დოკუმენტური ფილმი „ფილმი ფილმზე გიორგი სააკაძე“

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Td2X362VX0E>

სახლში უნდა ნახოთ მხატვრული ფილმი „გიორგი სააკაძე“

თუ ვინმეს გაინტერესებთ გიორგი სააკაძის ისტორია, შეგიძლიათ ნახოთ ეს გადაცემაც (ეს არ არის სასემინარო მასალა, მხოლოდ დამატებით, სურვილისამებრ გამოსაყენებელია, ეს გადაცემა არ შევა საგამოცდო და შუალედურ საკითხებში, კლასგარეშეა)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YLcAJyrD3Mw>

წასაკითხად

**Tamar Cokoraia**

**giorgi saakaZis polarizebuli saxe koleqtiur mexsierebaSi da**

**v. barnovisa da a. antonovskaias istoriuli romanebi[[1]](#footnote-1)**

eris koleqtiuri mexsierebis formireba xangrZlivi procesia, rac sxvadasxva istoriuli movlenis Cawera-gaanalizebiT, TaobebisaTvis werilobiTi da zepiri formiT gadacemiT xorcieldeba. istoriografiisaTvis Tanabrad mniSvnelovania istoriis yvela furceli, maSin roca koleqtiur mexsierebaSi aisaxeba da rCeba is, rasac emociuri datvirTva gaaCnia. koleqtiuri mexsiereba Tavs iCens e.w. mexsierebis areebSi, esenia: 1) simboluri \_ (kalendari), ritualebi, iubileebi da a.S. 2) funqciuri \_ saxelmZRvaneloebi, avtobiografiebi, mxatvruli literatura da a.S. 3) monumenturi \_ saflavebi, arqiteqtura, Zeglebi da a.S. 4) topografiuli \_ arqivebi, biblioTekebi, muzeumebi (Nora 1989: 19).

istoriuli proza mexsierebis funqciur ares ganekuTvneba. masSi kargad Cans konkretuli epoqis sazogadoebis koleqtiuri mexsiereba, meore mxriv, ki is xels uwyobs momdevno TaobebSi koleqtiuri mexsierebis formirebas. aRniSnuli Tezis sailustraciod sakvlev obieqtad aviReT ori istoriuli romani, kerZod, v. barnovis `giorgi saakaZe~ da a. antonovskaias `didi mouravi~. maTSi gansxvavebuladaa warmoCenili istoriuli figura. giorgi saakaZis pirovneba sayuradReboa im TvalsazrisiT, rom mis Sesaxeb istoriografiaSi azrTa sxvadasxvaobaa. garkveul epoqebSi masze warmodgena icvleboda, rac mexsierebis politikis sakvlevad kargi magaliTia. sagulisxmoa am cvlilebebis maprovocirebeli socio-kulturuli da politikuri konteqsti.

istoriuli romanebis ganvixilvamde, gadavxedoT istoriografiul monacemebs. XVII saukunis I naxevris istoriulma moRvawem giorgi saakaZem imTaviTve didi interesi daimsaxura. misi cxovrebisa da moRvaweobis Sesaxeb mogviTxroben qarTuli da ucxouri istoriuli wyaroebi. XVII-XVIII saukuneebis wyaroebi erTxmad adastureben giorgi saakaZis mniSvnelovan gamarjvebebs: taSiskaris, martyofis, marabdisa da qsnis sabrZolo epopeebs. Tumca wyaroTa avtorebi gamoTqvamen braldebebs, romlebic misi moRvaweobis calkeul aspeqtebs ukavSirdeba.

qarTlis mefis svimon didis periodidan giorgi saakaZe aqtiuradaa CarTuli qveynis cxovrebaSi, luarsab II-is mefobis dros ki xdeba misi aRzevebac da sparseTSi gadasaxlebac. saakaZis mimarT gamoTqmuli umniSvnelovanesi braldeba luarsab II-is mkvlelobis xelSewyobas ukavSirdeba. CvenTvis saintereso sakiTxze sagulisxmo informacia moipoveba \_ ber egnataSvilsa da vaxuSti bagrationTan, romelTa mixedviTac giorgi saakaZe Sah abass zamTarSi laSqrobas urCevda, vinaidan xalxi ver gaixizneboda (aRniSnuli wyaroebidan citatebi SegiZliaT ixiloT r. CxeiZis wignSi `simarTle giorgi saakaZeze~). garda amisa, giorgi saakaZem martyofis ajanyebis mowyoba yizilbaSebis winaaRmdeg gadawyvita mxolod mas Semdeg, rac xelSi Cauvarda Sahis Sikrikis werili, sadac misi mokvla da kaxeTis miwasTan gasworeba iyo nabrZanebi (natroSvili 2006: 29). saakaZis saxelTan aseve dakavSirebulia bazaleTis ZmaTamkvleli omi, ris Semdegac is osmaleTSi gadaixvewa da tragikulad aResrula.

XVII-XVIII saukeneebis wyaroebi ar iZleva imis Tqmis saSualebas, rom giorgi saakaZe erovnul gmirad an moRalated iyo Seracxuli. danaxulia rogorc misi damsaxurebebi qveynis winaSe, ise Secdomebi da danaSaulebi. mis Sesaxeb erTiani azri XIX saukuneSic ar Seqmnila. giorgi saakaZis Sesaxeb msjelobis dros ilia aRniSnavda: `iyo ra uxvad Semkuli yovlisa samamaco da sagmiro Rirsebebisa, dRes aqamomde arc avad aris Cvens mier dafasebuli da arc kargada... misi avkargianobiT aRsavse gansacdeliani cxovreba da saocarni moqmedebani, misni avad da kargadac asaxsneli didni saqmeni, \_ jer Signeulad gamoZiebulni ar arian da Eelian piruTvnels ganmkiTxvelsa... misi mousvenari da mRelvarebisagan daumcxrali cxovreba erTi didi tragediaa~ (WavWavaZe 1886:1) xolo a. wereTeli werda: `dRes iTvaliswineb am ubedurs gmirs da aRar ici, ra qna: daloco Tu dawyevlo? akurTxo Tu SeaCveno? Tayvani sce Tu zurgi uCveno?~ (wereTeli 1895: 8). vaJa-fSavela giorgi saakaZis mimarT ufro dadebiTadaa ganwyobili. leqsSi `giorgi saakaZis suraTzed~ vkiTxulobT:

 `ramdeni fiqri mwvavs, mebadeba:

 Tu ver viguebT ver SeviferebT,

 kargi Svilebi rad gvebadeba?..

