, miqael modrekil man viRuawe da uzeSTaes uZl urisa Zal isa Cemisa SromaÁ vaCuene da Sevcriben sagal obel ni ese wmidisa aRdgomisani, romel ni vpoen eniTa qarTvel TaÁTa: mexurni berZul ni da qarTul ni, srul ni yovl iTa gangebiTa, wesisaebr saekl esioÁsa: ufal o RaRadyaviTa, oxita, moixil iTa da aqebdiTiTa Zl ierad da siwmidiT da simarTI iT sisworita kil oÁsaTa da ucTomel obiTa ni SnisaÁTa. ixi-le, mRdel o RmerTSemosil o, kninive ese namuSakevi undoÁTa Áel Ta CemTaÁ raJams uSromel ad aRmoevso saRmrToÁsa amisgan wyaroÁsa, moiÁsene sawyal obel i sul i Cemi qristes siyuarul isaTÁs, raÁTa Tquencia hpovoT madl i mowyal ebisaÁ da sasyidel i siyuarul isaÁ. romel ni ikiTxvideT, iswavebdeT, ginaTu ismendeT sityuaTa amaT RmrTiv-sul ierTa sagal obel Ta ufl isaTa, romel i kurTxedul ars ukuniTi ukunisamde, amin. ufal o, wyal obiT moiÁsene sul i mamisa daviTisi, io-vanesi, daviTisi da wyal oba yav sawyal obel isa miqael isaTÁs~ (S-425,262v).

anderZis dasawyisSi naTqvami _ `friad udebebiT cxovrebul man, Rel vaTa sofl isaTa danTqmul man da simZimiTa bral Ta simravl isaÁTa daRonebul man, miqael modrekil man~... _ miuTitebs miqael modrekil is mRel vare da codvebiT damZimebul cxovrebaze, rac

TavisTavad unda gul isxmobdes am striqonebis avtoris xandazmul obas. aqve aRvniSnavT, rom sakuTari Tavis codvianad da bral eul ad warmocena Sua saukuneebis saRvTismetyvel o literaturas axasiaTebS; amgvari msjel oba formul ad aris Camoyal ibebul i anderZ-minawerebSi da xel naweridan xel nawerSi gadadis.

sagangebo mniSvnel oba aqvs anderZis bol o minawers, sadac miqael i moixseniebs Satberdis l avraSi moRvawe sam pirovnebas _ daviTs, romel Sic misi biZa RmerTsemosil i mama daviTi igul isxmeba; iovanes, romel ic aris miqael is diswul i, Satberdis krebul is Semdgenel i iovane berai, da daviTs, romel ic miqael isave diswul ia, iovane berais Zma, Cans, umcroSi, sagangebod miwveul i oSkis didebul l avraSi `samoTxis- xel nawers darTul i momgebl is anderZis dasawerad, rogorc es ivarauda el ene metrevel ma (metreveli, 1996: 12-16). rogorc weril obiTi wyaroebidan dasturdeba, `samoTxis- momgebel i iyo iovane Tornik-yofil i, Ze sul kurTxedul i Cordvanel isa.

Satberdis krebul is anderZ-minawerebis saSual ebit Sesazl ebel i xdeba Zmebis iovane beraisa da daviTis samoRvaweo areal is dadgena da kidev erTxel damowmeba miqael modrekil Tan maTi naTesauri kavSiris. Satberdis krebul is anderZSi iovane berai, gadamweri krebul isa, wers: `ganvasrul e wmi daÁ ese wigni... moRuawebiTa da TanadgomiTa dedis Zmisa Cemisa miqael isa da Zmisa Cemisa daviTisiTa da sxuaÁ araÁ aravis hrTavs TÁnier sigl axakisa Cemisa- (Satberdis krebul i, 1979: 21). `TanadgomiTa da moRuawebiTa- uTuod axl os, monasterSi masTan erTad myofi adamianis yovel dRiur Tanadgomasa da moRuawebas gul isxmobs. Soridan Tanadgomasa da Rvawl s ase sagangebod ar miuTitebda, an daakonkretebda mainc, Tu ra Tanadgoma da Rvawl i gaswia TiToeul ma maTganma; anderZ-minawerebSi amgvari faqtebi yovel Tvis detal uradaa aRniSnul i. amrigad, am anderZ-minaweris Sinaarsis gaTval iswinebit irkveva, rom miqael i yofil a Zmebis _

iovane beraisa da daviTis biZa, roml is diswul ad moxsenieba iovane berais saamayod miaCnia. daviTic oSkis//aTonis `samoTxis- (Ath.9) anderZSi aRniSnavs: `ese anderZi me, uRirsman daviT, diswul man RmerTSe- mosil isa miqael modrekil isaman, dawwere- (aRweril oba, aToni, 1986: 47). am anderZis safuZvel ze pavl e ingoroyvam daaskvna: `miqael modrekil i imdenad gan- Tqmul i moRvawe yofil a, rom daviTi Tavis-Tavs moix- seniebs ara mamis-Svil obiT, aramed miqael modreki- l is diswul obiT, romel sac `RmerT-Semosil s- uwo- debs- (ingoroyva, 1954: 765). e. i. Satberdis krebul isa da 977 wel s oSkSi gadaweril i aTonis monastrisaT- vis gankuTvnil i xel naweris `samoTxis- (Ath.9) ander- Zebi miuTiTeben, rom miqael is diswul ebi arian Sat- berdSi moRvawe iovane berai da daviTi. es ukanaskne- l i sagangebod miuwveviaT oSkis didebul i l avris skriptoriumSi anderZis damwerad, romel ic, rogorc teqsti gviCvenebs, iovane-Tornikes karnaxiT an misi daval ebiT Seusrul ebia. `...ese anderZi me uRirsman daviT, diswul man RmerTSe mosil isa miqael modreki- l isaman, dawwere- (aRweril oba, aToni, 1986: 46-47). am anderZis Sinaarsis gaTval iswineba warmoaCens, Tu ra farTo gonebrivi Tval sawieri da Rrmad moazrovne unda yofil iyo daviTi, Zma iovane beraisa. swored es iovane berai da misi Zma daviTi, maTi dedis biZasTan _ daviTTan erTad, igul isxmebian miqael modrekil is zemoxsenebul anderZSi.

iovane berai rom SatberdSi moRvaweobda, kargad Cans 973 wel s SatberdSi axl adaSenebul i parxl isaT- vis gadaweril i saxarebis anderZidan: `Rirs viqmen me gl axaki **iovane, narTaul ad beraA**, aRsrul ebad wmi da- sa amas saxarebasa oTxTavsa sal ocvel ad mefeTa Cu- enTaTAs: bagrat qarTvel Ta mefisa, daviT magistrosi- sa, sumbat erisTavT-erisTavisa- (12, 034); `qriste meu- feo yovl isa mpyrobel o, Seiwyal e **gl axaki iovane, mweral i amis wi gni saA**, meoxebiTa wmi daTa maxarebel - Ta SenTaATA, a(n- (qarTul i oTxTavis., 1945: 034); `q.

Seiwyal e **beraÁ mwerai** i~ (iqve); `ufal o iesu griste, cxovel Ta da mkudarTa meufeo, Seiwyal e **iovane berai, mwerai i amisi, gl axaki sul iTa**, meoxebiTa wmidata maxarebel Ta SenTaÁTa~ (qarTul i oTxTavis., 1945: 035); `Sewwire wmidasa ekl esiasa parxl isasa... winaSe axal sa ekl esiasa, axal sa sakurTxevel sa zeda daidvas sadidebel ad RmrTiv-gÁrgÁnosnisa mefeTa mefisa (adidenin RmerTman) RmrTiv damyarebul isa daviT magistrosisa, mamobasa sarwmunoÁsa mwyemsisa da keTil ad moRuawisa wmidisa mamisa **efTvimesa**... (qarTul i oTxTavis., 1945: 035); `...me, **iovane beraman, mwerai man Satberdel man, Satberds dawwere** da parxal s Sewwire sal ocvel ad yovel Ta ZmaTa Satberdel Ta~ (qarTul i oTxTavis., 1945: 035). aq moxseniebul ia Satberdis l avris winamZRvari efTvime, romel sic SeiZl eba vigul isxmOT miqael modrekil is iadgaris minawerSi naxsenebi efTvime codvil i. k. kekel iZes ki miqael is iadgaris minawerSi naxsenebi efTvime miaCnia wm. efTvime mTawmidel ad, rac zemoT moxmobil i minaweris safuZvel ze sinamdvil es ar Seesabameba.

amrigad, efTvime aris Satberdis winamZRvari 973 wel s parxl is saxarebis iovane berais minaweris mixedvit. vfiqrobT, am efTvimes gul isxmobs miqael modrekil i Tavis iadgarSi.

yovel ive zemoTqmul i mowmobs, rom Zmebi iovane berai da daviTi SatberdSi moRvaweoben, magram maT urTierToba aqvT tao-kl arjeTis sxva saRvTismetyvel o-l iteraturul centrebTan. maTi ZiriTadi samoRvaweo adgil i Satberdis didebul i l avraa, romel sac ukavSirdeba miqael modrekil is saxel i. vfiqrobT, raki miqael i Tavis diswul ebs axsenebs da, piriqit, iovane berai da daviTi miqael s axsenebs TaviantT damzadebul xel nawerebze darTul anderZ-minawerebSi, imas unda niSnaveds, rom isini erT l avraSi, kerZod, SatberdSi moRvaweoben. moxseniebis yovel i SemTxveva imgvaradaa mowodebul i, rom igi uTuod erT l avraSi moRvaweobs gul isxmobs. isic sainteresoa, rom miqael

modrekil is biZasa da erT-erT diswul s erTi da igi-
ve saxel i _ daviTi _ hqviaT. umcrosisatvis Semonaz-
vnebisas daviTis saxel is darqmevis safuZvel i ufro-
si daviTis Rirseul i mamobis magal iTic SeiZl eboda
yofil iyo.

pavl e ingoroyvam yuradReba miaqcia oSkSi 977
wel s stefanes gadaweril i xel naweris `samoTxis-
anderZs. xel naweris momgebel i iovane-Tornikea. xel na-
weri gadaweril ia daviTis magistrosobisas. mas ax-
l avs momgebl is anderZi da gadamweris minawerebi. ga-
damweris minawerebi Sesrul ebul ia anderZze adre, vi-
naidan daviTi magistrosad moixsenieba, xol o momgeb-
l is anderZi, Cans, 979 wl is zafxul is Semdegaa dawer-
ril i, vinaidan am wl is zafxul Si Camovida gamarj ve-
bul i iovane-Tornike taoSi da gaagrZel a aTonis qar-
Tvel Ta monastrisaTvis bibl ioTekis Sevseba. amis
Semdeg moixsenieba daviTic kurapal atad. xel naweris
374v-ze minawerSi ikiTxeba: `qriste, Zeo RmrTisao, mi-
wie wmi daÁ ese wigni wmidasa mas Sen mier gamorCeul -
sa, sayofel sa wmi daTa mamaTa mTawmidas, romel ars
aTonaÁ- (aRweril oba, aToni, 1986: 48).

anderZi daweril ia ioane-Tornikes daval ebiTa
da saxel iT, daviTis mier, romel ic Tavis Tavs miqae-
l modrekil is diswul ad moixseniebs. amave anderZSi
ioane-varazvaCes erT-erT Zed moixsenieba miqael i, ro-
mel ic, p. ingoroyvas mosazrebiT, araviTar SemTxveva-
Si araa miqael modrekil i. e. i. aris ori miqael i: 1.
miqael iovane-varazvaCes Ze, Zmi swul i iovane-Tornike-
si, romel ic miqael modrekil ze gacil ebiT axal gaz-
rda Cans; 2. miqael modrekil i, didi sawel iwdo iad-
garis Semdgenel i (ingoroyva, 1954: 765), `friad udebe-
biT cxovrebul i, Rel vaTa sofl isaTa danTqmul i da
simZimiTa bral Ta simravl isaÁTa daRonebul i- (sul a-
va, 2003: 33-51).

daismis kiTxva, vin aris oSkis//aTonis bibl iis
anderZ-mi nawerebSi moxseniebul i miqael varazvaCes
Ze? oSkis bibl iis sakmaod didi nawil is, kerZod, 12

winaswarmetyvel is wignis gadamweri miqael i? xom ar aris igi miqael modrekil i, romel mac 978-988 wl ebSi Seadgina `saunj e meaTe saukunisa- (m. j anaSvil i) _ di di sawel iwdo iadgari, rogorc amas fiqrobda korne l i kekel iZe (kekel iZe, 1960: 175). rogorc xel nawers darTul i minawerebi mowmoben, oSkis//aTonis bibl iis (Ath.1) gadamwerebi arian miqael , dekanozis stefane da giorgi. movixmobT im minawerebs, roml ebSic moxsenie bul ia gadamweri miqael i: `dideba Senda qristel daes rul a winaswarmetyuel ebaÁ esiaÁsi. qristÁ, Seiwyal e Tornik patriki da gl axaki **miqael mwerl i**. amen- (gigi neiSvil i, kikviZe, 1989: 564). `qristÁ, adide Tornik patriki Svil iTurT, amen, da **gl axakisa miqael mwerl i saTÁs** l ocva yavT- (gigineisvil i, kikviZe, 1989: 565); `q. sayuarel no, gul smodginebaÁ friad maqunda, gana weraÁca esTen vicode RmrTisaTÁs, Semindve... odes amas wig nsa wwerdi, gonebiTa ver dawynarebiT viyav.. Sromi saTÁs dal ocva yavT, daki ebisaTÁs SemindveT, qriste, miwevne orTave sufevaTa Si(na). **miqel Ze varazvaCesi**. didi si tkboebaÁ miCuenes amis wignisa Sromasa. brZeni sa kacisa yovel i sofel i yovl isaTÁs, xol o ugunurisa arca erTi dangi. wmidano mamano mTawmidel no, gl axaki amis mSromel i l ocvasa wmidasa momiseneT- (gigineisvil i, kikviZe, 1989: 567).

Ath. 1-is 309v-ze: `... qriste, adide Tornik-patriki da Svil ni misni. amen, amen, amen! **aqamde miqael isi**, romel sa cTomil viyo, RmrTisaTÁs SemindveT da l ocvasa momi ÁseneT!- (gigineisvil i, kikviZe, 1989: 570).

stefane dekanozis xel iT dawerilia anderZi: `daiwera wmidá ese wigni Áel iTa samTa mwerl TaÁTa: **miqael isaTa, georgisaTa da stefanesita**. CuentÁscal ocva yavT, wmidano RmrTisano, amen! odes ese wigni daiwera, qronikoni iyo rJ(Á- (=978 w.) (gigineisvil i, kikviZe, 1989: 571).

yvel a es minaweri gvamcnobs oSkis//aTonis bibl iis gadamwerTa saxel ebs: miqael s, romelic erTerT minawerSi varazvaCes Zed moixsenieba, giorgis,

romel ic gel asis Zed ixsenieba, da stefanes, romel ic oSkis l avris dekanosi iyo da romel sac manamde gadaweril i hqonia oSkis//aTonis `samoTxe- 977 wel s, igi gamocdil i mweral i yofil a. amas 981 wel s karinis qveyanaSi gadaweril i aw dakargul i xel naweris `ganZis- Semonaxul i anderZic adasturebs. miqael l is moxsenieba varazvaÇes Zed naTel s hfens mis Camomavl obas, igi Cordvanel is Svil iSvil ia, Cordvanel - Ta ojaxis wevria, iovane-varazvaÇes erT-erTi, Cans, ufrosi vajiSvil ia. igi ixsenieba iovane-Tornikes, ukve svingel ozis mier Sedgenil da Satberdel i moRvawis daviTis xel iT daweril anderZSi, romel ic sagangebod daurTes oSkis `samoTxes- (ix. zemoT). stefanes erT-erTi minaweri, sadac miqael i varazvaÇes Zed moixsenieba, gvamcnobs, Tu rogori didi siamovneba mi uniWebia mi sTvis miqael s oSkis//aTonis bibl iaze muSaobisas: `didi sitkboebaÁ mi Cuenes amis wignisa Sromasa-. Cans, TviT miqael i Rmad moazrovne pirovneba yofil a, rasac anderZis brZnul i gamonaTqvami adasturebs: `brZenisa kacisa yovel i sofel i yovl isaTÁs, xol o ugunurisa arca erTi dangi-. swored am miqael s miiCnevs el ene metrevel i aTonis monastris mesame winamZRvrad (metrevel i 1996: 87-106).

oSkis//aTonis bibl iaSi SeniSnul ia kriptogramis erT-erTi iSviaTi saxeoba, romel sac l . aTanel iSvil ma anCinuri uwoda. n. goguaZem oSkis//aTonis bibl iaSi damowmebul kriptogramasTan dakavSirebiT aRniSna, rom xel naweris 361r-ze iwyeba 12 mcire winaswarmetyvel is teqstebi, rasac win `zanduki- uZRvis. CamonaTval s aqvs mTavrul i asoebiT minaweri 12 striqonze (yovel striqonze TiToeul i Tavia dasaxel ebul i): ikiTxeba zemo dan qvemoT da qvemo dan zemoT: `moiÁsene o~o a-, magram bol o striqonebze rCeba asoebi: l rigSi W, meoreSi _ Á da Á, mesameSi sasveni ni Sania `~. anCinuri wakiTxviT `WÁÁ~ niSnavs `mqe--s. n. goguaZis azriT, esaa kriptogramis avtorisa da xel naweris erT-erTi gadamweris saxe l i `miqael ~. akrostiqul i fraza, samj er daweril i, mi-

qael -is CarTviT ukve dasrul ebul saxes iRebs da uf-ro gasagebia mkiTxvel isaTvis: `moiÅsene, ufal o miqael - (goguaZe, 1989: 3-6).

aq SeiZl eboda miqael modrekil is iadgarSi damowmebul i erTi mniSvnel ovani faqtis gaxseneba: sakuTar saxel s miqael modrekil i Zal ze gavrcel ebul i kriptogramiT axsenebs: `dasdebel ni akrostixonni aRbeWdul ni Tqumul ni ormeocisa, aTisa, equsasisa, erTisa, xuTisa da ocdaaTisani. frTxil o, gul isÅma-yav da uRirsisa monisa miqael isaTÅs l ocva yav-* (S-425,72r). xom ar SeiZl eba am principis _ kriptogramis gamoyenebis principis mixedviT oSkis bibl iis gadamweri miqael i da didi iadgaris Semdgenel i miqael modrekil i erTi da imave pirovnebad miviRoT? am kiTxvas uaryofiti pasuxi unda gaeces ramdenime garemoebis gamo:

1. kriptogramebi srul iad gansxvavebul i tipisaa. miqael modrekil is iadgarSi erTi da igive kriptograma _ ricxviti saxel ebis saSual eb iT sakuTari saxel is gadmocema _ ramdenj erme gv xvdeba, xol o anCinuri kriptograma _ arc erTxel . arc oSkis bibl iis minawerebsa da anderZebSi gv xvdeba imgvari kriptograma, rogorc miqael modrekil is iadgarSia. amastan, oSkis bibl iaSi anCinuri kriptograma erTaderTi SemTxvevaa kriptogramis gamoyenebis.

2. oSkis bibl iis aRweril obaze muSaobisas n. goguaZem SeniSna: `miqael i mimarTvisas oSkis bibl iaSi sistematurad wadmoadgens Å dabol oebiT `qriste--s. gramatikul i normebs mixedviT unda iyos `qriste-, rogorc es stefanesa da giorgis minawerebSia. Å-s xSiri xmareba e-s nacvl ad, rac Ath.1-is Taviseburebad iTvl eba, axasiaTebs swored miqael is mier gadaweril teqstebs- (gigineiSvil i, kikviZe, 1989: 561). Cven sagange-

* es kriptograma gv xmareba miqael modrekil is saxel is swori formis dadgenaSi. ricxvebis mixedviT Cans, rom mas `miqael i- hqvia da ara `miqel i-, rogorc moixsenieben xol me zogj er.

bod davakvir diT miqael modrekil is anderZ-minawerebSi `qriste--s grafikul gamosaxvas mimarTvisas da SevniSneT, rom mimarTvisas miqael modrekil i wers `qriste--s da ara `qristA--s, rogorc amas akeTebsoSkis bibl iis erT-erTi gadamweri miqael i.

3. rodesac iadgaris Semdgenel miqael zea saubari oSkis `samoTxis- anderZTan dakavSirebiT, an Satberdis krebul Si iovane berais anderZTan dakavSirebiT, miqael i yovel Tvis moixsenieba rogorc modrekil i. anderZebSi Tavis Tavs Tavadac miqael modrekil ad warmogvidgens. oSkis bibl iis gadamweri miqael i yovel Tvis moixsenieba mxol od saxel iT, zedwodebis gareSe. igi rom iadgaris Semdgenel i miqael modrekil i iyos, ramdenime minaweridan erTgan mainc SeiZl eboda moixseniebul i yofil iyo zedwodebiT `modrekil i-.

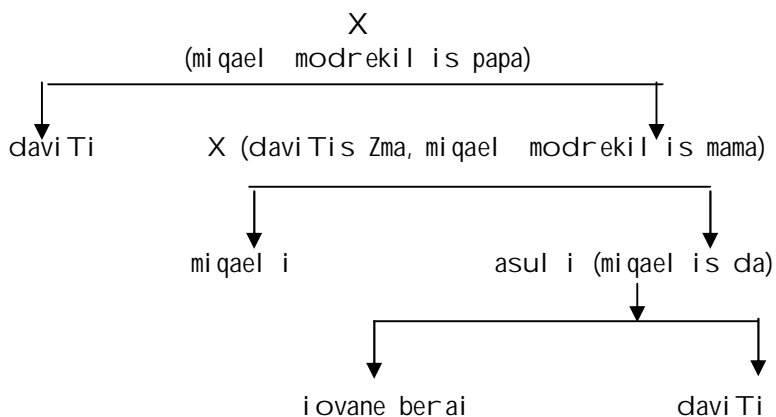
4. uaRresad mniSvel ovani da sabol oo argumenti aris is garemoeba, rom miqael modrekil isa da miqael varazvaÇes xel wera erTmaneTisagan gansxvavebul ia.

5. oSkis bibl iis gadamweri miqael i, el ene metrevel is msj el obiT, oSkis bibl iis gadaweris Semdeg wasul a iovane-Tornikes saqtitoro meore l avraSi karinis qveyanaSi. igi wers: `979 wl idan ki, mas Semdeg, rac Tornikem miRo mamul ebi da monasteri `karinis qveyanaSi~, miqael i stefanesTan erTad gadavida Tornikes axal saufi oSi, al baT, Tornikesave brZanebiT, da iq ganagrZo mwignobrul i saqmianoba _ gadawera `ganZis~ xel naweri 981 wel s- (metrevel i, 1996: 28). rogorc el ene metrevel ma gansazRvra anderZis monacemTa gaTval iswinebiT, `ganZis~ xel naweri gadaweril ia miqael is, stefaneze aranaki eb cnobil i mwignobrisa da kal igrafis, mier, romel ic adre stefanesTan erTad moRvaweobda oSkis monastris skriptoriumSi, roml is bazazec daarsda karinis skriptoriumi. `es ori saukeTeso wevri oSkis skriptoriumisa taoSi dabrunebis droisTvis (979 wel i) Tornikem gadaiyvana usaxel o, safiqrebel ia, ukacur patara monasterSi `karinis qveyanaSi~, Tavis axl ad miRebul mamul Si,

raTa am gziT safuZvel i Caeyara qarTul i skriptori-
 umisaTvis da Seeqmna qarTul i wignis axal i kera-
 (metrevel i, 1996: 33). 981 wl isaTvis miqael i ukve aTon-
 ze gaemgzavra iovane-TornikesTan erTad da iq darCa,
 el ene metrevel is varaudiT, giorgis saxel iT Semo-
 nazvnebul i; es swored is giorgi didia, maSenebel ia,
 romel ic aTonis qarTvel Ta monastris mesame winam-
 ZRvari iyo (metrevel i, 1996: 87-106). `karinis qveyanaSi-
 monastris daarseba am kuTxis pol itikur-kul turu-
 l i Tval sazrisiT aTvisebas gul isxmabda. yovel ive
 es naTI ad mowmobs, rom oSkis bibl iis gadamweri mi-
 qael i da didi sawel iwdo iadgaris Semdgenel i miqa-
 el modrekil i sxvadasxva pirovnebebi arian.

mas Semdeg, rac zemoxsenebul i argumentebis sa-
 fuZvel ze gairkva, rom miqael modrekil i ar aris io-
 vane-Tornikes Zmismul i, iovane-varazvaCes Ze, am uka-
 nasknel is ufrosi vaJiSvil i oSkis bibl iis erT-erTi
 gadamweri miqael ia, romel ic, el ene metrevel is az-
 riT, giorgis saxel iT moRvaweobs aTonze da qar-
 Tvel Ta l avris mesame winamZRvaria, SeiZl eba dadgin-
 des miqael modrekil is moRvaweobis adgil i: Satber-
 di Tu oSki. miqael modrekil is iadgaris, Satberdis
 krebul is, Satberdisi parxl isaTvis damzadebul i oT-
 xTavis, oSkis//aTonis bibl iis anderZ-minawerTa mixed-
 viT, miqael i Satberdis moRvawe Cans. amrigad, igi Ta-
 vis iadgars qmnida Satberdis monasterSi, sadac mas
 Sesazl ebl oba eqneboda wmida grigol xancTel is him-
 nografiul -l iturgikul i moRvaweobis gaTval iswine-
 bisa, Sesazl oa, mas Tavisi iadgaris Sedgenisas xel T
 hqonda wm. grigol is daweril i sawel iwdo iadgari,
 romel sac imowmebs giorgi merCul e: `aw ars xancTas
 Ael iTa misiTa daweril i sul isa mier wmidisa sawe-
 l iwdoÁ iadgari, roml isa sityuani friad keTil ari-
 an- (Zegl ebi, 1963/1964: 282).

yovel ive zemoTqmul is gaTval iswinebiT, miqael
 modrekil is geneal ogia Semdegi saxiT warmogvidgeba:



amrigad, X saukunis meore naxevarSi tao-kl arjeTis saRvTismetyvel o-l iteraturul i skol idan CvenTvis cnobil ia ori miqael i: miqael modrekil i da miqael varazvaGes Ze. miqael modrekil i moRvaweobda kl arjeTsi, wm. grigol xancTel is mier daarsebul Satberdis yovl adwmida RvTismSobl is saxel obis monasterSi, Tavis bizasTan _ RmertSemosil mama daviTTan da Tavis diswul ebTan, gadamwerebTan iovane berai-Tan da daviTTan erTad. qarTul xel nawerTa kol ofonebis mixedviT dgindeba, rom miqael modrekil ma Satberdis monasterSi, didebul l avraSi Seqmna didi sawel iwdo iadgari 978-988 wl ebSi. vfiqrobT, amas xel s uwyobda wm. grigol xancTel is mier Camoyal ibebul i kl arjeTis saRvTismetyvel o centrebis tradicia; wm. grigol ma xancTis wmida giorgis saxel obis taZarSi Seadgina `sawel iwdo iadgari, roml isa sityuani friad keTil arian-, cxadia, mis Sesaxeb Zal ian kargad icodnen wm. grigol isave daarsebul meore monasterSi _ SatberdSi, ara mxol od icodnen, aramed l iturgiul praqtikaSi iyenebdnen. miqael modrekil is didi sawel iwdo iadgari mraval mxriv daval ebul i unda yofil iyo wm. grigol xancTel is sawel iwdo iadgariT rogorc struqturul i Tval - sazrisiT, ise musikal uradac.

miqael modrekil i ar aris oSkis//aTonis bibl i-
is gadamweri miqael varazvaÇes Ze, romel ic Cordvane-
l is Camomaval ia, iovane-Tornikes Zmiswul ia da rome-
l ic, el ene metrevel is mosazrebiT, aTonis qarTvel -
Ta l avris mesame winamZRvari giorgi unda iyos.

N. SULAVA

FOR THE LOCALIZATION OF MICHAEL MODREKILI'S SCHOLARSHIP

About the place where the the Georgian well-known hymnography of X century, the compiler of great "Satselitsdo Iadgari" (calendar of the year for church) Michael Modrekili worked in scientific work there are two different view: 1 Some scientists think that Michael Modrekili lived in the Shatberdi monastery, named of Saint Mariam, which was founded by Grigol Khandzteli and this monastery in the sources called as a great complex and Michael Modrekili compiled the "Satseliwdo Iadgari" (T. Jhordania, N. Marr, G. Leonidze, P. Ingorokva, E. Metreveli); 2 The other part of scientists think that Michael Modrekili worked in the Oshki monastery named John Baptism and this monastery also called as a great complex in the sources and beside to compile the "Iadgari" Michael Modrekili took part in translation of the Bible of Oshki/Athoni (K. Kekelidze, L. Menabde).

The name Michael met us in some handwritings of X century's 70-80 years. They are: 1 The "Manychapters" the collection of Shatberdi compiled by Joan Beraï S-1141 (The collection of Shatberd, 1979); 2 The Bible of Oshki, the same as Athoni, Ath.1 rewritten in 978 years by three scholarships _ Michael Varazvache's son, Leader Stefane and Giorgi Gelasis dze. 3 Great "Satselitsdo Iadgari", S-425, rewritten and compiled 987-988 years by Michael Modrekili. 4 Oshki's as Athoni's "Paradise" Ath.9, the Will of this book is written by Davit, the nephew of Michael Modrekili (his sister's son). By the sources saved in this Wills in the theological school of Tao-KlarjeTi in X century were worked two

Michael: Michael Modrekili and Michael Varazvache's son, Michael Modrekili was worked in Klarjeti in the monastery named by Saint Mariam which was founded by Grigol Khandzteli and he worked with his uncle _ the father Davit and his nephews, with rewriters John Berai and DaviT. By the Georgian handwritings is is given information that Michael Modrekili in the monastery of Shatberdi, in the great complex created great "Satselitsdo Iadgari" in 978-988 years. It is thought that it was the great support of tradition which was founded by Grigol Khandzteli in Klarjeti theological centre. The saint Grigol Khandzteli compiled "Satselitsdo Iadgari which words are very kind". It is clear about this there were news in Shatberdi, in the monasteries which were founded by Grigol Khandzteli and more not only knew also they were used in practical works. Michael Mdorekili's "Iadgari" as a structural and musical meaning is the similar of Grigol Khandzteli's work.

Michael Modrekili is not Michael Varazvache's son, the rewriter of Oshki/Athoni's Bible. This Michael Varazvache is the successor of Chordvanieli. Nephew of John-Tornike. By Elene Metreveli Michael Varazvache is Giorgi the third ruler of Athoni's Georgian complex.

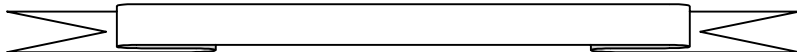
damowmebul i wyaroebi da l iteratura:

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- gigineiSvil i, kikiZe _ wignni Zuel isa aRTqumisani, I, yvel a arsebul i xel naweris mixedviT gamosace-

- mad moamzades baqar gignei Svil ma da cotne kiki-
vi Zem, Tb., 1989.
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ского церковного музея, I, Тб., 1903.

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- j Ramaia 1972 _ l . j Ramaia, miqael modrekil is saga-l obl ebi, macne, el s, 1972, #2.

mecni eri s arqi vi dan



davi T musxel i Svil i

mecni eri s arqi vi dan

winamdebare publ ikacia Tezisebia im moxsenebisa, romel ic wavikiTxe saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa akademi- is iv. j avaxiSvil is saxel obis istoriis, arqeol ogiis da eTnografiis institutis XVI samecniero sesiaze 1967 wl is 22 marts da roml is garSemoc sakmaod mwave diskusia mimdinareobda ori dRis ganmavl obaSi. maTi xel meore gamoqvyneba ganapiroba orma garemoebam. erTi is, rom Cveul ebriv, `samecniero sesiis muSaobis gegma da moxsenebaTa Tezisebi- ibeWdeba friad mcire tira- JiT, ase vTqvaT, Si da samecniero moxmarebisaTvis, xol o zemoaRniSnul i TezisebiTGwarmodgenil i koncef- cia saqarTvel os istoriul i geografiis Sesaxeb _ mec- nierebisa, romel ic, faqtobrivad, gasul i saukunis 50- 60-ian wl ebSi yal ibdeboda, Cemi maswavl ebl is, akad. n. berZeniSvil is aqtiuri Zal isxmeviT _ vfiqrob, mniSvne- l ovania qarTul i historiografiis ganviTarebis Tval - sazrisiT. es koncefcia (ufro sworad misi nawil i) da- edo safuZvl ad Cems sadoqtoro disertacias, romel ic davicavi zemoxsenebul institutSi 1973 wl is 3 april s da romel ic Semdgom wl ebSi or tomad gamoqveynda (ix. d. musxel iSvil i, saqarTvel os istoriul i geografiis ZiriTadi sakiTxebi, Tb. t. I, 1977; t. II, 1980).

saqarTvel os istoriul i geografiis cnobil i mkvl evari, prof. d. berZeniSvil i amasTan dakavSirebiT werda: `SeiZl eba xazgasmiT aRiniSnos, rom d. musxel iS- vil is zemoxsenebul i koncefcia qarTul i historiografia- Si bol o xanebSi gamoqveynebul i axal i sityvaa. sazoga- doebis istoriul -geografiul i procesis amgvarad war-

moCeniT, is zogad meTodol ogiur mniSvnel obasac iZens-
(d. berZeniSvil i, narkvevebi, Tb., 2005, gv. 412, 413).

meore garemoeba, ramac maiZul a ormocdaxuTi wl is
winandel i Tezisebis publ ikacia, aris is, rom ukanas-
knel wl ebSi gamoqveynda gasakviri weril ebi ori profes-
soris, romel Tac miznad daisaxes Cemi `mxil eba- aram-
cTu imaSi, rom me Turme vimeoreb akad. n. berZeniSvil is
cal keul mosazrebebs, aramed _ miviTvis saqarTvel os
istoriul -geografiul i ganviTarebis miseul i koncef-
cia! (ix. Cemi weril ebi: gazeTi `saqarTvel os respubl i-
ka~, 9.11.2010. da 19.01.2011; `saerTo gazeTi~ #25, 22.28.2011).

sadoqtoro disertaciis gamoqveynebul i pirvel i
tomis winasityvaSi wwerdi, rom gasagebi mizezebis gamo-
masSi (disertaciaSi) `asaxva ver hpoves gamokvl evebma,
roml ebiC 1972 w-is Semdeg gamoqveynda. es gansakuTre-
biT exeba akad. n. berZeniSvil is Txzul ebaTa VIII wigns,
romel Sic gamoqveynebul ia masal ebi misi arqividan. es
masal ebi Seexeba saqarTvel os istoriul i geografiis
Zireul sakiTxebis da CvenTvis friad sasiamovnoa, rom,
garda cal keul mosazrebaTa damTxvevebis, n. berZeniS-
vil is koncefcia saqarTvel os istoriul -geografiul i
ganviTarebis magistral uri xazis Sesaxeb, arsebiTad,
identuria Cvens Pmier 1967 w. gamoTqmul i Tval sazrisi-
sa- (miTiTebul ia zemoxsenebul i Tezisebi).

darwmunebul i var, es rom ar damewera, Cveni
profesorebi verc ki mixvdebodnen msgavsebas!

profesional i special istebisaTvis saqmis viTa-
reba, ra Tqma unda, imTaviTve cxadi iyo da aris, mag-
ram ras izam, rogorc erT-erT Pweril Si wwerdi, `avi-
sa moxarkul ni~, samwuxarod, CvenSi ar gamoil evian!

yovel ive zemoTqmul ma ganapiroba 1967 wel s da-
beWdil i Tezisebis xel meore gamoqveyneba.

saqarTvel os ganviTarebis ZiriTadi etapebi istoriul i geografiis Tval sazrisiT

1. ukanasknel i wl ebis istoriul -geografiul i savel e
Ziebisa da intenziuri arqeol ogiuri gaTxrebis Se-

degad garkveul i warmodgena SeiZl eba viqonioT istoriul i geografiis Tval sazrisiT saqarTvel os teritoriaze eneol iTisa da adreul i brinj aos epoqaSi: mosaxl eoba cxovrobdā `gorebad-, roml ebic fl obdnen sakuTar sagvareul o, SedarebiT mcire teritorias. ramdenadac gvaris (`saxl is-) kuTvnil i teritoriis uZvel esi qarTul i saxel wodeba `sofel i- unda yofil iyo, amdenad sazogadoebis ganvitarebis am etaps, CvenTvis saintereso aspekTiT, SesaZl ebel ia `sofl ebis xana- vuwodoT.

2. adreul i brinj aos xanis dasasrul s saqarTvel os teritoriis udidesi nawil isaTvis dadgenil ia namosaxl arTa mitovebis faqti. am uaRresad saintereso movl enis axsnis arcerTi cda ar aris, j erj erobiT damakmayofil ebel i. amdenadve Cven mokl ebul ni varT myar safuZvel s vil aparakoT istoriul -geografiul vitarebaze vidre gviani brinj aos epoqamde. am ukanasknel is adreul etapze mosaxl eoba kvl av `gorebad- cxovrobs, xol o saqarTvel os teritoria isev `sofl ebadaa- danawevrebul i.
3. amave dros meurneobrivi ganvitarebis Sedegad iqmneba tendencia `sofel Ta- gaertianevisa `xevebad-. `xevebis- warmoqmna pirvel yofil -Temuri wyobil ebis wiARSi, misi rRvevis paral el uri movl ena unda yofil iyo. es movl ena dasturdeba gviani brinj aos xanaSi. istoriul i geografiis Tval sazrisiT es aris texil i _ daiwyo `xevebis xana-.
4. ra vitarebaa Semdgomi xanisaTvis, konkretul adrogor mimdinareobs istoriul -geografiul i evoluciis procesi, arqeol ogiuri masal is ukmarisobis gamo mTI ad naTel i ar aris. erTi ram cxa dia: istoriul i ganvitarebis Sedegad unda warmoqmnil iyo pirobebi cal keul i `xevebis- Semdgomi daaxl oebisa da Serwymisa. iqmneba ufro didi `xevebi- Tu `xeobebi-. am ukanasknel i erTeul ebis gaertianebaTa garegnul gamoxatul ebad unda miviCnioT teritoriul -l okal uri wreebis is arqeo-

I ogiuri material uri kul tura, romel Ta gamoyo-fa gviani brinj aosa da adreul i rkinis epogaSi zogadad mainc dResve SeiZl eba. (Sida qarTI i, Sida qarTI is mtkvris samxreTi nawil i, Trial eTi, qvemo qarTI i da sxv.).

