**giorgi erisTavis `ciskari~**

(1852-1853)

1832 wlis SeTqmulebis damarcxebam CvenSi sazogadoebriv-kulturuli cxovrebis paralizeba gamoiwvia \_ am droidan mokidebuli vidre 40-ian wlebamde saqarTveloSi ar arsebobda arc erTi met-naklebad organizebuli sazogadoebriv-kulturuli dawesebuleba. imdroindeli qarTveli sazogadoebis inteleqtualuri daqveiTebisa da inertulobis warmosadgenad aq mxolod oriode magaliTiT SemovifarglebiT: 1832 wlidan 1838 wlamde saqarTveloSi arc erTi qarTuli wigni ar dabeWdila; 30-ian wlebSi TviT xelisuflebis mcdelobiTac ki ver moxerxda TbilisSi sagubernio biblioTekis daarseba, ramdenadac ar aRmoCnda Tundac ramdenime aTeuli piri, romlebsac biblioTekiT sargeblobis survili da moTxovnileba eqneboda da sxv.

1830-1840 wlebis mijnis qarTuli sazogadoebriv-kulturuli wreebis inertulobasa da apaTiur mdgomareobaze mkafio warmodgenas iZleva konstantine mamacaSvilis sityva, romelic man 1876 wels `droebis~ 10 wlisTavisadmi miZRvnil iubileze warmoTqva: `sami-oTxi Tu SeverTdebodiT da krZalviT daviwyebdiT sazogado saqmeebze Tu literaturaze laparaks, isic did bednierebaTa da gabedvaT migvaCnda~.

qarTulma aristokratiam daijera miTi imperator nikoloz I-is `lmobieri~ da `keTili~ gulis Sesaxeb da erTgulqveSevrdomuli grZnobiT miiRo is `mowyaleba~, romelic imperiuli interesebis sasargeblodve gaiRo nikoloz I-ma SeTqmulTa mimarT. amas daerTo 1837 wlis oqtomberSi TviTon imperatoris stumroba, romelic grandiozul dResaswaulSi gadaizarda. am sakiTxze samxedro istorikosi vasil poto wers: `1837 wels imperatorma nikoloz pavles Zem gaabedniera kavkasia Tavisi aq yofniT... qarTveli Tavadebi asi da orasi versis siSoridan modiodnen tfiliss, Tan axalgazrda Svilebi mohyavdaT, rom xelmwifisTvis eCvenebinaT da monawileoba mieRoT dids saxalxo dResaswaulSi~. luka isarliSvilis erTi mogonebis mixedviT, `xelmwife-imperatoris xilvis bednierebas rom Rirsebodnen, tfiliss moawyda yvela wodebis mosaxleoba kavkasiis yvela kuTxidan... mTeli am uricxvi, sunTqvaSekruli xalxis mowiwebuli mzera mxolod da mxolod misken \_ xelmwife-imperatorisaken! \_ iyo mipyrobili...~ da a. S.

Tavis mxriv, im gulwrfelma aRtacebam da mowiwebam, romelic imperatorma saqarTveloSi igrZno, igi sabolood daarwmuna, rom Seqmnili iyo xelsayreli politikuri da fsiqologiuri viTareba qarTveli Tavadaznaurobis, \_ rac mTavaria, misi frondirebuli nawilis, \_ imperiis samsaxurSi Casayeneblad. nikoloz I-ma qarTvel aristokratias farTod gauRo saxelmwifo-adminstraciuli da samxedro samsaxuris kari, rac Cveneburma Tavadaznaurobam didi sixaruliT miiRo: zogma materialuri keTildReobisa da pativis moxveWis mizniT, zogisaTvis ki samoxeleo Tu samxedro kariera sakuTari SesaZleblobebis realizaciisa da sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi TviTdamkvidrebis erTaderTi saSualeba iyo.

erTi sityviT, gamoikveTa rogorc erovnul-saxelmwifoebrivi TviTSegnebis, ise sazogadoebrivi moralis uCveulod swrafi degradaciis suraTi. daiwyo elitaruli aristokratiuli fenebis nebayoflobiTi rusifikaciis procesi da saqarTvelo TandaTanobiT denacionalizaciis realuri safrTxis winaSe aRmoCnda. am mxriv, sayuradReboa aRniSnuli periodis arCil jorjaZiseuli erTi SexedviT metismetad mkacri Sefaseba: `qarTvel sazogadoebas mecxramete saukunis pirvel naxevarSi erovnulad garkveuli fizionomia aRar hqonda. Zvel droSi Tu iyo raime kulturis nasaxi, TiTqos waSliliyo. politikurad dasneulebuli erovnuli sxeuli dasneulda zneobrivad da gonebrivadac...~

oficialurma saxelmwifoebrivma (rusifikatorul-antiqarTulma) ideologiam TavisdaTavad warmoSva sawinaaRmdego (nacionalur-qarTuli) ideologiis Camoyalibeba-ganviTarebis sasicocxlo aucilebloba da qarTuli sazogadoebriv-kulturuli cxovreba kidev erTxel gadaiqca mZafri ideologiuri orTabrZolis asparezad.

