**nacionalizmis epoqa da identobis problemis aqtualizacia: zogadi kanonzomierebani da lokaluri Taviseburebebi.**

**identobis narativebis formirebis safuZvlebi saqarTveloSi**

**1.1. cnebebi da terminebi**[[1]](#footnote-1)

***identoba*** \_ termini, romelic aRniSnavs ama Tu im sagnisa Tu movlenis arss, mis raobas. qeTrin vudvordis sityviT, identoba gvisazRvravs, vin varT Cven, ra kavSiri gvaqvs sxvebTan da ra adgili gviWiravs samyaroSi, romelSic vcxovrobT.[[2]](#footnote-2) identoba ganapirobebs adamianis qcevas, imas, Tu rogor Seasrulebs igi sxvadasxva cxovrebiseul “rols”. kulturul identobas gansazRvravs ena, religia, teritoria da sxva maxasiaTeblebi, romelTagan gansakuTrebiT aRsaniSnavi da CvenTvis sayuradReboa saerTo/gaziarebuli istoria. rogorc pol lorenci (Paul Lawrence) aRniSnavs, kulturuli identobis gancda politikurad Zalian sasargeblo iyo saxelmwifosTan mosaxleobis SekavSirebis TvalsazrisiT. amitom nacionaluri istoriebi xSirad dakveTili da waxalisebuli iyo politikuri elitebis mier, zogjer \_ gamogonili da konstruirebulic ki. nacionaluri istoria warmoiSva rogorc pasuxi cvalebad msoflioSi identobis axali formis saWiroebaze, magram Semdeg politikurad sasargeblo gaxda; igi, erTsa da imave dros, asaxavda nacionalizms da ganamtkicebda mas.[[3]](#footnote-3)

***eTnikuri jgufi*** – adamianTa erToba, romelsac akavSirebs saerTo istoriuli mexsiereba da saerTo warmomavlobis miTi. eTnikur jgufs aqvs ganumeorebeli, sxvebisgan gansxvavebuli kultura da wes-Cveulebebi. “eTnikuri jgufis, rogorc socialuri organizaciis formis ZiriTadi safuZveli ufro metad kulturulia, vidre biologiuri. ufro metic, didi teritoriuli nacionaluri saxelmwifoebis mosaxleoba TiTqmis yovelTvis Zalze heterogenulia imisaTvis, rom saerTo eTnikuroba gamoxatos.”[[4]](#footnote-4)

***eTnikuroba******(ethnicity)*** – saerTo warmomavlobaze, enaze da, garkveulwilad, kulturul faseulobebze damyarebuli erTobisadmi – eTnikuri jgufisadmi – mikuTvnebuloba. rogorc e. hobsbaumi aRniSnavda, “eTnikuroba, TiTqmis yovelTvis, ... ukavSirdeba saerTo warmoSobas da samSoblos, saidanac viTomcda gamomdinareobs erTi eTnikuri jgufis wevrebis saerTo maxasiaTeblebi. „naTesaobisa“ da „sisxlis“ cnebebs erTi jgufis wevrebis SekavSirebisas da ucxoTa gamijvnisas aSkara upiratesoba eniWeba.”[[5]](#footnote-5) eTnikurobas, mokled, Semdegnairad gansazRvraven: eTnikuroba \_ es aris identoba erT romelime eTnikur jgufTan.

***eri/nacia*** – erT-erTi yvelaze farTod gavrcelebuli, da xSirad gamoyenebuli cneba socialur da humanitarul mecnierebebSi; misi Sinaarsi damokidebulia Teoriul CarCoze, romlis farglebSi mas gaviazrebT. erik hobsbaums Tavisi cnobili naSromis Sesaval nawilSi mohyavs uolter bajetis (Walter Bagehot) cnobili sityvebi: “ra aris eri, Cven viciT mxolod iqamde, sanam amis Sesaxeb rames gvkiTxaven... erebi sulac ar arian iseTive Zveli, rogorc TviT istoria.”[[6]](#footnote-6) rogorc ernest gelneri aRniSnavda, “eri, rogorc adamianTa klasificirebis RvTiT boZebuli meTodi, rogorc xelSeuvali ... politikuri bediswera, ubralod, miTia. nacionalizmi ... xandaxan adreulad arsebul kulturebs erebad gardaqmnis, zogjer xelaxla gamoigonebs xolme maT da, xSirad, anadgurebs, ai, es aris realoba.”[[7]](#footnote-7) nacionalizmis modernistuli Teoriebis Tanaxmad, nacia – es aris konstruirebuli fenomeni, erToba, romelic „warmosaxulia“ misi wevrebisa da liderebis mier (benediqt andersoni[[8]](#footnote-8)). Cveni samuSao definicia naciis sword modernistul gagebas emyareba. mniSvnelovania imis aRniSvnac, rom eri mnemonikuri erTobaa, romlis wevrebi erTmaneTTan dakavSirebuli arian saerTo mexsierebiT.