 Cemo qveyanav, Cemo sicocxlev,

 ar gekadreba, ar gekadreba!” (vaJa-fSavela 1986: 82).

XIX saukunis bolosa da XX saukunis dasawyisSi giorgi saakaZis cxovrebis Sesaxeb iqmneba mcire formatis saintereso monografiebi. am mxriv aRsaniSnavia s. kakabaZis, m. janaSvilis, a. furcelaZis da sxvaTa naSromebi. s. kakabaZe mimoixilavs im periodis monografiebs da aRniSnavs: `zogni didad aqeben, zogni – ki miwasTan asworeben. marTlac da Cvens istoriaSi ar aris sxva iseTi kaci, romlis Sesaxebac ori aseTi, erTi erTmaneTis sawinaaRmdego azri trialebdes” (kakabaZe 1915:3). iqve msjelobs anton furcelaZisa da mose janaSvilis urTierTgansxvavebul mosazrebebsa da argumentebze. s. kakabaZis azriT, giorgi saakaZis udidesi talanti da didbunebovneba XVII saukunis SinaaSlilobebisa da areulobis epoqam Seiwira (iqve: 15). anton furcelaZis naSromi \_ ,,brZola saqarTvelos mosaspobad da saqarTvelos SesaerTeblad anu giorgi saakaZe da misi dro~ \_ giorgi saakaZes warmogvidgens, rogorc erovnul gmirs. avtori kargad icnobs XVII-XVIII saukunis wyaroebs, romelTa mimarTac kritikuladaa ganwyobili: `roca qarTvelT meistorieTa mematianeTa da sxvaTa mweralTa adevneb yurs, isre araferi ar gakvirvebs, rogorc isa, rom amaT ar ician, ra aris politika... ra ZarRvi, ra marTuli amoZravebs saxelmwifo saqmeebs... eseni amiweren brZolas, Semosevas, aklebas... raTa? risTvis? es imaT ar ician da nurca hkiTxav~ (furcelaZe 1892: 6). an. furcelaZis azriT, somexma istorikosma araqelma daamaxinja istoriuli faqtebi, romelmac, Tavis mxriv, SecdomaSi Seiyvana vaxuSti bagrationi, anton kaTalikosi da ucxoeli istorikosebi. amis gamo avtori ar endoba wyaroebs da giorgi saakaZis cxovrebisa da moRvaweobis Sesaxeb sakuTar versias gvTavazobs. an. furcelaZis wigns akritikebs mose janaSvili. misi azriT, an. furcelaZe ar eyrdnoba istoriul wyaroebs da xSir SemTxvevaSi mxolod sakuTar mosazrebebs gvTavazobs. magaliTad, an. furcelaZis cnobiT, giorgi saakaZe iyo ubralo kacis Svili, rac ar Seesabameba istoriul wyaroebs. am faqtis dasadastureblad mkvlevars mohyavs cnoba erekle II-s 1783 wlis traqtatidan. am da sxva cnobebis gamo dasZnes: `ara Rirs aq imaTze laparaki, romelnic saakaZis xotbas amyareben ara istoriul faqtebze, aramed bn a. furcelaZis wignze~ (janaSvili 1914: 13). m. janaSvilisa da an. furcelaZis diskusia TavisTavad sainteresoa, Tumca aq ufro mniSvnelovania is faqti, rom XX saukunis dasawyisSic ar Camoyalibebula erTiani Sexeduleba giorgi saakaZis pirovnebis Sesaxeb. istoriuli wyaroebis sandoobasa da istoriul sinamdvileze msjeloba istorikosTa saqmea, Tumca faqtia, rom istoriuli wyaroebis monacemebs mkvlevrebi gverds ver uvlidnen. am periodis istoriografiasa da koleqtiur mexsierebaSi giorgi saakaZis pirovneba gaorebuli saxiT Caiwera.

giorgi saakaZis, rogorc istoriuli personis recefciis procesSi axali etapi dgeba sabWoTa epoqis dros, rasac araerTi istorikosi Tu mkvlevari adasturebs. II msoflio omis periodSi, kerZod, 1939 wels kinematografiis sakavSiro komitetma masStaburi filmebis gadaReba gadawyvita, maT Soris filmis \_ `giorgi saakaZe~. centraluri komiteti gansakuTrebulad yofila dainteresebuli am filmis gadaRebiT. 1940 wels scenarebi ukve mzad iyo: erTi ekuTvnoda giorgi leoniZes, xolo meore ana antonovskaiasa (amave saxelwodebis romanis avtors) da mis Svils, boris Cornis. scenarebi gadaegzavna kinematografiis sakavSiro komitets, romelTac gadaugzavnes i. stalins (Carkviani 2004: 175-176). stalinma moiwona a. antonovskaias scenari da bolSakovs (komitetis Tavmjdomares) Semdegi saxis werili miswera: `am dReebSi miviRe ori scenari `giorgi saakaZis~ Temaze: erTi \_ antonovskaias da Cornisa, meore \_ leoniZisa.

Cemi azriT, leoniZes scenari ar gamosvlia. igi mxatvrulad Raribia, istoriuli masalis SerCevisa da gamoyenebis TvalsazrisiT erTgvarad primitiulia.

antonovskaias da Cornis scenari Tavisufalia msgavsi naklovanebebisgan, magram mas sxva nakli aqvs. igi mTavrdeba gamarjvebiT, saakaZis politikisa da TviT saakaZis apoTeoziT, magram aseTi finali, rogorc cnobilia, ar Seesabameba istoriul sinamdviles da qmnis yalb warmodgenas saqarTvelos warsulze~ (damowmeba k. Carkvianis wignidan `gancdili da naazrevi~, 2004: 176). Semdeg vkiTxulobT: `namdvilad ki, rogorc istoria mogviTxrobs, saakaZis politika, Tumca is saqarTvelos momavali perspeqtivis TvalsazrisiT progresuli iyo, damarcxda da TviT saakaZe daiRupa, vinaidan saakaZis droindeli saqarTvelo jer kidev ar iyo momwifebuli aseTi politikisaTvis, e.i. erT saxelmwifod gaerTianebisaTvis mefis absolutizmis damyarebisa da Tavadebis Zalauflebis likvidaciis gziT. mizezi cxadia: Tavadebi da feodalizmi aRmoCndnen ufro Zlierebi, xolo mefe da aznauroba \_ ufro sustebi, vidre saakaZes egona~ (iqve: 176).