aqve sagangebod unda aRiniSnos erTi garemoeba: nikoloz I-is zemoT naxseneb stumrobas saqarTveloSi da masTan dakavSirebul movlenebs erTi pozitiuri Sedegic mohyva. kerZod, qarTveli aristokratiis serviluri ganwyobilebiT guldamSvidebulma imperatorma SesaZleblad cno, daeCqarebina saqarTvelos (zogadad, amierkavkasiis) mmarTvelobiTi sistemis gardaqmna da misi gadayvana samxedro reJimidan samoqalaqo cxovrebaze. es ki, Tavis mxriv, obieqturad ukeTes pirobebs qmnida sazogadoebriv-kulturuli viTarebis mowesrigebisa da misi erovnuli mimarTulebiT warmarTvisaTvis, rac gamoiyena kidevac patriotulad ganwyobil moRvaweTa mcirericxovanma jgufma dimitri yifianis meTaurobiT.

1840-iani wlebis dasawyisSi, rodesac `ukve dasrulebuli iyo dezorganizacia erovnul cxovrebisa~ (a. jorjaZe), pirveli gadasaxlebidan (vologdidan) axaldabrunebuli dimitri yifiani ayalibebs `erovnuli xsnis programas~, romelsac safuZvlad udebs Tavadaznaurul-liberaluri ganmanaTleblobis ideologias. dim. yifianis SexedulebiT, Seqmnil viTarebaSi saWiro \_ da sasicocxlod aucilebelic \_ iyo arsebuli politikuri sistemis farglebSive erovnuli mizandasaxulobis intensiuri kulturul-saganmanaTleblo saqmianobis gaSla da am gziT, erTi mxriv, saerTo-erovnuli TviTSegnebis Camoyalibeba, xolo meore mxriv, qarTvelTa kulturul-inteleqtualuri dawinaureba. `ganaTlebaRa aris Cveni fexzed damayenebeli imedi~ \_ am sityvebiT `gaformda~ mogvianebiT (1860-ian wlebSi) is universaluri modeli, romelsac eyrdnoba dim. yifianiseuli programa da romelSic zedmiwevniT iyo gaTvaliswinebuli imdroindeli politikuri realobebi da kulturul-ideologiuri saWiroebani.

dim. yifiani TviTonve Caudga saTaveSi zemoaRniSnuli programis praqtikul ganxorcielebas \_ 1840-1850 wlebSi igi (rasakvirvelia, TanamoazreebTan erTad) zrunavda saqarTveloSi mwignobruli interesebis gaRvivebaze, erovnuli Jurnalistikis aRorZinebaze, profesiuli qarTuli Teatris daarsebaze, ganaTlebis sistemis mowesrigeba-gaumjobesebaze, istoriulad Camoyalibebuli tradiciebisa da kulturuli memkvidreobis SenarCunebaze, mecnieruli azrovnebis Camoyalibebaze, icavda mSobliuri enis interesebs, iRvwoda saliteraturo qarTulis demokratizaciisaTvis da sxv.

dimitri yifianis `erovnuli xsnis programis~ praqtikuli ganxorcielebisaTvis SesaniSnavi garemo Seiqmna 1845 wlidan, roca saqarTveloSi Camovida kavkasiis axali mmarTveli, mefisnacvali (`namestniki~) mixeil voroncovi (nikoloz I-ma am Tanamdebobaze igi 1844 wlis dekemberSi daniSna). m. voroncovi saqarTveloSi farTo reformistuli gegmiT Camovida da am gegmis praqtikuli realizaciisas Tavis uaxloes TanamSromlad SearCia dimitri yifiani \_ axalgazrda, magram didad niWieri da unariani saxelmwifo moxele, ro­me­lic `ma­Sin­de­li ad­mi­nis­traci­u­li moR­va­we­o­bis er­Ti um­Tav­re­si RerZTa­ga­ni iyo~ (n. ni­ko­la­Ze).