***nacionalizmi*** – ideologia da politika, damyarebuli nacionaluri gansakuTrebulobis ideaze. igi erTmaneTisagan ganasxvavebs „Cvenianebs“ da „sxvebs“, zog SemTxvevaSi \_ „megobrebs“ da „mtrebsac“. garkveuli azriT, nacionalizmi erovnuli gamorCeulobisa da sxva erebTan mimarTebaSi upiratesobis ideaze damyarebuli fenomenia, gansazRvrul istoriul periodSi igi erebis gaerTianebis da erovnul-gamaTavisuflebeli brZolebis xelSemwyob faqtors warmoadgenda. ganasxvaveben eTnikur (eqskluziur) da samoqalaqo (inkluziur) nacionalizms. pirveli emyareba saerTo eTnikuri, enobrivi Tu kulturuli warmomavlobis princips, xolo meore \_ ama Tu im saxelmwifosadmi mikuTvnebulobas.

1960-iani wlebidan moyolebuli, nacionalizms ufro metad ganixilaven rogorc „modernulobis“ funqciur komponents an produqts da mas industrializaciis epoqas ukavSireben (karl doiCi, ernest gelneri). 1980-iani wlebidan mecnierebma, romlebic aseve xazs usvamdnen naciisa da nacionalizmis fenomenebis modernulobas, aqcenti gadaitanes maTi konstruirebis, gamogonebisa da warmosaxvis meqanizmebze. erik hobsbaumi da benediqt andersoni xazs usvamdnen nacionalizmis *Seqmnis* (cnobierad Tu aracnobierad) gzebs (hobsbaumi \_ „tradiciaTa gamogoneba“).[[9]](#footnote-9) nacionalizmis eTnosimbolisturi Teoriis warmomadgenlebi (jon armstrongi, entoni smiTi) 1980-ian wlebsa da 1990-ianebis dasawyisSi amtkicebdnen, rom Tanamedrove naciebis winamorbedi erTobebi iyvnen eTnieebi, romlis wevrebs hqondaT jgufuri identobisa da warsulis gangrZobadobis Zlieri gancda; isini erTmaneTTan dakavSirebuli iyvnen, rogorc armstrongi uwodebs, „miTur-somboluri“ kompleqsebiT, romlebic mogviano xanis nacionaluri istoriebis damaxasiaTebel bevr Temas moicavda (xalxis rCeuloba, samSoblos cneba, warsuli oqros saukunis xsovna).[[10]](#footnote-10)

**1.2. qarTuli nacionalizmis formirebis imperiuli konteqsti**

**ekonomikuri da socialuri cvlilebebi 1860-iani wlebis Semdeg.** saglexo reformisa da momdevno wlebis reformebis Semdeg ekonomikur cxovrebaSi mniSvnelovani cvlilebebi moxda. saqarTvelos kuTxeebs Soris TandaTan mzardi ekonomikuri kavSirebi bolos uRebda adrindel karCaketilobas da saerTo erovnuli TviTSegnebis Camoyalibebis safuZvels qmnida. agraruli seqtori, romelic meurneobis safuZvels warmoadgenda, savaWro-saaRebmicemo urTierTobaSi ebmeboda. farTovdeboda Sinagani bazari, izrdeboda rogorc saSinao, ise sagareo vaWroba, romelSic met-naklebad saqarTvelos yvela kuTxe ebmeboda. izrdeboda da farTovdeboda vaWarTa fena. memamuleTa nawili cdilobda, Tavis xelSi aeRo vaWrobis organizacia. 1880-90-ian wlebSi msxvili savaWro firmebi hqondaT jorjaZes, muxran-batons, vaCnaZes, andronikaSvils, ananovs, fridonovs da sxv.[[11]](#footnote-11)