5. zemoxsenebul i istoriul -geografiul i aRmaval i ganviTarebis Sedegad mdidrdeboda terminis _ `sofel i- _ Sinaarsi. Tu Zvel ad igi mxol od sagvareul o teritorias aRniSnava, ufro gvian `xevic-, faqtiurad, `sofel i- iyo, `xeobac- da, bolos, mTel i msofi ioc.
6. `xevTa- Serwyma-gaertiane bis Sedegad Sei qmna ive riis saxel mwifo. Zvel i qarTul i wyaroebis eniT rom vTqvaT, `sofel i qarTI isa- warmoadgenda `xevTa qarTI isaTa- krebul s.
7. `xevi- didxans rCeba politikur-administraciul erTeul ad. adre-feodal uri xanis iveriac `xebeda- dayofil i, Tumca am droisaTvis cal keul i `xevebi- erTiandebian `saerisTaoebSi-.
8. adre-feodal ur xanaSi uaRresad saintereso viTareba mJRavndeba istoriul -geografiul i terminol ogiis Seswavl is Sedegad: `sofel i-, rogorc miwa-wyl is aRmniSvnel i termini, adgil s uTmobs `queyanas-, roml is Tavdapirvel i mniSvnel oba `miwa- da `dedamiwa- iyo. ueWvel ia, es metamorfozi anarekl i unda iyos im Rrma social uri procesisa, romel ic imdroindel qarTI Si mimdinareobda saTemo da kerZo miwaTmfl obel obis Soris mZafri brZol is saxiT. saTemo `sofel i- adgil s uTmobs saerisTao* `queyanas-. ufro gvian es `saerisTao queyanani-** erTiandebian `saerisTavT-erisTaoebad-***. igive procesis meore mxare iyo mTis TandaTanobiTi ekonomikuri daufl eba. am periodisaTvis damaxasiaTebel ia cixesimagreebis intensi-

* ukeTesi iyo gvexmara termini `samTavro-.

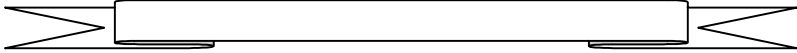
** ukeT: `samTavro queyanani-.

*** ukeT: `did samTavroebad-.

uri mSenebl oba. amgvarad, saqarTvel os istoriul -
geografiul ganviTarebaSi aRiniSneba didi texli i
_ daiwyo `queyanaTa xana-.

9. ganviTarebul i feodal izmis xanaSi iqmneboda pi-
robobi axal i teritoriul i gadanawil ebisaTvis:
exl a ukve ara cixesimagre, aramed, TandaTan qal a-
qi gamodis istoriul -geografiul `queyanaTa- ga-
maerTianebl is rol Si. es amave dros niSnavda fe-
odal izmis pirobobSi baris mier mTis ekonomikur
aTvisebas. P saqarTvel os ganviTarebis tendencia
istoriul i geografiis Tval sazrisiT iseTi iyo,
rom `saerisTao queyana- unda Secvl il iyo `saqa-
l aqo queyniT-. gare pol itikuri garTul ebebis
Sedegad es tendencia ar ganviTarebul a.
10. pol itikuri krizisi da TandaTanobiTi ekonomikuri
regresi iwvevs saTanado istoriul - geografiul
cvl il ebebs. saqarTvel o TandaTan, magram ganuxre-
l ad iTiSeba mTad da barad, cal keul `queynebad-,
rac dasrul da mTel i qveynis pol itikuri daSl i-
l obiT da saTavadoebis warmoqmniT. istoriul i ge-
ografiis Tval sazrisiT es aris ukve `saTavado
queyanaTa xana-. damaxasiaTebel ia, rom gviani sauku-
neebis teritoriul i erTeul ebi (`saTavadoebi-), gan-
sxvavebiT ganviTarebul i feodal izmis periodisa-
gan, daaxl oebiT iseTive mocul obisaa, rogorc ad-
refeodal uri xanis saTanado erTeul ebi (`xevebi-)
11. tradiciul i, Zveli (feodal uri) teritoriul i er-
Teul ebis Zireul i gadanawil eba burJuaziul i urTi-
erTobis damyarebam gamoiwvia da, amdenad, winaswar
SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom amdroidel saqarTvel os, feo-
dal urisagan gansxvavebiT, srul iad sxvagvari prin-
cipul ad gansxvavebul i istoriul i geografia aqvs.G

Tval sazrisi



mi xei I samsonaZe

saqarTvel os pol itikuri gaerTianebi s cdebi XVIII s. II naxevarSi

XVIII saukunis Sua xanebSi, kaxeTis samefos pol itikosebma daamuSaves qveynis TandaTanobiT gaerTianebis gegma, roml is pirvel i etapi 1744-1762 wl ebSi ganxorciel da da Sedegad qarTl is da kaxeTis faqto-brivad erT samefod gaerTianeba ganxorciel da.

mas Semdeg, rac kavkasiis araerT pol itikur erTeul ze Tavisi Zal aufl eba gaavr cel es da regionSi uZl ieresi samefos saxel i daimkvidres, qarTl -kaxeTis mesveurebma mTel i saqarTvel os gaerTianebis gzaze War-bel aqanis da axal cixis safaSos SemoerTe-ba daisaxes miznad, magram am Tval sazrisiT, ruseTis imperiaze damyarebul i imedebi fuWi gamodga.

kidev erTxel dadasturda, rom ucxo Zal a saqarTvel os aRorZinebis saqmeSi mxol od damxmaris da xel Semwyobis rol s Tu Seasrul ebda. ZiriTadi tvir-Ti TviT qarTvel ebs unda aewiaT. am amocanis gadaw-yvetis gzaze aucil ebel i piroba qveynis gaerTianeba iyo, risTvisac XVIII s. 60-ian wl ebSi aRmosavl eT saqarTvel oSi erekl e meore iRvwoda, dasavl eTsi _ sol omon pirvel i.

viTareba ise aewyo, rom am ori didi qarTvel is progresul miswrafebas isini erTmaneTisTvis unda daepi rispirebina.

asec moxda:

ruseT-TurqeTis omis damTavrebisa da quCuk-kai-narj is zavis gaformebis (1774 w.) Semdeg, saqarTvel o-sa da ruseTis mmarTvel i wreebs Soris urTierToba

gacivda da kidec gamwvavda: `erekl e dResac imas cdil obs, rom aqauri (igul isxmeba ruseTis _ m. s.) daxmarebiT sakuTari Zal aufl ebismoyvarul oba daikmayofil os, rac j er kidev, nawil obriv, Cveni j arebis saqarTvel oSi yofnis drosac gamomJRavnda da ukve araviTar yuradRebas ar imsaxurebs-, werda im xaneb-Si ruseTis dedofal i ekaterine II.

mas Semdeg, rac ruseTTan damokidebul ebis Semobruneba da, misi daxmarebiT didi gamaertianebel i pol itikis gatarebis Sesazl ebl oba sabol ood gaqra, qarTI -kaxeTis mefem taqtika Secval a, rasac Turqetis mxridan Tanxvedrma RonisZiebebma da wamaxal isebel ma gadawyvetil ebamac Seuwyo xel i.

1776-1778 ww. qarTI -kaxeTsa da TurqetS Soris el Cebis gacxovel ebul i mimosvl a fiqsirdeba. sabol ood TurqetSsa da qarTI -kaxeTis samefos Soris moxda SeTanxmeba, roml is teqsti qarTvel i istorikosebisaTvis cnobil i ar aris. is ki udavoa, rom am SeTanxmebiT qarTI -kaxeTis samefo Turqetis gavl ena-Si eqceoda: ruseTis sagareo uwyebebis xel mZRvanel - Ta a. i. ostermanisa da a. a. bezmorodkos oficial uri gancxadebiT qarTI -kaxeTis samefo 1776 wel s portas mfarvel obaSi Sevida.

marTalia, qarTI -kaxeTis samefo, gaformebul i xel Sekrul ebis Tanaxmad, Turqetis mfarvel obaSi Sedioda, magram misi funqcia amiT ar mTavrdeboda da, radgan TurqetSsa da sparseTs Soris omi kars iyo momdgari, erekl e kistrul obda `xel i SeuSal os azerbaijanis xanebis kavSirs da gaertianebas (iranis SahTan _ m. s.) qerim xanTan-. am cnobas j evdeT faSagvawvdis, magram erekl e Tavisi mxridan sakmaod didi da mZime val debul ebis sanacvl od ra kompensacias iRebda, amas naTI ac arc is ambobs, mxol od bundovnad mianiSnebs, rom `misi didebul eba fadiSahisagan mas erekl es miecema erTgvari Sesazl ebl oba Tavisi Zal isa da Zl ierebis uzrunvel sayofad-. am SeniRbul frazaSi, vfirqrobt, Turqetis mxridan erekl es mier

imereTis SeerTebis dasturi igul isxmeba. amgvari
`msxverpl is- gaReba portas ar unda gasWirveboda,
radgan imereTs igi nominal uradac ver akontrol eb-
da, xol o saqarTvel os gaerTianebis SemTxvevaSi, mTel
i regioni mis mfarvel obaSi (gavl enaSi) moeqceoda.

Tu ra WeSmariti interesebi amoZravebdaT
qarTI -kaxeTis pol itikosebs, es movl enebis im gSede-
gidan irkveva, rac am SeTanxmebas mohyva: aRniSnul
kavSirSi imereTis mefem Tavis sawinaaRmdego aqcia
gansWvrita. misTvis aSkara Seiqa, rom mTel i Zal Ro-
nis daZabvisa da energiul i RonisZiebebis gatarebis
gareSe, mis mefobas safrTxemuqreboda. igi sam-
kvdro-sasicocxli obrZol isaTvis ganewyo.

movl enebi ki im xanebSi saqarTvel oSi aseTi Tan-
mimdevrobiT ganl agda: Tavdapirvel ad Turqetis gaaq-
tiureba dasavl eT saqarTvel os mimarTac aRiniSna.
magram mas Semdeg, rac osmal eTis saxel mwifo karze
qarTI -kaxeTis diplomatiam gaaqtiura moqmedeba,
1777 wel s Turqetisa da imereTs Soris mol aparakebe-
bi Sewyda. am xanebSi imereT-qarTI -kaxeTis urTier-
Tobis gamwvavebas ukavSirdeba giorgi yul araRasis
(qsnis erisTavis) gamosvl a erekl e II-is winaaRmdeg.
giorgi sol omon pirvel is mZaxali iyo. meore mxriv,
unda vifiqroT, amave movl enas ukavSirdeba imereTis
batoniSvilis, al eqsandres gamosvl a mams winaaR-
mdeg, romelic Tavaduri Setqmulebis monawile aR-
moCnda da marcxis Semdeg erekl es karze hpova TavSe-
safari (igi erekl es siZe iyo da misi orientaciis
momxred iTvl eboda).

1778 wl amde erekl esa da imereTis mefes Soris
dapirispireba farul, SeniRbul, xasiaTs atarebda.
garegnul ad mefebi mSvidobian urTierTobas inarCu-
nebdnen.

1778 wl is gazafxul ze, rogorc Cans, Turqetisa
da qarTI -kaxeTs Soris xel Sekrul eba sabol ood ga-
formda. marTalia, igi saidumli o iyo, magram etyoba
Cqaramisi Sinaarsi sol omonisaTvis cnobili Seiqa.

es Sinaarsi ki imaSi mdgomareobda, rom qarTI -kaxeTi uars ambobda iranis qveSevrdomobaze. aRiarebda sul Tnis uzenaesobas, kistrul obda ar daeSva Tavis samefoSi ruseTis fexis mokideba. samagierod, sul -Tnis kari mas `uTmobda- ufl ebeps dasavl eT saqarTvel oze, pirvel rigSi imereTis samefoze, e. i. das-turs aZl evda qarTI -kaxeTis meTaurobit saqarTvel os gaerTianebas.

rom aRniSnul xanebSi erekl e meorem praqtikuli nabij ebi gadadga imereTis SemosaerTebl ad, amas araerTi qarTvel i istorikosi aRniSnavs. `imj erad qarTI -kaxeTis pol itikosta gamaerTianebel i RonisZiebebi sol omon pirvel is medgarma winaaRmdegobam CaSal a- (g. qiqoze).

imereTis mefe mtkiced da dauyovnebl ad moqmedbda: pirvel rigSi igi im Zal ebs daukavSirda, rom l ebic qarTI -kaxeTis da Turqetis xsenebul i xel -Sekrul ebebis winaaRmdeg sisxl -xorciel ad iyvnen ganwyobil ni. aseTebad ruseTi da sparseTi iTvl eboda. 1778 wl is agvistoSi ruseTis gavl iT iranSi gaigzavna imereTis el Coba, romel sac besarion gabaSvil i meTaurobda.

wargzavnil ebma misia wermatebit Seasrul es da 1779 wl is dasawyisSi imereTSi Camoiyvanes qarTI is taxtis l egitimuri pretendenti da maZiebel i al eqsandre baqaris Ze, romel mac, ramdenime xnit adre ruseTis emigracia datova da, sasurvel i pol itikuri sarbiel is siaxl oves, SirazSi gaCerdas.

amj erad, iranis, ruseTis da imereTis xel isufal Ta interesebi erTmaneTs daemTxva. al eqsandre baqaris Zes asparezi gaexsna da aqtiuri moqmedeba daiwyo, imis gamo, rom mas erekl es mowinaaRmdege qarTI is Tavadebi uWerdnen mxars da iran-Turqetis xel Sekrul ebebac misi brZol is l egitimurobas adasurebda, erekl es seriozul i safrTxe Seeqmna. Tu ramdenad mniSvnel ovnad mi iCnevda qarTI -kaxeTis mefe iran-ruseT-imereTis kontrzomebs, iqidan Cans, rom

man saswrafod moSal a erevnis mimarTul ebiT wamow-
yebul i didi l aSqroba, romel ic Tavistavad rogorc
Cans imereTis mimarT gegmebs ukavSirdeboda da dau-
yovnebl iT samSobl oSi dabruna.

ruseTma, roml istvisac saqarTvel osTan damoki-
debul eba yirimis sakiTxis gadaWrastan dakavSirebiT
kvl av uaRresad aqtual uri gaxda, saswrafo zomebis
meSveobiT, Santajisa da sxva berketebis gamoyenebiT,
kvl av aiZul a erekl e ruseTisaTvis sasurvel i pozi-
cia daekavebina da qarTI -kaxeTis samefoStan traqta-
tis gaformebis mzadebas Seudga (rogorc Cans, al eq-
sandre baqaris Zis gaaqtiureba amazec iyo gaTvl il i).

amrigad, qarTI -kaxeTi da imereTis SeerTebis
gegma ar ganxorciel da, magram sakiTxi dRis wesrigi-
dan ar moxsnil a.

im xanebSi saqarTvel os cxovrebaSi ramdenime
mniSvnel ovani movl ena moxda: 1. gardaicval a al eqsan-
dre sol omonis Ze, romel ic mamas ganudga da, imis ga-
mo rom erekl es orientaciisa iyo, maStan afarebda
Tavs; 2. 1782 w. saeWvo viTarebaSi gardaicval a erekl es
yvel aze saimedo, SeiZl eba erTaderTi, dasayrdeni po-
l itikur, dipl omatiur Tu samxedro probl emebis ga-
dawvyetaSi, misi vaJi, l evan batoniSvil i, romel ic sa-
qarTvel os gaerTianebs SemTxvevaSi imereTis mefed
ivaraudeboda; 3. kvl av al eqsandre baqaris Zis faqto-
risa da agreTve, pol itikuri SantaJis gamoyenebiT, ru-
seTma faqtobrivad aiZul a erekl e georgievskis traq-
tatis gaformebaze daTanxmebul iyo (1783 w.).

rusi dipl omatiisa da pol itikosta manevrebma,
qarTI -kaxeTis mesveurebs Seuqmnia il uzia, rom qvey-
nis gaerTianebas aRniSnul i traqtatis fargl ebSi
moaxerxebden, magram Cqara am imedis uperspeqtivoba
aSkara gaxda.

amasobaSi ori didi patrioti mefis saqarTve-
l os damoukidebel i momavl isa da keTil dReobisaken
erTobl ivma miswrafebam, erekl e da sol omonjer Se-
rigebamde, Semdeg ki umniSvnel ovanes SeTanxmebamde

miiyvana. ukanasknel i, romel ic 1783 wel s gaformda, konfidencial uri iyo da misi teqsti dResdReobiT mokvl eul i ar aris, xil ul i Sinaarsi ki imaSi mdgo-mareobda, rom sol omon pirvel ma Tavisi ZmisSvil i da erekl es Svil iSvil i (qal iSvil is mxridan) daviT arCil is Ze memkvidred gamoacxada (arsebobs cnoba, rom es erekl es iniciativiT moxda, rasac sol omoni daeTanxma).

am faqtis didi pol itikur-erovnul i mniSvnel o-ba rom gaviazroT, unda gaviTval iswinoT, rom imereTis mefes pirdapiri STamomaval i hyavda giorgi al eqsandres Zis saxiT, romel ic marTal ia arakanoni-eri qorwinebis Sedegad iyo movl enil i, magram misi mamis, al eqsandre sol omonis Zis gardacval ebis Semdeg, imereTis mefem da dedofal ma igi Tavistan waiy-vanes da Svil ad gamoacxades. amdenad, traqtatis mi-xedviT imereTis taxtis kanoniT memkvidreoba mas ekuTvnode. aseT viTarebaSi l egitimuri memkvidris uaryofis da misi ara pirdapiri memkvidriT, daviT arCil is ZiT (sol omonis Zmis Svil is) Canacvl ebis SeTavazeba erekl es mxridan, orive mxris interesebis gaTval iswinebiT unda momxdariyo da eWvi ar aris igi didi erovnul i amocanis, qveyinis gamTI ianebis sa-kiTxis gadawyvetas unda ukavSirdebodes.

ueWvel ia, rom 1783 wl is noemberSi erekl es Svi-l iSvil is imereTis taxtis memkvidred gamocxadeba didi erovnul i SeTanxmehis mxol od erTi nawil i iyo da mas erekl es mxridan Sesabamisi nabiji unda mohyo-l oda. raki viciT, rom orive mefis upirvel esi pol i-tikuri ideal i saqarTvel os gaerTianeba iyo, safuZ-vel i gvaqvs vifiqroT, erekl es sapsuxo RonisZiebac aqeTken iyo mimarTul i da erekl es Svil iSvil is da-viT arCil is Zis gaerTianebul i saqarTvel os l ide-rad gamocxadebas iTval iswinebda.

amgvari daskvnis l ogika imaSia, rom erekl e di-di patrioti pol itikosi, aSkarad xedavda, rom mimsi sikvdil is Semdeg qarTI -kaxeTSi sakadrisi Semcvi e-

l i ar rCeboda. meore mxriv, daviT arCil is Ze, Tumca j er srul iad ymawvil i iyo, magram rogorc erekl es Svil iSvil i, misaRebi iqneboda taxtis memkvidred qarTI -kaxeTisaTvisac da misi am mxriv l egitimuro-bis damtkiceba, Sesabamisi Zal isxmevis Sedegad, SesaZ- l ebel i iyo.

amgvarad, vfiqrobT, mefeebis SeTanxmeba iTval is- winebda, saTanado winaswari mosamzadebel i samuSaoe- bis Catarebis Semdeg, daviT arCil is Ze gaerTianebul i saqarTvel os l iderad, mefed gamocxadebul iyo.

aqve unda aRvniSnoT, rom araerTi qarTvel i is- torikosi daviT arCil is Zis sol omonis memkvidred gamocxadebas saqarTvel os gaerTianebis perspeqtivas- Tan akavSirebs.

imisaTvis, rom warmovidginoT ra winaswar mosam- zadebel RonisZiebebzea saubari, unda ganvixil oT zogierTi movl ena, rac am amebbs win uswrebda.

rogorc aRiniSna, 70-iani wl ebis ll naxevarSi, qarTI -kaxeTis mefe imereTis SemoerTebisaTvis emza- deboda da iq Tavisi saxel ovani Svil is, l evanis ga- mefebas apirebda.

amrigad, qveyanaSi daaxl oebiT imis msgavsi viTa- reba Seiqmneboda rogorc 40-iani wl ebis qarTI -ka- xeTsi iyo: roca qarTI is mefed Teimurazi daj da, ka- xeTi ki samefod erekl es dautova. maSin es ar yofi- l a ori samefos srul i iuridiul i Serwyma. Teimura- zis sikvdil is Semdeg erekl es didi Sroma dasWirda, rom orive samefo Tavis l egitimur mfl obel obaSi moeqcia (sxvaTa Soris, qarTul i mxridan, georgiev- skis traqtatis gaformebis erT-erTi motivi am prob- l emis gadawyvetac iyo).

l evanis imereTSi gameFebis SemTxvevaSi, gaerTia- nebis Tval sazrisiT viTareba rTul i Canda. Tu imere- Tis taxts daeufl eboda, erekl es niadagi unda moem- zadebina, raTa saerTo qarTul i saxel mwifos meTau- roba l evans rgeboda, rasac erovnul i interesebi mo- iTxovda. amisaTvis ki saWiro iyo qveyanaSi iseTi vi-

Tarebis Seqmna, rom imereTis axal i mefis upiratesoba yovel mxriv aSkara yofil iyo. rogorc Cans. saerTo-qarTul i saxel mwifo, pirvel xanebSi mainc, federaciad an konfederaciad ivaraudeboda. misi sicocxl is ganmavl obaSi qveynis saerTo meTauri erekl e iqneboda, magram ra moxdeboda misi sikvdil is Semdeg? qarTI -kaxeTis ZI evamosil i samefos I egitimupi pretendenti arafrit ar Seurigdeboda, SedarebiT ekonomikurad susti, imereTis mefis, pirvel obas da meTaurobas.

unda vifiqroT, rom am sakiTxis gadasawvyetadac iyo gamiznul i RonisZiebebi, romel ic qarTI -kaxeTis momaval i mefis Zal aufl ebas Seasustebda, rac samefos saufli iswul oebad dayofaSi gamoixateboda. giorgis Zal aufl ebis SesustebasTan erTad es RonisZieba sxva ufl iswul ebis gaerTianebisadmi I oial ur damokidebul ebasac uzrunvel yofda.

erekl em xsenebul i ganzraxva maSin ar ganxorciel a, rac I evan batoniSvil is srul iad moul odnel i da Tavzardamcemi gardacval ebis, manamde ki imereTis SemoerTebis gegmis CaSI is gamo moxda.

axl a, roca orive mefis SeTanxmebiT, dRis wesrigSi qarTI -kaxeTis da dasavl eT saqarTvel os qristianul i nawil is gaerTianebis sakiTxi dadga, saWiro Sei qmna im programis wamoweve da ganxorciel eba, rac I evan batoniSvil is imereTSi gamefebisaTvis iyo da gegmil i. cxadia, yovel ive es TurqETTan iyo SeTanxmebul i, roml is mfarvel obaSi gaerTianebul i saqarTvel o eqceoda. arsebobs erekl e II-is Sedgenil i weril i, sadac saubarua Turqetis SinaaSil obaSi erekl es prosul Tnur poziciasa da qarTul i I aSqris Sesabamis samxedro zemoqmedebaze daviT sardl is meTaurobiT.

aRniSnul i axal i programis ganxorciel eba Seafferxes gavl enianma imerel ma feodal ebma, roml ebic udavod saqmis kursSi iyvnen erekl esa da sol omonis SeTanxmebis Taobaze, rac maT ar awyobdaT da saswra-

fod, sol omon l gardacval ebisTanave imereTis taxtze sol omonis biZaSvil i daviT giorgis Ze aiyvanes, romel sac winaswar piroba CamoarTves da ficiT damkicebines, rom maTi damj eri iqneboda da Sesabamis pol itikas gaatarebda. amrigad, sol omon didis mou l odnel ma gardacval ebam gaerTianebis SeTanxmebul programas didi dartya miayena. erekl e mokavSiris gareSe darCa. igi iZul ebul i iyo droebiT Serigeboda imereTSi daviT giorgis Zis gamefebas, radgan: 1. misi Svil iSvil i daviT arCil is Ze mcirewl ovani iyo da 2. qarTI -kaxeTi ruseTis mfarvel obaSi iTvl eboda da sagareo nabij ebi misTvis unda SeeTanxmebina.

ramdenime wel iwadSi viTareba Seicval a: imereTis taxtis aRiarebul i memkvidre, daviT arCil is Ze wamoizarda, xol o qarTI -kaxeTsa da ruseTs Soris gaformebul i traqtatis moqmedeba Sewyda da igi faratina qaRal dad iqca, raki ruseTis mxare mis arc erT punqts ar asrul ebda, qarTvel mxaresac SezRudvebi moexsna.

erekl e adre dasaxul i gegmis ganxorciel ebas Seudga, rac pirvel rigSi, daviT arCil is Zis imereTis taxtze ayvaniT unda dawyebul iyo. Sesabamisi nabij ebic gadadga da am dros imereTis separatistul ad ganwyobil ma didebul ebma metad moxerxebul i nabij i gadadges: erekl es imereTis mierTeba piradad SesTavazes, sakmaod veragul i pirobiT; Tu raime gausebrobis gamo qarTI -kaxeTis mefe misaRebad ar CaTvl ida am SemoTavazebas, xel i unda aeRo imereTis saqmeebSi Carevaze da igi aRniSnul i didebul ebis prerogativad ecno.

imerel didebul Ta SeTavazeba mxol od sityvieri aqti iyo. rogor varaudobdnen isini am gadawyvetil ebis cxovrebaSi gatarebas (Tu varaudobdnen saerTod) ucnobia. SeerTebas xom saxel mwifo aparatistis gaerTianeba unda mohyol oda, ris gamoc SeerTebis momxre didebul Ta ricxvi imereTSi dauyovnebl iv Seicvl eboda.

pl . iosel iani sando avtoria, magram mTel i es istoria erT an ramdenime mTxrobel is pozicias (Se-izi eba Sel amazebul s) eyrdnoboda. ucnauria, rom am faqtze arafers miuTiTebS arc erTi wyaro, arc er-Ti Tanamedrove, igi ar Sesul a arc erT qronikaSi.

am del egaciis mTavari mizani rom sol omon II mier taxtis xel meored dakavebis bl okireba iyo, es eWvs ar unda iwvevdes. isic safiqrebel ia, ratom er-CivnaT imerel didkacebs erekl es gaerTianebul i sa-xel mwifos saTaveSi yofna daviT arcil is Zis qveSev-rdomobas?

am kiTxvaze pasuxi im viTarebis gaazrebiT SeiZ-l eba, rac qarTI -kaxeTis samefoSi 80-iani wl ebis mi-wurul s da 90-iani wl ebis dasasrul s damyarda: es iyo batoniSvil ebis da maTi garemocvis, romel ic faqtobrivad mTel i aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os didebul Ta oj axebs moicavda, TviTneboba da TavaSvebul oba, darej an dedofl is Zal aufl ebis ganusazRvrel i zrda, mefis avtoritetis da Zal aufl ebis Sesus-teba, rac sxvadasxva SeTqmul ebebSi Tu sxva faqtebSi gamoixateboda. Tuki erekl e xandazmul obis gamo qarTI -kaxeTSi ver axerxebda saTanado wesrigis dam-yarebas, miT umetes ver moaxerxebda imereTSi, sadac igi memkvidreobiT ki ar iqneboda aRzevebul i, aramed feodal ebis mier. maSasadame maTi moimede, xel is Sem-yure da pol itikis Tanaxma unda yofil iyo. Tu igi feodal ebis mier nakarnaxevi gziT ar ivl ida, imave feodal ebis proeqtiT imereTi unda daetovebina, rac feodal ebs miscemda ufl ebas, maTTvis sasurvel i kandidati aerCiaT mefed.

erekl em ara Tu imerel didebul Ta aragul wrfel i winadadeba ar miiRo, aramed, mas Semdeg, rac daviT arcil is Ze sol omon meoris saxel iT, imereTis taxtze ganamtkica, Tamamad ganaxorciel a is, odio-zuri RonisZieba, risi mizanic, Cveni fiqriT, gaerTianebul i samefos saTaveSi daviT arcil is Zis (sol omon meoris) mosvl is gaadvil eba iyo: 1790 wel s, de-

dofal Tan da batoniSvil ebTan SeTanxmebiT, man (erekl em) Secval a taxtis memkvidreobis kanoni, rom l is Tanaxmadac mefoba gadadioda ara mamidan Svil - ze, aramed rigrigobiT mefis Svil ebze da maT STamo- mavl ebze. Cveni fiqriT, es kanoni rom sol omon meo- risaTvis gaerTianebul i samefos gamgebl obisken gzis gaxsnas emsaxureboda iqidan Cans, rom mas mxol od erTi Taobis xangrZI ivobaSi SeiZI eboda emuSava, Sem- deg yvel aferi ireoda da faqtobrivad ganuxorciel e- bel i xdeboda. es proeqti, Cveni azrit, giorgi erek- l es Zis Zal aufl ebis dasustebas da, amdenad, sol o- mon meorisatvis gaerTianebul i saqarTvel os gamgeb- l obis gaadvil ebas emsaxureboda samefos dayofa sa- ufl iswul oebad, rac 1792 wel s ganxorciel da. yvel a- feri es sol omon meoris saqarTvel oSi yvel aze Zl ie- ri pol itikuri meTauris poziciebs ganamtkicebda.

masal ebidan naTI ad Cans, rom 90-iani wl ebis Sua xanebSi sol omon II dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi aq- tiur pol itikas atarebs. igi aSkara l iderobas da mTel saqarTvel oSi upiratesobas Cemul obs.

samefo oj axSi, sol omon meore, erekl es Semdeg, upirvel es pirad moiazreboda. amis anarekl i unda iyos is Sexedul eba, rom erekl es l aSqarSi sol omon meo- ris droSa unda yofil iyo pirvel i da ara giorgisa.

erekl es prosol omonuri antigiorgul i ganwyo- bil eba da gadawyvetil ebebi gaxda mama-Svil s Soris urTierTobis daZabvis safuZvel i, rac faqtobrivad giorgis moRal atur saqciel Si gamoixata manamdec da gansakuTrebiT aRa-mahmad-xanis Semosevis dros.

damaxasiaTebel ia, rom qarTI -kaxeTis samefoSi yvel a erekl es mowinaaRmdege Zal a (al . amil axvari, somxuri vaWrul i diaspora da sxv.), giorgiSi xedav- dnen mxardamWersa da dasayrdens, igi iyo sxvadasxva antisaxel mwifoebriwi SeTanxmebis pirdapiri Tu Se- niRbul i dasayrdeni. magram mowinave pol itikuri Za- l ebis mcdel obebma mainc gamoiRo Sedegi:

1790 wel s aRmosavl eT da dasavl eT saqarTvel os am Zal ebis mondomebiT da sol omon l eoniZis iniciativaT gaformda xel Sekrul eba saqarTvel os mefe mTavarTa Soris. mas xel i moaweres arekl e meorem, sol omon meorem, grigol dadianma da svimon guriel - ma, roml is Zal iTac mefesa da mTavrebs Soris myardeboda pol itikuri da samxedro kavSiri gareSe Zal ebisagan qveynis dacvaSi urTierTTanadgomis da erTiani sagareo pol itikuri kursis Sesaxeb. es iyo faqtobrivad konfederaciul i kavSiri, roml is saTaveSi erekl e meore idga, xol o mis memkvidred sol omon II moazreboda.

kidev erTi argumenti gaerTianebul i samefos meTaurad sol omon meoris gaTval iswinebisa, isic unda iyos rom iveriel mefeTa da mTavarTa traqtatis cxovrebaSi gatarebis SemTxvevaSi igi nebayofl obiT ambobda uars odiSisa da guriis samTavroebis mimarT Tavis mefur ufl ebebze. aRniSnul i traqtatis mixedvit yvel a misi monawil e faqtobrivad Tanabarufli ebiana.

amrigad, daviT arcil is Zis imereTis taxtis memkvidred gamocxadeba qveynis gaerTianebis gzaze gadadgmul i seriozul i nabij i iyo. mis Semdgom ganvitarebas sol omon pirvel is gardacval ebam SeuSal a xel i.

magram progresul Zal ebs gaerTianebis idea ar daviwyebiaT: konfederaciul i kavSiris Sekvra iyo ganxorciel eba erekl es pasuxisa imereTis del egacis SemoTavazebaze gaerTianebis Sesaxeb: imereTis taxtze Cems Svil iSvil s davsvamo `da esreTis kavSiriTa Tavit TvisiT iqneba erToba imereTisa _ qarTI sa Tana-.

Semdeg ganvitarebas es kavSiri unda gaeRrmavebina, magram ruseTis mier saqarTvel os aneqsiam yvel a progresul i gegma CaSal a.

redkol eglisagan: Tanamedrove qarTul i sazogadoebriobis mniSvnel ovani probl emaa samoqal aqo sazogadoebis formirebis procesis galliannureba. ukve 20 wel ia `demokratiis satyuaritaRWurvil i politikanebi qarTvel i xal xis miswrafebebis sawinaaRmdegod gaurkvevel i konturis saxel mwifos aSeneben, romel ic Tavisi garegnul i formebiT Zal ian uaxl ovdeba avtoritarizms. Tbilisis iv. javaxiSvil is sax. universitetis profesoris m. kal andaZis mosazreba dasavl eT evropasi samoqal aqo sazogadoebis mSenebi obis etapebis Sesaxeb am Tval sazrisiT sayuradReboa da imedia qarTvel istorikosTa Soris gaaCens am Temaze msjel obis gagrZel ebis survil s.

merab kal andaZe

samoqal aqo sazogadoebis Casaxva dasavl eT evropasi

xel isufl ebas da sazogadoebas Soris urTierToba erT-erTi urTul esia. is arasodes ar yofil a erTgvarovani da, al baT, arc arasodes ar iqneba aseTi. am sakiTxSi istorikosebs Soris konsesusis miRweva sakmaod Znel ia da azrTa sxvadasxvaoba arsebobs. saxel mwifos marTvis yovel formas Tavisi momxreebi yavs da, swored, mas miiCneven mmarTvel obis saukeTeso model ad.

msofl io istorias l aitmotivad gasdevs sazogadoebis mier xel isufl ebis Zal momreobisagan dacva. ver vityviT, rom is amas yovel Tvis warmatebiT axorciel ebda. iyo warmatebebi, magram iyo Cavardnebi, warumatebl obebi.

amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis damoukidebl obis dekl araciis erT-erTi avtori Tomas j efersoni xazs usvamda, rom -Cven ucil obl ad migvaCnia Semdegi WeSmaritebani: yvel a adamiani Seqmnil ia, rogorc Tanaswori da yvel a maTgani gamCenma aRWurva xel Seuval i

ufl ebebiT. maT ricxvs miekuTvnebian: sicocxl e, Tavisufl eba da bednierebisaken swrafva. am ufl ebaTa uzrunvel sayofad xal xTa Soris Seqmnil ia mTavrobebi, roml ebic samarTi iani xel isufl ebiT aRWurvil i arian marTul Ta TanxmobiT. Tuki mmarTvel obis arsebul i forma xal xis miznebisaTvis damRupvel i xdeba, maSin xal xs ufl eba aqvs Secval os an gaauqmos igi da Seqmnas axal i mTavroba, dafuZnebul i im principebze da xel isufl ebis iseT reorganizaciaze, romel sac xal xis azriT, yvel aze metad SeuZl ia uzrunvel yos misi usafrTxoeba da bedniereba... xel mwife, roml is xasiaTi aerTianebs tiranis yvel a Tvisebas, ar SeiZl eba marTavdes Tavisufal xal xs” [1.217-221]. amerikis prezidents jon kenedis uyvarda Tqma -nu ikiTxavT imas, ra mogcaT amerikam. ikiTxeT is, ra mieciT amerikas”. Cven Sors varT am principebis gaideal ebisagan, magram kidev ufro miuRebel ia maTi Seufo sobl oba, rasac, sxvaTa Soris, farTod nergavda sabWoTa, komunisturi, ideol ogia. ser uinston Cercil is TqmiT, -dasavl eTis civil izacias bevri nakl i aqvs, magram kacobriobas masze ukeTesi j erjerobiT arferi mougonia”. es aris erTi gza.

arsebobs sxva gza. proletariatis bel adi v. i. I enini ambobda: -saxel mwifo es aris sazogadoebis gasresis meqanizmi”. es ukve sul sxva midgoma. Tu pirvel gzas demokratiisken miyvavart, meorem, piriqit, saZirkvel i Cauyara total itarul rejimebs: komunizms, faSizms, nacizms, sadac adamianis ufl ebebi fexqveS iqna gaTel il i. mZl avrma saxel mwifo manqanam gasrisa adamiani. Tu pirvel s farTo asparezze gavyavart, meores CixSi miyvavart. mTel i me-20 saukunis istoria amis naTel i il ustracia unda iyos. avtoritarul ma rejimebma srul i kraxi, fiasko ganicades.

industriul i sazogadoeba axal i drois pirmSoa. axal periodSi tradiciul i sazogadoeba industriul ma sazogadoebam Caanacvl a. istorikosebi amas modernizacias uwodeben. es gza ar yofil a ia-vardebiT mofenil i da umtkivneul o xasiaTs rodi atarebda. is mimdinareobda rTul ad da sazogadoebis ganviTarebis revol uciuri da evol uciuri gzis Serwymis, sinTezis, Sedegs warmoadgenda. dazustebas saWiroebs fridrix engel sis mosazreba, rom -safrangeTis didi revol uciis dros moispo feodal izmi da daamyara burJuaziis srul i Zal aufl eba. iseTi kl asikuri saxiT, rogorc es ar yofil a evropis arcerT qveyanaSi” [2.259]. amaze saubari cota naadrevi unda iyos. amas sakmao dro da didi Zal isxmeva dasWirda. es moxda XIX saukunis Sua xanebSi samrewvel o revol uciis warmatebis da revol uciebis frangul i cikl is gasrullebis Semdeg. industriul i sazogadoebis erT-erT mTavar monapovrad samoqal aqo sazogadoebis, samarTl ebrivi saxel mwifos, Camoyal ibeba, unda miviCniOT.

am Temis win wamoweva, cxadia, SemTxveviTi araa da ZiriTadad ori garemoebiT gaxl avT ganpirobebuli. didi xnis ganmavl obaSi qarTul i sazogadoeba evropul i faseul obebis Sesaxeb sabWoTa, komunisturi, ideol ogiis Zal isxmeviT, mcdarad iyo informirebuli. es Zvel i inercia bol omde dResac araa daZl euli. aSkarad negatiuri damokidebul eba Caanacvl a cal mxrivma midgomam. am faseul obaSi garkveva mniSvnelovania da dagvexmareba swori nabijebis gadadgmaSi. es Tema sakmaod aqtual uri Cans Tanamedrove saqarTvelosaTvis, romel ic kvl av dgas istoriul i arCevanis winaSe. Secdomebis daSvebis ufl eba ar gvaqvs.