britanul diplomatiaze aRzrdili, Wkviani da SorsmWvreteli mixeil voroncovimiiCnevda, rom enobrivi da kulturuli mravalferovneba imperiis Zlierebis wyaro iyo da ara \_ misi sisustis maCvenebeli. amitomac misi politikur-administraciuli kursi mimarTuli iyo, erTi mxriv, ruseTis imperiaSi saqarTvelos politikuri da ekonomikuri Serwyma-asimilaciisaken, xolo meore mxriv, rusi mefisnacvali yovelmxriv uwyobda xels qarTuli kulturis aRorZinebasa da ganviTarebas, mis evropeizacias. cno­bi­lia is di­di ama­gi, ro­me­lic m. voroncovma das­do gi­or­gi eris­Ta­vis pro­fe­si­u­li Te­at­ri­s da­ar­se­bas (1850; sxvaTa Soris, qarTuli Teatris daarsebam erovnuli dramaturgiis ganviTarebasac misca stimuli \_ g. erisTavi, z. antonovi, g. dvanaZe da sxv.). amas gar­da, m. voroncovis sa­xel­Ta­naa dakavSirebu­li ara­er­Ti me­tad mniS­vne­lo­va­ni kul­tu­rul-sa­gan­ma­naT­leb­lo Ronis­Zi­e­bis or­ga­ni­ze­ba. ker­Zod, misi ini­ci­a­ti­viT, da­va­le­bi­Ta Tu aq­ti­u­ri xelSew­yo­biT da­ar­sda Tbi­lis­Si sa­ja­ro bib­li­o­Te­ka (1846), `ru­se­Tis saimperatoro geogra­fi­u­li sa­zo­ga­do­e­bis kav­ka­si­is gan­yo­fi­le­ba~ (1850), kavkasiis muzeumi (1852), TbilisSi gaixsna wignis maRaziebi, sa­qar­Tve­lo­Si pirvelad Ca­tar­da istoriuli Zeglis ar­qe­o­lo­gi­u­ri Seswavla (uflisci­xe­Si) dim. meR­vi­ne­Tu­xu­ce­siS­vi­lis xel­mZRva­ne­lo­biT (1852), gamoica Zve­li qar­Tu­li Txzu­le­be­bi (an­ton pirvelis `wyo­bil­sit­yva­o­ba~, io­seb Tbi­le­lis `didmouraviani~ da sxv.), realuri Sinaarsi SeiZina yvela tipis saswav­leb­leb­Si qar­Tu­li eni­s savaldebulo swavlebam, axalgazrdebisaTvis xazinis xarjze daarsda stipendiebi ruseTSi ganaTlebis misaRebad (m. voroncovis mmarTvelobis periodSi kavkasiidan ruseTis saswavleblebSi gagzavnil stipendiantTa ricxvma xuTidan 160-s miaRwia), daarsda sxvadasxva tipis saswavleblebi (quTaisi, TianeTi, java, biWvinTa, qveSeTi...) da sxv.; sagangebod unda iTqvas, romvoroncovs saqarTvelos aRorZinebis gzad miaCnda qarTuli sazogadoebrivi, socialur-ekonomikuri, kulturul-saganmanaTleblo da saliteraturo cxovrebis evropeizacia, rac arsebiTad ewinaaRmdegeboda ruseTis saxelmwifoebriv-ideologiur politikas \_ marTalia, TviTon ruseTis monarqiasac surda CvenSi cxovrebis evropul gzaze dayeneba, magram igi saqarTveloSi evropeizmis erTaderT wyarod mmarTvelobis rusul sistemas, rusul kulturas, cxovrebisa da azrovnebis rusul wess miiCnevda.

m. vo­ron­co­vi xaz­gas­miT ga­mo­xa­tav­da pa­ti­vis­ce­mas qar­Tu­li enis, qar­Tve­li xal­xis is­to­ri­is, kul­tu­ris, adaT-we­se­bi­sa Tu zne-Cve­u­le­be­bis mi­marT. amis gamo misi `kav­ka­si­u­ri po­li­ti­ki­sad­mi~ damokidebu­le­ba arc mefis­nac­vlis sicocxle­Si, arc mi­si sik­vdi­lis Sem­deg ru­se­Tis politikur wre­eb­Si ar yofila er­Tgva­ro­va­ni. ase, magaliTad, didad gavleniani figura ruseTis politikur wreebSi da arsebiTad rusuli didmpyrobelur-Sovinisturi ideologiis meTauri 1860-1880 wlebSi mixeil katkovi (sxvaTa Soris, dediT qarTveli \_ TulaSvili) voroncovs uwodebda liberalizmis saxeliT ruseTis nacionaluri interesebis ugulebelmyofels, ararusuli TviTSegnebisa da kavkasiaSi separatizmis wamaxalisebel mmarTvels da pirdapir sdebda brals ruseTis saxelmwifoebrivi interesebis RalatSi; amasTanave, amtkicebda \_ swored voroncovis politikam aqcia kavkasiaSi rusi damcirebul da Seuracxyofil, arsebiTad meorexarisxovan adamianado.