savaWrosTan erTad, viTardeboda savaxSo kapitali. 1860-ian wlebSi gaCnda fulis Semnaxvel-gamsesxebeli pirveli amxanagobebi, romelTac mcire sabrunavi Tanxa hqondaT da mcire xans Tu axerxebdnen arsebobis SenarCunebas, magram maT adgilas axali amxanagobebi Cndeboda, ramac gansakuTrebiT farTo xasiaTi 1890-ian wlebSi miiRo.[[12]](#footnote-12) kreditis axali forma TandaTan devnida vaWroba-mevaxSeobis Zvel tradicias da aCqarebda socialuri diferenciaciis process.

Tavadaznaurobis did nawils gauWirda axal realobasTan Segueba da gaRatakebis safrTxis winaSe aRmoCnda. saqmes verc Tbilisisa (1875 wlidan) Tu quTaisis (1876 wlidan) saTavadaznauro saadgilmamulo bankidan aRebuli sesxebi Sveloda, romelTac Tavadaznauroba yoveldRiuri saWiroebisTvis iyenebda an, sulac, umiznod da umisamarTod xarjavda, ris gamo sesxis dafarvas ver axerxebda da bankSi dagiravebul miwebs kargavda. amas didi vnebaTaRelva mohyveboda xolme: bankisgan moiTxovdnen gansakuTrebul SeRavaTebs, sesxis gastumrebis gadavadebas, rasac bankis mesveurebi miuReblad miiCnevdnen. amave dros, es ukanasknelni axerxebdnen, miRebuli mogebis nawili skolebisa da sxva kulturul-saganmanaTleblo dawesebulebebaTa dafinansebisaTvis moexmarebinaT. Tavadaznaurobis meore nawili ufro warmatebuli aRmoCnda: 1890-ian wlebSi soflad arsebobda meurneobebi, romlebic moculobiTa da teqnikuri aRWurvilobiT friad dawinaurebuli iyvnen.[[13]](#footnote-13) magram es ver cvlida saerTo suraTs: me-19 saukunis bolo mesamedSi TavadaznaurTa ekonomikuri (da, Sesabamisad, politikuri) poziciebi mkveTrad Sesustda, radgan maTi umravlesoba mzad ar aRmoCnda axal gamowvevebTan gamklavebisaTvis.

TavadaznaurTa ekonomikur da politikur daqveiTebas Tan axlda saSualo klasis, gansakuTrebiT, Tbilisis mdidari moqalaqeebis aRzeveba, romelTa xelSi Tavs iyrida savaWro da samrewvelo kapitalis didi nawili. maTi umravlesoba eTnikuri somexi iyo.[[14]](#footnote-14) maT didi sargebeli naxes ruseTis amoqmedebul axal Sida bazarze, riTac didi ekonomikuri Zalauflebac moipoves.[[15]](#footnote-15) qarTveli Tavadaznaurobis erTi nawili soflidan qalaqs midioda da saxelmwifo samsaxurSi dgeboda, an qalaqis Tavisufal cxovrebas eZleoda. maTi qoneba SeZlebul vaWarTa an SeZlebuli glexebis xelSi gadadioda. TavadaznaurobasTan erTad, qalaqs midioda glexobac, romelmac saglexo reformis Sedegad piradi Tavisufleba miiRo da am gziT ekonomikuri problemebis mogvarebas cdilobda. TbilisSi Camosulebs xvdebodaT qalaqi, sadac somexi vaWrebi da rusi Cinovnikebi batonobdnen. qarTulma Tavadaznaurobam 1830-ian wlebSi dakarga wamyvani poziciebi da sakuTar dedaqalaqSi umciresobad iqca. me-19 saukunis Sua wlebSi Tbilisis komerciul-industriuli klasis daaxloebiT or mesameds somxebi Seadgendnen.[[16]](#footnote-16) maT gabatonebuli poziciebi ekavaT gildiebSi, romelTa xelSi iyo kontroli vaWrobasa da warmoebaze.[[17]](#footnote-17) amgvarad, sxvadasxva klasis warmomadgeneli qarTvelebi aRmoCndnen kargad damkvidrebuli, finansurad Zlieri urbanuli saSualo fenis pirispir, romelic sxva enaze laparakobda, sxva eklesiaSi dadioda da gansxvavebuli faseulobebi hqonda. socialuri gansxvaveba klasebs Soris gaaZliera kulturulma da enobrivma gansxvavebebma.[[18]](#footnote-18) TbilisTan SedarebiT naklebad, magram mainc eTnikurad mravalferovani iyo sxva qalaqebic, gansakuTrebiT aRmosavleT saqarTveloSi (axalcixe, gori, Telavi).