savsebiT martl zomieri unda iyos, rom demokratiis akvani pirvel ad Zvel saberZneTSi, saxel dobr aTenSi, dairwa. am Tval sazrisiT uwinaresad sagul isxmo Cans sol onis kanonmdebl oba qristes Sobamde VII saukuneSi. aTenis demokratiam Tavis mwverval s

miaRwia qristes Sobamde V saukuneSi perikl es mmar-
 Tvel obis xanaSi. man brwyinval ed daagvirgvina efi-
 al tes mier dawyebul i saqme. reformam wertil i da-
 usva gvarovnul i wyobil ebis gadmonaSTebs da safuZ-
 vel i mouSal a aTenis ol igarqis burj ebs. areopagis
 reformam dasabami misca aTenis pol itikuri sistemis
 demokratizacias. demokratiis poziciebi sakmaod gaZ-
 l ierda. aTenis yvel a moqal aqes SeeZl o daekavebina
 Tanamdeboba. saxal xo krebis ufl ebamosil eba Sesam-
 Cnevad gafarTovda. xdeboda Tanamdebobis pirTa arCe-
 va. mkacrad JRers Zvel i berZeni avtorebis, pirvel
 rigSi ki Tukidides da pl utarqes mosazreba, rom “es
 iyo saxel wodebiTi demokratia, sinamdvil eSi erTi
 kakis batonoba” [3]. Znel ia daveTanxmoT XIX saukunis
 ingl isel istorikoss uil iam mitfords, romel ic
 Tavis wignSi -saberZneTis istoria” aTenis demokrati-
 as uaryofiTad afasebs. amgvari midgoma SemTxveviTi
 ar yofil a da masSi safrangeTis didi revol uciis
 msvl el obiT u. mitfordis ukmayofil ebis anarekl i
 moCans [4]. swored antikur epoqaSi Caeyara safuZvel i
 samarTI ebrivi urTierTobebis normebs. is ganxorci-
 el da romis samarTal Si. aRsaniSnavia, rom antikurma
 samyarom misca dasabami mmarTvel obis srul iad gan-
 sxvavebul formas – imperias. es iyo dapyrobl i ter-
 ritoriebis Zal adobrivi gziT gaertianeba. mniSvne-
 l ovanwil ad amit aixsneba maTi efemerul oba, arasi-
 cocxl isunarianoba. gaixseneT al eqsandre makedone-
 l is imperia. cxadia. arsebobs gamonakl isebi. am mxriv
 sainteresoa romis imperia.

gasakviri araferia imaSi, rom Zvel i saberZneTis
 demokratiis samarTal memkvidred, swored, Sua sauku-
 neebis dasavl eT evropis qal aqebi mogvevl inen. Sua
 saukuneebs xSirad uyurebdnen rogorc uZraobis pe-
 riodes, rodesac TiTqos araviTari demokratia ar ar-
 sebobda. es ar Seesatyiseba simarTI es. arsebobs
 gansxvavebul i mosazreba, roml is Tanaxmadac: -Tana-
 medrove demokratiul evropas safuZvel i j er kidev

Sua saukuneebSi Caeyara”. es cota gadaWarbebul i SeiZ-
 l eba iyos. amis Taobaze saubari naadrevi unda Candes,
 magram es srul iadac ar niSnavs imas, rom Sua sauku-
 neebSi demokratiis garkveul i tradicia ar arsebobda.
 am Tval sazrisiT, pirvel yovl isa, yuradRebas ip-
 yrobs komunal uri moZraoba, romel mac farTod moiki-
 da fexi dasavl eT evropaSi XII – XIII saukuneebSi. qal
 aqebma moipoves damoukidebl oba. maT miaRwies TviT-
 mmarTvel obas. komunal uri moZraobis gaideal eba, ra-
 sac j er kidev restavraciis epoqis istorikosebma,
 pirvel rigSi, ogiusten tierrim, Cauyares safuZvel i,
 cxadia, ar Rirs, zedmetia. qal aqebma am warmatebas mi-
 aRwies samefo xel isufl ebasTan mWidro kontakTsi.
 komunal uri moZraoba wodebaTa Soris TanamSromobis
 erT-erTi naTel i il ustracia unda iyos. amas didi
 mniSvnel oba hqonda. iqmneba wanamZRvrebi xel isufl e-
 basa da sazogadoebas Soris dial ogisaTvis.

xel isufl ebas da wodebebs Soris SeTanxmebis
 l ogikuri Sedegi iyo wodebriv-warmomadgenl obiTi
 monarqiis Camoyal ibeba. amas didi mniSvnel oba hqon-
 da. man mkveTri zRvari gaavl o kl asikur da gviani
 Sua saukuneebis istorias Soris. Sua saukuneebis is-
 toriis dasrul ebaze msjel oba, rogorc amas xazs
 usvams zogierTi evropel i istorikosi (a. pirenii, m.
 bl oki, f. brodel i, f. moro da sxva), damaj erebel i...
 ar unda iyos da naadrevi Cans. wodebriv-warmomadgen-
 l obiTi monarqiis warmoSoba Sua saukuneebis demok-
 ratiis erT-erTi saintereso furcel ia. parl amenti –
 ingl isSi, general uri Statebi – safrangeTSi, korte-
 sebi – espaneTSi, l antagebi – germaniaSi, riksdagi –
 SvedeTSi. [5]. isini axorciel ebdnen kontrol s cen-
 tral uri xel isufl ebis politikaze, gansakuTrebiT
 finansur sakiTxebze. samefo xel isufl ebis TviTnebo-
 bas SesamCnevad Seekveca frTebi. es Sua saukuneebis
 demokratiis didi miRweva iyo. ekl esiasTan, feoda-
 l ebTan, saqal aqo da sasofl o komunebTan mwvave kon-
 kurenciis pirobobSi saZirkvel i eyreba wodebriv-war-

momadgenl obiT monarqias. es iyo wodebebs Soris TanamSroml obis organo. dial ogi xel isufl ebas da sazogadoebas Soris demokratiis mniSvnel ovan miRwevas warmoadgens. aman Seqmna seriozul i winapirobebi axal i drois demokratiul i institutebis Semdgomi ganviTarebisaTvis. Tanamedrove demokratiul i evropis konturebi axal droSi ikveTeba da yal ibdeba. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT saintereso Cans XVI – XVIII saukuneebis dasavl eT evropis istoria (aq arafers ar vambobT aRmosavl eTze da ruseTze. is sul sxva gziT viTardeba da es saubris cal ke Tema).

ras warmoadgenda dasavl eT evropa axal i drois gariJraze XV_XVI saukuneebis mij naze? am epoqis dasavl eT evropis istoriis erTmniSvnel ovnad Sefaseba Zal ze Wirs. erTis mxriv esaa didi geografiul i aRmoCenebi, teqnikiuri siaxl eebi, Tanamedrove mecnierEBis dabadeba, mental uri revol ucia, intel eqtual uri revol ucia. racional izmi, individual izmi. meore mxriv, inkvizicia, rel igiuri omebi, absol utizmi.

axal i drois gariJraze adgil i aqvs revol uciuri xasiaTis cvl il ebebs. mas mecnierEBi xSirad -did garRvevas- uwodeben. es umTavresad imiT gamoixateboda, rom yal ibdeba axal i industriul i civil izacia. man mniSvnel ovanwil ad uzrunvel yo dasavl eT evropis upiratesoba, dawinaureba. aRmosavl eTi CamorCa. is sul sxva gziT wavida, rac garkveul wil ad imiT aixsneboda, rom aq modernizaciis procesi Tavisebur xasiaTs atarebda da sustad iyo ganviTarebul i.

axal i civil izaciis formirebis dros Seqmnil i viTarebis dramatizireba, cxadia, ar Rirs, zedmetia. mas mohqonda ara gaWirveba da monoba, aramed manufaqturebis da xel osnobis ganviTareba. universitetEBis aRmoceneba da, rac yvel aze ufro mTavaria, Tavisuflebis ganviTareba. is Tavis asaxvas hpovebda TviTmmarTvel obis organoEBis Casaxvasa da ganviTarebaSi.

daviwyoT absol uturi monarqiiT. central uri xel isufl ebiS gaZl iereba, udavod, progresul xasi-

aTs atarebda da gaaCnda Tavisi Rirsebebi da nakl i. pirvel yovl isa xazi unda gausvaT imas, rom is war-modgenda seriozul wingadadgmul nabij s feodal uri daqsaqsul obis Semdeg. is ebrZoda feodal ur separatizms, anarqias. -samefo xel isufli eba ganasaxierebda wesrigs uwesrigobaSi”. amave dros ar unda dagva-viwydes, rom saxel mwifos central izacias, unifikacias, Seewira wodebrivi da provinciul i Tavisufli eba. sakmarisia aRiniSnos, rom general uri Statebi saf-rangeTSi da kortesebi espanETSi praqtikul ad saaR-l umo ceremonial ebad iqca da aRarc ki iwevdnen. mar-Tal ia, ingl isSi parl aments arseboba ar Seuwyvetia, magram samefo xel isufli ebis Zl ieri gavlenis qveS moeqca. swored, amaSi mdgomareobda ingl isuri absol utizmis specifika, Tavisebureba. es sul ac ar niS-navs imas, TiTqosda ingl isSi absol uturi monarqia ar arsebobda. maS ra iyo tiudorTa mmarTvel oba? XX saukunis frangi istorikosis, sorbonis universitetis profesoris, rol an munies TqmiT -mefe Seadgenda parl amentis Semadgenel nawil s da aq axorciel ebda Tavis absol utur Zal aufl ebas”.

absol uturi evropis fonze erTgvar bednier gamonakl isad gvevl ineba niderl andis respublika, romel mac 1609 wel s espanETis mmarTvel obisagan gaTavisufli ebis Semdeg, airCia ganvitarebis sakuTari gza [6]. sakanonmdebl o xel isufli ebas ganasaxierebda general uri Statebi. hol andiis Zl ierebis mTavar wyaros saSuamavl o vaWroba warmoadgenda. istorikosebma maT -zRvis meetl eebi” Searqves. germanel i istorikosis l eopol d fon rankes TqmiT: -TiToeul i hol andiel is saxl i sazRvao saswavl ebel i iyo”. amis l ogikuri Sedegi ki XVII saukuneSi niderl andebis swrafi ekonomikuri aRzevebaa. marTal ia, hol andiis ayvaveba efemerul xasiaTs atarebda, myari ar iyo da upiratesad ful ad – savaWro urTierTobebidan miRebul kapital ze iyo gaTvl il i, xol o mrewvel oba ganvitare-

bul i iyo sustad. usaTuod, unda gaviTval iswinoT isic, rom hol andiam verc teqnkis ganviTarebas auwyo fexi da TandaTan CamorCa. mniSnel ovanwil ad, swored, amiT aixsneboda, rom man ver gauZI o aramar-to ingl isTan, aramed safrangeTTan konkurencias. TandaTan daiwyo hol andiis dacema da XVIII saukuneSi is meorexarixovan saxel mwifod iqca. amitom XVII saukuneSi hol andiis msofl io hegemonobaze saubari., rogorc amas xazs usvams XX saukunis amerikel i mec-nieri j. model ski, al baT, mainc didi sifrtXil es moiTxovs da damaj erebl ad ar migvaCnia [7].

ra Tqma unda, hol andiis magal iTi bevrs aRaf-rTovanebda da gaCnda mibaZvis survil i. hol andiis praqtikis danergva sxva qveynebSi sul ac ar aRmoCnda iseTi advil i saqme, rogorc es erTi SexedviT Canda. am mxriv mravl ismetyvel i unda iyos XVII saukunis ingl isis istoria. XVII saukunis pirvel naxevarSi stiuartebis cda daenergaT ingl isSi evropul i wesebi da gadaeqciaT parl amenti saaRl umo ceremonial ad, rogorc iciT, srul i marcxIT dasrul da. stiuartTa erTpirovnul ma mmartVvel obam kraxi ganicada. qveyana CixSi moeqca. sul mal e mefes da parl aments Soris dapirispireba samoqal aqo omSi gadaizarda. am dapirispirebaSi gamarjveba parl aments xvda wil ad, magram es pirosiseul i warmateba aRmoCnda. ratom? parl amenti warmoadgenda wodebriv-warmomadgenl obiT instituts, romel ic iRebda erTjerad kanonebs da ara universal ur principebs, romel ic safuZvl ad daedeboda sazogadoebis ganviTarebas. parl amentma ver moaxerxa Tavis garSemo daerazma sazogadeoba. ol iver kromvel s sul ac ar gasWirvebia Seeqmna -erTgul i da morCil i- parl amenti. XVIII saukunis frangi publ icistis la rivarolis TqmiT: -yvel a revolucia mTavrdeba xml iT” ra miviReT Sedegad? stiuartTa tirania Caanacvl a kromvel is diqtaturam. moxda saxel mwifoebriobis Zvel i formis aRgena, oRond sul sxva xarixSi. swored, amaSi mdgomareobda in-

gl isis revol uciis istoriul ad progresul i mniS-
vnel oba. [8]. Znel ia daveTanxmoT, XX saukunis ingl i-
sel istorikoss, oqsfordis universitetis profe-
sors, hugo Trevor-ropers, TiTqosda: "ingl isis is-
toriul i ganviTarebisaTvis revol ucia srul iad
zedmeti iyo. me ar mj era, rom revol ucia warmatebiT
dagvirgvinda da raime dadebiTi nayofi gamoiRo".

1658 wl is 3 seqtembers ol iver kromvel i garda-
icval a [9]. kromvel is gardacval ebas Tan mohyva 1660
wel s stiuartTa dinastiis restavracia. bredis dek-
l araciis Tanaxmad, stiuartebi piobas debdnen, rom
xel s ar axl ebdnen revol uciis social ur monapo-
vars, magram dabrunebul ma stiuartebma mal e daiwi-
yes danapirebi da gansxvavebul ad moazrovneebis dev-
na daiwyes. kvl av Cixuri mdgomareoba Sei qmna. stiuar-
tTa TviTnebobas wertil i dausva 1688 wl is gadatri-
al ebam, romel sac l liberal urma historiografiam -sa-
xel ovani revol ucia" uwoda. ingl isis taxti daikava
hol andiis Stathal terma uil iam oranel ma. is ing-
l iss marTavda 1689-1702 wl ebSi [10]. rogorc frangu-
l i ganmanaTI ebl obis patriarqi vol teri dasZenda:
-ingl isel Ta Tavisufl eba, swored, am periodidan iw-
yeba" amrigad, ukve axal i drois gariJraJze, gamoikve-
Ta mTavari probl ema. rogor SeiZl eba aRvudgeT win
central uri xel isufl ebis TviTnebobas? ra meqni zme-
bi gaaCnia sazogadoebas, rom daicvas Tavis i intere-
sebi? rogorc SeiZl eba mivaRwi oT kompromiss, SeTan-
xmebas? kacobrioba yofna _ aryofnis sakiTxis winaSe
aRmoCnda. adamians an unda daecva Tavis i Rirseba an
unda daRupul iyo. ganukiTxaoba, TviTneboban an wal e-
kavda yvel afers, anda kacobrioba win unda aRdgomo-
da amas. am meqanizmebis SemuSaveba sul ac ar iyo ad-
vil i saqme da did drosa da sakmao Zal isxmevas mo-
iTxovda. daiwyo Seqmnil i situaciidan Tavis daRwe-
vis gzebis Zebna.

xel isufli ebas da sazogadoebas Soris Catexil i xidis aRdgena SeuZI ebel i iqneboda im mental uri gatrial ebis gareSe, romel sac adgil i hqonda axal i drois gariJraJze. industriul i sazogadoebis Camoyal ibebis erT-erTi mniSvnel ovani winapirobaa sazogadoebis azrovnebis sekul arizacia, rel igiis gavl enisagan gaTavisufli eba. racional uri azrovneba da individual izmi amis l ogikuri Sedegi iyo. am Tval sazrisiT uwinaresad yuradRebas ipyrobs ori mniSvnel ovani istoriul i movl ena renesansi da reformacia. man waruSI el i kval i datova da revol uciuri gatrial eba moaxdina dasavl eT evropis sul ier cxovrebaSi. erTi SexedviT TiTqos maT Soris araviTari kavSiri ar arsebobs, magram sinamdvil eSi es ase rodia. renesansma da reformaciam udidesi rol i Seasrul a axal i tipis adamianis formirebis saqmeSi. bevri istorikosi Sua saukuneebsa da axal istorias Soris mij nad, swored, renesanssa da reformacias miiCnevs.

Sua saukuneebSi adamiani upiratesad kol eqtiur arsebad moiazreboda. is warmoadgenda romel ime Sua saukuneobrivi korporaciis wevrs. is individi ar iyo. mkveTrad icvl eba viTareba Sua saukuneebis dasarul s da axal i drois gariJraJze. iwyeba pirovnebis TviTdamkvidrebis epoga. aqtual uri gaxda adamianis pirovnul i Tavisufli ebis idea. `Sua saukuneebis adamiani veraviTar azrs ver xedavda Tavisufli ebaSi am si tyvis Tanamedrove gagebiT... Temis gareSe ar arsebobda Tavisufli ebac. igi SeiZI eboda real izebul i yofil iyo mxol od damoukidebl obis SemTxvevaSi, sadac zemdgomi qvemdgoms aZI evda misi ufl ebebis pativiscemis garantias. Tavisufal i adamiani _ es isaa, visac Zl ieri mfarvel i hyavs- _ wers Tanamedrove frangi istorikosi Jak l e gofi. [11].

diametral urad Seicval a viTareba Sua saukuneebis da axal i drois mij naze renesansis epogaSi. aq Zal Ta bal ansi dairRva pirovnebis sasargebl od. re-

nesansis korifeebi xazs usvamden pirovnebis srul - yofil ebas. fizikuri da sul ieri sil amasis Serwymas da es esaxebodaT antikuri ideal is gansaxierebad. gaCnda moTxovnil eba srul iad axal i tipis adamianze, romel sac Seswavda unari axal i samyaros Seqmnis. aseTi adamiani unda yofil iyo gamrj e, Sromismoyvare, marifaTiani, iniciativiani, praqtikul i. axal i drois ideal ad iqca ara raindi, rogorc es iyo Sua saukuneebSi, aramed praqtikul i da iniciativiani mewarme. reformaciis istoriul i mniSvnel oba, swored, imaSi mdgomareobda, rom is amkvidrebda Sromis eTikas. yvelaze ufro mkafiod es Camoyal ibebul iqna Jan kal - vinis moZRvrebasi _ kal vinizmSi. mas safuZvl ad edo praqticizmi da iniciativa. J. kal vinis Rma rwmeniT, RmerTisaTvis savsebiT misaRebia simdidris SesaZenad didi Sroma. aseTi adamiani, kal vinis Tval sazrisiT, RmerTis rCeul ia. gansakuTrebiT sagul isxmoa adamianis urTierToba RmerTTan. aq siaxl e imaSi mdgomareobda, rom man mkveTrad gamokveTil i individual uri el feri Seizina. es imiT gamoixateboda, rom ameridan adamiansa da RmerTs Soris Suamavali, kaTolikuri ekl esiis saxiT, rogorc es iyo Sua saukuneebSi, saWiro aRar iyo. reformaciam adamiani uSual od RmerTTan datova da amit mas udidesi pasuxismgebl oba daakisra [12.13.14].

amrigad, axal i drois gariJraJze gzas ikafavs individual izmi. es mniSvnel ovani Tvisebrivi siaxl e iyo.

reformaciam mZl avri impulsi misca kidev erT mniSvnel ovan siaxl es. es aris racional uri azrovneba. racional izmi cariel niadagze ar aRmocenebul a da sazogadoebrivi azrovnebis sekul arizaciis lo gikur Sedegad gvevl ineba. adamianis goni cdil obs Tavi daaRwios providencial izmis Teoriul CarCoebis da movl enebis axsnis gasaRebs eZebis ara zecaSi, aramed dedamiwaze. codnis wyarod gamocxadda goneba. racional izmma Zl ieri dartya miayena Sua saukuneebis faseul obaTa sistemas. misi istoriul i mniSvne-

I oba, swored, amaSi mdgomareobda. racional izmma Ca-
moayal iba is garemo, romel mac mZI avri stimuli mis-
ca mecnierabis da fil osofiis Semdgom winsvl as.
faqtobrivad maT saZirkvel i Cauyares im gzas, rom-
l iTac wavida evropis mecniereba. racional izms sa-
fuZvl ad edo radikal izmi, jansaRi skefsisi, masal i-
sadmi kritikul i damokidebul ebis unari. es kritiku-
l i paTosi praqtikul ad yvel a mecnierebas Seexeboda,
maTematikis garda.

kidev erTi mniSvel ovani Tvisebrivi siaxl e iyo
praqticizmi, real izmi. adaminebi TviT politikuri
sakiTxebi gadawyvetis dros praqtikul ebi gaxdnen.
maT saxel mwifo xel isufl ebis mimaT srul iad gan-
sxvavebul i damokidebul eba uCndebaT. pirvel yovl i-
sa unda iTqvas, rom isini am Temas racional urad
udgebian da ufro real isturad, praqtikul ad uyure-
ben. es, cxadia, Zal ian kargia. aravin araa iseTi mia-
miti da gul ubryvil o, vinc darwmunebul ia saxel mwif-
fos RvTaebriw warmomavl obaSi, rogorc amas xazs
usvamnden Sua saukuneebSi. amieridan xel isufl ebas
aRiqvamen im adaminebis warmateba-warumatebl obis mi-
xedvit, roml ebic aRmoCndnen xel isufl ebis saTave-
Si. modernizaciis epoqisaTvis Zal ze damaxasiaTebe-
l ia revol uciebi. es revol uciebis epoqaa. frangi
istorikosis Jan Joresis TqmiT: `revol ucia progre-
sis barbarosul i formaa-.

yovel ive zemoaRniSnul is Semdeg am epoqis, XVI
saukune _ XVII saukunis pirvel i naxebris, mikuTvneba
Sua saukuneebis istoriisadmi, rogorc amas Tavis
droze sabWoTa, marqsistul i, istoriografia amtki-
cebda, damaj erebel i ar unda iyos da miuRebel ia. is
kargad gamoxatavda erTi istoriul i skol is damoki-
debul ebas da sul ac ar warmoadgenda WeSmaritebis
ukanasknel instancias, rogorc amas didi xnis man-
Zil ze gviqadagebdnen. savsebit marTI zomieri unda
iyos, rom periodizaciis marqsistul i model i saer-
TaSoriso istoriografiam metad civad miiRo da

praqtikul ad sabWota istoriografia srul izolaciaSi moeqca.

warmatebul ad ar migvaCnia Tanamedrove qarTul istoriografiaSi gamoTqmul i mosazreba, roml is Tanaxmadac es epoqa aris gviani Sua saukuneebi, adreul i axal i dro [15] aseTi ormagi termini, Cveni azriT, kidev ufro abundovnebs situacias da marqsistul i periodizaciis modifikaciis erT-erT variantad migvaCnia. al baT, ufro upriani iqneboda am epoqas, rogorc es evropul istoriografiaSia miRebul i, `axal i istoriis Sesaval i- vuwodoT. [16].

ra Tqma unda, Cven Sors varT am epoqis gaideal ebisgan, usaSvel od gandidebisagan. cxadia, iyo uaryofiti momentebi, roml is gverdis avl a umarTebul o iqneboda, magram, al baT, arc misi dramatizireba ar Rirs. is warmoadgens progresis Crdil ovan mxares. progresi umtkivneul o xasiaTs ar atarebs.

* * *

evropel ebma da amerikel ebma Zal ian kargad gaacnobieres, rom damoukidebl oba j er kidev ar niSnavs Tavisufl ebas. es sxvadasxva mcnebebia. axal i epoqis istoria Tavisufl ebisaTvis brZol iTaa gajerebul i. es iyo `revol uciebis xana-. ra Tqma unda, es ar iyo saukeTeso gamosaval i. es araa sasurvel i gza, magram Seqmnil i eqstremal uri situaciidan erT-erTi gamosaval ia, amis wayrueba, gverdis avl a, ar SeiZl eba. mas aqvs moqal aqebis ufl eba da gaaCnia Tavisi dadebiti da uaryofiti mxareebi.

hol andiis magal iTis gadmoReba sul ac ar aRmoCnda iseTi advil i, rogorc es erTi SexedviT Canda. amas sakmaod xangrZl ivi da didi Zal isxmeva dasWirda. ra warmoadgens sazogadoebrivi SeTanxmebis wyaros? sad Zevs misi gasaRebi? sad unda veZeboT Seqmnil i situaciidan gamosaval i? ra gzas unda davadgeT, rom Tavi davaRwiOT am mojadoebul wres,

romel Sic aRmoCnda kacobrioba axal i epoqis gariJ-
raJze? ganukiTxaobas da TviTnebobas dasasrul i ar
uCanda. xel isufli ebis Zal momreobisagan moqal aqeebis
dacvis Zvel i meqanizmi moiSal a. farTo gasaqani mie-
ca mdi drebis sixarbes da Cinovnikebis gamomZal vel o-
bas. Tavdacvis meqanizmi ki ar Canda. Zal momreobam
sayovel Tao xasiaT miiRo. kacobrioba an unda Segue-
boda am viTarebas, an aqedan gamosaval i unda moeZeb-
na. sxva gza ar arsebobda. kacobrioba sul ac ar api-
rebda farxmal is dayras da eZebda gamosaval s, saxav-
da gzebs, romel ic daexmareboda mas Tavi daeRwia am
CixisaTvis. xel isufli ebis TviTnebobisagan, Zal momre-
obisagan, dacva axal i istoriis erT-erT central ur
Temad gvevl ineba.

am epoqis didi moazrovneebis Tval sawiers miRma
sul ac ar rCeboda is negatiuri tendenciebi, romel -
sac adgil i hqonda axal i epoqis gariJraJze. maT
mSvenivrad gaacnobieres, Tu sait miaqanebda sazoga-
doebas sixarbe da Zal momreoba. gaixseneT Seqspiris
`veneciel i vaWari-, `timon aTenel i-, `makbeti-. xel ov-
nebas ar Zal uZda sazogadoebis xsna. mas bunebrivia,
ar gaaCnda am probl emis gadawyvetis gasaRebi. es sa-
kiTxi, cxadia, sityvakazmul i literaturis Sedevreb-
Si arc ki ganixil eboda. es ar iyo maTi saqme.

am viTarebidan Tavis daRwevis gzebis moZieba
scades utopistebma. isini Seecadnen aegoT ideal uri
sazogadoeba, sadac ar iqneboda Zal momreoba, radgan
ukmayofil oebi ar iqnebodnen. isini gverds uvl idnen
im sakiTxs, Tu rogor SeiZl eba Camoyal ibdes aseTi
sazogadoeba da mere rodesac is Seiqmneba, rogor un-
da gadawydes sazogadoebis sxvadasxva fenebs Soris
urTierToba, rogor avicil oT Tavidan maT Soris
konfli iqtebi. ideal ur sazogadoebaSi aseTi jgufebis
arseboba gamoricxul i iyo. SemTxveviTi araa, rom ide-
al uri sazogadoebis proeqtis praqtikul i ganxorcie-
l eba ver moxerxda. gaixseneT, r. ouenis mier aSS-Si
daarsebul i komunis `axal i harmoniis- bedi.

panacea arc protestantizmi iyo. man, gansakuT-rebiT kal vinizmma, l omis wil i daido axal i moder-nizebul i adamiānis Camoyal ibebis saqmeSi, romel mac saZirkvel i Cauyara axal industriul sazogadoebas. axal sazogadoebas qmnis axal i tipis adamiāni. adami-ani _ Semoqmedi. swored is gvevl ineba industriul i civil izaciis Seqmnis moTaved. amave dros unda iT-qvas, rom protestantizmi sul ac ar gamoirCeoda rj ul Tsemwynarebl obiT. isini upirispirdebodnen aramarto kaTol ikur ekl esias, aramed urTierTs. ga-ixseneT cnobil i mecneris migel servetis bedi. rj ul Tsemwynarebl obiT arc kaTol ikeebi ar gamoir-Ceodnen. maS sadaa gamosaval i? nuTu is ar arsebobs?

axal ma siom XVII saukunis fil osofosebis, f. bekonī, m. monteni, h. grociusi, t. hobsi, j. l oki, Sromebsi daqrol a. maT Taviani woniani sityva Tqves sazogadoebis samarTI ebrivi ganaTI ebisa da dakva-l ianebis saqmeSi. am Sromebis mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobs, rom aq ikveTeba samoqal aqo sazogadoe-bis konturebi. ra iyo is axal i principebi, romel mac revol uciuri gadatrial eba moaxdina saxel mwifos da sazogadoebas Soris urTierTobaSi da momaval i samoqal aqo sazogadoebis Teoriul safuZvl ad mog-vevl ina? ra esaxebodaT maT harmoniul i sazogadoe-bis Seqmnis wyarod? saxel mwifo xel isufl ebis xel - Sekrul ebiTi interpretacia. xal xis ufl ebebis uze-naesoba. saxel mwifo warmoadgens cal keul moqal aqe-Ta ufl ebis garants da sxva. gadauWarbebl ad SeiZ-l eba iTqvas, rom am probl emebis Teoriul i damuSave-bis gareSe ar iqneboda arc ganmanaTI ebl oba, arc aSS-s konstitucia da arc Tanamedrove harmoniul i sazogadoeba. Seqmnil i eqstremal uri viTarebidan Ta-vis daRwevis erTaderT saSual ebad im epoqis mowina-ve adamiāns iseTi urTierTobebis Seqmna esaxebodaT, romel ic agebul i iqneboda nebayofl obiT sazogado-ebriv SeTanxmebaze. sxva gamosaval i ar arseboba. am gzas al ternativa ar gaaCnda. unda SeemuSavebinaT

iseTi universal uri kanonebi, romel sac yvel a mo-
qal qe nebayofl obiT daemorCil eboda. sxva gzas ti-
raniasTan da anarqiasTan miyvavarT. es saintereso
ideebi mxol od qaRal dze darCeboda da kidev erTi
il uzia iqneboda, Tu ar SemuSavdeboda maT amoqmede-
bis pol itikur meqanizms. ra procedurebis da pol i-
tikuri institutebis saSual ebiT SeiZl eba mi vaRwiOT
saerTo saxal xo SeTanxmebas, konsesuss? am rTul i
misiis ganxorciel eba wil ad xvda cnobil fil oso-
foss jon l oks. [17]. mniSvnel ovanwil ad amiT iyo ga-
mowveul i j. l oki didi gavl ena me-18 saukunis ganma-
naTl ebl obaze. amrigad, axal sazogadoebriv urTier-
Tobebis kanonis winaSe Tanasworobis idea unda dade-
boda safuZvl ad. es iyo swori gadawyvetil eba. axl a
j eri mis realizebaze iyo. `kanoniereba iseTsave
rol s asrul ebs saxel mwifos cxovrebaSi, rogorc
nervul i sistema _ adamiანis organizmSi~ _ dasZens
nikol a makiavel i [18.63].

gasaqviri araferi ar iyos imaSi, rom am novacie-
bis iniciatorad ingl isi mogvevl ina. aq aisaxa savse-
biT real uri viTareba. swored, ingl isi gvevl ineba am
droisaTvis social -ekonomikur da pol itikuri Tval -
sazrisiT yvel aze ganviTarebul saxel mwifod [19.20].

sainteresoa aRiniSnos, rom vol untarizmis,
dogmatizmis daZl eva paral el urad xdeboda mecnie-
rebaSi da pol itikaSi. am Tval sazriT yuradRebas ip-
yrebs 1660 wels Carl z II-is mier daarsebul i l on-
donis samefo sazogadoeba. erTi SexedviT ra Sexebis
wertil ebi SeiZl eba gaaCndes mecnierebas da pol iti-
kas. TiTqos araferi, magram modiT da nu avCqardebiT
da kargad CavukvirdeT. pirvel yovl isa unda iTqvas,
rom aseTi daaxl oebis tendencia, cxadia, cariel ni-
adagze ar aRmocenebul a da da mas gaaCnda Tavisi is-
toriul i fesvebi. bunebrivia, mecniereba oaziss ar
warmoadgens da gare samyarosagan izol irebul ad ar
viTardeba. absol utizms pol itikaSi Tan axl avs ab-

sol uturi azrovneba mecnierebaSi da orive es absol utizmi unda davZl iOT erTdroul ad. mecnierul i kvl evis kul tura da srul yofil i parl amentis Seqmna urTierTzemoqmedeben, mWidro kavSirSi arian. friad simptomaturad migvaCnia, rom am grandiozul i social uri eqsperimentis ganxorciel eba j er scades ara sazogadoebaze, aramed mecnierebaSi. unda iTqvas, rom aRorZinebis epoqis saxel ganTqmul i ingl isel i fil osofosis frensis bekonis saxiT maT Rirseul i winamorbedi hyavdaT. mas savsebiT samarTI ianad miiCneven cdi seul i mecnierebis fuZemdebl ad. es imdroindel i mecnierebis fonze axal i sityva iyo. f. bekonis moZRvreba kacobriobis azrovnebis sekul arizaciis gzaze wingadadgmul i nabij ia. misi Rrma rwmeniT, samyaros Semecneba xdeba ara gangebis Zal iT, aramed samecniero eqsperimentis safuZvel ze. amiT f. bekonma mZl avri dartya miayena Sua saukuneebis faseul obaTa sistemas.

uwinaresad xazi unda gavirusvaT imas, rom l ondonis samefo sazogadoeba absol uturad apol itikuri organizacia iyo, romel ic pol itikuri da rel igiuri sakiTxebis ganxil vaze civi uari ganaxxada. es mis kompetenciaSi ar Sedioda. isini mTavar aqcents mecnierebaSi akeTebdnen eqsperimental ur, gansakuTrebit maTematikur mtkicebaze, roml is monacemebsac isini metad mkacr moTxovnebs uyenebdnen. es esaxebedaT seriozul da sakamaTo mecnierul sakiTxebSi Setanxmebis wyarod.

aucil ebel i azrTa sxvadasxvaoba gvevl ineboda ara konfl iqtebis mizezad, aramed miRebul i Sedegebis srul yofis, koreqtirebis, sagani xdeboda. mecnierebis Zal isxmeviT l ondonis samecniero sazogadoeba gadaiqca kargad organizebul kol eqtiur organod, l aboratoriad, romel ic miel tvoda WeSmaritebas, gadal axavda uTanxmoebas da ebrZoda dogmatizms da tiranias. konsesusi mecnierebaSi miRweul iqna. axl a saWiuro iyo es specifikuri social uri gamocdil eba sazogadoebaze gavrcel ebul iyo. mecnierebma, pol iti-

kosTa axal TaobasTan erTad, saZirkvel i Cauyares samoqal aqo sazogadoebi ideas. Seecadnen misi organizaciul -procedurul i meqanizmi daekavSirebinaT kanonebis dausrul ebel i srul yofis procesTan da is gaetarebinaT cxovrebaSi. urTierTobis mowesrigebis erT-erT mniSvnel ovan faqtors warmoadgens parlamenti. Tanamedrove civil izirebul i samyaros warmodgena am social uri l aboratoriis gareSe SeuZl ebel ia. misi funqcia ganuzoml ad didia. is, pirvel yovlisa, imiT gamoixateba, rom is cdil obs konsesuss miaRwios sazogadoebis sxvadasva kerZo interesebis Soris [21.253-256.22.12-14]. amrigad, XVII saukunis Sua xanebis ingl isSi mimdinareobs metad saintereso procesi, roml is drosac samecniero kvl eva da Tanamedrove sapaarlamento kanonmdebl oba erTmaneTs Zal ian uaxl ovdeba da urTierTzemoqmedeben. amas didi mniSvnel oba hqonda. im epoqis fonze es iyo seriozul i Tvisebrivi xasiaTis siaxl e. yal ibdeba gl obal uri social uri l aboratoria. mis mTavar sazrunavad iqceva saxel mwifosa da moqal aqeta piradi interesebis Serwymis axal i formebis gamoZieba.

unda iTqvas, rom am principebis praqtikul i ganxorciel eba sul ac ar aRmoCnda iseTi advil i saqme, rogorc es erTi SexedviT Canda. l ondonSi samefo sazogadoebidan parl amentamde mokl e gzis gavlas TiTqmis 30 wel i dasWir da.

am Teoriis praqtikaSi gadatanis saqmeSi l omis wil i miuZRvis XVII saukunis gamoCenil ingl isel fil osofoss da moazrovnes jon l oks. misi msofil mxedvel obis formirebaze didi gavlena moaxdina emigraciaSi, niderl andSi gatarebul ma wl ebma. swored amazea naTqvami _ `zogi Wiri margebel iao-. aq is axl os gaecno mmarTvel obis demokratiul model s. j. l oki Seecada mis danergvas samSobl oSi _ ingl isSi, magram j. l okis midgoma mimbaZvel obiT ar gamoirCeva. praqtikul ad j. l oki iyo pirvel i, romel mac xazi gausva parl amentis rol s samoqal aqo

sazogadoebis Seqmnis saqmeSi. is simpaTiIT ganimswva-
 l a saxel mwifo marTvis sapaarl amento-demokratiul i
 forme bisadmi. es SeiZl eboda yofil iyo rogorc res-
 publ ika, ase iyo niderl andSi, ise konstituciuri
 monarqia, rogorc es moxda ingl isSi. j. l okis Rma
 rwmeniT, parl amenti warmoadgens ara uTanxmoebis da
 anarqiis, aramed sazogadoebis konsol idaciis mTavar
 asparezs. j. l oks sjeroda, rom iseT kol eqtiur or-
 ganos, rogoric parl amentia, Seswevs unari SeimuSa-
 os iseTi universal uri kanonebi, roml is safuZvel ze
 moxdeba mTel i sazogadoebis ganviTareba. ra Tqma un-
 da, j. l oki midioda riskze. mas yavda seriozul i
 oponentebi, maTi Tavkaci iyo tomas hobsi, romel ic
 parl amentis SesaZl ebl obas, Tavis Tavze aeRo sazo-
 gadoebis konsol idaciis funqcia, Zal ze skeptikurad
 ekideboda. is parl aments ganxil avda, rogorc dam-
 xmare instruments, romel ic zemodan kontrol is ga-
 reSe Zal ian advil ad gaxdeboda areul obis da anar-
 qiis safuZveli [23.144-145]. ras emyareboda j. l okis
 optimizmi? TiTqosda XVII saukunis ingl isis revol-
 uciam am kiTxvas uaryofiTi pasuxi gasca, magram j.
 l oki danebebas ar apirebda. is j iutad eZebda Seqmni-
 l i situaciidan gamosaval s. am SemTxvevaSi j. l oki
 im postul atidan amodioda, rom iseTi kol eqtiuri
 organo, rogoric parl amentia, roml is Semadgenl o-
 baSi Sedioda sxvadasxva social uri fenis warmomad-
 genl ebi, bol os da bol os miiRebda iseT universa-
 l ur kanonebs, romel ze dayrdnobiTac ganviTardebo-
 da sazogadoeba. es iyo metad mniSvnel ovani debul e-
 ba. mTavari iyo `SeTanxmeba sabaziso faseul obebze-
 aRsaniSnavia, rom l okma, samoqal aqo sazogadoebis
 koncefcia gaiazra savaWro gacvl iT urTierTobebTan
 mWidro konteqstSi. is samoqal aqo sazogadoebas uy-
 rebda rogorc gacvl iT urTierTobebis, romel Sic
 Cabmul ia Cveul ebrivi saqonl is mfl obel i - piradad
 Tavisufal i mesakuTre. samoqal aqo samarTl is da
 sxva fundamenturi samarTl ebrivi sakiTxebis ganxil -

vis dros j. l oki gamodioda im daSvebidan, rom sazogadoebis bunebrivi mdgomareobas warmoadgens patiosani konkurencia [22, 13, 24. 151-152. 154-157].

j. l okis Tanaxmad, parl amentis wyal obiT kanonSemoqmedebiT saqmianobaSi CarTul i aRmoCndebodnen sazogadoebis farTo wreebi. mas Semdeg, rac kanoni miRebul i iqneboda, araviTari gamonakl isis daSveba ar SeiZl eboda. kanonis winaSe yvel a Tanaswori iyo. aravis ar aqvs ufl eba kanonis moqmedeba sadme, an rodesme SeaCeros. es aris suspensiuri ufl eba. aravis ar aqvs ufl eba, romel ime moqal aqe, vinc ar unda iyos is, kanonis asrul ebidan gaaTavisufl os. es aris dispensiuri ufl eba. `samoqal aqo sazogadoebis arc erTi wevrisaTvis ar SeiZl eba daSvebul iqnas gamonakl isi am sazogadoebis kanonebidan- [17.151-152]. amas didi mniSvel oba hqonda. man praqtikul adsaTave daudo kanonmorCil sazogadoebas. saZirkvel i Cauyara dasavl eT evropis qveynebis pol itikur kul turas. aRsaniSnavia, rom j. l okma aqtiuri monawil eoba miiRo am ideebis praqtikul real izebaSi. is iyo 1688 wl is saxel mwifo gadatrial ebis erT-erTi aqtiuri monawil e. ingl isis taxtze uil iam oranel is asvl is mxurval e momxre, 1688 wl is revol uciis apol ogeti. 1688 wel s wertil i daesva stiuartTa TviTnebobas. ingl isSi adgil i aqvs sasaxl is gadatrial ebas. stiuartebi gaiqcnen. rogorc aRiniSna, parl amentis mowveviT 1689 wel s ingl isis taxti daikava holl andiis Stathal terma uil iam oranel ma. l liberal ebma am gadatrial ebas `saxel ovani revol ucia- uwodes. ingl isis axal ma mmartvel ma xel i moawera `ufl ebaTa dekl aracias-, sadac mkacrad iqna gansazRvrul i samefo xel isufl ebis ufl ebamosil ebani. sakanonmdebl o xel isufl ebas ganasaxierebda parl amenti. ingl isi gaxda konstituciuri monarqia. samefo xel isufl ebas da parl aments Soris kompromisis l ogikuri Sedegi iyo Tanamedrove samarTl ebrivi saxel mwifos safuZvl ebis Camoyal ibeba.