ase iyo Tu ise, `voroncovis daniSvna kavkasiis namestnikad friad sasargeblo da gamosadegi gaxda qarTul axal kulturis aRorZinebisaTvis. miZinebuli eri gamofxizlda da dezorganizaciaSi moyvanili sazogadoebrivi sxeuli gamrTelebis da gankurnebis imedma Seipyro~ (a. jorjaZe). aseTi viTareba ki gansakuTrebul mniSvnelobas aniWebda erovnuli mizandasaxulobis nebismier wamowyebas da swored am istoriuli fonis gaTvaliswinebiT unda iqnes ganxiluli Jurnal `ciskris~ adgili da mniSvneloba ara mxolod qarTuli Jurnalistikis, aramed saerTod axali qarTuli kulturis istoriaSi.[[1]](#footnote-1)1

idea Jurnal `ciskris~ (iseve, rogorc qarTuli Teatris) daarsebisa 1832 wlis SeTqmulebis monawilis, ma­na­na or­be­li­a­nis, literaturul salonSi Camoyalibda. 1840-ian wlebSi am salonSi ik­ri­be­bo­dnen qar­Tve­li mwerlebi, sazogado moRvaweebi da msjelobdnen qarTuli kulturis awmyosa Tu momavalze, misi aRorZinebis gzebze. salonis xSiri stumrebi iyvnen literaturiT dainteresebuli umaRlesi rangis saxelmwifo moxeleebi da, maT Soris, mefisnacvali m. voroncovi, agreTve, TbilisSi sxvadasxva mizniT Camosuli stumrebi. mananasTan `ikribebodnen da kiTxulobdnen leqsebs: tato (baraTaSvili niko), giorgi erisTavi, isarliSvili, birTveliCi (mixeil TumaniSvili), maRalaSvili, xandaxan yifiani da sxva... manana orbelianis salonSi iyo, rac ciskris gamocemas da Teatrs mieca dasawyisi. erT saRamos Tqves \_ modi erTi, gamovceTo da is iyo. voroncovi mananasTan xSirad dadioda. aq Seityo giorgi erisTavze, moiwona, Semweoba misca Jurnalis gamocemisaTvis, TeatrisaTvis~ (l. isarliSvili).

unda iTqvas, rom `ciskris~ gamocemasTan dakavSirebuli movlenebi luka isarliSvilis mogonebaSi erTob gaiolebuladaa warmodgenili (`erT saRamos Tqves \_ modi erTi, gamovceTo da is iyo~). sxva mxriv, Cven safuZveli ara gvaqvs eWvi SevitanoT memuaristis monaTxrobSi da, isedac, sxva dokumenturi masala sakiTxis garSemo arc mogvepoveba (am Temis Sesaxeb umaRles xelisuflebasTan m. voroncovis mimoweraSi, garda giorgi erisTavisa, sxva saxeli ar Cans). zepirgadmocemebze dafuZnebuli tradicia `ciskris~ gamocemaSi mniSvnelovan wils dim. yifiansac udebs: `[voroncovma da yifianma] daibares g. erisTavi. mTavarmarTebelma gasca brZaneba... unda gamoices Jurnali da Sen ikisro misi redaqtorobao~ (a. wereTeli), `redaqtoroba `ciskrisa~ voroncovma dimitri yifianis rCeviT miando giorgi erisTavs (gluxariCs)~ (nik. yifiani), `dimitri yifianis SuamdgomlobiT daarsda pirveli qarTuli Jurnali `ciskari~ (n. maWaraSvili), `dimitri yifianis mecadineobiT daarsda qarTuli Jurnali `ciskari~ (T. saxokia) da sxv.

arsebobs Tu ara sakmarisi safuZveli, gaviziaroT zemoaRniSnuli tradiciuli Sexeduleba, ganmtkicebuli dasaxelebul da sxva avtorTa konkretuli cnobebiT?

a) dim. yifiani uaRresad dainteresebuli iyo qarTuli Jurnalistikis aRorZi­ne­biT da 1840-iani wlebis dasawyisSi TviTonac cdilobda perioduli gamocemis daarsebas.

b) igi Zalze daaxloebuli TanamSromeli iyo mefisnacval m. voroncovisa. ase rom, qarTvel moRvaweTagan Tu vinmes SeeZlo mefisnacvlisaTvis daesabuTebina qarTuli Jurnalis gamocemis mizanSewoniloba, es, pirvel rigSi, swored dim. yifiani unda yofiliyo da, Sesabamisad, `ciskris~ daarsebiT dainteresebuli wre m. voroncovTan saSuamdgomlod masze ukeTes kandidats ver ipovida.