werilis Semdgom monakveTSi kargad Cans i. stalinis Sinagani survili giorgi saakaZesTan TviTidentifikaciisa: `saakaZe grZnobda saqarTvelos am Sinagan sisustes da daapira misi daZleva saqmeSi gareSe (ucxouri) Zalis CabmiT, magram gareSe faqtoris Zalas ar SeeZlo qveynis Sinagani sisustis kompensireba. es asec moxda, rogorc cnobilia. am gadauwyvetel winaaRmdegobaTa viTarebaSi saakaZis politika unda damarcxebuliyo da marTlac damarcxda~ (iqve: 176).

i. stalinis aRniSnul werils saintereso komentars urTavs mkvlevari r. CxeiZe. misi azriT, roca stalini ambobs ,,rogorc istoria mogviTxrobso~, \_ aq mas mxedvelobaSi unda hqondes an. furcelaZis wigni `giorgi saakaZe da misi dro~, vinaidan swored aq miewereba saakaZes pirvelad brZola saqarTvelos gaerTianebisaTvis, sxva wyaroebSi aRniSnuli miswrafeba arsad dasturdeba (CxeiZe 2012: 174). am azrs iziareben sxva mkvlevrebic. T. natroSvilis azriT, im mosazrebis utyuar WeSmaritebad aRqma TiTqos saakaZis nabijebs saqarTvelos gaerTianebis idea asazrdoebda, stalinis avtoritetTan unda iyos dakavSirebuli (natroSvili 2006: 38). j. Rvinjilia, romelic Tavis monografiaSi \_ `giorgi saakaZis pirovneba~ \_ saakaZis gmirad warmoCenas cdilobs, interesdeba Tu ra wyaroebze dayrdnobiT dasturdeba saakaZis miswrafeba da iqve pasuxobs: `qarTlis cxovrebis~ mwiri cnobebi amis mtkicebis saSualebas TiTqos nakleb iZleva. iq saakaZe aRiarebulia fizikuri ganadgurebisagan qarTl-kaxeTis mxsnelad... maS raze dayrdnobiT Cndeba es koncefcia?~ (Rvinjilia 1983: 74). j. Rvinjilias mohyavs cnobebi wyaroebidan \_ kastelis, mustafa naimas, vaxuSti bagrationis, araqel Tavrizelis, beri eganataSvilis \_ saidanac dasturdeba saakaZis gansakuTrebuli fizikuri da inteleqtualuri monacemebi, aqedan gamomdinare askvnis: `saakaZem simon I didis skola gaiara, da Tavisi drois udides Svils, cxadia, SeeZlo miznad daesaxa saqarTvelos gaerTianeba-gaTavisuflebisaTvis brZolis gagrZeleba~ (iqve:80). am msjelobidan Cans, rom es mosazreba mxolod varaudia, amitomac am koncefciis Seuval WeSmaritebad aRqma rTulia (rogorc es gvxvdeba bevr istorikosTan da mkvlevarTan, maT Soris \_ an. furcelaZesTan, mogvianebiT g. jamburiasTan, l. sanikiZesTan da sxvebTan).

marTalia, giorgi saakaZes istoriuli wyaroebi ar miaweren saqarTvelos gaerTianebisaTvis brZolas, magram XX saukunidan cakeul avtorebTan ukve gvxdeba es idea, stalinis gavleniT ki es mosazreba erTaderT WeSmaritebad yalibdeba. amas adasturebs kinofilm `giorgi saakaZis~ koncefcia, Semdgomi periodis mxatvruli literatura da istoriografia. giorgi saakaZis moRvaweobaSi gareSe Zalis daxmarebis win wamoweviT xazi unda gasmoda Semdegs: `saakaZis politikaze msjelobisas mkafiod ikveTeba stalinis mier nagulisxmevi qveteqsti: gaamarTlos saqarTvelos 1921 wlis okupacia da TavadaznaurTa likvidacia, rac Turme Cveni qveynis sisustis aRmofxvrad da gadarCenad unda miviCnioT~ (CxeiZe 2012: 176). r. CxeiZis aRniSnul varauds amarTlebs stalinis sityvebi da is masStaburi propaganda, romelic kinofil `giorgi saakaZisa~ da zogadad giorgi saakaZis Temis mimarT warmoiSva. k. Carkviani Tavis mogonebebSi daufaravad aRniSnavs: `omis wlebSi aseTi grandiozuli filmis gadaReba advili ar iyo. es i. stalinis xelSewyobiT moxerxda~ (Carkviani 2004: 177). iqve dasZens am Zalisxmevis saWiroebas: `rogorc xelovnebis nawarmoebi, filmi xalxis ideuri da esTetikuri aRzrdis iaraRia~ (iqve: 177). filmsa da xelovnebas centraluri komiteti konkretul mizandasaxulebas uyenebda, mas unda emoqmeda adamianTa azrovnebaze da maTTvis sasurveli mimarTuleba mieca. giorgi saakaZis Sesaxeb filmiTa da a. antonovskaias mravaltomiani romaniT maT saSualeba eZleodaT gadaefaraT istoriuli wyaroebi da wina periodis istoriografia da koleqtiur mexsierebaSi axali saxiT CaeweraT giorgi saakaZis saxeli. amieridan koleqtiur mexsierebaSi mis Sesaxeb mxolod dadebiTi azri gabatondeboda. uaryofiT Sefasebebi mcire doziT, isic mxolod istoriografiaSi iarsebebda.

kinofilm `giorgi saakaZis~ reJisorica da msaxiobebic sagangebod SeirCa, raTa garantirebuli yofiliyo misi warmateba. filmis pirvelma da meore seriam stalinuri premia daimsaxura, amave premiiT dajildovda a. antonovskaias romani `giorgi saakaZec~ (Tumca nawarmoebi jer dasrulebuli ar iyo). k. Carkviani zustad ganmartavs am masStaburi RonisZiebis propagandistul Sinaarss: `filmi `giorgi saakaZe~ qarTuli kinematografiis erT-erTi saukeTeso nawarmoebia. saqarTvelos gmiruli istoriis Temaze misi badali arc adre, arc Semdeg kinos ar Seuqmnia. omis mrisxane dReebSi am epopeis ekranze gamoCena xom didi movlena iyo. mayurebelze zemoqmedebiT filmi emsaxureboda Cveni xalxis ZalTa mobilizacias mtrisaTvis maxvilis sabolood Casacemad~ (iqve: 179). kinofilms unda Seeqmna saakaZis gmiruli saxe, miCqmaluliyo nebismieri uaryofiTi Sexeduleba mis Sesaxeb. garda amisa, mayurebels qvecnobierad paralelebi unda gaevlo saakaZisa da stalinis pirovnebebs Soris, raTa gamarTlebuliyo `ucxo Zalis~ Tema. amiT SesaZlebeli gaxda mayureblis patriotuli grZnobebiT manipulireba. cnobilia, rom kinoseansidan bevri frontze midioda (goliaZe 2007: 3).