Liberalizacia inglisur kanonSemoqmedebiTisqmanobis mTavar qvakuTxedad iqca. es iyo sasjelis Serbil eba, msajul Ta ufl ebamosil ebis gafarToveba da, rac yvel aze mniSvnel ovania, didi yuradReba eqceoda eWvimitanil is danaSaul is damtkicebas. es zRvars udebda xel isufl ebis TviTnebobas. wertilidaesva principals _ `mefe kanonze maRI a dgas, radgan TviTon aris kanonis wyaro-. Sua saukuneebis samarTI ebrivi sistemis faseul obebs wyal i Seudga.

Jer kidev inglis is revoluciis win 1628 wels miiRes kanoni `peticia ufl ebaTa Sesaxeb-. is mimarTul i iyo samefo xel isufl ebis Zal momreobis winaarMdeg da icavda pirovnebis ufl ebas. 1679 wels miRebul iqna `habeas korpus aqti-. igi mimarTul i iyo TviTneburi daptimrebebis winaarMdeg. sasamarTI os hqonda sruli ufl eba moqal aqis daptimrebebis kanoniereba gamoerkvia. es seriozul i wingadadgmul i nabiji iyo, praqtikul ad saZirkvel i eyreba pirovnebis xel Seuxebl obis ufl ebas.

1689 wels miRebul iqna inglis is istoriaSierT-erTi mniSvnel ovani kanoni _ `bil i ufl ebaTa Sesaxeb-, romelic inglis is konstituciuri ufl ebebis mTavar qvakuTxedad gvevineba. am kanonis Tanaxmad, inglis is mefes parlamentTan SeTanxmebiT unda emoqmeda. mefe uars acxadebda gadasaxadebis akrefaze. amieridan is parlamentis kompetenciaSi Sedioda. parlament i unda moewviaT sam weliwadSi erTxel . mefe ar hqonda misi daTxovis ufl eba.

inglisuri demokratiis ganmtkicebis saqmeSi didi mniSvnel oba eniWeboda cenzuris gauqmebas. 1771 wels miiRes kanoni, romelic kanonSemoqmedebiT saqmianobas gamWvirvel obas szenda. gazeTebis SeeZl oT gamoeqveynebinaT parlamentis sxdomebis sruli angariSi oratorTa gvarebis dasaxel eb iT. yuradRebas ipyrebs 1696 wels ganxorciel ebel i fuladi reforma. misi istoriuli mniSvnel oba imaSi mdgomareobda, rom scada ori Seurigebel i sawyisis _ xazinis da

moqal aqeTa interesebs Soris konsesusis miRweva. mi-
si mTavari amosaval i wertil i iyo mosaxl eobis
msyidvel obiTi unaris aSkara gaumj obeseba (gadasaxa-
debis gazrdis xarj ze xazinis Sevseba damaj erebel i
ar iyo da metad sarisko nabij s warmoadgenda) [22.11]
ingl isis mefes kanut dids (1017-1035) uyvarda Tqma:
`me ar minda usamarTI o gziT Semosul i ful i. xal -
xis keTil dReobisaTvis me arafers ar daviSureb da
sakuTar Tavsac ar davzogav-. amitom moipova man
xal xis pativiscema. yvel aferi martivadaa.

amrigad, XVII-XVIII saukuneebis mij naze ingl isi
gaxda konstituciuri monarqia, romel ic central ur
xel isufl ebas da parl aments Soris kompromisis
l ogikur Sedegs warmoadgens. ingl isSi saZirkvel i
eyreba samoqal aqo sazogadoebas. ikveTeba samarTI eb-
rivi saxel mwifos Camoyal ibebis konturebi. ibadeba
pol itikuri kul tura. am konsesus safuZvl ad edo:
kanonis uzenaesoba, kerZo sakuTrebis xel Seuxebl o-
ba, adamianis ufl ebebis dacva, rj ul TSemwynarebl o-
ba, patiosani konkurencia, dial ogi xel isufl ebas
da sazogadoebas Soris.

es gza, cxadia, ia-vardebiT mofenil i ar yofi-
l a. samoqal aqo sazogadoebas Tavis damkvidreba mo-
uxda uaRresad rTul viTarebaSi, mZime brZol ebis pi-
robebSi. Rirsebis dacva evropel ebisaTvis srul ia-
dac ar aRmoCnda iol i saqme. mas sakmaod xangrZl ivi
dro da didi Zal isxmeva dasWirda. is aRsavse iyo re-
l igiuri SuRl iT, samoqal aqo omebiT, revol uciebiT.
ras izamT, aseTia kompromisis, konsesusis, WeSmariti
fasi, `es iyo progresis barbarosul i forma-. ro-
gorc Cans, es aris civil izebul i kacobriobis say-
mawvil o avadmyofoba, romel sac, rac ufro adre mo-
ixdi, miT ufro umj obesia. evropel ebma da amerike-
l ebma SeZl es amis gakeTeba. maTi upiratesobac, swo-
red, amaSi unda mdgomareobdes.

am Temaze saubari unda gavasrul oT frangi re-
vol ucioneris sen-Jiustis sityvebiT: `monoba aris

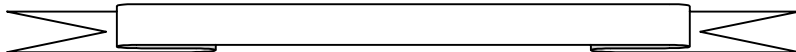
morCil eba usamarTI o kanonebisadmi. Tavisufli eba – morCil eba kargi kanonebisadmi. TavaSvebul oba yurs ugdebs mxol od Tavis TavS-. Zvel i berZeni fil osofosi pl atoni dasZenda: `me vxedav im saxel mwifos moaxl oebul dasasrul s, sadac kanons Zal a ar gaaCnia da imyofeba zegavl enis qveS-.

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wyaroebi s publ i kacia



*redkol egilsagan: vagrZel ebT niqoziaSi sa-
qarTvel os sapatriarqos warmomadgenl obis
prescentris xel mZRvanel is sofio l aWypianis
weril ebis pabl ikacias, romel ic kviprosis kun-
Zul ze qarTvel ebis nakval evs ikvl evs.*

sofi o l aWypiani

qarTvel ebi stefane l uziniani sa da arqimandrit kiprianes Txzul ebebSi

stefane l uziniani "Chorograffia" anu `aRweril o-
ba" da arqimandrit kiprianes `ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ
ΤΗΣ ΝΥΣΣΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ~ anu `kunZul kviprosis qrono-
l ogiuri istoria~ kviprosis istoriis sarwmuno da
mniSvnel ovan wyaroebs warmoadgenen. qarTvel ebis
kviprosze yofnis Sesaxeb maT mier mowodebul i in-
formacia Zal zed sainteresoa.

stefane l uziniani XVI saukunis moRvawea. kvip-
rosis maSindel i mmarTvel i dinastiis l uzinianebs
(de Lusignan) arasamefo Stos warmomadgenel i, dabade-
bul i unda iyos XVI saukunis 20-30-ian wl ebSi kvip-
rosSi. stefane dominikanel Ta ordenis wevri iyo,
icoda berZnul i, l aTinuri da ital iuri. warmoSobiT
frangma frangul i parizSi (1578 w. wm. iakobis monas-
terSi) damkvidrebis Semdeg iswavl a. 1570 w. 4 maiss
igi meored gaemgzavra ital iaSi, rogorc aRmoCnda
samudamod, radgan imave wl is seqtemberSi kviprosis
dedaqal aqi niqozia, da sul mcire xanSi mTel i kunZu-
l ic, Turqebma dai pyres. CvenTvis saintereso Txzul e-
ba `CHOROGRAFFIA~ man ital iaSi (1570 -1573 wl ebSi)

cxovrebisas dawera da gamosca kidec bol oniaSi 1573 w. stefane I uziniani gardaicval a 1578 w. parizSi.

arqimandriti kipriane me-18 saukunis kviprosis erT-erTi mniSvnel ovani sasul iero piri da mesityve iyo. savaraudod, kipriane adreul asakSive kikos monasterSi unda miebarebinaT, sadac efrem aTinel is¹ xel mZRvanel obiT skol a arsebobda. 1778-1788 wl ebSi igi codnas iRmavebda veneciis berZnul gimnaziasa da paduis saswavl ebl ebSi. amavdroul ad kikos monastris daval ebiT xel mZRvanel obda monastris bibl io-TekisaTvis saWiro wignebis gamocemas. Aital iaSi yofnisas man ganizraxa stefane I uzinianis naSromis `CHOROGRAFFIA--s Targmna. Targmanze muSaobisas man bevri cvl il eba Seitana pirvandel , stefane I uzinianeul teqstSi, xol o Turqetis batonobis periodis amsaxvel i istoria ki mTI ianad misi damoukidebel i naSromia. wigni gamosca Tavad avtorma 1788 w. veneciaSi. 1794-1798 wl ebSi arqimandriti kipriane msaxurobda tergestis (avstria) berZnul ekl esiaSi. Semdeg dabrunda veneciaSi, sadac gardacval ebande cxovrobda. gardaicval a me-19 saukunis dasawyisSi da mTel i Tavisi qoneba da bibl ioTeka dautova kikos monasters.

Cvens mizans warmoadgenda am avtorTa Txzul ebebidan im informaciis amokreba, romel ic maT saqarTvel os, kviprosze mcxovrebe qarTvel ebisa da Ral iis monastris Sesaxeb aqvT. stefane I uzinianis `CHOROGRAFFIA- ital iur (veneciur) enazea daweril i. CvenTvis saintereso adgil ebis berZnul ad Targmna vTxoveT kviprosis universitetis Assistant Professor Despina Fata-Kazinu-s. miuxedavad amisa, CvenTvis saWiro masal is mainc original is enaze mowodeba gadawwyiteT. miT umetes, rom

¹ efrem aTinel i me-18 saukunis cnobil i berZeni ganmanaT- l ebel i da sasul iero moRvavea. 1741 wel s igi kviprosis arqiepiskopos fil oTeos (1733-1759) mier iqna mowveul i axl ad daarsebul i niqoziis berZnul i skol is xel mZRvanel ad. 1766-1771 wl ebSi igi ierusal imis patriarqi iyo.

arqimandriti kipriane TiTqm̄is sityva-sityviT imeorebs stefane I uziniani teqsts, roml is qarTul Targmans aqve viZl eviT.

stefane I uziniani gvamcnobs, rom rodesac I uzinianebi¹ kviprosze damkvidrdnen, kviprosis da daqal aqad niqozia airCies. aq gadmoitanes I aTini arqiepiiskoposis rezidencia da wmindā miwidan gamoxiznul qristianebs, da maT Soris qarTvel ebs, uf- I eba misces aq damkvidrebul iyvnen:

„...& questo fu nel 1194. in Circa. Dipoi anchora al tempo delli Re Lusignani fu fatta Archiepiscopale, & citta Regale, & capo di tutta l'Isola; perche in questo luogo, doue si troua, e nel mezzo dell'Isola, & nel mezzo della pianura: buonissimo aere, acque delicate, luogo ameno di giardini, & di frutti. Ha di fuori immediate due fontane: vna si chiama Piadia, & l'altra Acqua dolce; & questa va per la citta, & fa diuerse fontane, & nelli Pallazzi, corte & piazza, & altri luoghi: laquale Acqua e liggiera, & la danno alli infermi a beuerla cosi cruda quanta ne voglino, & non li noce: Et per queste ragioni fu molto nobilitata al tempo delli Re Lusignani di Nobilta, Pallazzi, & chiese Lati-

¹ De LLusignan-ebi samxreT safrangeTis provinciis puaties (Poitou) uZl ieresi gvaris warmomadgenl ebi, j varosnebi. erT-erTi maTgani gi de I uziniani (Guy de Lusignan) 1180 w. sibil a ierusal imel ze daqorwinda da 1189 w. ierusal imis mefe gaxda. sal adinis mier ierusal imis aRebisa da j varosanTa urTierTSuRl is Sedegad mZime mdgomareoba-Si myofma gi de I uzinianma gamosaval i ipova: kunZul i SeiZina. 1191 w. wmindā miwaze mimaval ma riCard l omgul ma kviprosi daipyro, kunZul is TviTmarqvia mefe al eqsi komnini daatyveva, xol o kviprosi 100 aTas bizantinad mihiyida taZris raindebs. maT mxol od 40 aTasi gadaixades. taZris raindebma ver SesZl es kunZul is marTva da ukan daabrunes. gi de I uzinianma riCards kunZul is imave Tanxad daTmoba SesTavaza. zustad ra pirobebiT, cnobil i ar aris. mas or TveSi unda gadaexada 40 aTasi. (Ιστορία της Κυπρού τ. Δ' Εκδιδ. Θεοδώρου Παπαδοπούλου Ίδρυμα Αρχιεπίσκοπου Μακαρίου Γ', Γραφείον Κυπριακής Ιστ. Λευκωσία 1995, Κεφ. Α', Jean Richard, Η σύσταση και οι βάσεις Μεσαιωνικού Βασιλείου (1191-1205)).

ne, greche, Armene, Cofte, Maronite; Indiane, Nestoriane, Iacobitane, & di Iueri ouer Giorgiani delle quail chiese ne ragionaremo. Dipoi Monasterij de Monaci, & Monache di San Benedetto, & di San Bernardo, li Crosachieri, San Giuliano, de' Certosini, li Quattro ordini Mendicanti, la Chiesa delli Cauallieri del tempio, & delli Cauallieri di San Giouanni, & alter molte; & di Greche assai, de Monasterij de Monaci, & di Monache di San Basilio: onde le Chiese, che erano in questa citta arriuauano a 250. & forse 300⁻¹.

arqimandriti kipriane stefane I uzinianze vrcl ad agwiwers dedaqal aqs. Tumca mis msgavsad, arasworad miuTiTebS I uzinianTa kviprosze gadmosvl is TariRs. Ggi de I uzinianma 1191 w. SeiZina kunZu- l i riCard I omgul isagan da imave an momdevno wel s unda daewyo masze damkvidreba. man ver moaswro kviprosis mefis titul is miReba. mefed ekurTxa misi Zma amal rixi (Amary, 1194-1205).

`gristedan 1194 wl isaTvis, taZris raindebis Semdeg, adre ierusal imis da axl a kviprosis mefe gvido I uzinianma, Tavisi samefos sataxto qal aqad airCia niqozia da morto igi RirsSesaniSnavi nagebobebiT, didmoxel eTa da keTil Sobil Ta sinkl itiT. da ise qmna, rom igi im dros kunZul ze arsebul sxva qal aqebze upirvel esi da umetesi yofil iyo. droTa ganmavl obaSi misi gvaris STamomavl ebi cdil obdnen imgvarad gaemSvenebinaT [niqozia], rom Tayvansacemi da dasafasebel i gamxdariyo, rogorc mTel i kunZul is dedaqal aqi. gristedan 1212 wel s ugos² mefobisas, pativi daedo yofil iyo samTavarepiskoposo qal aqic, radgan amoxostodan aq gadmoitanes mTavarepiskoposis taxti. da radgan dabl obzea gaSenebul i, aqvs kargi da janmrTel i haeri. misi wyl ebi ise msubuqi da uj anmrTel esia, rom eqimebi mas rogorc samkurna- l os ise aZl even avadmyofebsa da uZl urebs. [niqozia] maSin baRebiT, baRCebiT da uTval avi nayofieri xiT,

¹ ESTIENNE DE LUSIGNAN, CHOROGRAFFIA, gv. 15[57].

² ᲒᲑᲗ I (1205-1218) I uzi ni ani.

yvel aze meti sixarul isa da Svebismomgvrel i adgil i iyo kunzul ze. gal avans gareT hqonda ori wyaro: ertS erqva piadina da meores-Rl iko nero (tkbil i wyal i). yovel ive am mizezTa gamo sxva qal aqebze metad gaizar da misi keTil Sobil eba da dideba. hqonda arqiteqturul ad saocari sasaxl eebi, ekl esiebi: l a-Tinebis, berZnebis, somxebis, koptebis, maronitebis, indoel ebis, nestorianebis, iakobitebis, **iverebis anu kiurki debis**; monastrebi berebiTa da monazoni qal ebiT: wm. benediqtesi, wm. bernardis, j varosnebis, wm. ivl ianes, ...taZris raindebisa da wm. ioanes raindebisa, amJamad Turqebis imareTebi¹, [agreTve] berZeni berebisa da monazvnebisa, ase rom, [ekl esia _ monastrebis ricxvi] aRwevda orasormocdaaTze mets, sxva mcire ekvderebisa da arqiepiskoposis didi sakaTedro taZris, dRevandel i pezenstionis, gareSe...~²

orive avtori niqoziaSi iverTa anu qarTvel Ta kompaqturad dasaxl ebisa da ekl esiis arsebobas miuTiTebis da ara monastrisa, rogorc es kviprosul encikl opediaSia mocemul i.³ stefane I uziniani sworad xmarobs qarTvel Ta aRmniSvel orive termins: & di Iueri ouer Giorgiani. arqimandriti kipriane ki ratomRac `kiurki debi --o (Ιβήρων ή Κιουρκίδων) wers qarTvel Ta modgms aRmniSvel meore saxel ad.

sainteresoa is informacia, romel sac orive avtori gvaZl evs TavSi: „bofl ebis Sesaxeb, roml ebic gamagrebul i ar arian“.

stefane I uziniani CamoTvl is kviprosis im softl ebsa da monastrebs, roml ebic sxvadasxva sapatriarqoebisa da ekl esiebs ekuTvnode da ambobs erT fri-

¹ imareTi, ZiriTadad meCeTebTan arsebul i saqvel moqmedo dawesebul eba oTomanTa imperiaSi.

² ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΤΡΗΤΗ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ, ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΝΥΣΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ, gv. 84.

³ Μεγάλη κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαίδεια, t. IV, 1986, gv. 42.

ad saintereso frazas: `sinas mTis berZeni berebi, i berebad wodebul ni~

*Il Patriarcha greco di Hierusalem, li Monaci del Monte Sinai greci, detti Iueri, ...Poi sono alcuni Priorati latini, quali hanno terreni, & decime nelli Casali, ouer regaglie; quaili lasciorno per pigritia: & sono questi; San Michel: Silicu, **Alamino**, Sinda, Sgillura, Santo Eles, & altri.~¹*

arqimandriti kipriane avsebs stefane I uziniani monastrebis sias da damatebiT informacias gvawvdis maT Sesaxeb. Cven mxol od im nawyvets, movitanT, roml ebic vasil iasa da al aminos Seexeba:

*ierusal imis berZeni patriarqi ganagebda kucoventad wodebul ioane oqropiris monasters; sinas mTis berebi ganagebdnen **vasil iis monasters I apiTo-Si**... garda amisa, I aTinTa mamul ebi, romel Tac hqondaT miwebi da meatebebi sofl ebidan, da naCuqrogebi, roml ebic uzrunvel obis gamo miatoves. da esenia: mTavarangel ozi miqael i, sil iku, **al amino**, sindi, skil ura, wm. el ene da sxva mraval i.~²*

sinas mTis berZen berebs rom stefane I uziniani iveresb uwodebs, gamoZaxil i unda iyos im faqtisa, rom sinas mTaze qarTvel ebs sakmao gavl ena hqondaT (gansakuTrebiT X s.-dan) da vasil iaSi³ iyvnen warmodgenil - ni, radgan vasil iaSi arsebobda wm. paraskevas saxel obis monasteri, romel ic sinas mTis wminda ekaterines monastris erT-erTi metoqi iyo kviprosze. Aarq. kipriane cvl is stefane I uziniani teqsts, iRebs qarTvel Ta am metoqTan erTad moxseniebas da gvawvdis informacias sinas mTis metoqis adgil mdebareobis Sesaxeb.

rac Seexeba **al aminos**, igi sofel ia I arnakis rasionSi, mazotos maxl obl ad. `kviopsis marTI madi-

¹ ESTIENNE DE LUSIGNAN, CHOROGRAFFIA, gv. 19[65]-19a[66].

² APXIMANTPITH KYIPIANOY, gv. 98.

³ vasil ia sofel ia kviprosis Crdil oeT sanapiroze q. keriniis maxl obl ad. amJamad Turqebis mier okupirebul territoriaze.

debl uri ekl esiis istoriis- avtorTa haket da papai-
oanus cnobIT al aminoSi qarTvel Ta monasteri arse-
bobda¹. am cnobasve imeorebs `didi kviprosul i encik-
l opedia-² CvenTvis axl axan gaxda cnobil i, Tu ra
wyaroze dayrdnobiT gvawvdian mkvl evarebi am infor-
macias. arqimandriti kipriane da stefane I uziniani
aq warmodgenil Txul ebebSi al aminos qarTvel ebTan
Sexebas saerTod ar adastureben. al amino am Txzu-
l ebebSi figurirebs, rogorc ibel enTa ZI ieri sagva-
reul os mamul i. aRarafers vambobT I eontios maxe-
ras, giorgios da fl orios vustroniosebis Sesaxeb,
roml ebic saerTod ar axseneben qarTvel ebs. al ami-
noSi monastris arsebobis Sesaxeb informacias vpu-
l obT stefane I uzinianis meore Txzul ebaSi: Descrip-
tion de toute l'Isle de Cypre, A PARIS, 1580, romel ic frangu-
l ad dawera da CHOROGRAFFIA-s ufro vrcel i da ga-
dakeTebul i variantia. aq avtori ufro met da sayu-
radRebo informacias gvawvdis qarTvel Ta Sesaxeb,
amit mac gadavwyvite cal ke davamuSavo es masal a da
ise miwawodo sazogadoebas.

dResdReobiT al aminoSi SeiZI eba vivaraudot
kviprosze arsebul i qarTul i monastris metoqis an
mamul is arseboba. aq raime samonastro kompl eqsis
kval i ara Cans, garda sofl is maxl obl ad SemorCeni-
l i wm. giorgis saxel obis ekl esiis mcire naSTisa,
romel ic adgil obrivi tradiciiT qarTvel ebs ekuT-
vnodaT (sofl is mkvidris, aw gansvenebul i aTinodo-
re xaral ampidis mowmoba. igi yovel dRe midioda wm.
giorgis naekl esiarTan, raTa sanTel i aenTo.)

erT TavS avtorebi uZRvnian kviprosze mcxovre-
sxvadasxa erebs. Aaq arqimandriti kipriane gvam-
cnobs, rom im erebs Soris, roml ebsac sal adinma ne-

¹ Χάκκετ-Παπαιωάννου, Ιστορία της Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου, τ. Γ', 1923.

² Μεγάλη κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαιδεία, τ. IV, 1986, გვ. 42.

ba darTo ierusal imis, wmindā tāZarSi msaxurebisa, iyvnen qarTvel ebic. stefane I uziniani azustebs, rom es iyo ufl is wmindā safl avis tāZari. orive avtori kidev erTxel imeorebs zemoTmotaniL informacias, rom, rodesac gi de I uziniani kviprosze gadavida, mas mraVal i qristiani wahyva, romel Tac gim niqoziaSi dauTmo miwebi dasasaxl ebl ad. aqve avtorebi gvamcnoben, rom yvel a ers hyavda mTavarepiskoposi, romel ic emorCil ebods TavianiTi ekl esiebis patriarqebS, garda qarTvel ebisa, romel Tac ara hyavdaT TavianiTi mTavarepiskoposi kviprosze.. stefane I uziniani wers, rom qarTvel ebi igive berZnebi arian, anu marTI madi-debl ebi, magram emorCil ebian moskovel so (a'Moscouiti). stefane I uzinianiS es Txzul eba gamocemul ia 1573 w. bol oniaSi da sainteresoa saidana aqvs avtors es mcdari informacia? me-19 saukunis dasawisamde anu ruseTis mier saqarTvel os ekl esiis gauqmebamde xom amis aranairi safuZvel i ar arsebobda.

Li Giorgiani sono greci detti in greco iueri, soggetti a'Moscouiti: & essi in Cipro non hanno altro Vescouo, che quello dell'Isola Greco: & li Greci, & Giorgiani hanno pero alcune differentie fra di loro circa le cose della fede.)¹

egviptis sul Tanma sal adinma, daipyro ra ierusal imi, ...ar gaaZeva sxva eri tāZridan, garda l aTinebisa. xol o berZnebs, somxebs, koptebs, maronitebs, indoel ebs, nestorianel ebs, qarTvel ebs da iakobinelebs dauTmoT hqonodaT TavianiTi adgil i wmindā safl avze, rogorc adre. oRond, rodesac mefe gvido movida kviprosze rogorc mefe, wamohyvenen adamianebi yovel i erisagan da dasaxl dnen, misca maT adgil i niqoziis qveyanaSi, raTa aeSenebinaT saxl ebi da ekl esiebi. Sedegad TiToeul ers hyavda Tavisi episkoposi, romel Tac agzavnidnen xel dasxmul T TavianiTi patriarqebi. somexi patriarqi cxovrobs mcire aziaSi

¹ ESTIENNE DE LUSIGNAN, CHOROGRAFFIA, gv. 34[95].

da mas eqvemdebareba kviprosis somexi episkoposi. maroniti aris I ibanis mTaze da koptebisa da iakobinel e-bis _ misirSi (kairoSi). nestorianel ebisa da indoel e-bis _ indoeTsa da afrikaSi. qarTvel ebs, aRmosavl uri dogmisanT, iverebad wodebul T, ar hyavT sxva episkoposi garda berZenisa, rogorc imave dogmisa.¹

qarTvel ebi, rogorc marTI madidebl ebi, berZnebTan hyavdaT gaigivebul i l aTinebs. isini arc ise mraval ricxovanni iyvnen kunZul ze, rom cal ke episkoposi hyol odaT. aseTi tradicia arc arsebobda qarTul i ekl esiis sinamdvil eSi. sazRvargareT arsebul i qarTul i ekl esia-monastrebi deda-ekl esiasTan uSual o daqvemdebarebasa da kavSirSi iyvnen.

amave gaigivebis wyal obiT ar unda asaxel ebdnen qarTvel ebs stefane I uziniani da arqimandriti kipriane wmindamarkozisa da corpus Domini-s anu `ufl is wmindasxeul is- dResaswaul ebis dros mowyobil msvl e- l obebze warmodgenil erTa Soris. rogorc Cans qarTvel ebi, rogorc marTI madidebl ebi, berZnebTan erTad iRebdnen monawil eobas procesiaSi. Aes sadResaswaul o procesiebi veneciel Ta SemoRebul i iyo. Aarqimandriti kiprianosi Tavad ver Seeswreboda msgavs faqts, radgan TurqTa batonobis epoqaSi cxovrobda. igi, ubral od, imeorebs stefane I uzinianis aRweras:

`saintereso sanaxavi iyo yvel a es sxvadasxva naTesavi, rodesac gamodioda msvl el obaze `korpudominis- anu ufl is sxeul is da, raRa Tqma unda, wmindamarkozis, veneciel Ta mfarvel is, dResaswaul - ze sxvadasxva samosel iTa da wesiT. [procesias] win mouZRoda berZenTa jvari, mTel i maTi simravl iT, Semdeg maTi mRvdl ebi da yovl adwinda [RvTismSob- l is] xati, romel sac mosdevda berZen qal Ta dasi. Semdeg modiodnen dominikanel i berebi rigis mixedviT. Semdeg indoel i mRvdl ebi Tavze Semoxveul i TeTri tul upebiT da maTi episkoposi mitrit. maT Semdeg nes-

¹ APXIMANTPITH KYIPIANOY, gv. 114.

torianebi, iakobinel ebi, maronitebi, koptebi da somxebi, roml ebiç Tavs imkobdnen raRac mrgval i, oqromkediT naqargi feskebiT da amaT Semdeg l aTini sasul iero pirebi maTi mTavarepiskoposiT. Semdeg samxedroebi meTaurebiT iseTnairad [dawyobil ni], rom friad sasiamovno sanaxaobas warmoadgens (rogorc ambobs stefane l uziniani), roca vinme xedavs sxvadasxva naTesavs ganxvavebul i wesisa da Cveul ebisa.-¹

orive avtori kidev erTxel ubrundeba sal adin nis mier ierusal imis dapyrobis sakiTxs da kidev erTxel aRniSnavs, rom sal adinma l aTinTa garda yvel a ers darTo neba ufl is wminda safl avis taZarSi msaxurebi sao.

‘Hauendo il Re Saladino preso Hierusalem; non discaccio esse nationi dal santissimo Tempio, saluo che li Latini, & li Greci, Armeni, Cofti, Maroniti; Indiani, Nestoriani, & Giorgiani; & Iacobiti rimasero come di prima:’-²

‘1188 wel s, rodesac egviptis sul Tani sal adini movida Zl ieri armiiT [da] is [ierusal imi] daimorCila, wminda safl avis taZrisadmi mowiwebisda gamo, amboben, brZana TaviskveTiT daesaj aT nebismieri mis jariskacTagani, romel ic gabedavda raima waerTmia an Tundac odnav mainc daezianebina wminda ekl esia, Tqva ra, rom pativi unda mivagoT WeSmariti winaswarmetyvel is ieso qristes safl avso da qristianebs, rogorc uRirsT ar ekuTvniT misi fl obao. [sal adinma] il oca, madl obda ra Rmerts misi armiis gamarjvebisatvis. da ganuCina l aTinebs ierusal imidan wasvl a mxol od imiT, ris xel iT waRebasac SesZl eb dnen. sxva erebs ki _ berZnebs, somxebs, koptebs, maronitebs, iakobinel ebs, qarTvel ebs da indiel ebs- misca masSi [ierusal imSi] cxovrebis ufl eba, rogorc adre, xel Seuxebl ad.-³

¹ APXIMANTPITH KYIPIANOY, gv. 114.

² ESTIENNE DE LUSIGNAN, CHOROGRAFFIA, 33.45-46[118-119].

³ APXIMANTPITH KYIPIANOY, gv. 186.

rodesac arqimandriti kiprianosi konstantine poRonatsa da moavias Soris dadebul i xel Sekrul ebis 705 w. maTi memkvidreebis, iustine II da abimel eqis, mier ganaxl ebaze saubrobs, axsenebs iberiis samefosac.

705 wel s iustiniane cxvirmoWril is meored gamefebis wl ebSi, gamogzavna abimel eqma, agarianTa meTaurma [kaci] da moiTxova mSvidobis xel Sekrul ebis dadastureba, miRweul is mamamis moaviasa da konstantine poRonats [Soris]. pirdeboda ra berZenTaTvis yovel dRIurad gadaexada aTasi moneta, jiSiani cxeni, da mona da Tanabrad hqonodaT kviprosis, somxeTis da iberiis Semosavl ebi.¹

arqimandriti kiprianesaTvis cnobil ia sparseTsa da siriaSi monRol Ta mier warmoebul I aSqrobebSi qarTvel Ta monawil eobis Sesaxeb.

egvipteSi sul Tnis arCevis gamo didma da xangrZl ivma azrTa sxvadasxvaobam da areul obam, waaqezaz mcire aziis gristianebi kunZul is [kviprosis] mfe erikis meTaurobiT, kvl av daebrunebinaT ierusal imi Tu ara, siriis nawil i mainc. somxeTis mfe aitioni², Zl ieri sul Tnis mosazRvre, da erik kviprosel i³ wmindaraindebTan ertad daiZrnen TaTar kasaton⁴ mfeTan, diax, musl imTan sarwmunoebiT, magram saracinTa dauZinebel mterTan mokavSireobiT, Tanabrad Zl ierTan brZol aSi. Aam mokavSireobas SeerTeboda [ara nebiT] saqarTvel os anu giurji mfe⁵. warmatebiT SeiWrnen siriaSi 200 aTasiani jariT da daipyres bevri qal aqi, oRond maTze adre saracinTagan ganadgurebul i.⁶

¹ APXIMANTPITH KYPIPIANOY, gv. 175-176,

² xeTum II kil ikiis somxeTis mfe (1289-1307).

³ erik II (1285-1324) I uziniani.

⁴ yazan yaeni, monRol i.

⁵ Ues unda yofil iyo daviT VIII (1293-1311).

⁶ APXIMANTPITH KYPIPIANOY, gv. 222.

stefane I uziniani imave konteqstSi axsenebs Ral iis monasters, rogorSic giorgios (XV s.) da fl orios (XVI s.) vustroniosebi: iakob meore, rode-sac maml uqTa razmTan erTad gadmovida kviprosze (1460 wl is zafxul i) cixeebis Semomtkicebas Seudga. erTi razmi, iakob sal uatis¹, nikol o de kresis, asar ruxis da erTi maml uqis meTaurobiT, gagzavna dasavl eTSi. maT daikaves pafos da l imasol is cixeebi da gaagrZel es gza Crdil oetisaken pol isis mimarTul e-biT. mividnen Ral iis monasterSic, romel ic, vustro-niosebis cnobiT, daarbies. SeiZl eba vivaraudoT, rom monasterSi Tavs afarebdnen kanonieri mefe-dedof-l is momxreebi an, ubral od, gaZarcves mdidari monas-teri. Ral iidan maT troodosis mTianeTis sxva sof-l ebs mimarTes. yvel as, visac ki Sarl otas momxreoba-Si dasdebdnen bral s, qonebas arTmevdnen. stefane I uziniani mxol od asaxel ebs Ral iis monasters, sxva informacias ar gvawvdis.

"Andorno poi al crusocco, & sualisorno il Monasterio di Iaglia²".

arqimandriti kipriane saerTod ar axsenebs Ra-l iis monasters. igi zogadad mogviTxrobs, Tu rome-l i cixeebi gadavidnen iakobis mxareze, magram ara-fers ambobs iakob II-s mier dasavl eT kviprosSi gag-zavnil i eqspediciis Sesaxeb.³

stefane I uziniani Txrobas 1570 wl amde, kvipro-sis Turqebis mier dapyrobamde, ganagrZobs magram aRarsad axsenebs qarTvel ebsa da Ral ias.

¹ M. Iacobo saluiati, & M. Nicolo de Cres, & m. Assar Ghus, & vn Mamaluco –stef. I uz. mi xedvi T. gi org. vustr.: τον σ'ερ Τζάκο Σάλαχαν και τον Νικολό Τερές και τον Ασαρχούς, και έναν μαμουλούκη, fl or. vustr.: τους Τζανούτζιο Σαλβιάτι(11), Νικόλα ο ντε Κρές και Νάσαρ Χούς Εφερές, τον Μαμελούκο, andros pavl idi: Ιάκωβος Σαλάχχα, Νικόλαος ντε Κρέ, Νάσαρ Χους.

² ESTIENNE DE LUSIGNAN, CHOROGRAFFIA, 33. 67a[162].

³ APXIMANTPITH KYPIPIANOY, gv. 341-342.

rac Seexeba arqimandrit kiprianes, masTan qarTveli ebi kidev Canan damatebaSi, romel ic mTavarepiskopos fil oTeosis (1733-1759) naSroms warmoadgens kviprosis ekl esiis avtokefal iis Sesaxeb da romel sac avtori daurTavs wignis bol oSi. fil oTeoss, Tavis mxriv Tavis naSromSi CarTul i aqvs nawyveti ierusal imis patriarqis dosiTeosis (1669-1707) Txzul ebidan:

*xol o qvemo iberiis [ekl esia] daqvemdebarebul i iyo konstantinopol is sapatrjarqo] taxtze. VI krebis Semdeg, daaxl oebiT rvaas wel s xsnidan (igul is-xmeba qristes dabadebidan), iqmna avtokefal uri sam-Tavarepiskopo, gaugebaria romel i imperatoris dros da romel i krebis [dadgenil ebiT]. xol o zemo iberiis [ekl esia] antioqiis patriarqis daqvemdebarebaSi iyo konstantine monomaxisa da antioqiis patriarqis petres dros. xsnis aTas oTxas xuT wel s gaxda saarqiepiskoposo avtokefal uri, ucnobi mizeziT.*¹

amave damatebiT TavSi, rodesac konstantinopol is sapatrjarqosa da kviprosis ekl esias Soris urTierTobebze saubrobs, ambobs, rom konstantinopol is patriarqs ufl eba ar hqonda Careul iyo kviprosis ekl esiis saqmeebSi, radgan igi j er kidev maSin iyo avtokefal uri, rodesac sxva, dRes avtokefal uri, ekl esiebi, magal iTad, al baneTis, zemo da qvemo iberiis, pekiis, konstantinopol sa Tu antioqiaze iyvnen damokidebul nio.²

Cven stefane I uzinianis kidev erTi Txzul ebis Description-is informacia gvrCeba dasamuSavebel i da amiT davasrul ebT kviprosis Sua saukuneebis im istorikosTa Txul ebebis³ qarTvel i mkiTxvel isaTvis warmodgenas, roml ebic CvenTvis saWi ro cnobebs gvavdian kvipros-saqarTvel os urTierTobebis Sesaxeb.

¹ APXIMANTPITH KYIPIANOY, gv. 566.

² APXIMANTPITH KYIPIANOY, gv. 574.

³ adrindel istorikosTa da sxva wyaroTa Sesaxeb naxeT `anal ebi~, Tbil isi, 2009, #5, gv. 242-260.