g) dimitri yifiani TviTonac im wreSi trialebda, romelSic daibada da Camoyalibda idea literaturuli Jurnalis gamocemisa da igi manana orbelianis salonis xSiri stumari iyo (`romeo da julietas~ Targmani, \_ pirveli qarTuli Targmani uiliam Seqspiris Semoqmedebisa, \_ dimitri yifianma swored manana orbelians miuZRvna).

d) dim. yifians giorgi erisTavTan ymawvilobidanve axlo megobroba (erTad monawileobdnen 1832 wlis SeTqmulebaSi) da saerTo literaturuli da Teatraluri (zogadad, sazogadoebriv-kulturuli) interesebi akavSirebda.

ase rom, tradiciuli Sexeduleba giorgi erisTavis `ciskris~ daarsebaSi dimitri yifianis arsebiTi xasiaTis monawileobis Sesaxeb sarwmuno da gasaziarebeli Cans.

1851 wlis Tebervlis pirvel ricxvebSi giorgi erisTavma mefisnacval m. voroncovs oficialurad sTxova Jurnal `ciskris~ gamocemis nebarTva. vinaidan perioduli gamocemis daarseba ruseTis imperatoris nebarTvis gareSe ver moxerxdeboda, m. voroncovma, Tavis mxriv, imave wlis 12 Tebervals imperatorTan saSuamdgomlod werilobiT mimarTa ruseTis samxedro ministr a. CerniSovs, romelic imavdroulad peterburgSi 1840 wels daarsebuli `kavkasiis komitetis~ Tavmjdomarec iyo:

`CemTan sagangebo davalebaTa moxeled msaxurobs Tavadi giorgi erisTavi, romelmac survili gamoTqva, wm. ninos saswavleblis sasargeblod TbilisSi qarTul enaze gamosces literaturuli Jurnali `ciskari~. JurnalSi upiratesad unda daibeWdos qarTuli, rusuli da ucxouri literaturis nimuSebi, agreTve, cnobebi soflis meurneobis, mecnierebisa da xelovnebis Sesaxeb... TviTon erisTavs aqaur saliteraturo asparezze niWieri mwerlis saxeli aqvs mopovebuli Tavisi SesaniSnavi komediebiT, romlebic man dadga kidevac scenaze da saamisod qarTuli Teatraluri dasic Camoayaliba~.

rogorc m. voroncovis mimarTvidan Cans, ganzraxuli iyo:

a) qarTul enaze literaturuli (`sityvierebiTi~) **Jur­­nalis** daarseba.

b) Jurnalis redaqtor-gamomcemeli unda yofiliyo g. erisTavi.

g) Jurnalis saxelwodeba unda yofiliyo `ciskari~.

d) igi unda daarsebuliyo wm. ninos qalTa saswavleblis sasargeb­lod.

logikuri Cans iniciatorTa ganzraxva \_ gamoecaT Jurnali da ara gazeTi. jer erTi, ramdenime wliT adre maT ver SeinarCunes erTaderTi qarTulenovani gazeTi `kavkasiisa mxareTa uwyebani~ da, Sesabamisad, m. voroncovisaTvis axali gazeTis daarsebis Txovna arc damajerebeli iqneboda da arc \_ gamarTlebuli. rac Seexeba literaturul Jurnals, misi arsebobisaTvis saWiro `Zala~, \_ iona meunargias TqmiT, \_ `sakmaod iyo am dros TbilisSi. xSirad erTi da igive ojaxi, erTsa da imave dRes, xedavda erTad Seyrilad iseT mwerlebs, rogornic iyvnen: grigol orbeliani, giorgi erisTavi, aleqsandre orbeliani, vaxtang orbeliani, platon ioseliani, dimitri yifiani, mixeil TumaniSvili da sxv. aleqsandre WavWavaZe da nikoloz baraTaSvili Tumca cocxalni ar iyvnen am dros, magram maTi niWieri qmnileba, sikvdiliT ganwmendili, xeldaxel dadioda... amaT garda, bevri sxva ucnobi mwerlebic iyvnen, romelTac sakmao `originalebi~ ewyoT Sin stambisaTvis. samkali mosuli iyo, momkelnic iyvnen; saWiro iyo mxolod erTi gambedavi mesveuri, rom rigi daewyo da pirveli sve gaetana. amisTana mesveurad aRmoCnda Teatris direqtori g. d. erisTavi~.