koleqtiur mexsierebaSi giorgi saakaZis erovnul gmirad formirebis procesSi mniSvnelovani aRmoCnda Semdegi etapic \_ axali saskolo saxelmZRvaneloebis Seqmna. 1940 wels gamoica saqarTvelos istoriis saxelmZRvanelo xelnaweris uflebiT, romelic ekuTvnoda niko berZeniSvils. istorikoss giorgi saakaZe uaryofiTad hyavda warmoCenili. am saxelmZRvanelos mixedviT giorgi saakaZe iyo feodali, romelic mefesa da sxva feodalebTan brZolaSi damarcxda. amis Semdeg gaiqca sparseTSi da qarTlisa da kaxeTis mefeebi daabezRa, xolo luarsab II misi CagonebiT daaxrCves tyved yofnis dros. martyofis ajanyeba ki sxva araferi iyo, Tu ara brZola sakuTari Tavis gadasarCenad. 1943 wels gamocemul saxelmZRvaneloSi viTareba Seicvala: saakaZe sruliad gansxvavebuladaa danaxuli (macaberiZe 2010: 388). axali koncefcia niko berZeniSvils i. stalinma STaagona (Carkviani 2004: 389). am kampaniiT istoria, cxadia, ver Seicvleboda, verc istoriuli wyaroebi gaqreboda, magram moxda mniSvnelovani ram: sruliad Seicvala TaobaTa koleqtiuri mexsiereba. rigiTi adamianebisaTvis, romelTaTvisac naklebad mniSvnelovani da xelmisawvdomi iyo istoriuli wyaroebi, kinofilmma, istoriulma romanebma da saskolo saxelmZRvaneloebma Taviseburi gavlena moaxdina. ase Seiqmna da Camoyalibda koleqtiuri mexsiereba, romelic saakaZis mxolod idealizebul saxes icnobda. saxelmZRvaneloebma da nawarmoebebma, Tavis mxriv, xeli Seuwyo koleqtiuri mexsierebis formirebas, meore mxriv, ki maTSi aisaxa sazogadoebis koleqtiuri mexsierebis konkretuli etapi.

stalinis Semdgomi periodis istoriografiaSi giorgi saakaZe calsaxad erovnul gmiradaa gamocxadebuli (g. jamburia, l. sanikiZe, j. Rvinjilia). XX saukunis bolodan giorgi saakaZis istoriul personis Sesaxeb recefcia icvleba. 80-iani wlebis bolodan ukve gansxvavebuli Sexedulebebic gamoiTqmis. sainteresoa T. natroSvilis statia `ori mouravi~, romelSic avtori saakaZis gaorebul saxeze msjelobs (natroSvili 1988: 172-185). a. baqraZe Tavis statiaSi `mkvaxe SeZaxili~ ramdenime gverds uTmobs giorgi saakaZis sakiTxsac, sadac aRniSnavs: `Cven xSirad didad vcdilobT ama Tu im istoriul pirovnebis antierovnul saqciels gamarTleba movuZebnoT, avxsnaT igi obieqturi mizezebiT~ (baqraZe 1990: 169). mwvave Sefasebas akeTebs z. gamsaxurdia: `rodesac saakaZis kultze vsaubrobT, nu dagvaviwydeba misi gamomwvevi socialuri da politikuri mizezebi, romlebic istoriis saerTo falsifikacias udevs safuZvlad, rac emsaxureba savsebiT Segnebul mizans CvenSi erovnuli paramneziis gamowvevisa~ (gamsaxurdia 1991: 563). am SefasebaSi kargad Cans eris koleqtiur mexsierebaze stalinis xelovnuri zemoqmedebis kvali. 90-ian wlebSi ibeWdeba r. CxeiZis polemikuri werilebi (j. RvinjiliasTan, l. sanikiZesTan), sadac saakaZis moRvaweoba istoriul wyaroebze dayrdnobiT obieqturadaa Sefasebuli. maTSi kargad Cans stalinis roli saakaZis kultis SeqmnaSi (avtorma werilebis cikli gaaerTiana wignSi `simarTle giorgi saakaZeze~).

sabWoTa epoqis Rirebulebebis gadafasebis dros, cxadia Seicvala sazogadoebis mimarTeba mTel rig sakiTxebTan. es kargad Cans saakaZis TemaSic, dRes kvlav azrTa sxvadasxvaobaa istorikosebs Soris. Tumca eris koleqtiur mexsierebaSi isev Zlieria sabWoTa kliSeebi, magaliTad, saakaZis pirovnebis obieqturi Sefasebis dros istoriul wyaroebSi gamoTqmul braldebebs bevri eris Seuracxyofad aRiqvams. koleqtiuri mexsiereba kargad gamovlinda 2009 wels sazogadoebrivi mauwyeblis gadacemaSi `didi aTeuli~. proeqts hqonda vebgverdi, romelSic xdeboda istoriuli gmirebis CamonaTvalis ganaxleba, xmaTa micema. CamonaTvalSi xSirad figurirebda giorgi saakaZis saxelic (robaqiZe 2009). diskusiebi am Temaze warmodgenilia Tbilisis forumze, internetsivrceSi bevria sxvadasxva statia Tu Tema, romlebSic giorgi saakaZis moRvaweoba dadebiTadaa Sefasebuli.

rogorc zemoT aRiniSna, mxatvrulma teqstebma Tavisi roli Seasrula koleqtiuri mexsierebis formirebis procesSi. Tavis mxriv, am teqstebmac Semogvinaxa konkretuli epoqis koleqtiuri mexsierebis mdgomareoba da mexsierebis politikis kvali. am Temaze msjelobisaTvis davimowmebT or istoriul romans \_ v. barnovis `giorgi saakaZesa~ da a. antonovskaias `did mouravs~. es ukanaskneli zustad im periodSi Seiqmna, roca sabWoTa reJimi aqtiurad iyo dainteresebuli giorgi saakaZis, rogorc erovnuli gmiris masStaburi saxis SeqmnaSi.