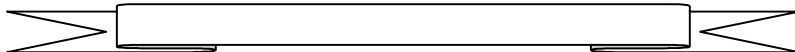
**GEORGIANS IN THE WORKS OF ESTIENNE LUSIGNAN
AND ARCHIMANDRITE KYPRIANOS**

The works presented here by Estienne Lusignan (XVI) and Archimandrite Kyprianos (XVIII) are important and reliable sources of the history of Cyprus. The information they give us about the Georgians who lived in Cyprus in the Middle Ages is very interesting. They tell us that the Georgians were densely settled in the capital of Cyprus Nicosia. Although their faith was almost the same as the Greeks', they had their own church in the capital. They also confirm the fact that after the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Georgians preserved their place at the grave of the Lord and the Georgian Kings took part in the Mongol campaign against Syria.

damowmebul i wyaroebi da l iteratura:

1. Μεγάλη κυπριακή εγκυκλοπαίδεια, t. IV, 1986, γν. 42-43, 66- 67.
2. Χάκκετ-Παπαιωάννου, Ιστορία της Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου, τ. Γ', 1923.
3. ΑΡΧΙΜΑΝΤΡΙΤΗ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ, ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΝΥΣΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ, ΣΗΜΕΙΩΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΧΟΛΕΙΑ Άντρου Παυλίδη, Φιλόκυπρος, ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑ-ΚΥΠΡΟΣ, 1997.
4. ESTIENNE DE LUSIGNAN, CHOROGRAFFIA, ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΤΙΚΟΝ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ, ΛΕΥΚΩΣΙΑ, 2004.

kritika da bibliografi



redkol egilsagan: Jurnal ma `qarTul i mwerl oba- (redaqtor-gamomcemel i rostom Cxei-Ze) dabeWda `saqarTvel os istoriis- (oTxtomeul i) IV tomis mimarT ioseb Wumburizis araobieqturi da zog SemTxvevaSi uRirsi weril i. samwuxarod, Jurnal is xel mZRvanel obas ar eyo vaJakoba, dapirebis miuxedavad, daebelWda sapauxo weril i, romel ic IV tomis erT-erTma avtorma prof. al . dauSvil ma miitana Jurnal Si. qvemoT Cven vaqveynebT am weril s.

al eqsandre dauSvil i

...`kokasa Si gan...~

**ioseb Wumburizis weril is _ `oTxtomeul is
dasarul i _ pirqve damxobis dasawyisi~ _ pasuxad**

2012 wl is dasawyisSi gamomceml obam `pal itra L-gamosca 6 akademikosisa da 7 profesor is mier momzadebul i `saqarTvel os istoria- (oTxtomeul i. mTavari redaqtori akad. mariam I orTqifaniZe). rogorc aRniSnaven, wignma araCveul ebrivi aJiotaji da mkiTxvel is iseTi didi interesi gamoiwvia, rom sam dReSi mTel i tiraJi gaiyida. imasac amtkiceben, rom aseTi ram saqarTvel os wignis bazarze warmoudgenel i SemTxvevaa da eqspertebi imazec al aparakdnen, rom `al baT, Rirebul ebaTa sistema, romel zedac eri dgas, iseTi uryevia, rom wignebma sazogadoebis saocari interesi gamoiwvia-(kviris pal itra~, 2012 w.13-19 Teberval i).

martI ac, gl obal izaciis pirobebSi, roca cdiI oben ers waartvan tradiciul i Rirebul ebebi, Seq-

mnan misgan raRac axal i `homo qarTvel ikusi-, qarTvel ebis Sinaganma, dafarul ma kodma aSkarad amoxeTqa da adami nebma am wignisadmi gaunel ebel i interesiT saqarTvel osa da qarTul i tradiciebis dacvis survil i gamoxates. amrigad, wigni aRar ganixil eba rogor raRac TviTkari komerciul i proeqti, man konkretul i farul i Sinaarsi SeiZina, ramac dagvanaxa, rom ver moxerxda mavanTa farul i ideebis real izacia, ver Seiqmna `homo qarTvel ikusi-, rom qarTvel ebi erTgul ad dganan sakuTari istoriis, tradiciebis dacvis sadaraj oze. amaze miuTitebs isic, rom Zal ian mal e xel-meored dastambul i wigni kvl av warmatebit vrcel deba. es ambavi mavansa da mavans ar moswons da am wignebisadmi saocrad kritikul ad ganawyo...

Cven Sors vdgavart im azrisagan, rom aseT uzarmazar naSromSi avtorebs raRac ar SeeSi ebodaT: faqtol ogiuri, koreqturul i. rogorc yvel a anal ogiuri naSromis SemTxvevaSi, avtorebi madl ierebit miiReben da gaiTval iswineben rCevas, SeniSvna. ai, ras swers cnobil i qarTvel i mecnieri, Teatrmcodne vasil kiknaZe oTxtomeul is mTavar redaktors akad. mariam l ortqifaniZes pirad baraTSi: `didi erovnul i saqme gakeTda saqarTvel os istoriis oTxtomeul is gamocemiT. yvel a ojaxs unda hqondes samecniero-popularul i eniT daweril i es oTxtomeul i. didi interesiT vkiTxul ob yvel a toms. yvel as Sroma gamorCeul pativiscemas imsaxurebs- da Rirseul i qarTvel i Tavis sagul isxmo SeniSvnebsac Tan urTavs baraTs, roml ebic avtorebma ukve gaiTval iswines (mzaddeba oTxtomeul is xel meore gamocema). aseTi kritikaze madl obis meti ara gveTqmis, magram aris sxvagvari kritika, roml is tipuri nimuSi Jurnal ma `cvenma mwerl obam- gamoaqveyana sul axl axans (23 marts) da ekuTvnis `Jurnal ists, publicists da profesors- (aseTi ganmartebaa mis Sesaxeb internetSi) baton ioseb WumburiZes, gazeT `Tbil isis- yofil redaktors (eduard SevardnaZis zeobis xanaSi!!!), ro-

mel mac ise warmatebiT `uxel mZRvanel a- didi tradi-
ciebis mqone gazeTs, rom dRes misi nasaxi internet-
Sic ki ar iZebneba. es Jurnal isti aravis ar unaxavs
SarSan usamarTI od dpatimrebul i korespondentebis
dacvis mitingze, arc qarTul i masmediis mimarT dra-
konul i kanonebis winaaRmdeg mebrZol Ta rigebsi dau-
naxavs vinmes, arc qarTul i Jurnal isturi eTikis
dacvis sadaraj oze damdgara l aSa tuRuSis, daviT
aqubardias, zviad qorizis da sxvaTa gverdiT, samagi-
erod, rogorc Cans, saxel mwifo universitetSi pro-
fesoris kaTedra miuRia saCuqrad...

Cvens gaocebas iwvevs, rom msgavsi Sinaarsis we-
ril i gamoqveynda intel eqtual isa da Tval saCino
moRvawis rostom Cxeizis avtoritetul Jurnal Si. ba-
toni rostomi Cemi araerTi wignis pirvel i Semfasebe-
l i da damfasebel i iyo (mis saavtoro satel evizio
gadacemebSi) da mec mis mier organizebul i ara erT
diskusiaSi mimiRia Tavis droze monawil eoba, magram
`droni mefoben da ara mefenil-

i. Wumburizis weril i, faqtobrivad oTxtomeu-
l is IV tomSi warmocenil i saqarTvel os istoriis
bol o periodis (sul raRac oriod gverdSi asaxul i)
Cemeul i xedvis kritikas warmoadgens, amitomac am sa-
kiTxze ufro dawvril ebiT SevCerdebi.

`saqarTvel os istoriis- samecniero-popul arul i
oTxtomeul i momzadda saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa
akademiis grantiT 1999-2000 wl ebSi. meoTxe toms re-
daqtori imJamad akad. ediSer xoStaria-brose iyo,
romel mac wignis avtorebs gansakuTrebiT saqarTve-
l os istoriis sabWoTa periodis axl eburi gaazreba
daaval a. Cven SevecadeT maqsimal uri obieqturobiT,
axal i saarqivo masal is moSvel iebiT gagvemarTa es
marTI ac rTul i, dramatul i periodi. samwuxarod,
obieqturi mizezebis gamo oTxtomeul i im dros ve-
Rar daibeWda. cal keul ma avtorebma SeZl es oTxtome-
ul is sakuTari nawil is samecniero gamocemis gamoq-
veyneba (akad. daviT musxel iSvil ma, akad. gr. giorga-

Zem). prof. mayval a naTmel aZem da me 2002 wel s oT-
xtomeul is Cveni nawil i saxel wodebiT `saqarTvel os
uaxl esi istoria-, romel Sic istoria motanil i iyo
2000 wl amde, warvadgineT saqarTvel os ganaTI ebis sa-
ministroSi, sadac wigns Cautarda eqspertiza da 2003
wl is 5 Teberval s wigns mieniWa grifi `damxmare sa-
xel mZRvanel o umaRI esi saswavl ebl ebis studentebi-
saTvis-. samwuxarod saxel mwifo gamomceml obam `ga-
naTI eba- Zal ian gaaWianura wignis gamocema (Semdeg
gamomceml oba saerTod daiSal a), ris gamoc avtorebma
sakuTari saxsrebiT gamoveciT wigni 2004 wel s. wigns
hqonda kargi presa, is ganixil es istoriisa da eTno-
l ogiis institutSi, saqarTvel os i. WavWavaZis sax.
wignismoyvarul Ta sazogadoebaSi. wigni Zal ian swra-
fad gaiyida da hqonda warmateba. am wl ebis manZil ze
wignis mimarT sayveduri aravis gamouTqvams.

roca 2010 wel s moxerxda oTtxtomeul ze muSao-
bis ganaxl eba (`magTikomis- xel mZRvanel obis daxma-
rebiT), ra Tqma unda m. naTmel aZem da me ukve aprobi-
rebul i wignis safuZvel ze movamzadeT odnav Semci-
rebul i axal i varianti, romel ic redkol egias war-
vudgineT. moxda ise, rom redkol egiam gadawyvita
(dRes mimaCnia, srul iad samarTI ianad), rom saqar-
Tvel os istoriis Txroba mogvetana saqarTvel oSi
komunisturi sistemis damxobamde (1990 wl amde). Tum-
ca wardgenil naSromSi Cven gvqonda masal a 2008
wl amde. amrigad, avtorebis mier momzadebul i TiT-
qmis 100 gverdi _ `saqarTvel os mesame respubl ika-
wignSi aRar Sevida. redkol egia Tavis gadawyvetil e-
bas asabuTebda imiT, rom obieqturi istoriis dasawe-
rad saWiroa drois garkveul i distancia. amrigad,
ara imis gamo, rom `ar undaT zviad gamsaxurdia sa-
qarTvel os pirvel i prezidenti iyos-, aramed zemoT
motanil i argumentis gamo `oTtxtomeul is- redkol e-
giam, da ara tomis redaqtorma da avtorma, gadawyvi-
ta Txrobis dasrul eba 1990 wl iT. Tu `Jurnal isti,
publ icisti da profesori- gaecnoboda Cvens mier

2004 wels gamocemul `saqarTvel os uaxl es istorias-, misi interesi srul ad dakmayofil ebul i iqnebo-
 da _ naSromSi SeZl ebisamebr detal urad aris mota-
 nil i saqarTvel os pirveli prezidentis dramatul i
 istoriis yvel a ZiriTadi epizodi. magram Tu `Jurna-
 listi, publicisti da profesori~ z. gamsaxurdias
 `paTol ogiur siZul vil Si~ gvadanaSaul ebs, Cven mas
 mokrZal ebiT SevniSnavT, rom misi werilidan ismis
 Zl ieri oxSivari fanatikuri siyvarul iT dabrmavebu-
 li adamanisa, romel sac saxl Si al baT `zviadis
 kuTxex- aqvs, sadac ganTavsebul ia zviadi CoxiT, zvi-
 adi col Tan, zviadi Svil ebTan, zviadi droSiT da a.S.
 swored mavanTa da mavanTa aseTma wregadasul ma fana-
 tizma uzrunvel yo saqarTvel oSi sazogadoebis iseTi
 pol arizeba, roca TviT uzenaesi sabWos racional u-
 rad moazrovne, gonieri adamiანების: a. asaTianis, T.
 qorizis, j. xecurianis, T. paataSvil isa da sxvaTa Se-
 gonebani, sityvebi da winadadebebi aRaravis esmoda
 (amis Sesaxeb ix. saqarTvel os uzenaesi sabWos arqivi,
 f. 1165, aR. 8, saq. 2954, furc. 6-8; saq. 2915, aR. 8, furc.
 42-44; saq. 2915, aR. 8, furc. 37-38; s. 2915, furc. 54-56
 da a.S.) samwuxarod, im wl ebSi am adamiანების moRvawe-
 obis zogierti aspeqtis Sesaxeb qarTvel ma sazogado-
 ebriobam bol o dromde ara icoda, rac swored qar-
 Tvel i istorikosebis Zal isxmevit, uzenaesi sabWos
 arqivis damuSavebis Semdeg, gaxda SesaZl ebel i (ix.
 `saqarTvel o. XX saukunis 90-iani wl ebi. qronikebi~,
 wigni I _ 1991).

oponentis SeniSvnebidan aRsaniSnavia rogorc
 konceptual uri, ise faqtol ogiuri da personol ogi-
 uri aqcentebi, roml is Sesaxeb me, rogorc istori-
 koss, SeiZl eba mqondes sakuTari xedva.

Cven daviwyebT personol ogiuri aspeqtებიT: is-
 toriaSi bevria winaaRmdegobrivi politikiuri moRva-
 we. uamravi wigni arsebobs kardinal i riSel ies Sesa-
 xeb, sadac mas aqeben _ uwodeben safrangeTis centra-
 lizebul i saxel mwifos fuZemdebel s. aseve uamravi

wigni arsebows, sadac amtkiceben, rom Tavis i antia-ristokratul i pol itikiT man moamzada tragikul i 1789 wel i. isic cnobil ia, rom safrangeTis revol uciis dros gaveSebul ma brbom misi samarxi daarbia da misi Tavis qal iT parizis quCebSi revol ucionerebi febxurTs TamaSobdnen. istoria paradoqsebiT mdi-daria, mxol od profesional i istorikosi awesrigebs mas da argumentirebul ad uCvenebs pirovnebis konkretul wvl il s istoriul procesSi. batono oponento, Tqven istorikosi ar xarT! es Zal ian rel iefurad Tqveni weril idan Cans, roca werT _ `roca aboboqrebul stadionze gadadis, es eduard SevardnaZe; roca TviTmfrinavis gamtacebel axal gazrdebsa da srul i ad udanaSaul o sasul iero pirs sikvdil iT sj is _ xel lisufl ebaa-. diax, faqtobrivad es ase. pirovnul i simamace pirovnul i Tvis ebaa _ is zogs aqvs, zogs ara. zogi aRel vebul i xal xis brboSi gadaeSveba da daawynarebs, zogs sawol is qvemodan gamoaTreven mas Semdeg rac dramatul i epicentri yvel aze pirvel ma mia-toval es esea.. istorias araferi aviwydeba..

eduard SevardnaZeze uamravi wigni daiwera da daiwereba rogorc saqarTvel oSi, ise msofi ioSi. Tu sabWoTa kavSiri _ borotebis imperia iyo da misi dangreva _ msofi io sakacobrio sikeTe, am saqmeSi e. SevardnaZis wvl il ic aris. marTal ia, rogorc yvel a pol itikur moRvawes, masac aqvs pol itikuri biografiis aRmasvl isa da daRmasvl is epizodebi, magram faqtia _ **samoqal aqo omis gaCaRebas man saxl Si wasvl a da pol itikur arenas usisxl o Camocil eba amj obina.** es Tvis eba yvel a moRvawisaTvis rodia damaxasi-aTebel i. zogierTi Tavis sabediswero Secdomebis gadafarvas samoqal aqo omis gaCaRebiT cdil obs da aRar fiqrobs amas ra mohyveba... me ar viziareb aseT diTirambebs, magram es weril ic istoriis kuTvnil ebaa: `didad pativcemul o da yovel i qarTvel isaTvis sasiqadul o megobaro eduard batono! didi madl oba mol ocvis gamo. Cven vamtkicebT: giorgi brwyinval esa

da bagrat V Semdeg aseTi vaJkacuri mTavroba saqarTvel os aRar Rirsebia. Tu gangebam damacal a, me saqmiT davumtkiceb mTel qveyanas am ambavs... giZRvniT mdabal sal ams da vusurveb qarTvel xal xs didxans, didxans gexel mZRvanel oT Cveni mraval tanj ul i erisaTvis. Cemi saaxal wl o Txovnaa uSvel oT daviT garej as da qarTul xel nawerebs. marad Tqveni erTgul i. konstantine gamsaxurdia, kol xuri koSki, 1974. 7. 1.-

aseve uamravi iwereba da daiwereba zviad gamsaxurdiaze. aris panegerikebic, aris obieqturi Tval -sazrisc. gana vinme goniers SeiZl eba daebados azri, rom `is ucodvel i kravia-, rom mas ar hqonda rogorc warmatebebi, ise Secdomebi? amis garkveva Zal uZT mxol od istorikosebs da qarTvel i istorikosebi amas Cinebul ad moaxerxeben. es procesi ukve dawyebul ia da mas ver SeaCerebs fanatikosta `kivil i da kbil Ta RrWenani-.

rac Seexeba konceptual ur sakiTxebis, aqac profesional istorikoss aqvs ufl eba TviTon airCios istoriul i aqcentebi, istoriul procesSi SeamCnios ZiriTadi da aramTavari, gamokvetos Strixebi. oponents Cveni naSromidan moaqvs sakmaod vrcel i amonaridi, raTa mkiTxvel s ucvenos `avtoris l iteraturuli gemovneba, azrovnebis done da weris kul tura-. magram roca mkiTxvel i `cudi mkiTxvel ia-, `Casafrebul ia mkiTxvel ia-, SeTqmul ebis monawil ea?... am, Tqvens mier aqcentirebul strigonebs rom kiTxul obdiT, rogor, Cvens mier Camoyal ibebul i Semdegi koncefcia ratom ar mogxvdaT Tval Si? magal iTad aseTi: `am yvel aferma Seamzada msfl mxedvel obiTi safuZvl ebi saqarTvel oSi erovnul -ganmaTavisufl bel i moZraobis aRmavl obisaTvis. am periodSi misi hegemoni da ideuri xel mZRvanel i saqarTvel os intel igenicia iyo, romel ic, sabWoTa reJimTan brZol is radikali uri formebis gamoricxviT, cdil obda sazogadobis evol uclias sul ieri ganwmendis gziT. (oTtxtomeuli i-. t. 4, gv. 488). amas Cven vaskvniT mas Semdeg, rac

sakmaod vrcl ad visaubreT qarTul i samociqul o ek-
 l esiis mniSvnel ovan rol ze, qarTul i kinos (T. abu-
 l aZe, r. CxeiZe da sxv.), qarTul i Teatris (r. sturua,
 m. TumaniSvil i, T. CxeiZe da sxv.), qarTul i musikis
 (I . Torazis, e virsal azis da sxv.), qarTul i mecniere-
 bis, qarTul i sportis warmatebebze, Rirseul i mamu-
 l iSvil ebis r. TabukaSvil is, v. kotetiSvil is, a. baq-
 raZis da sxvaTa mier intensiur saganmanaTl ebl o
 moRvaweobaze, raTa qarTvel ebSi aRorZinebul iyo
 erovnul i cnobiereba, patriotizmi, damoukidebl ebi-
 sadmi l tol va. me ase mj eroda (amis safuZvel s maZ-
 l evs obieqturi real oba, saqarTvel os istoriul i
 ganviTarebis procesis anal izi) da ase mj era: saqar-
 Tvel oSi erovnul i TviTSegnebis gamococxl eba, erov-
 nul i damoukidebl obisadmi l tol va im wl ebSi Semoq-
 medebiTi intel igenciis Zal isxmavam ganapiroba _ **`aq
 vdgevar da sxvagvarad ar Zal miZs!**- samwuxarod, isini
 gamoacxades `wiTel profesurad- da sazogadoebriv
 arenas Camoacil es. aseTia obieqturi sinamdvil e.

ukve vamTavreb: davesesxebi frazas erT cnobil
 qarTvel Jurnal ists da Cvens pol emikas ase avj amav:

Tqven migaCniaT rom erovnul -ganmaTavisufl ebe-
 l i moZraobis l ideris mobodiSeba j al aTebTan _
 gmi robaa, me mimaCnia _ uRirsobaa;

Tqven migaCniaT rom pirovnebis kul tis formire-
 ba _ sikeTea, me mimaCnia _ borotebaa;

Tqven wagebul oms _ gamarj vebad Tvl iT, me _ ara;

Tqven pirovnebis warsul Si uRirsi fuTfuTi _
 kacobad geCvenebaT, me arakacobad.

amrigad, Cvens Soris msopl mxedvel obiTi uf-
 skrul ia, amas ki, marTl ac, ukve araferi eSvel eba.

me ver Sevudgebi `Jurnal ists, publ icistis da
 profesoris- weril Si CamoTvl il i sxva insinuaciebis
 mimoxil vas, vityvi mxol od _ `karg mTqmel s, kargi
 gangone undao!-, rogorc Cans, mas Cveni naTqvamidan
 bevri ram ver gaugia, vurCevT xel meored gadaikiT-
 xos wigni. erTi ram cxadia -`Jurnal ists, publ i-

cists, profesors~, romel sac 2000 gverdiani kapitaluri naSromis sazogadoebrivi Rirebul eba dahyavori furcl is av-kargis Sefasebaze, marTI acda Zal i-an seriozul i eWvis Setana SeiZI eba mis `literat-rul i gemovnebase, azrovnebis doneze da weris kul-turaze- da, Cemi Rrma rwmeniT, swored aq iwyeba `pirqve damxoba da gaTaxsireba-.

rac Seexeba IV tomis redaqtors, prof. mayval a naTmel aZes, romel sac oponenti 1952 wel s, ramdenime Tvis manZil ze, komkavSiris raikomis mdivnobas uxse-nebs (da raRac ar magondeba `Jurnal istis pul icis-tisa da profesoris- arcerTi statia imis Sesaxeb, rom damoukidebel i saqarTvel os parl amentis spike-ri wl ebis manZil ze iyo aRmaskomis Tavmj domaris qa-l iSvil i, xol o prezidentad dResac gvyavs saxel -mwifo uSiSroebis komitetis generl is disSvil i), mTel i cxovreba saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa akademiis iv. j avaxiSvil is sax. istoriisa da eTnol ogiis in-stitutSi aqvs gatarebul i, ekuTvnis ara erTi Rirse-ul i monografia da gamokvl eva (maT Soris `saqarTve-l oSi total itarul i reJimis damkvidrebisa da gan-mtkicebis Taviseburebani XX saukunis 20-ian wl ebSi- _ aq igi aris Tanaavtoric da istorikosTa j gufis koordinatic), misi xel mZRvanel obiT dadginda Il msofi io omSi saqarTvel odan daRupul Ta SedarebiT yvel aze ufro zusti cifri, misi monografia, romel -Sic samxreT saqarTvel odan deportirebul i mosax-l eobis tragikul i historiaa gaSuqebul i, mokl e dro-is manil ze orjer gamoqveynda, maT Soris aSS `makar-turebis fondis- daxmarebiT da dRes ukve bibl iog-rafiul iSviaTobas warmoadgens. amitomac srul iad bunebrivi iyo, rom aseT Rirseul da damsaxurebul mecniers 2003 wel s amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis sa-erTaSoriso biografiul ma institutma miakuTvna wo-deba `2003 wl is saukeTeso mecniერი qal i- da Tqven, `Jurnal isti, publicisti da profesori- aseT Rirse-

ul pirovnebaze `kudianebze- monadiris toniT I aparakobT (aferum Tqvens kacobas!).

P.S. udides sixarul s gamovTqvam Tqvens mier Cemi winaprebis sawmerTul is feris dasadgenad Catarebuhl i energiul i muSaobis gamo. amis meti safiqral i ar gagiCinoT gamCenma! Cemda Tavad ki vityvi, rom Tqveni es `muSaoba- kargad warmoaCens Tqvens `l iteratrul gemovnebas, azrovnebis dones da weris kul turas-. dagesesxebiT Tqvens mier ostaturad gamoyenebul sami wertil isa da frCxil ebis meTods da Cems weril s qarTul i andaziT davamTavreb (...wixl i ar unda gewyinos!-).

karg mTqmel s kargi gamgone unda

sakiTxebma, roml ebzec saubars aRar vapirebdi, kvl av iCina Tavi `anal ebis~ (#7, 2001) furcl ebze g. gocirizis weril Si _ `saca ara sj obs...~ (pasuxi nel i bregaZes _ statiaze `Tamada- gamoxmaurebis gamo)-. gul dawvyvetil i Tu Cemgan kamaTis gagrZel ebis mo- surne g. gocirize Tavis `pasuxSic~ gul modgined, j i- utad imeorebs Cemi statiisadmi miZRvnil missave `ga- moxmaurebaSi~ (anal ebi, #5, 2009) daSvebul Secdo- mebs, rac maizul ebs gavimeoro zogi ram im imediT, rom iqneb mistvis, amjerad mainc, gasagebi gaxdes misgan ase mtkivneul ad aRqmul i SeniSvnebis arsi da maTi gamomwvevi mizezi.

statiisadmi _ `Tamada- (anal ebi, #3, 2008) _ miZ- Rvnil `gamoxmaurebaSi~ (anal ebi, #5, 2009) g. gociri- zem didi dro da adgil i dauTmo sityvasTan _ Tamada _ dakavSirebul Cem mier statiaSi moxmobil i l eqsi- kuri da eTnografiul i masal ebis gadmocemas, romel - Ta safuzvel ze mivemxre am sityvis adiReuri warmo- Sobis versias da dadebitad Seafasa Cemi nakvl evi. TumcaRa, saTanado l ogikuri da xel Sesaxebi argu- mentebis uqonl obis miuxedavad, gaimedora, rom Tavad mainc `sparsul i versiisaken ixreba-. imavdroul ad, miuxedavad Cemi statiis garkveul i mizandasaxul obi- sa, aRniSna, rom weril ma _ `Tamada- _ masSi gamoiw- via `ukmarisobis~ grZnoba da gul istkivil iT svams kiTxvas: `ratom auara avtorma gverdi Cvens SromaSi ara erTgzis gamoTqmul mosazrebas...~, romel ic exeba CvenSi Tamadis institutis siZvel esa da sufris gam- ZRol is, meTauris Sesatyvisad naxmar `puris ufal s-. Cans, Cemi am `nakl is~ gamosasworebl ad mas moyavs Ta- visi kvl evis Sedegebi (anal ebi, #5, gv. 354-356). saRad moazrovne mkiTxvel isaTvis naTel i unda iyos, rom TamadasTan dakavSirebul i g. gocirizis gamoTqmiT,

`rTul da mraVal waxnagovan sakiTxTagan- (anal ebi, #5, gv. 356)* Cem statiaSi ganxil ul i waxnagi ar moiTxovda sxva da maT Soris CvenSi Tamadobis institut-Tan da `puris ufal Tan- dakavSirebul msjel obasa da, Sesabamisad, teqstSi maTze g. goci riZis nakvl evis Semotanas. amitomac damrCa STabeWdil eba, rom man warmatebiT gamoiyena `gamoZaxil i- mkiTxvel TaTvis Tavisi nakvl evis gasacnobad Tu Sesaxsenebl ad, ramac gaanawyena Cemi oponenti. xol o Cemi STabeWdil ebis sisworeSi damarwmuna mis mier gamoqveynebul ma `pasuxis pasuxma- (anal ebi, #7, 2011), romel Sic g. goci riZe kvl av gul modgined imeorebs Tavisi kvl evis (rogorc adre aRvniSnavdi) sayuradRebo, magram Cemi statiasTan kavSiris armqone Sedegebs.

miuxedavad imisa, rom sityvis _ Tamada _ adiReuridan warmomavl obis Sesaxeb versiis dasacavad Cem mier moyvanil i monacemebi misaRebad miicnia, g. goci riZe mainc gul dawvyetil i darCenil a imis gamo, rom amave sityvis sparsul idan momdinareobis Sesaxeb mis mier dasaxel ebul i argumentebi damaj erebl ad ver CavTval e (zemomoyvanil is safuZvel ze aqve davsZen: cxadia, yvel as aqvs ufl eba iqonios ama Tu im sakiTxze sakuTari azri, magram haerSi gamokidebul dausabuTebel varauds mirCevnia faqtebiT Semagrebul i mosazrebis gaziareba).

g. goci riZe xel meored maxsenebs, rom avtorinaSromisa _ `mefe- _ Sesatyvisad ar (Tu ver) viziareb sparsul i damad-is v. abaeviseul ganmartebas. am sakiTxze saubars aRar gavagrZel eb, mxol od vityvi, rom g. goci riZes, rogorc eTnografis (miT ufro, erT dros saoj axo yofis sakiTxebze momuSaves) unda moxsenebodes, rom kaci nefed ixsenieba mxol od Tavissave qorwil Si, roml is momwyob-ganmgebel i Tavad ver

* gaugebaria ratom mabral ebs g. goci riZe TiTqos vsayvedurobde, rom TamadasTan dakavSirebul probl emas mraVal waxnagovnad ixseniebs (anal ebi, #7, gv. 626).

iqneba. Sevaxseneb adre naTqvamsac (ix. amave sakiTxebze v. abaevis teqstis mixedviT Cem mier gacemul i pasuxi _ anal ebi, #6, 2010) _ `piruSkebis- მომყოფი зять-ისა და жених-ის nefed xmoBa SeuZl ebel ia (miT ufro, siZis Zmisa, rogorc g. gociriZem ratomRac ase amoikiTxa abaevis naSromidan _ ix. misi monografia `kvebis xal - xuri kul tura da sufris tradiciebi saqarTvel oSi. Tb., 2007, gv. 296-297; an iqneb Tavad, rogorc sparsol ogma, ukeT icis `damadis- მნიშვნელობა).

sityvis _ Tamada _ CvenSi Semosvl a-gavr cel ebis drois gansazRvra Tumc ar yofil a Cemi statis mizani, mainc aseve ver miviRe sarwmunod meTauris mniSvnel obiT am sityvis sparsul idan gavr cel ebis versis Sesamagrebl ad g. gociriZis mier moyvanil i argumentebi: 1) XVII s-Si adgil i hqonda saqarTvel oSi sparsul i terminebis Warbad Semosvl a-damkvidrebas, romel Ta Soris, Cans, g. gociriZe Tamadasac varaudebs (g. gociriZis monografia, gv. 298-299 da anal ebi, #7, gv. 624); 2) XVII s-ის ავტორის, ოლერიუსის მიერ ნახსენები სპარსეთის სახელმწიფო კონების განმგებლის სახელმძღვანელო _ `eTemed dovl e-, romel Sic romc SeiZl ebodes sityvis _ Tamada _ amokiTxva, mainc wamoiWreba Tavad g. gociriZis mier dasmul i kiTxva: `ratom ar aisaxa es termini qarTul weril obiT wyaroebsa da literaturaSi, l eqsikonebSi adre e. i. XVIII-XIX s-mde...?- (anal ebi, #5, gv. 357 da #7, gv. 624). marTI ac, es l ogikuri kiTxva moitxovs pasuxis gacemas, rac iseve rogorc CvenSi am sityvis gavr cel ebis drois garkveva g. gociriZis upiratesi saqmea da Tu is daapirebs am sakiTxze muSaobis gagrZel ebas, vusurveb warmatebul kvl evas, raSic eWvi ar mepareba.

g. gociriZe msayvedurobs terminis _ puri _ Cemi mosazrebis Sesaxeb miseul interpretaciasTan dakavSirebul i SeniSvnis gamo, ramac ara mxol od gamaoca, aramed gamaogna kidec. is CemTan kamaTis (Tu Tavdacvis) am nawil Si, rbil ad rom vTqvaT, gvawvdis araswor informacias. iZul ebul i var moviyvano mozrdi-

I i citata misi naweridan: `Cems monografiaSi amona-
 ridi Tqveni naSromidanac movitane... me mewera, rom
 termini puri Tavdapirvel ad unda r̄qmeoda xorbal s
 (e. i. marcval s) da mere gavrcel da gamomcxvar purze
 _ razec SeniSvna momeciT, is rom `citireba- ar iyo
 zusti. me maSin miviRe es `naTqvami- da vcade monog-
 rafiaSi gamomesworebina. rogorc Cans aman Tqven ar
 dagakmayofil aT. axl a werT, rom puri (saxel wodeba)
 unda yofil iyo xorbl is saxel i `sxvebs Soris erT-
 erTi da ara pirvel i da mere unda darqmeoda misgan
 gamomcxvar produqts-. e. i. gamodis, rom me ar unda
 damewera, rom puri xorbl is **Tavdapirvel i** (xazgasma
 Cemia - n. b.) saxel i iyo- (da ar unda momewera es
 TqvenTvis), amitom gaqvT aseTi reaqcia: `msgavsi uaz-
 roba arsad ar miTqvamso-. q-no nel i mkiTxvel ma gan-
 saj os Cemi `codva- da isic Tu ramdenad uazroa ase-
 Ti ram da ara `unebl ie- Secdoma- (anal ebi, #7, gv.
 627-628). saocari da gul dasawyvetia, rom Cemi oponen-
 ti verc ki xvdeba Tu ramdenad al ogikuria am cita-
 taSi moyvanil i misi msjel oba, romel Siac is saku-
 Tar Tavs ewinaaRmdegeba. nuTu dasaj erebel ia Sevda-
 vebodi mas sworad gadmocemul i azris gamo, rome-
 l ic `gamosworebas- ar saWiroebda. magram iyo ki es
 marTI a ase? mivyveT misi teqstidan moyvanil amona-
 wers, roml is mixedviT, mis **monografiaSi** sworad
 gadmocemul i azri damiwunebia da man cada Cemi `naT-
 qvamis- mixedviT imav **monografiaSi** (!?) misi gamoswo-
 reba. CavxedoT mis monografias: `n. bregaZe Tvl is,
 rom termini puri xorbl is **Tavdapirvel i** (xazgasma
 Cemia _ n. b.) saxel wodebaa, roml is Semdeg iqna gamom-
 cxvari puris mimarT gamoyenebul i...~ (g. gocirizis
 monografia, gv. 124). mixdeba gameoreba _ swored esaa
 is uazroba anu g. gocirizis mier mcdarad gadmoce-
 mul i (Tu gaazrebul i) Cemeul i kvl evis Sedegi. sinam-
 dvil eSi `puri- araa xorbl is Sesatyvisi Tavdapirve-
 l i qarTul i saxel i. preagrarul i xanidan moyol ebu-
 l i mas win uswrebda xorbl is aRmniSvnel i sxva sit-

yvebi (ix. n. bregaZe, saqarTvel o _ miwaTmoqmedebis damouki debel i kera, Tb., 2004, gv. 107-130); Tanac is, rom `puri- xorbl is sxva saxel ebTan SedarebiT gvi- an xanas ukavSirdeba, amis dasturad gamodgeba Tavad g. gociriZis mier gamoTqmul i mosazreba, roml is mi- xedviT is purcxobis SedarebiT gviandel monapovars, safuvrian produqts dakavSirebia (g. gociriZis monog- rafia, gv. 125; anal ebi, #7, gv. 628). rac Seexeba sityvas _ puri _ romel ic yofaSi umetesad gamomcxvari sakve- bis mniSvnel obiT ixmareba, is xorbl is **Tavdapi rvel i qarTul i saxel i ki araa, aramed Tavdapi rvel ad**, anu j er unda darqmeoda marcvl s _ xorbal s da Semdeg unda misadageboda misi fqvil isgan gamomcxvar sakvebs (iseve, rogorc araerTi sxva marcvl eul isa da maTgan damzadebul i nawarmis SemTxvevaSi).

vi medovneb, zemonaTqvami dan aSkaraa gansxvaveba g. gociriZis mier Cem naazrevad gadmocemul teqsts da Cemeul mosazrebas Soris. g. gociriZisave naTqva- mis ar iyos, mkiTxvel ma (davazustebdi _ saRad moaz- rovnem) gansaj os ramdenad marTal i iyo Cemi oponen- ti roca gaRizianda marTebul SeniSvnaze da gamarTa al ogikuri, uazro kamaTi, roml is Sedegad (gansakuT- rebiT ki purTan dakavSirebiT zemomoyvani i misi ci- tatis wakiTxvis Semdeg) damrCa STabeWdil eba, rom man abrundis xerxiT cada CemTvisac da sakamaTo sa- kiTxebSi gauTviTcnobierebel i mkiTxvel isaTvisac Tval ebSi nacris Seyra da Tu es umarTebul o bral - debaa, maSin gamodis _ g. gociriZem ver SeZl o an da- weril idan azris sworad amokiTxva, an Tavisive teq- stis sworad gamarTva. an iqneb misive gamoTqmi T, esec `unebl ie- Secdoma iyo?!

aRar vapireb g. gociriZis mier `dol is purTan- dakavSirebul i mosazrebis mcdarad gadmocemis Tao- baze Cem `pasuxSi- (anal ebi, #6) moyvani i ganmar- tebis gameorebas, oRond davazusteb, rom iq gaipara ko- reqturul i Secdoma _ weria **orTesl a**, unda eweros **orTesel a**, rac Seesatyiseba xorbl is zogierT j iSs,

roml ebić mkacrad saSemodgomo dol is purisa da mkacrad sagazafxul o dikisagan gansxvavebiT, iTeseba rogorc Semodgomaze, ise gazafxul ze.