iniciatorTa mier Jurnalis redaqtor-gamomcemlad giorgi erisTaviskandidaturaze SeCereba bunebrivi da logikuri Cans. g. erisTavi am droisaTvis ukve iyo didad dafasebuli mwerali (poeti, dramaturgi, mTargmneli), xelmZRvanelobda mis mierve Camoyalibebul qarTul Teatrs, axalgazrdobidanve TanamSromlobda qarTul presaSi da sxv. da kidev erTi arsebiTi mniSvnelobis garemoeba \_ giorgi erisTavis talantze maRali azrisa iyo kavkasiis mefisnacvali (m. voroncoma TbilisSi Camosul did mTavars, ruseTis momaval imperator aleqsandre nikolozis Zes, g. erisTavi sagangebod warudgina rogorc `qarTvelebis molieri~, rac, cxadia, aSkara gadaWarbeba ki aris, magram udavod metyvelebs qarTveli dramaturgisadmi mefisnacvlis pativiscemasa da mis mimarT gamovlenil keTilganwyobaze).

rac Seexeba Jurnalis **saxelwodebas**, amiT iniciatorebs qarTuli literaturis aRorZinebis survilisa da momavlis imedis gamoxatva surdaT (`axal Jurnals, romelsac unda gaeTenebina axali brwyinvale dRe qarTuli mwerlobisaTvis, giorgi erisTavma daarqva `ciskari~ \_ i. meunargia).

Jurnal `ciskris~ daarseba wm. ninos saxelobis qalTa saswavleblis `sasargeblod~ SemTxveviTi ar yofila. es saswavlebeli (mogvianebiT igi qalTa gimnaziad gadakeTda) 1846 wels daafuZna `wm. ninos saxelobis qalTa saqvelmoqmedo sazogadoebam~ da mas uSualod xelmZRvanelobda mefisnacvlis meuRle eli­sa­bed branickaia-vo­ron­co­va. `saq­vel­moq­me­do sa­zo­ga­do­e­bis~ mTa­va­ri mi­za­ni iyo saqarTveloSi (zogadad kav­ka­si­a­Si) qal­Ta ga­naT­le­bis­aTvis xe­lis Sewyoba, am saq­mis ko­or­di­na­cia da spe­ci­a­lu­rad qa­le­bisa­Tvis gan­kuT­vni­li sas­wav­leb­le­bis da­ar­se­ba. `sazogadoebis~ wevrebi iyvnen imdroindeli qarTveli aristokratiis gamorCeuli wevrebi: nino WavWavaZe-griboedova, manana orbeliani, elene erisTavi da sxv.

rac Seexeba uSualod wm. ninos saxelobis qalTa saswavlebels, igi, wesdebis mixedviT, dafuZnda `keTili colebisa da da ojaxis kargi dedebis mosamzadeblad~ da mas sazogadoebaSi didi avtoriteti da umwikvlo reputacia hqonda mopovebuli. Sesabamisad, `ciskris~ dakavSireba am saswavleblis saxelTan, jer erTi, gaaadvilebda Jurnalis dasaarseblad saWiro nebarTvis miRebasa da, amas garda, axaldaarsebul gamocemas imTaviTve SesZenda sazogadoebriv mxardaWeras.

1851 wlis 1 marts m. voroncovma miiRo a. CerniSovis oficialuri pasuxi, romlis mixedviTac, imperatori nebas rTavda g. erisTavs, gamoeca literaturuli Jurnali `ciskari~, mxolod im pirobiT, rom redaqtor-gamomcemels aucileblad da zedmiwevniT unda Seesrulebina kavkasiis sacenzuro komitetis mier dawesebuli moTxovnebi: `JurnalSi araviTar SemTxvevaSi ar unda daibeWdos politikuri xasiaTis statiebi, cnobebi da msjelobani. misi udidebulesoba [imperatori nikoloz I] am mxriv uSualo zedamxedvelobis pasuxismgeblobas akisrebs kavkasiis sacenzuro komitetsa da, gansakuTrebiT, im cenzors, romelsac `ciskarSi~ gamosaqveynebeli masalis winaswari Semowmeba daekisreba~.

umaRlesi nebarTvis miRebisTanave g. erisTavma gaavrcela nabeWdi gancxadeba:

`ama Cyna[1851] wlisaTvis, Tanaxmad umaRlesisa nebisa iqmneba gamocemuli sasargeblod wm. ninas zauedeniisa qarTuls enazed sityvierebiTi Jurnali `ciskari~ yovels TveSi TiTo wignaT, romelsa Sinaca iqnebis Secul: qarTuli sityviereba, Targmani, swavla, xelovneba da saxlis patronoba. fasi weliwadSi e[5] maneTi, xolo gagzavniT v[6] maneTi, TeTri fuli. msurvelTa ama Jurnalisa ZaluZsT miiqcnen TavianTis TxovniTa drozed ama Jurnalis redaqciaSi, Tfiliss, saxlsa Sina [wm.] ninas zauedeniisasa kukiaSi, raTa redaqciam Zaliduas dabeWdua misi saWiros ricxviT ekzempliarTa. amasTanave redaqcias aqus pativi daumatos, romel msurvelTa ama JurnalSi statiis dabeWdvisa, ZaluZsT gamogzavnon ese viTari ama redaqciaSi.

redaqtori, T[avadi] **erisTavi~.**

es gancxadeba rusul da qarTul enebze `kavkazsa~ da `zakavkazski vestnikSic~ gamoqveynda, Tumca verc am ukanasknel garemoebasa da verc redaqtoris mowodebas, mkiTxvelni droze unda `miiqcnen~ Jurnalis gamosawerado, sazogadoebaSi didi enTuziazmi ar gamouwvevia \_ xelis momwerTa simciris gamo (sakuTari stambis uqonlobis gamoc) 1851 wels `ciskris~ gamocema ver moxerxda.