v. barnovi, qarTuli istoriuli prozis erT-erTi fuZemdebelia. mis istoriul nawarmoebebs axasiaTebs masStaburoba, enobrivi politika \_ istoriuli epoqisaTvis Sesabamisi enobrivi arqaizacia da epoqis moralur-filosofiuri sibrtyidan danaxva (kankava 1969: 80-87). istoriuli romani `giorgi saakaZe~ Seqmnilia sabWoTa diqtaturis sawyis etapze \_ 1923-1925 wlebSi, vidre reJimi aqtiurad dainteresdeboda saakaZis TemiT.

istoriuli romani didi mouravis ojaxSi luarsab mefis stumrobiT iwyeba. saakaZes gansakuTrebuli samzadisi aqvs, cdilobs gaanalizos mefis stumrobis mosalodneli Sedegebi. `giorgi saakaZe~ ZiriTadad, imeorebs istoriul wyaroebsa da kvlevebSi arsebul cnobebs, rasac mwerali sainteresod avsebs fsiqologiuri detalebiT. nawarmoebis mixedviT, giorgi saakaZe romantizebuli gmiria, romelsac Suriani Tavadebi ebrZvian da sabolood Seiwiraven, xolo laursabi uniaTo, sust mefedaa warmodgenili, romelic verc sakuTar vnebebs umklavdeba da verc gaamayebul feodalebs. istoriuli wyaroebis msgavsad, axalgazrda luarsabi moxibla saakaZis dis simSvenierem. v. barnovi misi prozisaTvis Cveuli eqspresiiTa da siRrmiT gadmogvcems mouTokavi siyvarulis vnebebs: `xelmwife kaci, Tavmomwone igi raindi, udierad itanjeboda qalis muraziT. riT daimona gamocdili pirvel naxvazed?! mis arsebaSi aRizarda anazdad grZnoba da daeufla igi vneba mis xorcs, mis sulsa. qalis aCrdilma Seimosa xma gamyivari da Tvis garSemo yovelive CaxSo sxva bgera, mawynarebeli sityva Tu JRera... tkbili iyo is aCrdili, viT goleuli~ (barnovi 1962: 174). istoriuli wyaroebis Tanaxmad, es qorwineba marTlac Sedga. v. barnovis istoriul romanSi didi adgili eTmoba mefis sasiyvarulo gancdebs, mis saocar siyvaruls meuRlisadmi. am mxriv, romani imeorebs mwerlis stils: mZafri siyvarulis tragikul qargas. mefis bedniereba didxans ar grZeldeba, Tavadebi mas saakaZis Ralats Caagoneben. giorgi saakaZis da ki Seurcxoyofilia, tovebs sasaxles. xolo giorgi saakaZe iZulebuli xdeba sparseTSi gadaixvewos.

romanSi giorgi saakaZes moxsnili aqvs istoriuli wyaroebis mTavari braldeba: luarsab mefis sikvdilSi monawileoba. mas sakuTarma dam CamoarTva piroba, rom mefis sisxls ar aiRebda. giorgi saakaZem miawoda mtris sardlobas qarTvelebis winaaRmdeg brZolis gegma, Tumca avtori cdilobs mis gamarTlebas: `roca igi awvdida hazrs, imedi hqonda, verc erTi sardali Sah-abazisa ver Seasrulebda mas, uazrod daanawilebda laSqars da SeZlebas miscemda qarTvelT, gahmklavebodnen Seseul mters. exla masve daavales ganzraxulis Sesruleba. metad Zneli Seiqmna misTvis gzis gadakvleva~ (barnovi 1962: 360). avtori aRniSnul epizodSi gadmogvcems saakaZis Sinagan gaorebas: `\_ da daRupav, saakaZev, Sens xalxs TiTon Sen?! daisaxebi JamTa svlaSi satanailad! xom arian qarTvelT Soris rusTa trfialni.

\_ ha, ha, ha! didmouravi gamwiravi Tavis erisa?! uarhyofs ruseTs saqarTvelo da dawynardeba: igi hrevs mmarTvelT da amxedrebs sparsT winaaRmdeg~ (iqve: 360).

v. barnovis romani imeorebs wyaroTa cnobas Sah abasis werilis Sesaxeb, romelmac giorgis ajanyebis momzadeba gadaawyvetina. kaxeTSi Sah abasis maoxrebeli laSqrobebi mkrTalad aris naCvenebi, romanSi aqcenti gadatanilia martyofis ajanyebis samzadisze. qarTl-kaxeTSi gamefebuli Teimurazis politikuri kursi ruseTisaken ixreba, xolo imedgacruebuli saakaZis \_ osmaleTisaken. marabdis brZolis bedi Teimuraz mefisa da Tavadebis Surma gadawyvita: maT ar gamoiyenes giorgi saakaZis sabrZolo gegma. romanis finalSi giorgi saakaZe tragikul da gaorebul pirovnebadaa warmoCenili, mas ukve aRar esmis qarTveli xalxis xma da survilebi, dabrmavebulia mxolod SurisZiebiT: `spars sisxlis mZebnels saakaZes veRar egno xalxis gulisTqma: mis gonebas ar esmoda eris zaxili; mis CaxSuls guls veRar egrZno eris gancdani: ver hxedavda, ar hyvebodnen qarTvelT talRani, survilT yvavilebs ar ufendnen mas brZolis gzazed. miiltvoda saakaZe savneblisaken da swarfva misi iyo qrolva stiqionT Zalis.

\_ damdabldes sparsi xonTqris ZaliT! \_ gahyioda didmouravi~ (iqve: 433).

amis Semdeg romanSi moqmedeba swrafad viTardeba: saakaZe daiWreba bazaleTis omSi da damarcxebuli gadaixveweba osmaleTSi. iq erTxans mkurnalobs da usaqmodaa, misi politikuri miznebi ganuxorcielebeli rCeba, erT dResac ki muxanaTurad klaven. v. barnovi martyofisa da marabdis Semdeg, faqtobrivad, umiznod da tragikulad warmogviCens saakaZis beds. Zlieri, feodalebisagan Serisxuli idealizebuli gmiri tragikul personad gadaiqceva. v. barnovis romani saakaZis istoriul personaJs ar warmogvidgens saqarTvelos gaerTianebisaTvis mebrZol, idealur gmirad. is arc moRalatea, romelsac sxvadasxva danaSauli miewereba.