saukunis bolosaTvis, zemoT aRniSnuli mizezebis gamo, qalaqebis mosaxleobam swrafi zrda daiwyo: 1886-1897 wlebSi igi oTxjer swrafad izrdeboda, vidre soflis mosaxleoba. Tbilisis mcxovrebTa ricxvi 103 procentiT gaizarda, igi ZiriTadad migrantTa qalaqi gaxda: qalaqis mosaxleobis mxolod 43,7% iyo aq dabadebuli da gazrdili.[[19]](#footnote-19)

me-19 saukunis miwuruls TbilisSi qarTvelebis migraciis Sedegad, somxebis demografiuli upiratesoba mkveTrad Semcirda. 1897 wlisaTvis somxebi 38% Seadgendnen, qarTvelebi ki 26,3% (mTlianad Tbilisis guberniaSi qarTvelebis xvedriTi wili 44,3% Seadgenda). qalaqis mosaxleobis sxvadasxva eTnikuri nawilis procentuli maCvenebeli erTmaneTs uaxlovdeboda (magaliTad, rusebi 24,7% Seadgendnen). magram qarTvelebis ekonomikuri da politikuri poziciebi jer isev susti rCeboda.[[20]](#footnote-20) qalaqSi axlad Camosuli qarTvelebis umravlesoba ubralo muSaxeli da gaRatakebuli aznaurebi iyvnen, romlebsac normaluri samuSaoc ar hqondaT.[[21]](#footnote-21) me-19 saukunis bolosaTvis TbilisSi arsebuli 7.929 savaWro saxlidan 4.206 somexi vaWrebis sakuTreba iyo, 2.021 \_ qarTvelebisa da 1.450 \_ rusebis.[[22]](#footnote-22) udidesi samrewvelo sawarmoebis 44%, maT Soris adelxanovis tyavis Tu enfiniancis Tambaqos gadamamuSavebeli sawarmoebi, somxebs ekuTvnodaT. somexTa simdidre kargi ganaTlebis miRebis garantia iyo maTi SvilebisaTvis, amas isic adasturebs, rom aRmosavleT saqarTvelos qalaqebis skolebSi somexi moswavleebi ricxobrivad Warbobdnen qarTvel moswavleebs.[[23]](#footnote-23)

somexi burJuazia, romelsac ekonomikaSi gabatonebuli pozicia ekava, qalaqis marTva-gamgeobaSic pirvelobas eswrafvoda.[[24]](#footnote-24) 1870-ian wlebSi, adgilobrivi mmarTvelobis arCeviTi sistemis danergvasTan erTad, romelic qonebriv cenzs emyareboda, somxebis politikuri poziciebi ganmtkicda. saqalaqo TviTmmarTvelobis Camoyalibebis Semdeg, 1876-1879 wlebSi, Tbilisis qalaqisTavi dimitri yifiani iyo, magram SemdgomSi es pozicia somxebis xelSi gadavida. TbilisSi 1902 wlisaTvis amomrCevelTa saerTo raodenobis 72 procents somexi moqalaqeebi Seadgendnen. saqalaqo saTaTbiroSi maT umravlesoba moipoves da 1870-iani wlebidan 1917 wlamde akontrolebdnen kidec mas. es faqti qarTvel da somex amomrCevlebs Soris seriozuli daZabulobas qmnida. rogorc s. jonsi aRniSnavs, nacionalizmis Tanamedrove TeoretikosTa azriT, gamZafrebuli urbanuli dapirispireba axlad aRmocenebul nacionalur jgufebs Soris nacionalistur moZraobebs warmoSobda.[[25]](#footnote-25)