`ciskris~ xelis momwerTa raodenoba, sxvadasxva monacemis mixedviT, meryeobda 150-dan 300-mde. saqme rom ar Seferxebuliyo, m. voroncovma wm. ninos saswavleblis sasargeblod Jurnalis asi nomeri gamoiwera da amiT redaqtor-gamomcemels saqmis materialuri mxarec mougvara. garda Tbilisisa, `ciskari~ gamowerili hqondaT quTaisSi, TelavSi, gorSi, zugdidSi... agreTve ruseTSi (moskovi, peterburgi...).

`ciskars~ Tavidan, rogorc iTqva, sakuTaristamba ar hqonda, rac, bunebrivia, SeuZlebels xdida Jurnalis droulsa da xarisxian gamocemasa da, amasTanave, isedac xelmokle redaqtor-gamomcemlisagan damatebiT xarjsac moiTxovda. amitomac 1852 wlis 28 ianvars g. erisTavma mefisnacvals oficialuri Txovna warudgina: `vinaidan qarTuli Jurnalis kerZo stambaSi beWdva did TanxasTanaa dakavSirebuli, umorCilesad gTxovT, neba momceT wm. ninos saxelobis qalTa saswavleblis saxelze da imave saswavleblis sasargeblod gavxsna qarTuli stamba~.

m. voroncovma ara marto saTanado nebarTva gasca, aramed g. erisTavs Jurnalis gamosacemad mefisnacvlis kancelariis Zveli stambac aCuqa. es voroncovis mxridan arsebiTad qvelmoqmedeba iyo, ramdenadac am stambas ar hqonda komerciuli mizani da daniSnuleba, ar iRebda SekveTebs da misi saqmianoba mxolod `ciskris~ beWdva-gamocemiTRa Semoifargleboda. amdenad, stamba mogebas ar iZleoda da, Sesabamisad, materialurad verc wm. ninos saswavlebels Seeweoda. aqve isic unda iTqvas, rom qarTuli stamba Zveli iyo, gamarTulad ver muSaobda da Jurnalis redaqtor-gamomcemels zogjer sxva kerZo Tu saxelmwifo (mefisnacvlis kancelariis) stambaSi uwevda Jurnalis beWdva. amis Taobaze mogvianebiT ivane kereseliZe werda: `ciskars~ patara stamba hqonda. mas igi mTavarmarTeblis stambidan aCuqes. Sig idga xis dazga, romelic Zveleburad iyo nakeTebi~.

g. erisTavis qarTuli stambaca da Jurnalis redaqciac wm. ninos saxelobis qalTa saswavleblis SenobaSi (kukiaze) iyo moTavsebuli.

rac Seexebacenzuras, am dros ukve arsebobda `kavkasiis sacenzuro komiteti~ (daarsda 1848 wlis dekemberSi, praqtikulad 1849 wlidan Seudga muSaobas). igi Sedioda m. voroncovis iniciativiT Seqmnil `kavkasiis saswavlo olqis~ uwyebaSi, hqonda cenzoris sami Stati (mogvianebiT Tavmjdomaris meoTxe Static daemata), cenzoroba Tbilisis gimnaziis maswavleblebidan SerCeul pirebs ekisrebodaT, xolo `komitetis~ muSaobas saerTo zedamxedvelobas kavkasiis mefisnacvali uwevda.