v. barnovis istoriul romanSi naratiuli struqtura personaJTa Sinagani vnebebisa da cxovrebiseuli mZafri peripetiebis mixedviTaa organizebuli. mTxrobeli mesame piriT gadmogvcems Txrobas, gare mayureblis TvaliT, xSiria elifsisi \_ xangrZlivi droiTi monakveTis mokled Txrobis tendencia. epoqis ganwyobas qmnis ara Sesabamisi istoriuli qronotopis detalizacia, aramed arqaizebuli ritmuli ena: `igvemeboda qarTli sabralo, borotebis qartexili aryev-arRvevda. idevnebodnen kacni rCeulni, xalxisagan gamosulni misni erTgulni. da igi furtkvna autanel ubedobad mosdeboda Seiwrebul ers, angrevda mis keTildReobas, avaglaxebda~ (barnovi 1962: 310).

a. antonovskaias istoriuli roman-epopea `didi mouravi~ mogvianebiT 1937-1958 wlebSi Seiqmna. istoriul romans stalinis ideologiis kvali gasdevs \_ giorgi saakaZe warmodgenilia grandiozuli inteleqtualuri da samxedro SesaZleblobebis mTavarsardlad, romlis cxovrebis mTavari azri saqarTvelos gaerTianebaa, ucxo Zalebis daxmarebiT moqmedeba am strategiis nawilia. romani vrcelia, masSi detaluradaa asaxuli XVII saukunis epoqa, intrigebi samefo karze. v. barnovis istoriuli nawarmoebisagan gansxvavebiT, a. antonovskaias romanSi dasawyisidanve Cans mizandasaxuleba giorgi saakaZis xalxur gmirad qcevisa. barnovTan saakaZes Tavadebi eqiSpebian, avtori am Temas metad ar uRrmavdeba. xolo `did mouravSi~ saakaZe ubralo xalxis gmiria, is upirispirdeba sisxlimsmel Tavadebs, mas surs aznaurebisa da xalxis daxmarebiT mefis Zalauflebis ganmtkiceba. aRniSnuli Teza axlos dgas sabWoTa marqsistul ideologiasTan (macaberiZe 2010: 389). mxatvrul teqstSi es azri bevrjer meordeba. am ideologiis pirdapiri magaliTia giorgi saakaZis sityvebi: `Tavadebi xalxs sCagraven, xolo Tu Cven, aznaurebi, xalxs davexmarebiT, TviTve gavZlierdebiT. Tu xalxisTvis saWiroa Tavadi gaxde, kidec unda gaxde... vaWari, beri, yaCaRi \_ yvelaferi unda gaxde~ (antonosvkaia 2012, t.1: 194).

marqsistuli Tezis garda, giorgi saakaZis personaJi romanis dasawyisSive aviTarebs staliniseul ideas ,,gareSe Zalis faqtoris~ Sesaxeb, rac imTaviTve moiwona beladma antonovskaias scenarSi: `maSasadame, nugzari ara mZraxavs? magram... rad unda damZraxos. gana cudi survilia maRali miznisaTvis gamoiyeno eranis Zliereba? gana ubralo aznauri ar dascinis or mefes, romlebic fiqroben saqarTvelosTvis ucxo zraxvebis gansaxorcielebeli iaraRi gahxadon igi?.. xolo mainc saiT miiswrafvis igi, giorgi saakaZe?~ (iqve, t.2: 82).

saakaZis miswrafebebs \_ saqarTvelos gaerTianebis ideas, xalxisaTvis samsaxurs safrTxe daemuqra, vinaidan luarsab mefem misi dis colad SerTva gadawyvita: `saakaZe, bolos, gons movida. xmlis vada CabRuja. umagaliTo gandideba, qarTlis dedoflis Zma!.. Semdeg ki?.. saSineli ufskruli, romelic STanTqavs yovel mis ganzraxvas da nakeTebs, megobrebs, Tanamoazreebs, uTvalav glexobas, das... gana Tavdni dascxrebian? aseT saqciels mefes rodi apatieben xolme. maSasadame, daviwyoT sisxlismRvreli SuRli? da lauarsabis vneba rom gacivdes? maSin? monasteri? ara, sikvdili, sikvdili da daRupva sanaxevrod ukve gakeTebul saqmes... yvelaferi Seewiros mefis cvalebad vnebas? ara!~ (iqve, t.2: 340). romanSi personaJi araerTgzis aRniSnavs: `saWiroa saqarTvelos gaerTianeba ise, rogorc meToTxmete saukuneSi, nikofsiidan darubandamde~ (iqve, t.2: 341). daviT aRmaSeneblis droindeli simboluri kodis win wamoweviT, avtori axerxebs mkiTxvelze emociur zemoqmedebas: mis TvalSi saakaZe TviT daviT aRmaSeneblis pirovnebamde maRldeba. saqarTvelos gaerTianebis es masStaburi miswrafeba arc erT istoriul wyaroSi ar dasturdeba. istoriul romanSi kargad Cans mkiTxvelis koleqtiuri mexsierebis Secvlis mcdeloba. meore mxriv, teqsti asaxavs reJimis ideologias.

istoriuli wyaroebis Tanaxmad, giorgi saakaZe win uZRoda Sah abasis laSqars, rasac xalxi aRSfoTebiT Sexvda. romanSi gamarTlebulia mouravis saqcieli: (aznaur qvliviZisa da giorgi saakaZis dialogi): ` \_ pirdapir miTxari, giorgi, Tu qarTvelebi gebraleba, xmali rad ixmare goris cixis brZolaSi? sparselebTan rad purmarilob? Tu sparselebisTvis cdilob, ufliscixe rad ar garemoicvi? did saqmeebze laparakiT Tvals nu mixvev... mteri xar? moyvare? yvelas Tavgza aubnie!