quTaisis, soxumis, foTis, ozurgeTisa da baTumis saTaTbiroTa xmosnebis umravlesobas qarTvelebi Seadgendnen, Tumca maT Soris cota iyo inteleqtualuri wreebis warmomadgeneli, swored qonebrivi cenzis arqonis gamo. am sakiTxis mogvareba quTaisel moRvaweebs saqalaqo debulebis erTi muxlis gamoyenebiT ucdiaT, romlis Tanaxmad, arCevnebSi monawileobis ufleba eZleoda noqrebsac. noqris mowmoba, rogorc Cans, arc ise Zviri Rirda. quTaisis mkvidr ramdenime ganaTlebul kacs swored noqris mowmobis aRebiT moupovebia rogorc aqtiuri, ise pasiuri saarCevno ufleba. magram es „eSmakoba“ 1888 wels gamoaSkaravebula da amomrCevelTa siidan amouSliaT cnobili moRvaweebi \_ k. lorTqifaniZe, iv. mesxi, d. dadiani, d. baqraZe, iv. jaiani, n. kandelaki, p. lorTqifaniZe da sxv.[[26]](#footnote-26)

me-19 saukunis bolosaTvis saqarTveloSi, romlis mosaxleobis 84% 1897 wels soflis mcxovrebi iyo, daiwyo erovnuli politikuri sazogadoebis Camoyalibeba. kuTxuri gansxvavebebi kvlav Zlieri iyo, mis SenarCuneba-ganmtkicebas xels uwyobda rusuli imperiuli xelisufleba. 1897 wels, mosaxleobis aRweris dros, qarTvelebi dayves qarTvelebad, ingiloebad, TuSebad, xevsurebad, fSavlebad, aWarlebad, imerlebad da gurulebad, xolo svanebi, megrelebi da lazebi calke qvejgufad daafiqsires. s. jonsi miiCnevs, rom „es ufro ruseTis imperiuli kulturis Sedegi iyo da ara “divide et impera” politikis nayofi, radgan klasifikacia da standartizacia politikurad xelsayreli iyo dapyrobis dasaCqareblad da axali teritoriebis sabolood misaerTeblad“, xolo imperiis politika, romelic kuTxur gansxvavebulobas iTvaliswinebda, realobis aRiarebac iyo da yovelTvis ar emyareboda raime winaswarganzraxulobas.[[27]](#footnote-27) kuTxuri gansxvavebebi aferxebda saerTo qarTuli erovnuli identobis ganviTarebas. qarTvel inteleqtualTa erTi jgufi amas seriozul problemad miiCnevda. magaliTad, noe Jordania 1894 wels werda: „mxolod ena da gvartomoba gveubneba, suyvela qarTvelebi xarTo, magram am daskvnamdin Cveni eri jer ar misula... saqarTvelos nawilebi grZnoben ufro gansxvavebas, vidre erTobas... swored es Segneba aklia qarTvel xalxs“.[[28]](#footnote-28) maT imedi hqondaT, rom teqnikuri progresi, rkinigza da kavSirgabmulobis saSualebebi moSlida karCaketilobas, erTmaneTTan daakavSirebda saqarTvelos kuTxeebs, gaaZlierebda erTobis grZnobas.[[29]](#footnote-29)

marTlac, rkinigzam erTmaneTTan daakavSira dasavleT da aRmosavleT saqarTvelo: 1872 wels dasrulda Tbilisi-foTis xazis mSenebloba, 1877 wels mas miuerTda quTaisi, 1883 wels \_ baTumi. amas didi mniSvneloba hqonda, radgan, 1897 wlis monacemebiT, qarTvel migrantTa mxolod 14,5% hqonda lixis qedi gadakveTili orive mxares da mxolod 20.832 „imeri“ dasaxlda „amereTSi“.[[30]](#footnote-30) axla ki adre erTmaneTisagan izolirebuli, TviTkmari qarTuli soflebi, romlebic sustad iyvnen dakavSirebuli qalaqebTan, erTmaneTs daukavSirdnen, erTmaneTi gaicnes.