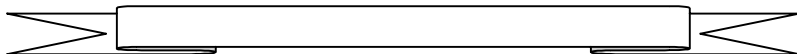
rac Seexeba Cemi oponentis kiTxvas Tu rad damWirda sityvasTan _ puri _ dakavSirebul i SeniSvnebis dawera, vpasuxob _ qarTvel Ta kul turis istoriis sayuradRebo sakiTxis Sesaxeb mis monografias mraval ricxovani mkiTxvel i unda hyavdes; xol o masSi Cvenive kul turis aseve mniSvel ovan sakiTxze moyvani i mcdari informacia, anu xorbl is uZvel es qarTul saxel ad gviandel i sityvis _ puri - miCneva, akninebs saqarTvel os rogorc xorbl is kul turis uZvel esi da damoukidebel i keris mniSvel obas, kerisa, romel Sic Zv. w. VI aTaswl eul isaTvisac ki damowmebul ia xorbl is maRal kul turul i formebi, rom aRara iTqvas ra ufro adreul xanaze. da Tu Cem SeniSvnas statiaSi `Tamada- da am weril Sic eyol eba wamkiTxvel i, miTvis mainc gacxaddeba sinamdvil e. xol o dainteresebul mkiTxvel s rom ar gaZnel eboda statiis `Tamada- migneba, damWirda Cem `pasuxSi- g. gocirizis unebi Secdomis gamosworeba _ statiis misamarTis dazusteba.

gamaoca Cemi SeniSvnebis gamo `pasuxis pasuxSi- dasmul ma SekiTxvam `rogorc **amboben** (xazgasma Cemia _ n. b.) amiT Zvel i angariSebis gasworeba gsurdaT?- (anal ebi, #7, gv. 628). ar vici vin da ras ambobs, magram STabeWdil eba ki damrCa, rom Cemi oponenti viRacebTan saubarSi afasebs situaciebs (!) da meorec, angariSsworeba xom cud, augian saqciel sa da danaSaul s mosdevs; gamodis g. gocirize Tavad grZnobs Cem mimarT raRac danaSaul s, rac sxvebisatvisac yofil a cnobil i da Tu es aseba (rac misi probl ema unda iyos), ar mesmis amas ra kavSiri unda hqondes statiis irgvl iv mecnierul kamaTTan.

g. gocirize xazs usvams kamaTis dros Cem Seuval obasa da mkacr tons, razec Sevaxseneb, rom cxovrebaSic da mecnierebaSic Cemi mrwamsia _ `moyvares

pirSi uzraxe...~. Tavis droze xom g. gocirizEsac pi-
radad gavuziare es SeniSvnebi, rac Tavadac aRiara
(ix. zemoT misive `pasuxis pasuxi--dan amonariDsi).
davsZen imasac, rom madl ierebiT miViReb nebiSmier
marTebul , dasabuTebul SeniSvnas.

dabol os, gamovTqvam survil s _ iqneb amj erad
mainc dinj ad da dakvirvebiT (mecnierebas aCqareba ar
uyvars) gaecnos Cemi umcrosi kol ega-oponenti Cems
iZul ebiT pasux-ganmartebas da aRar cados amave sa-
kiTxebze da amave stil Si Semopasuxeba. amis imeds iZ-
l eva `pasuxis pasuxSi~ moyvani i saTaurica da bo-
l o sityvebic (riTac Tavad Seufasebia sakuTari Se-
saZl ebl obebi): `saca ara sj obs, gacl a sj obso~ da
`mec gagecl ebiT q-no nel i~. `kargi vaJkacisaTvis~ ki
ukeTesi iqneboda droul ad anu Tavidanve gacl oda
im sakiTxebze msj el obas `saca ver uj obda~ da arc
sxva moecдина da arc Tavad daexarj a Zvirfasi dro,
romelic upriani iyo daeTmo romel ime saintereso
sakiTxis kvl evisaTvis.



gi orgi goci ri Ze

qarTul i xal xuri musikis eTnol ogi uri kvl evi s
saTaveebTan

(nino maisuraZis samecniero moRvaveobis 50
wl iSTavTan dakavSirebiT)

musika qarTvel i xal xis kul turul memkvidreo-
baSi erT-erTi yvel aze ZI ieri, unikal uri da ganume-
orebel i fenomenia. misi fesvebi Soreul warsul Sia
saZiebel i da sazogadoebis ganviTarebis adreul sa-
fexurebs ukavSirdeba. xal xuri simRera eris sul i-
ri saganZuria, igi xel Tuqmnel i Sedevria, Taobidan
Taobas rom gadaecema. Cveni drois gamoCenil i kompo-
zitori gia yanCel i wers: `qarTul i xal xuri simRe-
ris arSi Cawvdoma, Cems SesazI ebl obebs da warmo-
saxvis unars aRemateba. vfiqrob, rom msgavsi mraVal -
xmianobis Seqmna genial uri anonimebis Semoqmedebis
Sedegia. amouxsnel i rCeba CemTvis is garemoebac, Tu
rogor gaCndnen aseTi masStabis anonimebi saqarTve-
l os sxvadasxva kuTxeSi. amitomac miWirs im gancdis
sityvebiT gadmocema, rasac CemSi gurul i, kaxuri,
megrul i da svanuri simRerebi iwvevs...~.

Znel ia ar daeTanxmo am SesaniSnav sityvebs da
ar gagaxsendes, didi qarTvel i istorikosi, qarTvel i
eris istoriis mkvl evari iv. j avaxiSvili, romel mac
qarTul i musikis istoriis Seswavl a qveynis warsu-
l is warmocenas da mis momaval s daukavSira. am Temas
man sagangebo gamokvl eva miuZRvna, Tumca unda iT-
qvas, rom qarTul i xal xuri musikal uri memkvidreo-
biT, xal xuri simRerebiT, sagal obl ebiT da sakrave-
biT daintereseba CvenSi XIX saukunis meore naxe vri-

dan iwyeba, roca sazogadoebriv asparezze didi il ia WavWavaZe, akaki wereTel i, rafiel erisTavi da sxvebi gamovidnen. im droidan moyol ebul i qarTul i musikis mkvl evarTa, kompozitorTa da sazogado moRvaweTa mier fasdaudebel i samuSaoebia Catarebul i qarTul i musikal uri fol kl orisa Tu sasul iero musikis (himnografia) Seswavl isa da fiqsaciis saqmeSi (d. arayiSvil i, S. asl aniSvil i, gr. CxikvaZe da sxv.). maT naSromebze aRizardnen fol kl oristTa momaval i Taobebi, roml ebic dResac warmatebiT moRvaweoben v. saraj iSvil is sax. Tbil isis saxel mwi fo konservatoriaSi musikal uri fol kl oris Tu sasul iero musikis sferoSi. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT aRsaniSnavia xel ovnebis damsaxurebul i moRvawis evsevi Woxonel iZis Rvawl i.

rogorc eTnol ogma minda visaubro qarTul i xal xuri musikis eTnol ogiuri kvl evis mimarTul ebaZe, romel ic arsebiTad gansxvavdeba fol kl orul i kvl evisagan da romel sac safuZvel i saqarTvel oSi qarTul i eTnol ogiuri skol is fuZemdebel ma akad. giorgi Citaiam gasul i saukunis 60-ian wl ebSi Cauyara. aqve davsZen, rom XX saukunis 40-50-ian wl ebSi, iv. javaxiSvil is sax. istoriis, arqeol ogiis da eTnografiis institutis eTnografiis ganyofil ebaSi, musikal uri fol kl oris mimarTul ebiT muSaobdnen cnobil i musikismcodneebi da kompozitorebi, maT Soris - dimitri arayiSil i, Sal va asl aniSvil i, grigol CxikvaZe, Tamar mamal aZe da sxv., roml ebmac mniSvnelovani naSromebi Seqmnes qarTul i xal xur musikis historiaSi. T. mamal aZem SesaniSnavi monografia dagvitova Sromis kaxur simRerebze.

giorgi Citaias kargad esmoda, rom xal xuri musikis Zirebi, misi sawyisebi yofiTi kul turis qvakuT-xedSi iyo moqceul i da iqidan ganvitarebul i, da rom qarTvel i xal xis sul ierebis es didi saganZuri, yofiTi, eTnografiul i real iebidan iyo nasazrdoebi. amitom aris qarTul i xal xuri simRera aseTi Zl ieri,

mgznebare, Rrma Sinaarsis mqone da ganumeorebel i. qarTvel i gl exi mReroda maSin, roca is miwas xnavda da guTneul Si idga, mReroda roca yanas Toxnida da venaxs uvl ida, mReroda roca mosaval i mohyavda da roca l xinobda. amastan mis xmaSi, omaxian bgerasTan erTad, raRac sevdanarevi motivebi JRerda. es hangebi RvTisadmi aRvl enil i ocnebisა da l ocvis gamomxatvel i iyo, didi saTnoebiT, rudunebiTa da sifaqiziT rom Camoizerwa qarTul i simRerebis mრaval feroval pal itraSi, romel ic qarTul i sul is, mental obis da identobis gamomxatvel simbol od iqca.

rogorc ukve iTqva, XX saukunis 60-ian wl ebSi giorgi Citaias iniciativiT safuZvel i Caeyara qarTul i musikal uri memkvidreobis eTnol ogiuri kuTxiT Seswavl as. igi fol kl orul i kvl evisagan gansxvavebul midgomas moiTxovda. am mxriv nino (nanul i) maisuraZe qarTvel eTnomusikol ogTa pirvel i Taobis warmomadgenel ia, romel sac 1983 w. samecniero xarisxebis mimniWebel ma umaRI esma saatestato komisiამ istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtoris xarisxi da profesorის wodeba ori special obiT mianiWa – 1. eTnol ogia da 2. musikismcodneoba.

ivane j avaxiSvil is saxel obis istoriis, arqeoლოგიისა და eTნოგრაფიის institutSi nino maisuraZe Tbil isis saxel mwifo universitetის istoriis fakul tetის damTavrebის Semdeg movida da rogorc axal gazrda mecnierma imTaviTve miiqcia special istebis yuradReba. misi, rogorc mkvl evarის pirvel i nabijebi uSual od daukavSirda eTnol ogiuri dargis 60-70-iani wl ebis saqmianobas, im didi kompl eqsuri eTნოგრაფიულ i eqspedicieბის muSaobas, რომl is xel - mZRvanel eბი misive maswavl eბლ eბი akad. giorgi Citaiა da prof. vera bardavel iZe iyvnen. isini intensiurad swavl obdnen saqarTvel os mTisa da baris probl emebs. q-n ninos bedma arguna imTaviTve prof. v. bardavel iZis gverdiT yofna. wl ebis manZil ze misi xel iTaa Caweril i da kl asificirebul i q-ni veras mier

social ur-rel igiur sakiTxebze moZiebul i unikal uri eTnografiul i masal a fSavSi, xevsureTSi, TuSeT-Si, mTiul eTsa da gudamayarSi, xevSi, svaneTsa da Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi. mTel am savel e da saarqivo eTnografiul i masal is l laboratoriul damuSavebas qal batoni vera mas andobda. dRes es zRva masal a, romel ic inaxeba iv. javaxiSvil is istoriisa da eT-nol ogiis institutis arqivSi, safuZvl ad udevs mTel rig fundamentur gamokvl evebs.

roca akad. giorgi Citaias winadadebiT nino maisuraZem eTnomusikol ogiaSi muSaoba gadawita, saWi-ro gaxda misi rogorc musikismcodnis kval ifikasiis amaRI eba. miT umetes, rom mas saSual o skol is paral el urad damTavrebul i hqonda Tbil isis IV musikal uri saswavl ebel i. amitom musikismcodneobis special uri kursi Tbil isis v. sarajiSvil is sax. saxel -mwifo konservatoriaSi gaiara. mas cota mogvianebiT SeuerTden manana Sil akaZe, simon (soso) WanturiSvili, ina xaSba da meri xaSba (soxumis gulias sax. enis, literaturis da istoriis institutidan), SemdegSi istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtorebi. ina xaSba pirvel i iyo afxaz mecniertagan, vinc dai cva sakandidato disertacia afxazuri xal xuri musikal uri sakravebis Sesaxeb.

amis Semdeg nino maisuraZe SesaSuri energiit agrZel ebs kvl eviT saqmianobas da swavl obs qarTul i xal xuri musikis ganvitarebis uZvel es etapebs, adgens mis eTnikur Taviseburebebs da ganxil avs mas qarTvel i xal xis eTnikur istoriasTan kavSirSi, rasc aTeul i wel i Seal ia da dargis Tval saCino mecnieri gaxda. warmatebasTan erTad mas araerTi dabrkol ebis da winaaRmdegobis gadal axva mouxda. mTavari mainc is iyo, rom musikal uri eTnol ogia (eTnomusikol ogia) unda damkvidrebul iyo rogorc dargi da kvl evis Sedegebi farTo samecniero mimoqcevaSi Sesul iyo, rac warmatebiT ganxorciel da kidec. amitom ityvis cota mogvianebiT (sadoqtoro disertaci-

is dacvis dros) misi oponenti, msopl ioSi aRiarebu-
 l i eTnomusikol ogi prof. izal i zemcovski: `n. mai-
 suraZis disertacia, yovel gvare gadaWarbebis gareSe,
 eZRvneba msxvil samecniero Temas, me vityodi, yvel a
 musikal uri eTnografisaTvis sanukvar Temas. swored
 eTnikuri probl ematika unda iyos kul minaciuri eT-
 nomusikol ogiur gamokvl ebebSi. aq aris Tavmoyril i
 Cveni discipl inis mTavari istoriul i gamarTl eba,
 misi social uri paTosi. eTnikuri istoriis Seswav-
 l isas musikis gaTval iswineba axal i saqmea, praqtiku-
 l ad daumuSavebel i. gamonakl isia statiebis saxiT
 TiTze CamosaTvl el i publ ikaciebi. arc erTi monogra-
 fia ar arsebobs mocemul disertaciasTan axl os mdgo-
 mi. mis avtors gauval i bil ikebiT mouxda siarul i... n.
 maisuraZem gamoamJRavna araCveul ebrivi mecnierul i
 gambadaoba, aiRo ra aseTi yovl ismomcvel i Tema - aq-
 tual uri da novatorul i, WeSmaritad Tema Rirsi sa-
 doqtoro disertaciisa... gasagebia, rom mecnierul i
 Sromis srul yofas ara aqvs dasasrul i, gansakuTrebiT
 aseTi pionerul i Temisa- (stil i dacul ia).

n. maisuraZem Seqmna axal i etapi qarTul i eTno-
 musikol ogiis ganvitarebaSi, amave dros es aris kuT-
 vnil i wvl il i zogadad musikal uri kul turis isto-
 riaSi. Znel ia srul iad isaubro yvel a im miRwevasa
 da warmatebaze, rac n. maisuraZes ukavSirdeba, magram
 saWirod vTvl i ramdenime momentze SevCerde:

ra aris qarTul i xal xuri simRera, saidan iRebs
 igi saTaves? am kiTxvaze pasuxis gasacemad movitan
 erT amonarids nino maisuraZis naSromidan: `xal xuri
 simRera sayofacxovrebo tradiciis wiARSi Cndeba da
 yal ibdeba. igi garkveul i Sinaarsis Semcvel ia da yo-
 fis cal keul i mxareebis amsaxvel i. simRera moicavs
 ara mxol od musikal ur, aramed sityvier teqsts. maT
 Soris mWidro intonaciuri da Rrma Sinaarsobrivi
 urTierTkavSiri arsebobs. niSandobl ivia, rom simRe-
 ra gul isxmobs `l eqsis damRerebiT Tqmas-. simRera,
 rogorc sayofacxovrebo tradiciis erT-erTi mniS-

vnel ovani komponenti, masTan uSual o kavSirSi gaiaz-
 reba. tradicia gansazRvravs simReris Sesrul ebis
 wess, xasiaTs da, SesaZI oa, mis asaksac. Tavis mxriv,
 simReris xniereba Sesabamisi tradiciis asakis gan-
 msazRvrel ia-. am interpretaciidan gamomdinare, xal -
 xur samusiko nimuSebs mkvl evarma musikal ur-eTnog-
 rafiul i masal is mniSvnel oba mianiWa. simReris, ro-
 gorc sul ieri kul turis organul nawil s, yofis
 sxva komponentebTan SedarebiT, meti mdgradoba da
 konservatul oba axasiaTebS. n. maisuraZem musikal uri
 ena sametyvel o enis anal ogiurad, eTnosis, rogorc
 social uri organizmis erT-erT ZiriTad maxasiaTe-
 bel niSnad miicnia. aqedan gamomdinare eTnikuri is-
 toriis, eTnogenetikuri probl emebis kvl evisaTvis
 xal xuri musika, misi ganmartebiT, istoriul i wyaros
 mniSvnel obas izens. mas ekuTvnis musikal uri eTno-
 l ogiis Semdegi gansazRvra: `xal xur musikas istori-
 ul -eTnol ogiur aspeqtSi musikal uri eTnol ogia Se-
 iswavl is. musikal uri eTnol ogia, musikal uri mona-
 cemebiT eTnosis mecnierul Seswavl as gul isxmobs.
 musikal uri eTnol ogiis kvl evis amocanebia xal xuri
 musikis kul turul -yofiT i da eTnikuri funqciebis
 gamovl ena, eTnokul turul i da eTnogenetikuri probl
 emebis kvl eva-.

musikal uri ena mWidro kavSirSia sametyvel o
 enasTan. dadgenil ia, rom musikal uri enis Camoyal i-
 bebam sametyvel o enasTan erTad xangrZI ivi ganviTa-
 rebis gza ganvl o. amave dros utyuari faqtia isic,
 rom metyvel eba da musika, orive adamianis rafinire-
 bul i azrovnebis Sedegia. amdenad, kul turis es ori
 el ementi, romel ic bgeriT gamoixateba naTI ad war-
 mosaxavs adamianis sul ier samyros, mis gancdas,
 grZnobas, xasiaTs. mkvl evari wers: musikal uri enis
 Camoyal i beba uSual o kavSirSia geografiul garemos-
 Tan, social ur fsiqol ogiasTan, esTetikasTan da,
 rac mTavaria, musikal uri azrovnebis ganviTarebis
 adreul safexurebze, metyvel ebis bgeraTa akustikur-

ma (smeniTma) da fiziol ogiurma (artikul aciurma) Taviseburebebma, intonaciurma mxarem gadamwyveti rol i Seasrul a musikal ur-intonaciuri azrobrivi erTeul is _ fuZe-hangis anu fuZe-enis Camoyal ibebaSi. niSandobl ivia isic, rom sxva enobrivi samyarodan odesRac SeTvisebul i sityvebi qarTvel uri enebis intonaciur areSi moeqca da adgil obrivi xasiaTis cvl il ebebi ganicada. es Tema uaRresad mniSvnel ovania musikal uri enis gansazRvrisaTvis.

rogorc cnobil ia, magiuri qmedebebi (e. i. ritual ebi) musikal uri intonirebis safuZvel ia. amasTan igi damaxasiaTebel i faqtoria sametyvel o enidan musikal ur enaze gadasvl is gardamaval i safexurisaTvis. q-n ninom siRrmiseul ad Seiswavl a qarTvel i xal xis musikal uri azrovnebis ganviTarebis pirvel adi formebi, qarTvel ur tomTa saerto musikal uri fuZe-enis, fuZe-hangis eTnikuri Taviseburebebi, roml ebic Tavis mxriv qristianobis winare xanis rwmenawarmodgenebidan da ritual ebidan iRebs saTaves. zemoxsenebul i uZvel esi pl asti astral ur da micval ebul is kul tebTan dakavSirebul saferxul oebsa da xmiT natiri ebSi aisaxa. aseTive arqaul i pl asti Cans yofaSi dRemde SemorCenil `akvnis nanebSi~, sadac aSkarad vl indeba genetikuri kavSiris arseboba samgl oviaro, saferxul o da, nawil obriv istoriul -sagmiro simRerebTan. aRsaniSnavia, rom q-ni ninos mier eTnomusikol ogiaSi pirvel ad iqna Semotanil i termini `musikal uri fuZe-ena~ (saerto qarTvel uri musikal uri fuZe ena~).

nino maisuraZisaTvis pol ifoniuri azrovneba qarTvel Ta fsiqikis struqturul i el ementia. misi dakvirvebiT qarTul i mraval xmianobis safuZvel i musikal ur fuZe-enaSi hangis damabol oebel i ritmul ad myari sayrdeni bgeris gaazrebaa banis saxiT anu dasabami eZl eva mraval xmianobis burdonul formas... `qarTul i mraval xmianobis erT-erTi uZvel esi etapia musikal uri fuZe-enis wiARSi burdonul i mraval xmi-

nobis Semdeg mraVal xmianobis kompl eqsuri formis Camoyal ibeba, rac qronol ogiurad musikal uri fuZe-enis arsebobis xanas ukavSirdeba-. am daskvniT mkvl evarma qarTul i mraVal xmianobis xniereba gansazRvrada, amasTanave, saerTo qarTvel uri musikal uri fuZe-enis arseboba qarTvel ur enaTa fuZe-enis arsebobis xanas daukavSira; musikal uri monacemebiT aCvena erTobl ivi qarTvel uri eTnosis arseboba. daadgina, rom musikal uri dial eqtebis Camoyal ibeba esatyviseba qarTvel uri eTnikuri j gufis diferenciacias, cal keul i kuTxeebis Camoyal ibebas. istoriul i wyaroebis da musikal ur-eTnografiul i masal is Seswavl is Sedegad nino maisuraZem enis dial eqtisagan anu kil osagan gansxavebiT, mogvca musikal uri dial eqtis anu kil os Semdegi ganmarTEba: `kil os, rogorc kuTxobrivi specifikis gamomxatvel i terminis xal xuri interpretacia, garda mraVal xmianobis formebis, mel odiur-intonaciuri da harmoniul i Taviseburebebisa, gul isxmobs Sesrul ebis kuTxur xasiaTs, kerZod im intonaciur Taviseburebebs (niuansebs), roml ebic sametyvel o enis kuTxur intonaciur TaviseburebebTan uSual o kavSirSi yal ibdeba-. aqedan gamomdinare mkvl evarma naTI ad aCvena is didi wvl il i, romel ic TiToeul kuTxes miuZRvis zogadqarTul i musikal uri enis ganviTarebaSi. rogorc dasavl ur, ise aRmosavl urqarTul simRerebSi, man daadgina harmoniul el ementTa uwyveti, kanon-zomieri ganviTarebis procesi.

qarTul i xal xuri simReris genezisis kvl evaSi, udidesi mniSvnel oba aqvs simReris saweso safuZvl ebis warmocenas. garkveul ia, rom am mxriv arsebiTi mniSvnel oba `xmiT natirI ebs- eniWebA. eTnografiul monacemebze dayrdnobiT nino masisuraZem kidev erTxel daadastura adre gamoTqmul i mosazreba, rom xmiT motiral i sakral uri personaJia. igi rwmena-warmodgenebis Tanaxmad, saiqios miRweul i sul is mier arCeul i meenea, romel mac `samzeoSi- misi survil ebi unda aRasrul os (`gaacxados-). micval ebul is dati-

reba xal xSi saweso qmedebis is aucil ebel i el emen-
 tia, romel sac wmindā rel igiur SinaarsTan erTad
 garkveul i esTetikuri Rirebul eba gaaCnia. Tu am mov-
 lenas musikal uri kuTxiT SevxedavT davinaxavT, rom
 motiral i godebis Tavisebur mel odiur-intonaciur
 qargas qmnis. mkvl evris dakvirvebiT natiral i, romel
 ic qronol ogiurad Zal ian Zvel ia, mainc ver scil-
 deba improvisirebul i reCitativis CarCoebis da amis
 gamo maRal ganviTarebul musikal ur kul turaSi, re-
 liqtis saxiT inarCunebs TavS. amgvāri rakursiT aqs
 Seswavl il i nino maisuraZes `gvrini-, Tibvasa da mka-
 Si Sestrul ebul i simRera, mokvdavi da aRdgenadi
 RvTaebebis ideiT rom aris Seqmnil i da micval ebu-
 lis datirebis imitirebul formas warmoadgens.
 mkvl evris azriT `gvrini- gardamaval i formaa `xmiT
 natirli ebsa- da `mTibl urebs- Soris. man SesaniSna-
 vad aCvena `xmiT natiral is- magal iTze fuZe-enis, fu-
 Ze-hangis infil tracia yofis sxvadasxva sferoSi (am
 SemTxvevaSi miwaTmoqmedebis sferoSi), ramac gamoiw-
 via misi semantikuri transformacia: SeiCval a musika-
 luri teqstis forma da Sinaarsi, Sestrul ebis xasia-
 Ti da bol os Camoyal ibda Tvisebrivad gansxvavebul i
 sasimRero nimuSi, am SemTxvevaSi SromiT saqmianobas-
 Tan dakavSirebul i mTibl uri simRera.

xal xuri musikis uZvel esi sakral uri semantika
 qarTul sufrul ebSicāa Semonaxul i. irkveva, rom
 `puroba- (trapezi, purad sxdoma) Zvel ad is ritua-
 luri saweso qmedeba iyo, romel ic RvTisgan boZebu-
 l i sakvebis//madl is miRebisa da ukugebis sakral ur
 arss gamoxatavda (g. gociriZe). es yvel aferi `warmar-
 Tul - xanaSi Caisaxa, magram Semdeg qristianul for-
 matSi iqna gadatanil i. `puris Wama-, `puris gatexa-,
 qristes xorcTan da sisxl Tan ziarebis anu evqaris-
 tiis simbol ur aqtad iqca (n. abakelia). SemTxveviTi
 arc isaa, rom xat-sal ocavebSi anu taZarSi adami-
 anebi sakral ur-ritual ur purobas marTaven. am SemTxve-
 vaSi sal ocavi is rel igiuri centria, roml is garSe-

mo Tavs iyris da erTiandeba garkveul i social uri j gufi, sociumi, Temi, sagvareul o. isini msxverpl Sewirvis arqaul wess asrul eben da Sewirul i cxovel is wmindax sisxl iT kul tTan ziarebis aqts anxorciel eben (v. bardavel iZe, g. gociriZe).

xatoba-dReobebSi Sestrul ebul i simRerebi zemoT aRniSnul i ritual is Semadgenel i nawil ia da erTian kompl eqsSia mocemul i. `purobaSi~ simRerebis Sesrull ebis wesi, romel ic Tavis droze v. bardavel iZem Seiswavl a, Semdeg eTnomusikol ogiuri kuTxiT n. maisuraZem gaafarTova da gaamdidra. misi kvlevis areSi moeqca mTiel Ta istoriul -sagmiro simRerebi, romlebic man sufris wesebis organul nawil ad ganixil ada, rac mTavaria, sufrul ebis Camoyal ibebaSi maTi arsebiTi mniSvel oba gansazRvra. sakiTxTa am wres ganekuTvneba agreTve saferxul oebis, sadidebel -savedrebl ebis mTel i arsenal i, romel is siRrme da arsi mraval i saiduml oebis momcvel ia.

nino maisuraZis samecniero moRvaweobis erT-erT mimarTul ebas qarTul i da Crdil okavkasiuri musikal uri enebis urTierTmimarTebis kvle va warmoadgens. am probl emam mkvl evari cnobil kavkasiol ogs, kavkasiol ogiuri eTnol ogiis fuZemdebel s saqarTvel oSi, akad. al eqsi robaqiZes daakavSira. probl ema qarTul i da Crdil okavkasiuri kul turebis Sesazl o erTiani safuZvl isa yovel Tvis iyo da rCeba enaTmecnierTa, istorikosTa, arqeol ogTa, eTnol ogTa da anTropol ogTa Seswavl is obieqtad. ufro metic, es Tema gansakuTrebiT aqtual uri xdeba dRes, roca `kavkasiuri civilizaciis~ Sesaxeb Teoriebis gadasinj va xdeba da dRis wesrigSi kavkasiuri identobis, eTnikuri da kul turul i integraciis, `kavkasiis saxl ismcnebebi, interdiscipl inarul i da mul tikul turul i kvle ebis areal Si Semodis.

nino maisuraZe aris qarTul eTnomusikol ogTagan pirvel i, romel ic aRniSnul i mimarTul ebis kvle vaSi CaerTo da musikal ur monacemebze dayrdnobiT

friad sagul isxmo daskvnebis gakeTeba SeZl o. amosaval s mistvis (da ara mxol od mistvis) warmoadgenda is garemoeba, rom aRmosavl eTis da dasavl eTis gzaj varedinze, e. w. evraziul sivrceSi moqceul i qarTul i kul tura arasodes ar warmoadgenda cal ke aRebul , msofi io civilizaciebisagan mowyvetil izol irebul samyaros da igi yovel Tvis Sedioda, erTi mxriv, Savi da xmel TaSua zRvis auzis da, meores mxriv, kavkasiis qeds miRma mcxovrebi xal xebis, politikuri, social ur-ekonomikuri da kul turul i interesebis sferoSi. amas garda, kavkasiis regionis erTiani geografiul i garemo, Sesabamisi bunebrivekol ogiuri pirobebiT da msgavsi meurneobis forme- bis arsebobiT, xel sayrel mdgomareobas qmni da eT- nosTa kul turul i Tanacxovrebi sa da integraciisaT- vis. es procesebi Zal ian adrea dawyebul i da kavkasi- is uZvel es tomTa gansaxl ebisa da migraciis arqaul xanas ukavSirdeba. amasTan erTad mecniერul ad dadge- nil ia, rom **kavkasiur sivrceSi qarTul i kul tura, sxva eTnikur kul turebTan SedarebiT, yovel Tvis iyo ufro metad dawinaurebul i, wamyvani da ganvitarebu- li**, rac SesaniSnavad Cans yofis yvel a sferoSi, me- urneobidan dawyebul i, enis, damwerl obis, materia- luri da sul ieri kul turis Zegl ebiT damTavrebu- li. isic cxadia, rom qristianobam kavkasiis qeds miRma regionSi (maT Soris Crdil oeT kavkasiaSi) TiTqmis XIX saukunemde iarseba, rogorc Zl ierma da ZiriTadma monoTeisturma sarwmunoebam, miuxedavad isl amis gavr cel ebisa, razec metyvel ebs iq SemorCe- nil i qarTul i qristianul i xuroTmoZRvrul i Zegl e- bi Tu sakul to nagebobebi (I . musxel iSvil i, d. mus- xel iSvil i, n. berZeniSvil i, d. berZeniSvil i, g. Ramba- SiZe da sxv).

kavkasiis uZvel esi mosaxl eobis genetikuri kav- Sirebis Sesaxeb arqeol ogiur da anTropol ogiur monacemebTan erTad (o. jafariZe, m. abduSel iSvil i, I . biTaZe) srul iad gamorCeul ia da gansakuTrebul i

mniSvnel oba aqvs `l ingvistur Ziebebs-, `iberiul -kav-
 kasiuri enebSi- bgeraTa Sesatyvisobebis kvl evas (ar.
 Ciqobava, m. qurdiani, m. Cuxua, c. baramiZe, v. Sengel ia
 da sxv.). swored es kvl evebi iyo amosaval i nino mai-
 suraZisaTvis, roca am urTul es da mraval waxnagovan
 probl emas _ qarTul -Crdil okavkasiuri musikal uri
 enebis urTierTmimarTebisa da maTi erTobis kvl evas
 Seudga. mraval wl iani dakvirvebis Sedegad avtori mi-
 vida im daskvnamde, rom ise rogorc am xal xTa enebSi
 dasturdeba Tanxvedrebi, aseve dasturdeba musikal u-
 ri monacemebis Tanxvedrac. movitan amonarids misi
 naSromidan, romel ic exeba qarTul i da afxazuri mu-
 sikal uri enebis retrospeqtul i anal izis Sedegebs:

`vfiqrob, angariSgasawevia musikal uri monaceme-
 bi, roml is mixedviTac afxazuri musikal uri ena, gan-
 viTarebis uZvel es etapebze organul ad iyo dakavSi-
 rebul i saerTo qarTvel ur musikal ur enasTan. sagu-
 l isxmoa rom saerTo qarTvel uri musikal uri enidan
 Tavdapirvel ad igi musikal uri dial eqtis doneze
 gancal kevda. amave dros, afxazuri da adiReuri musi-
 kal uri masal a, garkveul wil ad, mel odiur-intonaci-
 ur da harmoniul el ementTa gansakuTrebul siaxl o-
 ves amJRavnebs, Tumca orive maTganSi harmoniul i az-
 rovnobis safuZvel i qarTvel uria (maT Soris kadanse-
 bi, mraval xmianobis formebi, kerZod, burdonul i
 mraval xmianoba, rogorc mraval xmianobis ZiriTadi
 forma). musikal uri masal is anal izi mowmobs, rom
 harmoniul el ementTa ganviTarebis procesSi, afxazu-
 ri asrul ebda Sual edur rol s qarTul sa da adiRe-
 urs Soris. iqneb amiT aixsnas is garemoeba, rom afxa-
 zuri musika qarTvel urTan naTesaobis srul suraTs
 iZl eva... gansxvavebiT afxazurisagan adiReurSi, xSir
 SemTxvevaSi, wyvetil i Cndeba, roml is tipol ogiuri
 Sevseba afxazuri simRerebis saSual ebiT xerxdeba...~.

dRes samecniero literaturaSi gansxvavebul i
 Sexedul ebebia gamoTqmul i eTnonim `afxazze~. zogi-
 erTi maTganis mixedviT afxaz//abxaz-i dasavl urqar-

Tvel uri terminia. eTnonimi afxaz- da Sesabamisad mi- si berZnul i eqival enti abasg-i Tavdapirvel ad da- savl ur qarTul toms aRniSnavda (T. gamyrel iZe, d. musxel iSvil i). rac Seexeba qarTul -afxazur musika- l ur monacemebs, romel zec saubarია n. maisuraZis naSromSi afxazebi dasavl eT saqarTvel os istoriul teritoriaze qarTvel uri kul turis matarebel erT- erT qarTvel ur tomad moiazreba. dameTanxmeba mkiT- xveli, rom aRniSnul debul ebas uaRresad principu- l i mniSvnel oba aqvs qarTvel i da afxazi xal xis ge- netikuri kavSir-urTierTobis, ufro metic, saerTo Zirebis dasadgenad, zogadad kavkasiis xal xTa eTno- genezis kvl evisaTvis. da kidev erTic, afxazurTan erTad qarTul Crdil okavkasiuri (adiReuri, osuri, CaCnur-inguSuri da nawil obriv daRestnuri) musika- l uri monacemebiT nino maisuraZem daadgina odesRac saerTo musikal uri kul turis arseboba, roml is Seq- mnaSi kavkasiis adgil obriv, ZirZvel mosaxl eobas un- da mieRo monawil eoba. man gviCvena qarTvel ur tomTa arsebiTi roli am kul turis Camoyal ibebasa da Sem- dgom ganviTarebaSi. musikal uri monacemebiT gamoTqva mosazreba uZvel es xanaSi qarTvel ur tomTa farTo teritoriaze ganfenis Sesaxeb, romel Ta gavrcel ebis areali TandaTan izRudeboda. niSandoblivia, rom zemoxsenebul tomTa musikal uri azrovnebis ganviTa- rebis Tanmimdevrul, uwyvet xazs mkvl evris dakvirve- biT, mxol od qarTul i masala izl eva, romel Tanac mWidrodaa dakavSirebul i Crdil okavkasiuri musika- l uri enebi, rogorc genetikurad, ise kul turul -is- toriul i kavSirebiT.

yvel a es mosazreba nino maisuraZes sadoqtoro disertaciaSi aqvs Tavmoyrili, uxvi musikal uri masa- l is anal iziT dasabuTebuli. amitom samarTlianad Tvl ian, rom n. maisuraZe aris qarTul i xal xuri musi- kis eTnomusikol ogiuri kvl evis erT-erTi mesaZirkvle.

da bol os, viTval iswinebT, ra Temis aqtual o- bas, minda kidev erTxel aRvniSno, rom SesaZl oa,

dRes, mecnierEBis ganviTarebis Tanamedrove etapze, vinmem sadavod miicnios an ufro metic, ikamaTos e. w. `kavkasiuri civil izaciis- (rogorc kavkasiis xal xTa kul turul i erTianobis) Taobaze, magram faqti erTia, n. maisuraZe srul iad miukerZoebl ad, damoukidebel i kvl evis safuZvel ze mivida mniSvel ovan daskvnamde odesRac erTiani kavkasiuri kul turul i sivrcis arsebobis Sesaxeb da am daskvnas aqvs arsebobis ufl eba.

nino maisuraZes, rogorc eTnol og mkvl evars, namdvil ad mouxda yamiris gatexva eTnol ogiis am mimarTul ebis – musikal uri eTnol ogiis (eTnomusikol ogiis) ganviTarebisatvis. man SeimuSava kvl evis Taviseburi meTodol ogiuri programa, romel mac Semdeg gza gauksna am mimarTul ebiT momuSave momaval Taobebs. misi uSual o xel mZRvanel obiT da konsul taciit eTnomusikol ogiaSi dacul ia sakandidato da sadoqtoro disertaciebi (q. nakaSiZe, q. WiTanava, a. petriaSvil i, b. kagazeJevi (adiRe), g. sul aberiZe, m. xaSba). warmatebiT daciva sadoqtoro disertacia m. Sil akaZem (`tradiციული სამუსიკო საკრავები და კართული -კრდილ ოკავკასიური ეთნოკულტურული ურტიერთობანი-); sakravebis xaziT sayuradRebo naSromebi Seqmna n. bedoSvil ma.

1980-90-ian wl ebSi nino maisuraZis mier pirvel ad iqna wakiTxul i l eqciebi (special uri kursi) eTnomusikol ogiaSi iv. j avaxiSvil is sax. Tbil isis saxel -mwifo universitetsa da sul xan-saba orbel ianis sax. Tbil isis pedagogiur institutsi, revaz l aRiZis sax. kaTedraze (dRes il ias saxel mwifo universiteti); wl ebis manZil ze iyo kaTedris gamge Tbil isis damoukidebel universitet _ `georgiaSi~, sadac Tavis dros l eqciebs kiTxul obdnen istoriis da eTnol ogiis institutis, arqeol ogiis centris da Tbil isis saxel mwifo universitetis maRal kval ificirebul i mecnier-TanamSroml ebi. mis miera Sedgenil i programa musikal ur eTnol ogiaSi; avtoria monografiEBis da mraval i statiis, maT Soris _ `aRmosavl eT saqartvel os musikal uri kul tura- (Tb., 1971), «Древнейшие

этапы развития грузинской народной музыки» (Tბ., 1989); `qarTul i xal xuri musika da misi istoriul -eTnografiul i aspeqtebi- (Tბ., 1990); `es simReraa saqarTveli osi- (Tბ., 2010); `qarTul i xal xuri musika da qarTvel Ta eTnogenezi- // qarTel i xal xis eTnogenezi (Tბ., 2002); `musikal ur-eTnol ogiuri monacemebi qarTul da winaaziur urTierTobaTa Sesaxeb // oCxari Tb., 2002; `qarTul i kul tura aRmosavl ur da dasavl ur kul turaTa konteqstSi // I ogosi, #5 Tb., 2008; `qarTul i himnografia da erovnul i cnobiereba- // anal ebi, #3, Tb., 2008; `qarTul i xal xuri musika da erovnul i cnobiereba- // anal ebi, #6, Tb., 2010; Georgian Culture in the Oriental and Western Cultural Contexts (Musical Ethnological Data) // Dialogue of Civilizations, New York, 2010; `iberiul -kavkasiuri musikal uri enebis Sesaxeb- // anal ebi, #7, 2011 da sxv. q-ni nino aris redaqtori da recenzenti araerTi naSromis, maT Soris Tanaredaqtoria v. bardavel izis wignis `aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os mTianeTis tradiciul i sazogadoebriv-sakul to Zegl ebi, TuSeTi, II₂ (Tბ., 1985); encikl opediuri gamartebebis erT-erTi avtoria wignSi `iv. j avaxiSvil i. encikl opediuri I eqsikoni-, mTavari redaqtori akad. r. metrevel i. Tb., 2002.

nino maisuraZe wl ebis manZil ze iyo iv. j avaxiSvil is saxel obis istoriis da eTnol ogiis institutis mTavari mecneri TanamSromeli, institutis samecniero sabWos wevri; amave institutTan arsebul i samecniero xarisxebis mimniWebel i sabWos (SemdegSi arqeol ogiis centrTan arsebul i samecniero xarisxebis mimniWebel i sabWos) wevri; agreTve – saqarTvel os SoTa rustavel is saxel obis Teatrisa da kinos saxel mwifo universitetTan da v. saraj iSvil is sax. saxel mwifo konservatoriasTan arsebul i xarisxebis mimniWebel i gaerTianebul i samecniero sabWos wevri. warmatebit uwevda oponirebas da recenzirebas eTnol ogebs, musikismcodnebs, fol kl oristebs, xel ovnebaTmcodnebs, kul turol ogebs... 1990 wl idan aris ev-

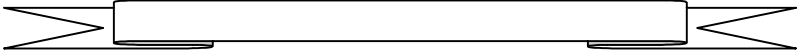
ropis eTnomusikol ogTa saerTaSoriso seminaris (ESEM) wevri; xSirad monawil eobda saerTaSoriso konferenciebSi, kongresebsa da simpoziumebSi, magram ZiriTadi samyaro, sadac man SemoqmedebiTi cxovrebis didi gza ganvl o istoriisa da eTnol ogiis institutia. aq Camoayal iba man da xel mZRvanel obda eTnomusikol ogiuri kvl evis saprobl emo j gufs 2006 wl amde ganyofil ebis doneze, vidre mecnierebaTa akademi-aSi da, Sesabamisad istoriis da eTnol ogiis institutSi reorganizacia ar Catarada.

nino maisuraZe avtoria musikal uri kompoziciebis, roml ebic Sesrul da saqarTvel osa da mis fargl ebs gareT (kr. `is vinc miyvarda~, Tb., 2003).

iubil ari SesaniSnavi qarTul i tradiciul i, intel igenturi ojaxis warmomadgenel ia. vicnob 1976 wl idan, mas Semdeg, rac iv. j avaxiSvil is sax. istoriisa da eTnol ogiis institutSi mivedi samusaod. mowme var da TviTmxil vel i mkvl evaris SemoqmedebiTi warmatebebisa. rogorc adamiani nino maisuraZe yovel Tvis gamoirCeoda da gamoirCeva gansakuTrebul i gul isxmirebiT, keTil ganwyobiT, kol egial obiT, Wirsada l xinSi TanadgomiT, winaparTa xsovnis pativiscemiTa da madl ierebiT. vicnobdi mis meuRI es, uaRresad keTil Sobil pirovnebas _ demir nozaZes, romel ic muSaobda umaRI es saxel mwifo samTavrobo struqturiebSi da iyo adamiani, romel sac SeeZl o srul iad ucnobisaTvis xel is gawodeba da daxmareba. q-ni nino SesaniSnavi dedaa, Rirseul i Svil is aRmzrdel i da ori Svil iSvil is bebia. is dResac Cveuli i energiit agrZel ebs mecnierul moRvaweobas saqarTvel os istoriis, eTnol ogiis, rel igiis Seswvili isa da propagandis samecniero centrSi.

vul ocav mkvl evars dabadebidan 75 da samecniero moRvaweobis 50 wl istavs, vusurveb j anmrTel obas da SemoqmedebiT warmatebebs.