\_ Zalian samwuxaroa, rom Sen Cemi ar gagegeba... molipuli bilikiT mivdivarT, \_ odnavi waborZikeba da yvelaferi ufskruls STainTqmeba. Tavadebi maTive iaraRiT unda ganvaiaraRoT“ (iqve, t.4: 36). romanSi giorgi saakaZis sparselebTan erTad Semosvla didi miznebiTaa STagonebuli, urCi Tavadebis dasjis Semdeg SesaZlebeli gaxdeboda xalxis daxmareba. nosteSi Catarebuli RonisZiebebi da feodalur sistemaSi gatarebuli reformebic amis magaliTia, saakaZe cdilobs glexebs gauadvilos cxovrebis pirobebi.

avtori saakaZis miznebsa da paToss araerTxel usvams xazs, amiT ufro amkveTrebs mTavar Canafiqrs \_ saakaZis warmoCenas namdvil gmirad. es ara mxolod sxvebTan dialogebSi, aramed personaJis monologebSic Cans: `vera pirfero sparselo, Sen ar ZalgiZs gatexo Cemi qarTlis Zliereba... kvnesa da tirili azrialeben Cems Tavsa da guls... nangrevebidan aRdgebian qalaqebi... bavSvebi daizrdebian, sxvebi daibadebian... aq ki, Cems gulSi, ra darCa samudamod?! sircxvili?! dideba?! vin mixvdeba Cems fiqrebs?! vin damgmobs?! vin aRfrTovandeba?! vin damwyevlis?! ra guliT unda giyvardes samSoblo, rom misi bednierebisaTvis aseTi saSineli gziT iaro... vera, giorgi saakaZes ver gatexs veraviTari Ralati, ver gatexs verc sparseTis Sahi, verc TurqeTis sulTani, verc ruseTis mefe da verc qarTlis mefe. marTali var Tu vcdebi, dae saqmeni Cemni sufevdnen, da marad norCma, marad wminda sulma xalxisam damgmos, gind ganimsWvalos igi Cemi siyvaruliT, Cemi tanjviT~ (iqve, t.4: 53).

teqstSi martyofis ajanyebisaTvis mzadebac motivirebulia, is ar aris iseTi stiqiuri, rogorc wyaroebSia gadmocemuli. giorgi akvirdeboda sparselTa moqmedebas kaxeTSi da ra darwmnda Sahis namdvil miznebSi, TuSebs Sexvda yorCixa-xanisagan mamulad: `mamaco TuSebo! me TqvenTan movsulvar marto, rogorc meomari, samxedro damxmarebisTvis! Tavis gasamarTleblad rodi movsulvar, aramed qarTlisa da kaxeTis bedze salaparakod. axla unda daviviwyoT yvela wyena da Secdoma. sparsTa maxvili safrTxes uqadis qarTvelTa miwa-wyals. Tavs davatydeT dauZinebel mters~ (iqve, t.4: 283). a. antonovskaias romanSi aseve Secvlilia istoriuli wyaroebis cnoba, romlis Tanaxmadac saakaZem ajanyeba Sahis werilis Semdeg gadawyvita. nawarmoebis mixedviT, giorgim werili uSualod sparselebis winaaRmdeg ajanyebis dros miiRo. feiqar-xanisadmi miweril werilSi Sahi kaxeTis ganadgurebas da giorgis Tavis mokveTas moiTxovda.

romanis mixedviT, sparselebis damarcxebis Semdeg, giorgi saakaZis mTavari sazrunavi qveynis gaerTianeba da xalxis samsaxuria, es azri kargad ikiTxeba mTiulebisadmi mimarTvaSi: `iyo dro, roca eklesia mzad iyo taxtze aveyvane, \_ me xom qristes saxli wabilwvisagan vixsen. iyo dro, roca gulgaxeTqilma Tavadebma mliqvnelurad SemomTavazes mefis gvirgvini. me amas vxedavdi da ar movxiblulvar. mefed ki ara, gamaerTianeblad msurs gaviTqva saxeli, ara batonad, aramed xalxis megobrad minda visaxelo Tavi, minda gavxde ara urCi, aramed mefis brZeni mrCeveli, meomari, romelic mkerdiT icavs sayvarel samSoblos da aseTi viqnebi, sanam marjvenas maxvili ukavia, sanam Cems sityvas SeuZlia vinme daajeros... samSoblos didebas eltvis Cemi fiqri, da, vficav, SviliviT erTguli viyo misi~ (iqve, t. 6: 311). damowmebuli citatebidanac kargad Cans, rom romanis arsic am azrebsa da paTosSi mkiTxvelis darwmunebaa. saakaZis Sinagan kredos amarTlebs es sityvebic: `mliqvneloba, fexqveS gageba, dasaCuqreba, yovelive unda movimoqmedo me, giorgi saakaZem, Tu es sasargebloa xalxisaTvis. marTalia trifiliosi: Tavmoyvareoba samefo saqmeebSi iafi saqonelia~ (iqve, t. 7: 17). avtoris qveteqstic gasagebi xdeba: yelaferi gamarTldes xalxisa da samSoblos saxeliT. mis romanSi arsad ar Cans istoriuli wyaroebis mxridan gamoTqmuli braldebebi.

a. antonovskaias `did mouravSic~ marabdis brZolis bedi gadawyvita saakaZis strategiuli gegmis gauTvaliswineblobam. marabdis velidan bazaleTamde, romanSi, procesebi ise viTardeba, rom saakaZis brZola motivirebulia: mas mefed aRar surs umaqnisi Teimurazi. saqarTvelos gaerTianebis axali gegma aqvs: `didi xania gadavwyviteT, gavaerTianebT sam samefos: imereTs, qarTlsa da kaxeTs!.. Semdeg gurias SemovierTebT... samegrelos mTavar levanTan erTad samxedro kavSirs SevkravT... afxazeTi didxans ver gaZlebs martod... saqarTvelo erTiani, damoukidebeli da... ara Tavaduri! Ggana es Cveni sicocxlis keTilSobiluri mizani ar aris?!“ (iqve, t.10: 209).

bazaleTis brZolisas, saakaZe rwmundeba xalxis sisusteSi, rasac sakuTar marcxad miiCnevs: `me ukve damarcxebuli var... ara TavadTa mier, ara mefis mier, \_ me damamarcxa sakuTarma mwuxarebam, radgan didi damnaSave var xalxis winaSe... me vaswavle xalxs brZolis xelovneba, magram daviviwye mTavari ram: xalxis SeSfoTebuli suli, ar avanTe CiraRdani mis SegenebaSi. da SiSi TavadTa winaSe ufro Zlieri aRmoCnda Tavisi mxedarTmTavrisadmi siyvarulze. xalxi gahyva Tavdebs... Cems winaaRmdeg wavida! nu eliT gamarjvebas damarcxebulisagan!~ (iqve, t.11: 331-332). saakaZe avtors Rirseulad gamohyavs: `ra saWiroa ZmaTa sisxlis umiznod Rvra, isedac metad bevri daiRvara~ (iqve, t.11: 352). saakaZes mouwevs imereTidan osmaleTSi gadaxvewa. romanSi detaluradaa aRwerili intrigebi osmaleTis samefo karze, sadac saakaZe isev Suris msxverpli aRmoCndeba. mas aqac ar asvenebs didi miznebisaken miswrafeba, isaxavs grandiozul gegmebs, dgeba osmaleTis sulTnis samsaxurSi, surs Sah abasis damarcxeba. Tumca misi gegmebi Seusrulebeli rCeba, saakaZes SeTqmulebas uwyoben osmalebi da sakuTar TanamoazreebTan erTad kvdeba. zogierTi wyaros cnobiT, saakaZes Tavs kveTs jalaTi. a. antonosvkaia aqac Rirseulad warmogviCens Tavis personaJs, is megobrebTan erTad Tavs esxmis jalaTebs da sicocxlis bolo wuTamde ibrZvis. A