rogorc s. jonsi aRniSnavs, „bedis dacinvas gavda is, rom ruseTis imperiam xeli Seuwyo erovnuli Tanxmobis xelaxal gaRvivebas qarTul inteligenciaSi. ruseTis strategiulma da samxedro interesebma qarTuli miwebis Tavmoyra gamoiwvia. garda amisa, caristulma imperialisturma politikam gaaumjobesa kavSirgabmuloba, daaCqara urbanizacia da Seqmna saerTo bazari. rusi Cinovnikebis gamoCenam qveyanaSi da osmalTa imperiasTan omebma ganaaxla erovnuli solidarobis grZnoba qarTul inteligenciaSi.“[[31]](#footnote-31) rusulma koloniurma mmarTvelobam mSvidobisa da usafrTxoebis erTgvari garantia Seqmna da xeli Seuwyo ekonomikur progress zogierT seqtorSi. axali viTareba biZgs aZlevda, erTi mxriv, erovnuli TviTSegnebis amaRlebas, meore mxriv ki – eTnikur konfrontacias. gaZlierebulma kontaqtma qalaqTan, sadac sxvadasxva erovnebis xalxi cxovrobda, ganamtkica gansxvavebis Segneba qarTvelebsa da sxva xalxebs Soris.[[32]](#footnote-32)

r. sunis azriT, sekularuli qarTuli erovnuli TviTSegnebis Camoyalibeba ar iyo sxvadasxva politikuri da ekonomikuri movlenis damTxvevis Sedegi. „eris Camoyalibeba, sruli demografiuli, kulturuli da inteleqtualuri azriT, gacilebiT metia, vidre gancalkevebuli socialuri Zalebis gaerTianeba da imperiuli Zalis represiuli politikuri intervencia. istoriulad, qarTveli eris Camoyalibeba inteleqtualTa da politikosTa SemoqmedebiTi muSaobis Sedegi iyo, romelTa interesi Tavdapirvelad mimarTuli iyo erovnuli enisa da istoriuli warsulisadmi, Semdeg ki maT SeZles saxalxo sentimentebis mobilizeba nacionaluri mTlianobis misaRwevad.”[[33]](#footnote-33)

qarTveli eri warmoiqmna rogorc qarTveluri, ise nawilobriv araqarTveluri warmoSobis eTnikuri elementebisagan, saukuneTa manZilze, maTi urTierTkavSiris, saerTo istoriuli cxovrebis, Sromisa da brZolis Sedegad ... araqarTveluri warmoSobis jgufebi, romlebic kompaqtur umravlesobas warmoadgendnen cotad Tu bevrad vrcel teritoriaze (afxazebi, osebi), damoukidebel erovnebebad yalibdebodnen saqarTveloSi eris warmoqmnisa da konsolidaciis procesSi.[[34]](#footnote-34)

1. saWirod migvaCniaa aRvniSnoT, rom naSromSi gamoyenebulia kulturis kvlevebsa da nacionalizmis Tanamedrove TeoriebSi damkvidrebuli gansazRvrebebi. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Woodward, Kathryn. Concepts of Identity and Difference. *Identity and Difference*. London, Sage, 1997, p. 1-2. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Lawrence, Paul. Nationalism and Historical Writing. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*. Ed. By John Breully. Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 725. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. hobsbaumi, erik. *erebi da nacionalizmi 1780 wlidan*. programa, miTi, realoba. Tbilisi, ilias saxelmwifo universiteti, 2012, gv. 87. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. hobsbaumi, erik. *erebi da nacionalizmi 1780 wlidan*. programa, miTi, realoba. Tbilisi, ilias saxelmwifo universiteti, 2012, gv. 86. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. hobsbaumi, erik. *erebi da nacionalizmi 1780 wlidan*. programa, miTi, realoba. Tbilisi, ilias saxelmwifo universiteti, 2012, gv. 7, 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1983, p. 48-49. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. andersoni, benediqt. *warmosaxviTi sazogadoebani*. Tbilisi, “ena da kultura”, 2003. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Lawrence, Paul. Nationalism and Historical Writing. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*. Ed. By John Breully. Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 723. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Lawrence, Paul. Nationalism and Historical Writing. *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*. Ed. By John Breully. Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 723. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. *saqarTvelos istoriis narkvevebi*, t.5, Tbilisi, „sabWoTa saqarTvelo“, 1970, gv. 340. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. *saqarTvelos istoriis narkvevebi*, t.5, gv. 340. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. *saqarTvelos istoriis narkvevebi*, t.5, gv. 370. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Suny, R.G. *The Making of the Georgian Nation*. Indiana University Press, Hoover Institution Press, 1988, p. 116. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
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