MEMORIA



meri inaZe



saqarTvel os saistorio sazogadoebam damsaxurebul i qarTveli istorikosis, istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtoris, saqarTvel os Zvel i istoriis Tval saCino mkvl evris, umwkvl o moqal aqis, akademi-koss simon janaSias saxel obis premiis laureatis, meri inaZis gardacval ebiT didi danakl isigani cada.

misma fundamenturma monografi ebma: `Причерноморские города древней Колхиды~, `aRmosavl eT SavizRvispireTis berZnul i kol onizacia~, `Zvel i kol xeTis sazogadoeba~, kol xeTis Zvel i istoriisa da kul turis sxvadasxva aspeqtis kvl evisadmi miZRvnil ma, araerTi axal i koncefciam, hipotezis amsaxvel ma aTeul obiT samecniero naSromma XX-XXI saukuneTa qarTul , da ara mxol od qarTul , historiografiaSi Rirseuli adgili didi xania dai mkvidra da mis Semoqmedebas "Zvel i kol xeTis axal i sicocxl e" uwodes.

meri inaZe Tavis 80 wl is saiubil eo TariRs skrupul ozuri kvl evebis Semcveli samecniero statiebis krebul iT "Zvel i kol xeTis istoriis sakiT-xebi" Sexvda, sadac mocemul ia Zv. w. VIII-I saukuneebis kol xeTis saSinao cxovreba da sagareo urTierTo-bebis sferoSi momxdari umniSvnel ovanesi faqtebi, rTul i eTnopol itikuri da social uri, ekonomikuri da kul turul i procesebi. igi kol xeTis Zvel i is-

toriiis sami kardinal uri probl emis avtoriseul original ur xedvas gvTavazobs.

man Seiswavl a dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi sataZro-saqal aqo centrebis warmomqna-ganviTarebisa da sa-xel mwifoebriobis genezisis probl emebi.

kol xeTis samefos warmomqmnis istoriis rekonstruqciisaTvis fasdaudebel ia meri inaZis is kvl e-vebi, roml ebic kol xeTs skeptuxiaTa probl emas exe-ba. misi azriT skeptuxiebad qveynis (kol xeTis) dayo-fa kol xeTis samefos Camoyal ibebisTanave ganxor-ciel da. igi samefo xel isufl ebis mier Catarebul i RonisZiebis Sedegi iyo da miznad qveynis efeqtur marTva-gamgeoba-mowesrigebas isaxavda. meri inaZis siRrmiseul ma kvl evam Tval naTI iv dagvanaxa el inis-turi xanidan dawyebul i kol xeTis xel isufal Ta Za-l aufl ebis dasustebis obieqturi mizezebi, kerZod, gare pol itikur faqtorebTan erTad, warmoaCina am procesSi skeptuxTa – adgil obriv aristokratiul gvarTa warmomadgenel Ta miswrafebebi damouki deb-l obisa da Tavistavadobisaken.

meri inaZem SedarebiTi anal izis safuZvel ze da-adgina, rom kol xeTSi argonavtebis (aqevel ebis) I aS-qrobas win, maT mier samxreTi SavizRvispireTis aTvi-seba uswrebda, xol o aRmosavl eTiT, mdinare Woroxis auzisa da mis Crdil oeTiT mdebare metal urgiul i kerebiT egeidel mezRvaurTa daintereseba Zv.w. II aTaswl eul is bol o saukuneebiTaa dasaTariRebel i. mis mier gamoTqmul i Tval sazrisis Tanaxmad, Zv.w. VIII s-is dasasrul idan argonavtTa Tqmul ebaSi mox-seniebul i “oqros sawmisis qveyanaSi” I iToniT mdi-dari kavkasionis mTiswineTisa da rionispireTs So-ris mdebare Zl ieri winasaxel mwifoebrivi erTeul i unda igul isxmebodes, romel ic urartul warwe-rebSi mraval gzis moxseniebul kul xas (kol xas) po-litikuri gaertianebis dacemis Semdeg, samxreTidan infiltrirebul kol xTa Zl ier eTnikur birTvs, egreb-Tan erTad unda Seeqmna.

mniSvnel ovani amagi dasdo meri inaZem iseT rTul da manamde nakl ebad Seswavl il i probl emis siRmi-seul gaazrebasac, rogoricaa arqaul i da adreantikuri xanis egeosur-mcireaziur samyarosTan kol xeTis savaWro, kul turul i da religiuri urTierTobebi; aseve kol xur-berZnul i urTierTobani Zv.w. VII s-is dasasrul idan, vidre adreantikur xanamde (Zv.w. VI s.).

meri inaZis mier SemuSavebul i koncefciiS Tanaxmad kol xeTSi, samxreT da Crdil oeT SavizRvispireTisagan gansxvavebiT, mil eTel ebis mier daarsebul i axal Senebi berZnul qal aq-saxel mwifoebad (pol ise-bad) ver Camoyal ibda. isini mxol od savaWro funqciis, Taviseburi TviTmmarTvel obiT matarebel centrebad rCeboda. meri inaZem im arsebiT garemoebasac miaqcia yuradReba, rom sxva berZnul i pol isebisagan gansxvavebiT, dioskuriis meurneobaSi wamyvan, aseve samxedro Zal as adgil obrivi (kol xi) xel osnebi da miwaTmoqmedni Seadgendnen da ara berZeni moaxal Senni.

meri inaZis samecniero kvl evis Sedegad gamovlinda, rom el inisturi xanis Sida qarTI Si e. w. "qveynebis" Teokratiul i xel isufal Ta mmarrTvel oba ZiriTadad ukve ganvl il i etapia sazogadoebis socialur ganvitarebaSi. am droidan sataZro centrebis didi nawil i gardaiqmna samefo administraciul centrebad da mniSvnel ovan qal aqebad, romel nic did rol s asrul ebdnen iberiis ekonomikur da politikur cxovrebaSi. aseT qal aqebad warmogvidgeba didi mcxeTa, urbnisi, samadl o, romel ic aseve gvianbrinjao – adrerkinis xanaSi aq arsebul i saml ocvel oSi iRebs saTaves.

meri inaZim samecniero urTul esi kvl eva-ZiebebiT, axal i koncefciebiTa da hipotezebiT aRSavse, samecniero memkvi dreoba dagvitova.

pirad urTierTobaSi mokrZal ebul ma, gul isxmi-erma, mimtevebel ma saqarTvel os Zvel i istoriis gamyal bebel mavanTa da mavanTa mimarT, mkacri kritikul i damokidebul eba, ufro metic, ukompromisoba,

sadiskusio saki Txebis Rma codnaze dafuZnebul mis recenziebsi mraVal gzis daadastura. amaze metyvel ebs SeniSvnebi i. voronovis monografiaze "Колхида на рубеже средневековья, 1982". mraVal i safuZvl iani SeniSvnis Semdeg igi ase amTavrebs Tavis recenzias: "в книге почти нет ни одного основного положения, которое не вызывало бы наших возражений и было бы доказуемо соответствующими источниками."

meri inaZis saxiT kol xeTis da iberiis Zvel i istoriisa da kul turis urTul es probl emebs RvTiT-moniWebul i niWiT, original uri xedviT da xel weriT daj il doebul i, srul iad gamorCeul i mkvl evari hyavda.

davkargeT erTgul i megobari da kol ega, keTil Sobil ebs, codnis uSurvel ad gamcemi, sxvaTa gverdsi dgomis misabaZi magal iTi.

msubuqi yofil iyos meri inaZisTvis qarTul i miwa, roml is gamorCeul i mesaiduml e iyo da romel sac erTgul ad emsaxura.

saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa erovnul i akademiis istoriis, arqeol ogiisa da eTnol ogiis komisia

eqvTime TayaiSvil is saxel obis saqarTvel os saistorio sazogadoeba

istoriis, eTnol ogiis, rel igiis Seswavl isa da propagandis samecniero centri

givi j amburia



qarTul ma sazogadoebam uk-anasknel gzaze gaacil a Tval -saCino qarTvel i istorikosi, istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori, istorikosTa axal i Taobebis aRmzrdel i, saqarTvel os saxel mwifo premiis I aureati, Rirsebis ordenis kaval eri, eqvTime TayaiSvil is saxel obis saqarTvel os saistorio sazogadoebis erTgul i wevri givi j amburia.

istorikosis al Ro da ni-
Wiereba man j er kidev Tbil isis saxel mwifo universitetis istoriis fakul tetis studentobis wl ebSi gamoavl ina, rodesac giorgi saakaZisadmi miZRvnil ma misma pirvel ma moxsenebam didi qarTvel i istorikosebis simon j anaSiasa da nikol oz berZeniSvil is mowoneba da maRal i Sefaseba daimsaxura. mas pativi ergo didi istorikosis nikol oz berZeniSvil is sayvarel i mowafis rangSi, misi xel mZRvanel obiT, momavali i kvl eva-Ziebandi maRal mecnierul doneze gaegrZel ebina.

pirvel ma gamarj vebamac ar daayovna. gasul i saukunis 50-iani wl ebis dasawyisSi istoriis mecnierebaTa kandidatis samecniero xarisxis mosapovebl ad wardgenil i naSromi Temaze `qarTul i feodal uri urTierTobis istoriidan (somxiT-sabaraTianos saTavadoebi)- didi warmatebiT daicva. win ki mecnierul i kvl eva-Ziebandi farTo gza el oda, romel ic muxl Cauxrel i SromiT aseve warmatebiT ganvl o. istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtoris samecniero xarisxis mosapovebl ad wardgenil i misi monografiul i gamokvl eva `saqarTvel os social ur-ekonomikuri viTareba XVI sau-

kunis pirvel naxevarSi- zemoaRniSnul is saukeTeso dadasturebaa.

g. j amburias kal ams qarTul i da ucxoenovani weril obiTi wyaroebis, dokumenturi masal is Rrma analizze dafuZnebul i, axal i Sexedul ebebisa da hipotezebis Semcveli, aTeul obiT naSromi ekuTvnis.

givi j amburias rogorc ivane j avaxiSvil is saxelobis istoriis, arqeol ogiisa da eTnografiis institutSi, aseve ivane j avaxiSvil is saxelobis Tbilisis saxel mwifo universitetSi istorikosTa axal i Taobebis aRzrdaSi didi Rvawl i miuZRvis. is uSurvel ad gascemda wl ebis manZil ze didi SromiT dagrovil codnas.

usazRvroa profesor givi j amburiasTan ganSorebit gamowveul i sinanul i da gul istkivil i mis kollegebsa da axl obl ebSi.

ufal ma naTel Si amyofos misi sul i...

saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa erovnul i akademiis istoriis, arqeol ogiisa da eTnol ogiis komisia

eqvTime TayaiSvil is saxelobis saqarTvel os saistorio sazogadoeba

istoriis, eTnol ogiis, rel igiis Seswavl isa da propagandis samecniero centri

Zviri fasi kol egi s xsovnas nel i bregaZe



qarTul ma eTnol ogiurma skol am mZime danakl isi ganica-da. mis rigebs gamoakl da Tval saCino, Rrma erudiciis mecneri, farTo diapazonis mkvl evari, roml is fundamentur naSromebs kargad icnoben ara mxol od CvenSi da postsab-Wour sivrceSi, aramed mis fargl ebs gareTac.

nel i bregaZis nayofieri, SemoqmedebiT i cxovreba, xal-xuri kul turul i memkvidreobis Seswavl as moxmarda da udidesi wvl il i Seitana dargis ganviTarebis istoriaSi. igi gamoirCeoda saocari SromismoyvareobiT, da Rrma skrupul ozuri kvl evis unar iT. Sesabamisad misi mecnierul i memkvidreoba, mraval mxrivi da mraval waxnagovania, erTnairad datvirTul i, rogorc tradiciul i sameurneo yofis, ise material uri da sul ieri kul turis sakiTxebiT. is akad giorgi Citaias erT-erT saukeTeso mowafed iTvl eboda.

rogorc niWierma axal gazrdam, nel i bregaZem j er kidev Tbil isis saxel mwifo universitetSi swavl is dros miqcia profesor-maswavl ebel Ta yuradReba, xol o universitetis warCinebiT damTavrebis Semdeg swavl a saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa akademiis ivane javaxiSvil is sax. istoriis, arqeol ogiisa da eTnol ogiis institutis aspiranturaSi gaagrZel a eTnol ogiis ganxriT, romel ic 1958 wel s daasrul a. am dRidan moyol ebul i q-nma nel im gaiara mecnierul i moRvaweobis didi gza dawyebul i umcrosi mecnier TanamSroml idan wamyvan mecnier TanamSroml amde. aris ramdenime monografiisa da 200-mde samecniero

statiis avtor i beWdeboda rogorc CvenSi, aseve saz-
RvargareT. misi ne bismieri naSromi, gamoirCeva ara
mxol od maRal i profesional izmiT, aramed anal iti-
kuri azrovnebiT, siaxl is ZiebiT, sistemurobiT, ra-
sac araerTgzis aRniSnavdnen misi maswavl ebl ebi (g.
Citaia, v. bardavel iZe) da kol egebi. xazgasmiT unda
iTqvas isic, rom Tu dRes qarTul eTnol ogiur mem-
kvidreobas kargad icnoben da maRal Sefasebas aZl e-
ven Cveni ucxoel i kol egebi da aRiareben imas, rom
saqarTvel o uZvel esi miwaTmoqmedebis qveyanaa, mra-
val i kul turebis, xorbl is da vazis samSobl o da is
sakuTar TviTmyofad niadagzea aRmocenebul i, amaSi
nel i bgeraZes miuZRvis wvl il i, radgan misi naSrome-
bi swored genezisis probl emebs eZRvneba. avtors
aRiareba ara mxol od Teoriul ma codnam moutana,
aramed didma savel e-praqtikul ma gamocdil ebam. mra-
val i eTnografiul i eqspediciis monawil es, fexiT
hqonda Semovl il i saqarTvel os cal keul i kuTxeebi
(fSavi, mTiul eTi, xevsureTi, raWa, svaneTi). aseve
Crdil oET kavkasiis zogierTi regioni. zedmiwevniT
kargad fl obda empirul masal as, xal xur l eqsikas,
icnobda yofas, tradiciebs, wes-Cveul ebebs, ritua-
l ebs da cdil obda arasodes yofil iyo cal mxrivi,
amitom yovel wvril mans, yovel detal s sagul dagu-
l od amowmebda da azustebda.

q-nma nel i bregaZem aTeul i wl ebi Seal ia qarTu-
l i, tradiciul i samiwaTmoqmedo sistemebis retros-
peqtul Seswavl as. misi pirvel i monografia `miwaT-
moqmedeba dasavl eT saqarTvel oSi-, raWa-l eCxumis ma-
gal iTzea Seqmnil i da miuxedavad imisa, rom gamoq-
veynebidan dRemde didma drom ganvl o, wignis Rirse-
bas araferi dakl ebia. es aris mdidar eTnografiul
masal aze damyarebul i gamokvl eva, romel Siac skru-
pul ozurad aris warmodgenil i qarTul i memindvreo-
bis sistema, niadagebis SerCeva-damuSavebis, sameurneo
iaraRebis, marcvl eul i kul turebis cal keul saxeo-

ბათა დასასაბეის, ტერმინოლოგიური და რელიგიური
რწმენა-წარმოდგენების ანალიზი.

კართული აბორიგენული ხორბლული კულტურების
ფართო სპეკტრია შევსებულის და გაანალიზებულის ავტორის
მეორე ფუნდამენტურ გამოკვლევაში «Очерки по
агроэтнографии Грузии», Тб., 1982, რომელიც შემდეგ შევსებულ
და გაფართოებულ სახით გამოცემა კართული ენაზე
_ «საქართველოში მრეწველობის დამოუკიდებელი კერა-
ტბ., 2004. განხილული ბიოლოგიისა და ბოტანიკის
საგანი (რომელიც კვლევითი სფეროების ნარკვევების საფუძ-
ვლიანადაა გამოყენებული) ნელი ბრეგაზე მოცემული პრობ-
ლემა _ კართული ხორბლული კულტურების წარმო-
ბა-განვითარება და სელექცია, საკუთრივ ენოლოგიური
კუთხით განიხილეს და წარმოადგენს იმ უნიკალურ ემ-
პირულ კოდს, და ტექნოლოგიურ ხერხებს, რომელიც
წინააღმდეგობას უწევს XX საუკუნის მეორე ნახევარში
უცვლელად შემონახვაში. ბრეგაზე კიდევ ერთხელ ხაზი
გაუსვა იმ გარემოებას, რომ საქართველოში ხორბლული
კულტურის ერთ-ერთი გენეტიკური ცენტრია შინააღმოსავლური
რეგიონი. ეს მნიშვნელოვანი მიგნება იყო ზოგადკულტურ-
ული რეზიუმეების ენოლოგიურ შესავლად.

სამრეწველო სისტემაში მუშაობაში ნელი ბრეგაზე
ლოგიკურად მიყვანა რელიგიის ადრეული საფეხების,
კერძოდ, აგრარული კულტურის და აგრარული დრეზას-
წარმოების კვლევითი მუშაობის მიხედვით. შინააღმოსავლური
კართული ხორბლული დრეზასწარმოების ბერიკაობა-
ყენების, ტედობის, ახალი მისი გენეზის პრობლე-
მები, შინააღმოსავლური აგრარული კულტურის წარმო-
ების და განვითარების ისტორიული პლასტები და მათი
სოციალური და რელიგიური ფუნქცია, რაც თავის მხრივ
დაკავშირებულია უფრო მეტი კვლევის კალენდარული სისტე-
მებთან. ავტორმა ამოცანას წარმოადგინა გაართვა თავი
და სამეცნიერო მიმოხილვაში შემოიტანა სრულიად ახალი,
ორიგალიური ხედვა. მაგალიტად, ბერიკაობა-ყენების
მისტიციზმი და მისი რწმენის მაგალიტზე მკვლევარ-
მა გვიწვინა, რომ ხორბლული ასტროლოგიური წარმოდგენის
თანამედროვე რწმენის სახეების შესწავლა განპირობებული

I i iyo kal endris qronol ogiuri zodiaquri siste-
miT, rom pirvel i niRbosnebi: xari, cxvari da Txa,
zodiaquri epoqebis Sesatyvisad aSkarad gamoxata-
vnen vegetaciuri astral uri RvTaebebis attributebs,
dakavSirebul s im Tanavarskvl avedis niSnebTan, rom-
l ebSic, wl is dasawyisSi mzis RvTaeba ij da.

metad seriozul i, mniSvnel ovani mignebebi aqvs
nel i bregaZes mesaqonl eobis Seswavl aSic. kerZod,
mecxvareobis magal iTze man gamoavl ina is unikal uri
faqti, rom cxvarSi dol is vadebi meurneobis sezo-
nul cykl Tan misadagebiT iyo daregul irebul i, rac
mecxvareobis dargis aRmavl obas, sel eqcirebis vade-
bis dacvas, cxvris gamravl ebas, bunebrivi namatis
zrdas uwyobda xel s. am rigis sakiTxebis ganekuTvneba
nel i bregaZis statia _ `zvarakic~, sadac avtorma
srul iad damaj erebl ad axsna msxverpl Sewirvis ri-
tual Si samsxverpl o cxovel is SerCevis xal xuri ra-
cional uri wesebi. srul iad gamorCeul ia nel i brega-
Zis wvl il i eTnol ogiuri paral el ebis kvl evaSi. igi
pirvel i qarTvel i eTnol ogi mecnieria, romel mac XX
saukunis 70-80-ian wl ebSi daiwyo qarTul -bal kanuri
eTnol ogiuri paral el ebis kvl eva, saxel dobr qar-
Tul -bul garul i kul turul -istoriul i urTierTobe-
bisa, rasac wl ebis manZil ze warmatebiT anxorcie-
l ebda bul garel kol egebTan (s. kol eva, v. I azaro-
vi) erTad. mas mWidro kavSiri hqonda ukrainel da
pol onel mecnieriebTan (ian pol aki, I. artiuxi). iyo
mraval i saerTaSoriso konferenciis, kongresisa Tu
simpoziumis monawil e. nel i bregaZes avtoritul mec-
nierad Tvl idnen da angariSs uwevdenen ara erT qveya-
naSi. is periodul ad ibeWdeboda maRal i cenzis saer-
TaSoriso Jurnal ebSi. maT Soris `Советская этногра-
фия//Этнографическое обозрение~, bul gareTSi gamose-
mul krebul ebSi da sxv.

2006 wl idan, ivane javaxiSvil is saxel obis is-
toriisa da eTnol ogiis institutis reorganizaciis
Semdeg, nel i bregaZe istoriis, eTnol ogiis, rel igi-

is Seswavl isa da propagandis samecniero centris TanamSromel ia. am centris samecniero sabWos da Jurnal `anal ebis- redkol egiis wevri.

bol o wl ebSi q-ni nel i kol egebTan erTad intensiurad muSaobda narkvevebze `qarTvel ebi~, rogorc redkol egiis wevri da erT-erTi avtori.

pirad cxovrebaSi q-ni nel i mokrZal ebul i da sada, magram principul i adamiani iyo. mistvis yvel aze mTavari sayvarel i saqme gaxl daT, romel sac mTel i cxovreba Seal ia. mecnierebisadmi interesi ki bavSvobidan gamoyva. aRizarda cnobil i fiziol ogis akad. al . bregaZisa da usaTnoesi qal batonis nino goqsaZis oj axSi. misi da q-ni meri mamis kval s gahyva, igi biol ogiur mecnierebaTa doqtoria. cnobil i eqsperimentatori, nel im ki eTnol ogia arcia.

axl a mis sawer magidaze kidev erTi dasrul ebul i monografia devs, romel ic al baT uaxl oes momaval Si gamoqveyndeba. dasanania, rom avtori ase moull odnel ad wavida am cxovrebidan.

RmerTma naTel Si amyofos q-ni nel is sul i.

pativiscemiT, misi kol egebis saxel iT

giorgi gociriZe
l iana beriaSvil i
madona xazaraZe

givi j avaxi Svili is gaxseneba
(dabadebi dan 80 wl is Tavisi gamo)



givi j avaxi Svili qarTuli eTnologiuri skolis erT-erTi Rirseuli warmomadgenelia. nayofieri da xanmokle iyo mkvlevis sicocxle. majiscema 52 wl is asakSi Seuwyda, maSin, roca intensiuri Semoqmedebiti cxovrebis periodSi imyofeboda da Tanac aramis samSobloSi aramed sazRvargareT mivlinebis dros, nal cikSi, saidanac is sakavSiro konferenciidan ukan brundeboda. es iyo umZimesi tragedia, romelic maSTan myof megobrebs arasodes daavi wydebaT.

dRes batoni givi 80 wl is Sesrul deboda, adre wasuli kacis nekrol ogSi ki aseTi sityebi ewera: `qarTveli eTnografTa rigებს gamoakl da TavmdablobiT, maRal i zneobita da kul turit gamorCeuli samagal iTo pirovneba, sauketeso meoj axe, WeSmariti mamul i Svili da mkvlevari- (v. iToni Svili, macne, istoriis seria, #2, Tb. 1980, gv. 214). diax, aseTi iyo givi j avaxi Svili, mecneri da pirovneba, romel sac kargad icnobden araxol od sabWota kavSiris samecni-ero wreebSi, aramed mis farglebs gareTac. misgan yovel Tvis gansakuTrebul yuradRebas grZnobden, rogorc ojaxis wevrebida axlobebi, megobrebi, aseve kol egebi _ TanamSromlebi, nebsmieri adamiani visTanacki mas urTierToba hqonda.

sul mudam dakavebul, saqmit datvirTul mkvlevars arasodes ar dauSurebia konsultaciebi gaewia axal gazrda, damwyebi mecnierebisTvis, aspirantebisa da disertantebisaTvis, gansakuTrebit kavkasiis regionebidan Camosul ebs. bunebit usazRvrod ketils, araCveul ebrivi TanagrZnoba da Tanadgoma SeeZlo.

sada da ubral o iyo givi j avaxiSvil is piradi cxovrebac. daibada 1931 wl is 30 seqtembers Tbil is-Si, intel igentis oj axSi. mama _ nikol oz j avaxiSvil i special obiT eqimi-radiol ogi, cofis sawinaaR-mdego vaqcinis gamoyenebaze muSaobda, deda _ l uba Ciqobava cnobil i hematol ogi, `rezus uaryofiTis faqtoris- pirvel i mkvl evari saqarTvel oSi.

Tbil isis pirvel saSual o skol is damTavrebis Semdeg (1949) givim swavl a Tbil isis saxel mwifo universitetis istoriis fakul tetze ganagrZo; universitetis Semdeg ki rogorc niWieri axal gazrda saqarTvel os mecnierebaTa akademiis iv. j avaxiSvil is saxel obis istoriis, arqeol ogiisa da eTnografiis institutis aspiranturaSi Cairicxa eTnografis special obiT. bedma gaumarTl a da misi maswavl ebl ebis prof. v. bardavel iZisa da akad. g. Citaias gverdiT mouxda muSaoba. am institutSi daiCva man sakandidato da sadoqtoro disertaciebi. givi j avaxiSvil i saukeTeso savel e muSaki iyo. monawil e im didi xal-xmraval i l egendarul i eqspediciebisa, romel ic im xanad, 50-60-ian wl ebSi aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os mTianeTis mosaxl eobis yofasa da kul turas swavl obda. aq iyvnen misi maswavl ebl ebi da qarTvel eTnografTa pirvel i da meore Taobis warmomadgenl ebi. im kol egaTa Soris, roml ebiC givistan erTad muSaobdnen dRes bevri maTgani cocxal i aRar aris, magram maTvinc arian, arasodes daaviwydebaT givi j avaxiSvil is Tavdadebul i Rvawl i, misi uangaroba da SemarTeba, organizaciul i muSaobis gamorCeul i unari.

givi j avaxiSvil is samecniero interesebis sfero Tavdapirvel ad, qarTvel i xal xis tradiciul i da Tanamedrove saoj axo da sazogadoebrivi yofis probl emebisadmi iyo mimarTul i. am Temas miuZRvna sakan didato naSromic: `tyibul is meSaxteTa yofa da kul-tura~, romel ic monografiis saxiT gamoica. mogviane bit am Temis gafarToebul i varianti, rusul enazec dai beWda (Быт и культура горняков Грузии, Тб., 1980). maSin

es probl ema (axal i yofa, tradicia da Tanamedroveo-
 ba) Zal zed aqtual uri gaxl daT, radgan industria-
 l izaciisa da axal i cxovrebis aRmavl obis periodSi
 gamovl enil i da win wamoweul i unda yofil iyo gl ex-
 Ta da muSaTa kl asis (mSromel i xal xis) social uri
 saxe, maT cxovrebaSi momxdari social ur-ekonomiku-
 ri cvl il ebebi. givi j avaxiSvil ma am amocanas Cinebul
 ad gaarTva Tavi da miuxedavad garkveul i `oficial
 uri-, tendenciuri moTxovnil ebisa, man gverdi aua-
 ra e. w. `Sabl onur sqemebs- da WeSmariti eTnografis
 Tval iT dainaxa obieqturi sinamdvil e: aRwera da
 mecnierul ad Seafasa okribis mosaxl eobis (ZiriTa-
 dad maRaroel Ta) yofiTi kul turis Taviseburebani,
 mocemul geografiul garemoSi Camoyal ibebul i meur-
 neobis tradiciul i formebi, saSovarze gasul i gl ex-
 xi kakis saqmianobis specifikuri niSnebi, am regionSi
 mrewvel obis ganviTarebis Sesabamisad Seqmnil i e. w.
 `muSa-gl exis- kategoria, meSaxteTa yofa-cxovrebi-
 saTvis damaxasiaTebel i sirTul eebi, misi saoj axo da
 sazogadoebrivi aspeqtobi. is cvl il ebebi, rac am mi-
 marTebiT eTnografiul ma sinamdvil em ganicada aR-
 niSnul periodSi, XIX saukunis meore da XX sauku-
 nis pirvel naxevarSi.

naSromma didi interesi gamoiwvia rogorc speci-
 al istebis, ise farTo sazogadoebriv wreebSi da re-
 cenzentTa dadebiTi Sefasebac daimsaxura (macne, is-
 toriis seria, #1, 1972, gv. 164-168).

pirvel i monografiis Semdeg givi j avaxiSvil ma
 ufro gafarToebul i da mraval waxnagovani probl eme-
 bis kvl eva daiwyo. rus kol egasTan n. vol kovasTan
 erTad Seqmna uaRresad saintereso ganzogadebul i
 xasiaTis naSromi: `Бытовая культура Грузии XIX-XX веков,
 Традиция и инновация- (М., Наука, 1982), romel mac avto-
 rebs sayovel Tao aRiareba moutana. es iyo pirvel i
 cda qarTul i xal xuri yofiTi kul turis axl eburi,
 kul turol ogiuri meTodiT Sesrul ebul i gamokvl e-
 visa, roml is mniSvnel obac aSkarad scil deba rome-

I lime cal ke aRebul i eTnol ogiuri probl emis ret-rospeqtiul Seswavl as da erT mTI ian sistemaSi aq-cevs `sicocxl iT uzrunvel yofis kul turis- Ziri-Tad komponentebs. maTi segmentebi: meurneoba, materia- l uri kul tura, kvebis sistema, tansacmel i da sxv. a. kl einis, s. aruTinovis, i. mikiirtumianis da sxvaTa mier SemoTavazebul i, sazRvargareT karga xnis win aprobi- rebul i sistemebi da komponenturi struqtural isturi kvl evis meTodi. avtorebma _ n. vol kovam da g. j avaxiS- vil ma (garkveul i SesworebebiT qarTul sinamdvil esac miuyenes da Sedegic uaRresad saintereso aRmoCnda. dRes es wigni aris rusul enaze daweril i qarTul i yofiTi kul turis ganzogadebul i kvl evis erTaderTi naSromi, romel sac gverds ver aavl is am TematikiT dainteresebul i verc erTi mkvl evari.

1981 wl idan givi j avaxiSvil i intensiurad muSaob- da eTnikuri procesebis Seswavl aze saqarTvel oSi. es Temac garkveul siaxl es warmoadgenda da praqtikul ad mraval i sirTul eebis daZl evasTan iyo dakavSirebul i. mkvl evars unda daedgina pol ieTnikur anu interkul - turul garemoSi momxdari, rogorc Sida migraciebis Sedegebi, aseve eTnosTa urTierTobebSi gamovl enil i social uri da kul turul i integraciis procesebi, ma- Ti dadebiTi da uaryofiTi mxareebiT, yofis wmind a sa- meurneo, social ur-ekonomikuri, kul turul i da rel i- giuri aspeqtebi, erovnul i TviTSegnebis, identobis da mental obis Taviseburebebi. samwuxarod mas ar dascal - da am didi samuSaos bol omde miyvana.

givi j avaxiSvil is samecniero moRvaweoba marto misi naSromebiT ar Semoifargl eba. garda imisa, rom is eweoda nayofier kabinetur muSaobas, iyo gamorCeul i savel e muSaki. mraval i eqspediciis monawil e, xel - mZRvanel i da organizatori. am mxriv gansakuTrebiT unda aRiniSnos misi Rvawl i gasul i saukunis 60-80-ian wl ebSi aRmosavl eT saqarTvel os mTianeTis eqspedici- ebSi, sadac is v. bardavel iZis xel mZRvanel obiT qar- Tul i xal xuri sakul to Zegl ebis Sesaxeb masal ebs

krebda. da Tu dRes am Zegl ebis ori tomi gamocemu-
l ia, masSi batoni givis wvl il ic aris Cadebul i.

minda siamovnebiT gavixseno kaxeTis 1981-1987
wl ebis eqspediciebi, romel Siac mec vmonawil eobdi.
maSin axal gazrda damwyebi mecniere-TanamSromel i vi-
yavi da savel e praqtikas baton giviSTan da q-n Tina
oCiaurTan erTad gavdiodi. ar damaviwydeba maTi
mzrunvel oba, uSual oba da Tavmdabl oba, taqti. givi
agvarebda saorganizacio sakiTxebs, adgenda marSru-
tebs, mTxrobel Ta siebs da a. S. saocari iyo givis
ubral oeba da Tavazianoba.

gansakuTrebul aRnivSnas saWiroebs misi monawi-
l eoba saerTaSoriso konferenciebsa da simpoziumebSi
saqarTvel osa da mis fargl ebs gareT, sadac is Rir-
seul ad warmoaCenda qarTul eTnol ogiur skol as.

givi j avaxiSvil s rogorc mecniere da moqal a-
qes, araerTi warmatebul i momenti hqonia mis cxovre-
baSi, magram amas yovel Tvis zomierad da moridebiT
Rebul obda. ar iyo `kvercxis naWuWSi~ Caketil i
mkvl evari da arasodes uTqvams `me aRmovalCine~, `pir-
vel ma mivakvl ie~ da a. S., rac dRes zogierTisTvis
karg tonad iTvl eba.

givi ori monografiisa da 30-mde statiis avtori
iyo, da ar SeeZl o imaze metis gakeTeba. rasac akeTeb-
da, akeTebda mTel i seriozul obiT gansxvavebiT dRe-
vandel i sinamdvil isa, roca raodenobrivi faqtori
aSkarad Warbobs xarixobrivs.

givi j avaxiSvil is cxovrebis didma gzam istori-
isa da eTnol ogiis kedl ebSi gaiara. amdenad, is am
samecniere-kvl eviTi centris organul nawil s warmo-
adgenda. bevri ram darCa dausrul ebel i, gamosacemi
da dasabeWdi, foto-arqivi da sxv. mas darCa SesaniS-
navi oj axi, meuRI e _ eTnol ogi madona xazaraZe da
ori qal iSvil i, fsiqol ogi nino da istorikosi _ ma-
nana j avaxiSvil ebi, roml ebic warmatebul i mecniere-
bi arian.

megobris xsovna _ el ver kupataZe



moul odnel ad gardaicval a istoriis mecnierebaTa doqtori, profesori **el ver serghos Ze kupataZe** _ Rirseul i mecnieri, gamorCeul i pirovneba, moqal aqe.

zestafonis raionis sofel sazanoSi daibada el ver kupataZe da aqe daamTavra saSual o skola. saval debul o samxedro sam saxuri germaniis demokratiul respubl ikaSi moixada. samSobl oSi dabrunebis Semdeg swavl a Tbil isis saxel mwifo universitetis istoriis fakul tetze gaagrZel a. studentobis droidanve iCenda did interest mecnierul i muSaobisadmi, rac SeumCnevel i ar darCa mis l eqtors, Tval saCino qarTvel istorikoss, prof. uSangi sidamonizes, romel mac, universitetis dasrul ebis Semdeg, gauwia rekomendacia iv. j avaxiSvil is sax. istoriis, arqeol ogiisa da eTnol ogiis institutis xel mZRvanel obis winaSe, rom axal gazrdas samecniero moRvaweoba am mdidari tradiciebiT cnobil samecniero dawesebul ebaSi gaegrZel ebina.

mcire xniT j er istoriis Zegl Ta nusxis ganyofil ebaSi muSaobda el veri, magram misi SemoqmedebiTi saqmianoba ZiriTadad institutis msofi io omebisa da saqarTvel os teritoriul i mTlianobisaTvis brZol is istoriis ganyofil ebaSi gaiSal a. el ver kupataZis mTavari sakvl evi Tematika iyo sabWoTa kavSiris did samamul o omSi saqarTvel os monawil eobis sakiTxi. pirvel i seriozul i gamokvl eva man swored omis pirvel wl ebSi frontispira zonidan saqarTvel oSi evakuirebul i samrewvel o sawarmoebis, kul turul -kvl eviTi dawesebul ebebisa da mosaxl eobis miReba-ganTavsebis sakiTxebs miuZRvna _ es imis sakandidato disertaciis Tema gaxda.