a. antonovskaias vrceli istoriuli romani dawerilia rusul enaze, misi mTargmnelia aristo WumbaZe, Sesabamisad teqstSi enobriv arqaizaciaze saubari SeuZlebelia. istoriuli qronotopi detaluradaa warmodgenili: XVII saukunis I naxevris qarTlis, kaxeTis, iranis, ruseTis, osmaleTis samefo kari, maTi politikuri cxovreba da Sida intrigebi. naratiuli struqtura tradiciulia, avtori ar gvTavazobs raime siaxles. nawarmoebSi bevria dinamikuri epizodi, CaxlarTuli siuJetebi, romlebic masobrivi mkiTxvelisTvisaa dawerili. amis gamo Zalian vrceli romani advilad da swrafad ikiTxeba. avtori xSirad eyrdnoba istoriul wyaroebs, magram aseve mimarTavs fiqcias.

giorgi saakaZis polarizebuli saxis Sesaxeb v. barnovisa da a. antovskaias istoriuli romanebis magaliTze saintereso daskvnebis gakeTeba SeiZleba. barnovTan saakaZe tragikuli pirovnebaa, is ar aris erovnuli gmiri, antonovskaiasTan aSkaraa stalinis werilis gavlena: saakaZe erovnuli gmiria, romelic `gare Zalebis~ daxmarebiT cdilobda saqarTvelos gaerTianebas. is faqti, rom barnovis romani rom Tavisufalia ideologiuri zemoqmedebisgan, Cans Sinaarsidan, es bunebrivia misi Seqmnis TariRis mixedviTac. is met-naklebad meorebs istoriul wyaroebSi arsebul monacemebs, avsebs fiqciiT da saakaZis personas warmogvidgens im saxiT, ra saxiTac is arsebobda im drois koleqtiur mexsierebaSi. meore mxriv, romanis gamocemis Semdeg mkiTxvelis koleqtiur mexisierebaSic barnoviseuli saakaZe Caiwereboda: romantikuli, tragikuli gmiri. a. antonovskaia uSualod monawileobda stalinis Canafiqris ganxorcielebaSi, es Cans filmis scenarze muSaobidan, am droisaTvis misi romanis pirveli nawili ukve gamoqveynebuli iyo. `didi mouravi~ kargi magaliTia imisa, Tu rogor icvleba eris koleqtiuri mexsiereba literaturuli teqstis daxmarebiT. am teqstma, kinofilmTan erTad, koleqtiuri mexsierebis formirebas Seuwyo xeli. romanis qveteqstebisa da epoqis socio-kulturul da politikur konteqstze dakvirveba, swored am daskvnis gakeTebis saSualebas gvaZlevs. wlebis ganmavlobaSi, XX saukunis 80-ian wlebamde koleqtiuri mexsiereba am saxiT rCeba. amaze metyvelebs am periodis istorikosTa naSromebi, saskolo saxelmZRvaneloebi, literaturuli nawarmoebebi. XX saukuninis 80-iani wlebidan, RirebulebaTa gadafasebis procesi saakaZis Temasac Seexo. cxadia, es ufro istoriografiaSi aisaxa, sadac istoriul wyaroebze gamaxvilda yuradReba, Tumca koleqtiur mexsierebaSi cvlilebebi ufro nela da isic nawilobriv moxda.

**bibliografia:**

1. antonovskaia a. didi mouravi, t.1-7, Tb. 2012.
2. antonosvkaia a. didi mouravi, t.7-14, Tb. 2013.
3. barnovi v. giorgi saakaZe, rCeuli Txzulebani, t. VII, Tb. 1962.
4. baqraZe a. rwmena, Tb. 1990.
5. gamsaxurdia z. werilebi. essebi, Tb. 1991.
6. goliaZe g. giorgi saakaZe. stalini. stalini da daviT aRmaSenebeli, gaz. 24 saaTi, Tb. 2007, #18.
7. vaJa-fSavela. Txzulebani, Tb. 1986.
8. kakabaZe s. giorgi saakaZe, Tb. 1915.
9. kankava g. istoriuli romani da misi qarTuli tradiciebi, Tb. 1969.
10. macaberiZe m. stalini da giorgi saakaZis saxe qarTul istoriografiasa da literaturaSi, totalitarizmi da literaturuli diskursi (saerTaSoriso samecniero konferenciis masalebi), Tb. 2010.
11. natroSvili T. weli erTi da aTasi, Tb. 1988.
12. natroSvili T. didgori... marabda... bazaleTi, Tb. 2006.
13. robaqiZe n. gagrZeleba iqneba?! cxeli Sokoladi, Tb. 2009, 1 Tebervali.
14. sanikiZe l. giorgi saakaZe, Tb. 1988.
15. furcelaZe a. brZola saqarTvelos mosaspobad da saqarTvelos SesaerTeblad anu giorgi saakaZe da misi dro, tf. 1892.
16. Rvinjilia j. giorgi saakaZis pirovneba, Tb. 1983.
17. Carkviani k. gancdili da naazrevi, Tb. 2004.
18. CxeiZe r. simarTle giorgi saakaZeze, Tb. 2012.
19. wereTeli a. Savi fiqrebi, gaz. kvali, 1895, #44.
20. WavWavaZe i. luarsab wamebuli, gaz. iveria, 1886, #133.
21. jamburia g. giorgi saakaZe, Tb. 1964.
22. janaSvili m. giorgi saakaZe da misi dro, tf. 1914.
23. Nora P. Between Memory and History, Representations, No 26, Special Issue, Memory and Counter- memory (spring, 1989).

1. statia daiwera proeqtis \_ `koleqtiuri mexsierebis formirebis procesi qarTul istoriul prozaSi (me-20 saukunis 20-60-iani wlebi)~ \_ farglebSi, SoTa rusTavelis erovnuli samecniero fondis finansuri mxardaWeriT. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)