SemdgomSi misi samecniero-kvl eviT i muSaobis erT-erTi mTavari sakiTxi gaxda omSi monawil e saqarTvel os mebrZol ebis sagmiro saqmeebis fiqsacia, germaniis vermaxtis diviziebis winaarmddeg kavkasionze mimdinare qarTuli erovnul i diviziebis sabrZol o moqmedebebis istoriis kvl eva, ris safuZvel zec Seiqmna misi ganmazogadebeli naSromi _ XX saukunis 20-50-ian wl ebSi saqarTvel os erovnul i samxedro SenaerTebis istoriis Sesaxeb.

el ver kupataZis mier samamul o omis Tematiki-sadmi miZRvnil naSromebSi urTul esi sakiTxebi amowuravad da skrupul ozurad aris Seswavl il i da gamokvl eul i. ase magal iTad, saqarTvel os erovnul i diviziebis moRvaweobis amsaxvel mis naSroms, romel - sac aqtual oba arasdros moakl deba, Znel ia momaval - ma mkvl evarma raime daumatos, imdenad Rrmaa da yovel mxriv aris es probl ema Seswavl il i

didi, Sromatevadi samuSao gaswia el ver kupataZem, Tavis kol egebtan erTad, germania-sabwoTa kavSiris omSi saqarTvel os wargzavnil i 700 aTas meomarTa Soris daRupul Ta da ugzoukvl od dakargul Ta raodenobisa da erovnul i Semadgenl obis dasazustebl ad. amis Sedegad gasworda cdomil eba, rac SeimCneoda qarTul historiografiaSi da dadginda omSi daRupul Ta raodenobis maqsimal urad obieqturi cifri.

el ver kupataZe gansakuTrebul yuradRebas uTmobda am uprecedento sisxl ismRvrel omSi Cveni saxel ovan i mxedarTufrosebis samxedro damsaxurebis warmocenas. man gamoaqveyna sainteresო monografiebi generl ebis: vl adimer naneiSvil is, porfil e CanCibaZis da vl adimer j anj Ravas cxovrebi sa da moRvaweobis Sesaxeb.

unda isic aRiniSnos, rom el ver kupataZis naSromebis aqvT didi wyaroTmcodneobiTi mniSvel obac, radgan maTSi damowmebul i wyaroebis nawil i SesaZl oa dRes aRarc ki arsebobdes. omSi monawil e qarTvel ebis gvar-saxel ebis gamosavl enad el veri TveobiT muSaobda moskovis (podol skis), aseve stal ingradis, qerCis, mnskisa da sxva qal aqebis arqivebsa da memorial ur muzeუმebSi.

el ver kupataZe wl ebis ganmavl obaSi eweoda pedagogiur muSaobas Tbil isis umaRI es saswavl ebl eb-Si. gansakuTrebiT aRsaniSnavia misi saqmianoba Tavdacvis samxedro akademiaSi, sadac is patriotul i sul iskveTebiT zrdida qarTul i armiis oficrebs.

aRsaniSnavia, prof. el ver kupataZis damsaxureba istorikosTa axal i Taobis aRzrdis saqmeSic. is udidesi pasuxismgebl obiT eweoda disertaciebis xel mZRvanel obas da mecnierebis simaRI eebisaken ara erT axal gazrdas gaukvl ia gza.

el ver kupataZem warmatebebs miaRwia samxedro asparezzec da SeuerTda qarTvel i generl ebis kohortas. aseTi warmatebis safuZvel i iyo mistvis mudam damaxasiaTebel i didi Sromismoyvareoba, maRal i pasuxismgebl oba da ubadl o saSemsrul ebl o discipl ina.

el ver kupataZes gamoarCevda megobrobis gansakuTrebul i grZnoba. ara erT l okal ur omSi monawil es, kargad hqonda gasigrZeganebul i megobris mxardaWera, Tanadgoma da TviTonac mudam uSurvel ad iRebda megobrisaTvis rac ki SeeZl o _ codnas, erTgul ebas, adamanur siTbos.

el ver kupataZem didi amagi dasdo saqarTvel os veteranTa sazogadoebas _ igi iyo veteranTa respubl ikuri sabWos Tavmj domare, qveynis winaSe maTi damsaxurebis WeSmariti damfasebel i da maTi sayofacxovrebo probl emebis erTgul i gul Sematkivari. aki Tavisi sicocxl is bol o dRe man swored maTze zrunvas Seswira.

el vers gamoarCevda mzrunvel i da siyvarul iT gamTbari damokidebul eba oj axis, naTesavebis, axl obl ebis mimarT. swored amitom daimsaxura man iseTi usazRvro siyvarul i yvel aSi, vinc mas icnobda, TanamSroml obda da masTan erTad ibrzoda. samwuxarod, mas kidev bevri Canafiqri darCa ganuxorciel ebel i, Tumcari si gakeTebac moaswro, amit Rirseul ad moixada Tavisi val i oj axisa, megobrebis da samSobl os winaSe.

prof. mayval a naTmel aZe

mzes mi fi cxebul i Taoba
(eZRvneba gogi fuTurizes)

*vinc kargad emsaxura samSobl o qveyanas,
igi udi d-gvar o Tac di dia...
il ia*



2012 wl is 25 Teberval s gamoCenil mecniers, pedagogsa da uspetakes adamians giorgi _ **gogi fuTurizes** 90 wel i Seusrul deboda.

giorgi fuTurize daibada gamoCenil i qarTvel i mecnierisa da qarTul i iranistikis erT-er-Ti fuZemdebl is, profesor **vl adimer fuTurizis** oj axSi. swavl obda Tbil isis 23-e saSual o skol aSi, roml is damTavrebis Semdeg Sevida Tbil isis saxel - mwifo universitetis fil ol ogi is fakul tetze, sadac misi maswavl ebl ebi iyvnen **akaki SaniZe**, **kornel i kekel iZe**, **giorgi axvl e-**

diani, **varl am Tofuria**, **al eqsandre baramiZe** da sxv.

giorgi omis dawyebisTanave frontze gaiwies da 1946 wl amde samxedro samsaxurSi iyo. dabrunebis Semdeg swavl a ganagrZo axal gaxsnil i aRmosavl eT-mcodneobis fakul tetis Turqol ogiis ganyofil ebaZe. 1949 wel s Sevida aspiranturaSi da muSaobda cnobil i oriental istis **val erian gabaSvil is** xel mZRvanel obiT. 1954 wel s daiCva sakandidato disertacia Temaze: "koCibeI gorij el is risal e" rogorc saitorio wyaro", xol o 1973 wel s sadoqtoro disertacia Temaze: "evl ia Cel ebis mogzaurobis wigni".

giorgi fuTurize warmatebiT ikvl evda Turqetis social ur-ekonomikuri da politikuri istoriis,

Turqet _ saqarTvel os urTierTobis sakiTxebis. igi mraval i samecniero naSromis avtoria. gansakuTrebul i aRniSvis Rirsia batoni giorgis Rvawl i Suasaukuneebis cnobil i Turqi istorikosisa da mogzauris evl ia Cel ebis Txzul ebis Seswavl is saqmeSi. man Targmna da komentarebiT gamosca es naSromi, romel ic uZvirfasesi pirvel wyaroa saqarTvel os, kavkasiis, iranisa da mcire aziis istoriisaTvis (gamoica or tomad qarTul enaze Tbil isSi, rusul enaze moskovSi).

1962-1981 wl ebSi giorgi fuTuriZe aRmosavl eTmcodneobis fakul tetis dekani iyo. universitetSi misi l eqciebi gamoirCeoda sakiTxis gaSuqebis siRmiT, Txrobis sada da intel igenturi maneriT.

giorgi fuTuriZe gardaicval a 1998 wel s.

aRmosavl eTmcodne devi kacitaZe ase afasebda uaxl oes megobars: "gogi fuTuriZe aris zedmiwevniT ganaTl ebul i, daxvevil i intel igenti, axal gazrdobis gul isxmieri aRmzrdel i, saocrad Tavmdabal i, keTil i, gaWirvebul isaTvis xel is gammarTavi, amave dros, principul i pirovneba. mistvis arc msubuqi iu-moria ucxo".

am sityvebs **gogi fuTuriZis** yvel a studenti Seu-erTdeba.

baton gogisTan me studentobis, kerZod XX s-is 60-iani wl ebi makavSirebda, Sesabamisad mosagonebel ic maqvs da minda Tqvenc gagiziaroT.

* * *

XX s-is 60-ian wl ebSi grZel Tmiani biWebi, j insebi, sandl ebi fexze da sixarul iT aRsavse utifari Rimiliani Taoba j er kidev amerikaSi yal ibdeboda da Cvengan sakmaod Sors iyo. arc "maRal i teqno-ogiebi" _ cnobierebis gafarToeba, axal i saswaul i - narkotiki, disidenturi protestebi, rokvarskvl avebi iyo didad cnobil i CvenTvis, magram dasavl eTis nia-vi nel -nel a Zal as ikrefda da sul mal e aboboqrebul qarixl ad SemoiWra Cvens cxovrebaSi.

60-ianel i axial gazrdobis stil i iyo cota hipuri, cota TavSekavebul i, cota gapranWul i. igi marwuxebSi SeboWil i, iTavisufl ebda Tavs mkacri, sl ikina, amazrzeni borkil ebisgan, romel sac wina Taoba morCil ad atarebda 1937-is da 1945-is Semdeg, radgan qanqawvyetil i, daRI il i, SiSsa da ubedurebaSi CaZirul i Tavs ver aRwevda im rutinas, rasac j er komunizmis, Semdeg social izmis, Semdeg ki ganviTarebul i social izmis mSenebl oba erqva.

movi da xruSCovi. dagvpirda, komunizmis dros kargad icxovrebtO. daiwyo "ottepel i",Uim drois utkbi l esi periodi, gansakuTrebiT studentebisTvis. "gal - Roba" igrZnoboda ara mar to pol itikaSi, aramed Cvens gul ebSic, Tumca komunizmi sa aravis sjeroda, da ra Tqma unda, arc xruSCovis. Cveni imedebi iseTive iyo, rogorc "xruSCovkebi" - droebiT aSenebul i saxl ebi, magram xal xi masSi samwuxarod dResac cxovrobs.

17-18 wl isans ukve gviyal ibdeboda sul sxva azrovneba, sul sxva cnobiereba. icvl eboda Sexedul eba val debul ebebze, seqsze, konformizmze ...

iyvnen "komsomol ebi", roml ebic "cel inaze" miemgzavrebodnen, "bams" aSenebdnen da msgavs raRaceebs ...

iyo amaSi raRac romantiul i, saxal iso, mastimul irebel ic ki ...

miuxedavad imisa, rom berlinis kedeli 1961 wels aRmarTes, ssrk-s sazRvris kedl ebi odnav gaixsna da aqa-iq, nacrisfer RriWeebSi, rogorc iqna, nel _ Tbil ma mzis sxivma SemoaRwia.

mzis sxivma Cemi cxovrebidan erTi epizodi momagona, magram es sul sxva sxivi iyo, namdvil i, Tbil i da tkbil i.

adre gazafxulis erT mSvenier dRes, codnis tazris TeTr kedl ebSi zari awkrial da. civi auditoriebidan studentTa masam ifeTqa da saswrafod gareT miaSura. mec, Cem j gufel ebTan erTad, mzis sxivebisaken daviZari. ara, mze arafer SuaSi iyo, Cven sxva korpusSi unda mogveswro gadasvl a. universitetis II

korpusis win uamravi xal xi ireoda. zogs moeswro da iqve, bordiurebze Camomsxdariyvnen. sxvaTaSorris, me da Cemi ganuyrel i megobrebic (sul oTxni) maT Sorris viyaviT. didi miRweva iyo mzes mificxeba sul raRac xuTwuTian Sesvenebaze, da Tanac tranzitiT.

oh, ra kargi iyo is wamebi. saxe mzisken mqonda miSveril i da vgrZnobdi, rogor meRvreboda siTbo mTel sxeul Si. saocaria, magram am siamovnebas arafe-ri Seedreba. al baT imitom, rom Cven, yvel ani, mzis Svil ebi varT. modi axl a da gamamtyuneT _ ase iol ad ver Seel eva adami ani mziT miRebul siamtkbil obas.

sul randenime wuTSi ukve universitetis garindebul VI korpusSi viyaviT. aq zari ukve darekil iyo da l eqciac dawyebul iyo.

vai Cven dRes. es ra dagymarTa mzeze nebivrobam?! yvel aze sayvarel i l eqtoris l eqciaze davigvianeT. l eqtors hqonda dagviane bis ufl eba, radganac, rogorc Sal va nucubiZem Tqva, "l eqcia iwye boda maSin, rodesac l eqtori Sedioda auditoriaSi", da ara maSin, rodesac dagviane bul i studenti Sevidoda l eqciaze.

ukan ver davbrundebodiT.

es saerTo l eqcia ar iyo.

aq, auditoriaSi, sul 7 kaci ij da, da gacdena umizezod gamoricxul i iyo.

saSinl ad gavmwardi, raRa am l eqciaze momivida aseTi ram. yvel aze simpaTiuri l eqtori – **gogi fu-Turize** gvikiTxavda Turqetis istorias. ara, gul i imitom ki ar damwyda Cems saqciel ze, rom Turqetis istoriis raime detal s gamovtovebdi, aramed imitom, rom am adamianTan aseTi moqceva gaumarTI ebel i iyo.

unda Sev sul iyaviT. sxva ra gza gvqonda, miT umetes, rogorc Semdeg gavige, movukiTxivarT da Cvens jgufel ebs (sul samni eswrebodnen, oTxni gareT viyaviT) situaciidan gamoyvanis mizniT uTqvamT, dRes ar mosul ano. pasuxad mi iRes: ras hqvia ar mosul an, 5 wuTis win vnaxe, mzes efi cxebodheno.

dRevandel i gadasaxedidan TiTqos iseTi arafe-
ri momxdara, magram maSin! ..., rom momkvdariyaviT, is
gverCia.

ase viyaviT aRzrdil ebi _ wesrigi yvel gan da
yvel aferSi.

es SegrZneba, ra Tqma unda, mTI ianad Tu ara, na-
wil obriv mainc SiSs efuZneboda.

SiSi yvel gan da yvel aferSi.

miT umetes, Cveni wina Taoba, gawamebul i, omga-
movl il i, 37-iani wl ebis momswre da msxverpl i. es ax-
l aa gasaxsenebl ad advil i, Torem stal inis periodi
ukoSmares sizmarsac ki moganatrebda. ase iyo, Tu
ise, xal xi cxovrobda, sicocxl e met-nakl ebad
grZel deboda. daxvretil ebi, gadasaxl ebul ebi, omSi
daRupul ebi da omgamovl il ebi. ai, amaTi Svil ebi vi-
yaviT Cven, 60-iani wl ebis axal gazrdebi, romel sac
dRes, swored amis gamo pativs aRar gvcepen, imitom
rom, gavbedeT da cocxl ebi davrciT, ar davi-xoceT.
da radgan ar davixoceT, TiTqos wiTel i varskvl avi
SuqurasaviT gvinaTebda im avbediT wl ebSi. aki mogvi-
anebiT wiTel i intel igenciac ki Segvarqves.

saintereso, Tavad eseni Cveni Svil ebi da Svi-
l iSvil ebi ar arian?!..

netavi amaT, rom hgoniaT, TiTqos sxva comisgan
arian mozel il ebi. rogor iqnebian, rodesac fqvil i-
ca da wyal ic Cven, Cvenive maragidan gamoviyeneT. ra
Tqma unda, esenic CveniT Seqmnil ni da gamomcxvarni
arian, magram rogorc yovel Tvis, cota sxvanairi, co-
ta Secvl il i.

ase viyaviT Cvenc, Cveni Taoba _ cota sxvanairi,
cota Secvl il i, vidre batoni gogi da sxva Cveni mas-
wavl ebl ebi.

magram, ra Tqma unda, aris etapi, rodesac xdeba ra-
Rac, axal i Zl ieri naxtomi. asea axl a, ase iyo maSinac.

ar SemeSindeba da vityvi, rom Il msofl io omis
Semdgomi bavSvebi real urad arc industrial izacias
viRebdiT da arc depresiis epoqas.

bob dil ani Sors iyo Cvengan, magram misi l o-
zungi «За лидерами лучше не ходите _ за счетчиками на
стояночках следите...» mi saRebi xdeboda CvenTvis.

60-iani wl ebi TiTqos iyo ufro uSfoTvel i, up-
robl emo, magram es moCveneBiTi fasadi iyo. Zi ier
sabWoTa saxel mwifos didi gegmebi hqonda, romel sac
saiduml od inaxavda da romel ic sul mal e kosmosSi
jer Tanamgzvris, Semdeg sul ieri arsebis "l aikasa"
da bol os adamianis gafreniT gamoixata. magram Cven
maSin es ar gvaRel vebda. al baT imitom, rom yovel ive
amas sakuTar miRwevad ar vTvl idiT, da vgrZnobdiT,
rom es Cven ar gvexeboda.

saerTod, sabWoTa periodSi saocari SegrZneba
gvqonda Camoyal ibebul i. Cven vcxovrobdiT iq da, ama-
ve dros, ar vcxovrobdiT, anu ar viTavisebdiT sab-
WoTa avtoritarul propagandas. Cvens Taobas gver-
diT Cauara am propagandam da amitom ar arsebodbden
ideuri komunistebi, komkavSiri ebi da pionerebic.
yvel am kargad icoda, rom komunistur partiaSi sa-
val debul o iyo Sesvl a maSin, Tu rame Tanamdeboba
gekava. magal iTad, kvl eviT institutis, an qarxnis
direqtori Tu iyavi. magram iyvnen iseTebi, vinc par-
tias karierisTvis, da Sesabamisad, kargi cxovrebi-
Tvis iyenebdnen. maSin ase vfiqrobdi, rom es ukanas-
knel i ufro meti mavnebel i iyo, vidre ideuri komu-
nisti Tavisi mrwamsiT.

magram iyvnen adamianebi, romel nic komunistur
partiaSi gawevrianebas ideol ogiis gareSe axerxeb-
dnen. aki vaxsene aucil ebl oba amisa. me amas arc kon-
formizms da arc ideol ogias ar vukavSireb. es iyo
is aucil ebl oba, rac sabWoTa periodSi garkveul
"gadarCenis strategias" ukavSirdeboda. ara, es stra-
tegia ukve ar iyo mimarTul i adamianebis da pirovne-
bebis gadasarCenad, aramed emsxureboda dargis, mec-
nierul i kvl evisa, da mraval i sxva ramis dacvas.

minda aRvniSno isic, rom bevri am partiaSi verc Sedioda, da bevri arc Sedioda, da saTanadod verc rame saWiro saqmes agvarebda.

ras izam asec xdeba, Tavs icav ise v im iara RiT, rac Sens winaaRmdeg aris momarTul i.

hoda, ase iyo namdvil ad.

iyvnen iseTi adamienebi, rol ebic komunisturi ideol ogiis gareSec bevr sasikeTo saqmes akeTebdnen, Tumca komunistur partiaSi iricxebodnen. aseTTa ricxvs miekuTvneboda swored **gogi fuTurizec**.

* * *

rodesac or axal gacnobil adamians saerTo nacnobi, an megobari, an naTesavi aRmoaCndebaT, ase ityvian: ra pataraa es saqarTvel o!

marTI ac asea.

rodesac sul pataras bebia zRaprebs miyveboda da maragi amoewureboda, real ur amebbs iSvel iebda da mraval rames ixsenebda sakuTari cxovrebidan.

mraval i wl is Semdeg universitetidan saxl Si dabrunebul s, cnobismoyvare ol inka bebia mekiTxebeda, Tu vin myavda l eqtori (TviTonac es universiteti hqonda damTavrebul i), ama Tu im discipl inaSi. yovel - Tvis sakmaod srul yofil ad daaxasiaTebda xol me TiToeul maTgans da, rac mTavaria, arc garegnobis Strixebi gamorCeboda.

rodesac batoni gogi auditoriaSi Semovida pirvel ad da gagvecno, im wamsve ol inkas "zRapari" gamaxsenda. 1924 wl is 29 agvistos, ganTiadze, saqarTveli oSi saprotesto gamosvl ebi, anu aj anyeba unda dawyebul iyo. centri Tbil isi unda yofil iyo. aj anyeba mTel s saqarTvel os moedo, magram wiTel ma armiam igi CaaxSo. am aj anyebas saqarTvel os damoukidebl o ba unda aRedgina.

da swored im dRes gimnaziis maswavl ebel ma **vl adimer fuTurizem Tavisi mowafeebi** saprotesto aqciaze miyvana. maT Soris Cemi bebiac iyo. gasaoca-

ria, magram SeiZl eba iTqvas, rom Cemi oj axis yvel a Taoba, Cemi CaTvl iT, periodul adDidga erTsa da imave moedanze damoukidebl obis moTxovniT. ras izam, aseTi yofil a saqarTvel os bedi.

es monaTxrobi, Cems bavSvobaSi zRaprad aRqmuli, gamaxsenda im wamsve, rodesac batoni gogi gavicani. ar gamiWirda imis mixvedrac, rom igi swored vl adimeris Svil i iyo. vl adimeri xom sparsul is special isti iyo da Turqol ogi gogi mxol od Svil i SeiZl eboda yofil iyo misi.

da ai, amis mere, midi da mowiwebiT nu moeqcevi am adamians.

im wams, rodesac garindebul auditoriaSi Sevedi, ra Tqma unda, sul ar vfiqrobdi saqarTvel os bed _ iRbal ze, an mis istoriaze. me maSin ufro metad Turqetis istoria maRel vebda, imitom, rom maSin Cemi moval eoba im l eqciis mosmena iyo.

bodiSi movixadeT. batonma gogim dagvianebul ebs da mzeze gaficxebul ebs merxebze migviTiTa da marjvniv fanj risken gaixeda, raTa daefara Rimil i, romelic, al baT, mas saxeze gamoexata.

ai, aseTi rbil i simkacre hqonda am adamians. Tan, ra Tqma unda, iumoric iyo Separul i mis imwamier "gabrazebaSi".

aba iumori, rom ar hqonoda, studentis SekiTxvas "pativcemul o, Cingiz yaeni baTu yaenis col i iyo? amgvar pasuxs _ "ara deda", _ rogor Seagebebd. misi moswrebul i pasuxi swrafad gavrcel da. ara mxol od es, amgvari sxvac bevri SeiZl eba gaixsenos kacma.

* * *

iumori iqiT iyos da aki berl inis kedel i vaxsene. ityviT, es raRa SuaSiao, magram ara, yvel afers hqonda urTierTkavSiri im epoqaSi. batoni gogi omgammovl il i l eqtori iyo. is bevrad ufro TavSekavebuli, gawonasworebul i da seriozul i adamani iyo, vidre sxva Cveni sayvarel i maswavl ebel i. sxvebTan

Tavs ufro Tavisufl ad vgrZnobdiT, ufro mets vesa-ubrebodiT, axal gazrdebTan vmegobrobdiT kidec. magram batoni gogi sxvaTagan gamoirCeoda _ misi si-sadave, Cvens mimarT mZrunvel i damokidebul eba mas-Tan uaRresad axl o, magram mokrZal ebul urTierTo-bas ganapi robebda.

im xanad SeiZl eba iTqvas ori "ena" arsebobda. ra Tqma unda ofociozis ena sxva iyo ceka-teka-par-tiul -komkavSirul i. amgvars mxol od maTsave nawereb-Si, presaSi naxavdiT. Cven erTmaneTSi sal aparakod, da ara mxol od Cven, sxvagvar l eqsikas viyenebdiT.

Tu baton gogis oficial urad miul ocavdnen fa-Sizmze sabWoTa kavSiris gamarjvebas, miswerdnen, rom: "gmirma sabWoTa xal xma, komunisturi partiis xel mZRvanel obiT brwyinval e gamarjveba moipova di-di samamul o omSi, gaanadgura faSisturi germania da monobisagan ixсна kacobrioba."

an kidev:

"omis mZime wl ebSi roca faSisturi urdoebi sikvdil s Tesavdnen Cvens miwa-wyal ze, roca mil iono-biT udanaSaul o adamiani iJl iteboda sakoncentra-cio banakebSi, roca Cveni xal xi aRdga didi oqtom-bris, social isturi samSobl os dasacavad, Tqven ia-raRiT xel Si TavganwirviT ibrZodiT."

miswerdnen, rom...

da kidev bevr rames miswerdnen.

da bol os aucil ebl ad iqneboda fraza:

"gaumarj os yvel a Cveni gamarjvebis sul isCam-dgmel sa da organizators sabWoTa kavSiris komunis-tur partias!

dideba komunizmis mSenebel sabWoTa xal xs!

gaumarj os mSvidobas mTel s msofl ioSi!"

ai ase miswerdnen da faSizmze gamarjvebis mo-rig TariRs miul ocavdnen.

ai es iyo oficiozis l eqsika, romel sac Cven ar viyenebdiT. Tumca iyo xal xi, romel ic ase l aparakob-da, magal iTad aseTi gvyavda partistoriis l eqtori.

saintereso swored isaa, rom es yvel aferi marTI a iyo, magram aseTi paTeTika ar amSvenebda am situacias.

batoni gogis momxibl el obac swored is iyo, rom TviTon am omis monawil e arasdros ase ar gvesaubreboda. igi Tavisi Tavmdabl obiTa da kaTil Sobil ebiT, si-sadaviTa da mokrZal ebiT ipyrobda Cvens gul ebs.

batoni gogi gviyveboda omis Sesaxeb, magram uaRresad TavSekavebul ad da sul ac ar miicnevda Tavs gmirad, Tumca yovel i omgadaxdil i adamiანი gmiri iyo.

batoni gogic werda, magram sul sxvanairad. ai nawyveti megobar _ ira asaTianisadmi miweril i weril idan:

"dRes dro maqvs aramc Tu Cems megobrebze, Cems Tavze vifiqro, aramed weril i mogwero kidec.

aqamde ganuwvetel brZol ebSi viyavi da exl a, SemTxveviT movxvdi bl indaJSi ramdenime saatIT, sadac weras aravin SemiSl is.

mosayol i da gasaziarebel i bevri maqvs da Senc bevri ram dagainteresebda, yvel afris wera, rom SemEZl os ...

oTxi qveyana gaviare, maTgan ori ukanasknel i brZol ebiT. gansakuTrebiT Txoul obda gul i ungreTis mTiani raionebis cqerIT datkbobas, radgan, sadac mTa aris tyiT Sefenil i, CanCqerebiT da patarpatara sofl ebiT, iq yvel gan Cemi saqarTvel o magondeba xol me. avstriaSic mTian raionSi var. samSobl os mogoneba ar mTavrdeba erTi wuTiTac. exl a dedaqal aqisaTvis brZol aSi var da iqneb iqidanac gamomyves rame kargi mogoneba"...

Tu ara **gogi fuTurize**, aba sxva vin dawerda brZol is win aseT weril s. arc erT weril Si, romel ic ki Cems xel T moxvda, brZol ebze araferia naTqvami. mas mxol od samSobl oSi darCenil Ta ambebi ainteresebda da Sewyvetil i swavl is kvl av gagrZel ebaze ocnebobda.

... " me ki ar minda savsebiT Camovcil de Cems yofil saqmianobas, romel Sic Tu araferi gavakeTe, Tu cudad vcdil obdi, miyvarda mainc. me mgonia srul i-

ad advil ad warmoidgen, ramdenad Sors var kol egebisagan Tu ramdenime sityviT mogwer Cems cxovrebase (Tu arafers vityvi masze, rom marTI werac damaviwda da al bad, orTografiul Secdomebs vuSveb).

amj erad ukrainaSi var. did muxnarSi varT dabanakebul i miwurebSi. tyis erT mxares didi sofel i truSki aris gasaocaris uwesrigod gaSenebul i.

me, Cemi ori amxanagi, tyis piras saxl Si vcxovrobT. am saRamos Zvel i weril ebi da suraTebi gadaVaTval iere.

Sens, l il is, gizos, givis da mirianis suraTs Tumca mdinare rabis da dunais tal Rebi Seexen, Seni warwera amovikiTxe: "Zvirfas gogis yofil i da momaval i kol egebisagan".

exl a jibis fanris Suqze vwer am "aRsarebas". erTi Cemi amxanagTagani usazRvrod, saocrad usazRvrod mTvral i wevs da sZinavs.

meore aqedan oTx kil ometrze, sofel Si wavida "gul iankaze". sofl is kl ubSi akordeons daukraven da "val enkebSi", tyavis qurTukSi gamowyobil qal iSvil ebTan ixtunaveben pol kas da krakoviaks.

meore oTaxSi dil idan tiris ori wl is bavSvi, romel ic rusul "feCze" Sesva dedamisma (bavSvi germaniaSia dabadebul i da fermeri gal iaSi amwyvevda kurdRI ebTan, xan goWebTan da qaTmebTano, miTxra erTxel dedamisma) da samuSaod wavida.

ukve winaswar vici, rom cota xnis Semdeg qariz motanil i, mTvral i qal -kacis gamkivi simReris xma damatkbobs.

xval dil iT pirvel i amxanagi SemomCivl ebs: "spil sia ia, spil sia, goSa, daviRupebiT oriveni". meore etyvis seriozul ad: "es araferi, mal e j amagiri gagviormagdeba da maSin naxe, ra kargad gavatarebT dros, es droebiTiao.(!)

dil idan vamacadineb Cemebs. vaforTxeb da vforTxav maTTan erTad Tovl Si, vuyviri erTs, meores. xan TviTon vismen ufrosis SeniSvnebs da "notaci-

ebs", vinme udisciplino qveSevdomis gamo. saRamoobiT vbrundebiT saxl Si da Tavs vimtvrev, riTi Sevavso darCenil i dro.

special urad gavicani maswavl ebel i, rom rame wigni meSova. aRmoCnda, rom bibl ioTekaSi aris ocical i "sakvebi bal axebi msxvil rqosani saqonl isaTvis" da "Sinauri kurdRI ebis mniSvnel oba soft is meurneibaSi" 15 egzempl iari.

guSin erT megobars aRmovuCine turgenevis moTxrobebi. mirCia ar Rirs wasakiTxado(!). guSin ocdaoTxi wel i Semisrul da, Tumca "nedorosl i" var.

ase gadis dro da srul iad ar iqneba uadgil o turgenevis TiTqmis yovel i moTxrobisaTvis damaxasiaTebel i prol ogi rom gadmoviwero swrafad gasul i axal gazrdobis, dakargul i, umiznod daxarj ul i energiis da xel idan gaSvebul i bednierebis Sesaxeb.

* * *

Zal ian minda vicode, ra xdeba universitetSi, rogor mimdinareobs l eqciebi, Tu aris rame axal i Sromebi, raze muSaob axl a Sen an sxvebi".

gogi

* * *

dRes ver vityvi Tu ratom hqonda baton gogis, 24 wl is axal gazrdas, aseTi SegrZneba, magram universitetSi dabrunebul i, darwmunebul i var Tavis energias arc umiznos da arc dakargul s ar uwodebda.

dRes kvl av Cavixede turgenevSi da mraval i ram batoni gogis wyal obiT sxva Tval iT davinaxe.

davinaxe, rom batoni gogi TviT iyo turgenevis nawarmoebTa gmiri. igi daj il dovebul i iyo Tavmdabl obiT, SromismoyvareobiT, sikeTiT, gul isxmirebiT, sidinj iT da ubral oebiT. im TvisebebiT, razec turgenevi wers: "Простота! простота! Тебя зовут святою. Но святость _ не человеческое дело". "Чрезмерная гордость _ вывеска

ничтожной души”. “...Древние греки недаром говорили, что последний и высший дар богов человеку _ чувство меры”.

* * *

mas Semdeg mraval i wel i gavida.

me dResac miyvars mzeze mificxeba da xSirad
maxsendeba studentobis wl ebi.

bevri Cvengani isev mzes eficxeba da ocnebaSi
wasul i Tavis warmosaxviT samyarosi cxovrobs. sam-
yarosi, romel ic gansakuTrebul i garsiTaa SefuTu-
l i da ar surT mis miRma gasvl a. ar surT imitom,
rom iq SesaZl ebel ia iset j oj oxetur oromtrial Si,
romel sac real oba hqvia, moxvde da Tu ara damcavi
garsu, ver gadarCebi. aseTi garsu gvicavda Cven 60-ia-
nel axal gazrdebs komunisturi siyal bisagan. amitom
komunisturi real oba CvennairebisaTvis, mzes mific-
xebul TaTvis, Sors iyo.

viyaviT adgil is gareSe im real obaSi. da mainc
mgonia, rom mzes mificxebul i, al baT, Cems adgil s
veZebdi mzis qveS.

vipove Tu ara, ar vici.

al baT, ufro ara.

amaze me Tavad ar SemiZl ia pasuxis gacema.

vipove Tu ara?! _ amaze pasuxs gascemen mxol od
sxvebi, romel nic afaseben adamians misi sikvdil is
Semdeg.

erTi ki namdvil ad vici:

batono gogi, Tqven namdvil ad ipoveT Tqveni ad-
gil i mzis qveS.

amas mowmobs Tqveni cxovrebi ganvl il i naTel i
gza.

da vfiqrob, rom Cvenc gvexmarebodiT am saqmeSi.

I ia mel iqiSvil i

1965 wl is

Tsu aRmosavl eTmcodneobis
fakul tetis gamoSveba

S i n a a r s i

saqarTvel o-aSS Soris dipl omati uri urTierTobis damyarebis 20 wl isTavisadmi miZRvni li samecniero konferenciis masal ebi

mal xaz macaberiZe

aSS konstituciuri gamocdil eba da saqarTvel os
1921 wl is konstituciis fuZemdebl ebi..... 6

M. MATSABERIDZE

The founders of 1921 constitution of Georgia and
US constitutional experience.....13

oTar janel iZe

saqarTvel osa da amerikis SeerTebul i Statebis
urTierTobis istoriidan 1918-1921 wl ebSi 15

O. JANELIDZE

From the history of the relations between US
and Georgia in 1918-1921 years.....38

qeTevan qarTvel i Svi li

amerikis pirveli sakonsul o Senobis
identificirebis sakiTxi42

K. KARTVELISHVILI

The issue of identification of the first
US consulate in Tbilisi.....48

rusudan dauSvi li

qarTul i politikuri organizaciebi amerikaSi
1950-ian wl ebSi52

R. DAUSHVILI

Georgian emigrant political organizations
in America in 1950's..... 67

მავალი ნათელი აზრები
საერთაშორისო ეკონომიკური თეორიის
ისტორია XX ს. 20-იან წლებში..... 71

M. NATMELADZE

For the issue of the history of economic relation between
US-Georgia (20's of the 20th century)..... 86

ალექსანდრე დავითი

ორი მთავრობა _ ორი მიდგომა (ამერიკის
სერთაშორისო სახელმწიფოების
დამოკიდებულება საერთაშორისო 1991-1992 წლებში
მიმდინარე პროცესებისადმი)..... 88

AL. DAUSHVILI

Two governments-two approaches
(The attitude of the US state administration towards
the processes occurring in Georgia in 1991-1992 years)..... 105

მსოფლიო ისტორია

ნანა ხაზარაძე, ნანა ბახსოლიანი
სახელმწიფო უსაფრთხოების დაცვის
წესის აღდგენის
მოდელის რეკონსტრუქცია..... 107

N. KHAZARADZE, N. BAKHSOLIANI

On the Reconstruction of the Model of Protection of
State Security of the Ancient Near East..... 119

მანანა ხიდაშელი

პოლიტიკური იდეოლოგია წარწერებში..... 122

M. KHIDASHELY

Policy and Ideology of Old Sumerians..... 146

Tamar anTaZe
avstriel i dipl omati..... 148

T. ANTADZE
Austrian Diplomat Anton Kaunitz..... 154

saqarTvel os istoria

zaza al eqsi Ze
giorgi mTawmidl is qarTul i
oTxTavis anderZebi 156

Z. ALEKSIDZE
The Colophons of the Georgian Gospels
by George the Hagiorite.....174

mari am karbel aSvi l i
Tamaris pirvel i istorikosis frazis
`momRebel man wessa rasame sparsTa ganagissa"
ganmartebisTvis (masal ebi qarTul i pol itikuri
azrovnebis istoriisTvis)..... 175

M. KARBELASHVILI
On the Interpretation of Tamar-the-Monarch's Historian's
Phrase "... example of some kind of Persian form
of Government" (Materials for the Investigation
of the Georgian Political Thought)..... 190

andro gogol aZe
adarbadagani s sakiTxi saqarTvel o-xorezmi s
urTierTobaSi 192

A. GOGOLADZE
The Issue of Adharbadhagan in the Relations between
Georgia and Khwarazm.....218

dimi tri Svel iZe, erekl e astaxi Svi l i
giorgi meTormetis kapi tul anturi
pol i tikis mi zezebi da Sedegebi (1798-1801 ww.).....219

D. SHVELIDZE, E. ASTAKHISHVILI
Reasons and Results of Capitulant
Politics of Giorgi XII (1798-1801)..... 230

al eqsandre dauSvi l i
saerovnebaTaSoriso urTierTobis sakiTxisaTvis
saqarTvel os demokratiul respubl ikaSi232

AL. DAUSHVILI
For Issue of Relationships among Nations
in Georgian Democratic Republic..... 282

eTnol ogi a

dal i gi orgaZe
"samoseli sagl oveli" 288

D. GIORGADZE
Mourning Clothes.....308

ni no mai suraZe
qarTul i xal xuri musikis harmoni is
sakiTxebi 311

N. MAISURADZE
Issues of Georgian Folk music harmony.....327

saqarTvel os ekl esi is istori a

el dar bubul aSvi l i
qarTl i-kaxeTis eparqia egzarqosobis dros.....330

E. BUBULASHVILI

Eparchy of Kartl-Kakheti in the Period of Exarchosy..... 349

arqeoლოგია

**ანზორ სიხარულიძე, ლია ბიტაძე, ელისო ყვავაძე,
ტორნიკე ასათიანი, გეტევან დიშმალიაშვილი**
Samtavros monastiris ezoSi dakrZal ul i
qal batonis vinaobis gansazRvrisaTvis
Catarebul i kompl eqsuri kvl evis Sedegebi..... 351

**A. SIKHARULIDZE, L. BITADZE, E.KVAVADZE,
T. ASATIANI, K. DIGHMELASHVILI**

Results of Complex Study Conducted for Identification
of a Lady Buried in the Samtavro Monastery Yard.....367

კიზო ფიქსელ აური

kavkasiis da wina aziis kul turebis
urTierTobis probl ema Zv.w. IV aTaswl eul Si.....378

ლიტერატურათმცოდნეობა

ნესტან სულავა

miqael modrekil is moRvaweobis
l okal izaci isatvis..... 398

N. SULAVA

For the Localization of Michales Modrekili's Scholarship..... 413

მეცნიერის არქივიდან

დავით მუსხელიშვილი

mecni eris arqivi dan..... 417

Tval sazrisi

mi xei l samsonaZe

saqarTvel os pol itikuri gaerTianebis cdebi
XVIII s. II naxevarSi.....422

merab kal andaZe

samoqal aqo sazogadoebis Casaxva
dasavl eT evropaSi 434

wyaroebis publ i kacia

sofi o l aWyeptani

qarTvel ebi stefane l uziniansa da
arqimandrit kiprianes Txzul ebebSi.....458

S. LACHKEPIANI

Georgians in the works of Estienne Lusignan and
Archimandrite Kyprianos..... 471

kritika da bibliografi a

al eqsandre dauSvili

...`kokasa Sigan...- (ioseb Wumburizis werilis _
`oTtxtomeulis dasaruli _ pirqve damxobis
dasawyisi- _ pasuxad)..... 472

nel i bregaZe

karg mTqmel s kargi gangone unda.....482

guliTadimi l ocvebi

giorgi gociriZe

qarTuli xal xuri musikis eTnol ogiuri kvlevis
saTaveebTan (nino maisurazis samecniero
moRvawebis 50 wl istavTan dakavSirebit).....489

MEMORIA

meri i naZe.....	505
gi vi j amburi a.....	509
nel i bregaZe.....	511
gi vi j avaxi Svi l i s gaxseneba (dabadebi dan 80 wl i sTavis gamo).....	516
megobri s xsovna _ el ver kupat aZe.....	522
mzes mi fi cxebul i Taoba (eZRvneba gogi fuTurizes).....	525