`ciskris~ pirveli oTxi nomris cenzori iyoivane yaiTmazovi (yaiTmazaSvili),xolo Semdeg \_ Tbilisis gimnaziaSi qarTuli enisa da saRvTo sjulis maswavlebeli, sasuliero piri, poeti da mwignobari (sxvaTa Soris, 1832 wlis SeTqmulebis monawile) efrem aleqsi-mesxiSvili. `ciskari~ wminda wylis literaturuli (`sityvierebiTi~) gamocema iyo, mas politikuri Sinaarsisa Tu mizandasaxulobis masalis gamoqveyneba imTaviTve hqonda akrZaluli da am akrZalvis darRveva giorgi erisTavs arc SeeZlo da arc ucdia. es garemoeba ki, Tavis mxriv, aadvilebda redaqtoris urTierTobas cenzorebTan. rogorc i. yaiTmazovi, ise e. aleqsi-mesxiSvili sicocxlis bolomde msaxurobdnen `sacenzuro komitetSi~ da sxva dros araerTi masalis gamoqveyneba SeuferxebiaT an aukrZalavT kidevac (akaki wereTeli i. yaiTmazovs uwodebda `karg kacs~, Tumca `autanel cenzors~), magram aseTi radikaluri Careva cenzorebs g. erisTavis `ciskris~ saqmeebSi ar dasWirvebiaT. amdenad, Tvalsazrisi, TiTqos `mkacri sacenzuro pirobebi rom ar yofiliyo, `ciskari~, cxadia, gacilebiT ukeTesi Sinaarsisa iqneboda~ (m. gocaZe), gadaWarbebuli gvgonia; yovel SemTxvevaSi, `mkacri sacenzuro pirobebis~ damadasturebeli utyuari faqtebi Cven ar mogvepoveba.

`ciskars~ 4 ganyofileba hqonda:

1. mxatvruli literatura [`leqsT-Txzuleba~, `proza~. ibeWdeboda rogorc originaluri qarTuli (ZiriTadad, leqsebi), ise rusuli da ucxouri literaturis Targmanebi. gamoqveynda agreTve erTi qarTuli xalxuri leqsi `sofluri simRera~].

2. mecniereba da xelovneba (`hswavla da xelovneba~. ibeWdeboda didaqtikur-moralisturi da SemecnebiTi xasiaTis teqstebi, agreTve, saistorio masalebi).

3. saojaxo meurneoba [rCeva-rekomendaciebi saojaxo meurneobis ganviTarebisaTvis, Tumca, sakiTxi ratomRac mxolod gastronomiuli TematikiT Semoifargleba].

4. narevi [`sxua da sxua anbavi~. ibeWdeboda sxva­dasxva xasiaTis oficialuri Tu araoficialuri cnobebi, xalxuri sityvierebs nimuSebi (ZiriTadad, andazebi), TavSesaqcevi ambebi].

qarTveli sazogadoebis is nawili, romelsac kulturul-saliteraturo interesebi hqo­n­da, Tavidan didi sasoebiTa da aRfrTovanebiT Sexvda `ciskris~ gamosvlas. amgvari aRta­cebisa da imedebis gamomxatvelia Tavis droze cnobili poetisa da generlis,grigol dadianis (kolxidelis),leqsi `ares ewoda awRa ciskari...~ \_ Jurnal `ciskris~ namdvili apologia:

SefrfinviT getrfi, Cemo ciskaro,

sul-wasulobiT, Senda sul mnTebi

aciskrovane, saxe narnaro,

nislovan dReni, borcvni da mTebi.

saRmrTo naTelni Senni dabwnilni,

gangebisagan, SaravandediT,

Cvil-sxiv SuqiTa gardmodenilni,

bnelSi mdgomarTa, aRadgen mkudreTiT...

praqtikulad ki giorgi erisTavi maleve waawyda im problemebs, romlebmac uklebliv yvela adrindeli qarTuli perioduli gamocema imsxverpla: xelis momwerTa simcire da amiT gamowveuli materialur-finansuri problemebi, literaturuli masalis nakleboba da sxv.; redaqtorisaTvis gansakuTrebiT mZime swored literaturuli masalis simwire Seiqna \_ zogierTi nomeri erTi-ori avtoris TxzulebebiTaa Sevsebuli.

`ciskris~ gamocemis zemoaRniSnul Semaferxebel garemoebebs (materialuri siviwrove, literaturuli masalis nakleboba...) ruseT-osmaleTis 1853-1856 wlebis (e. w. `yirimis~) omic daemata. frontis xazi saqarTvelos teritoriazec gadioda da aman mxaris (maT Soris, Tbilisis) sazogadoebriv da administraciul cxovrebaSi daZabuloba da garkveuli dezorganizacia Seitana. SesaZlebelia, esec yofiliyo erT-erTi mizezi imisa, rom erTaderTi qarTuli Jurnalis gamocema Sewyda, Tumca redaqtor-gamomcemels mis daxurvaze gancxadeba ar gamouqveynebia. Cans, g. erisTavs ukeTes droTa molodinSi Tavisi Jurnalis aRdgenis imedi hqonda, magram yvela imedsa Tu ganzraxulebas wertili dausva `ciskris~ gulSematkivrisa da moamagis, mefisnacval m. voroncovis, kavkasiidan wasvlam \_ 1854 wlis damdegs mZimed daavadebulma m. voroncovma datova saqarTvelo, xolo kavkasiis axal mefisnacvlad qarTuli kulturisadmi mtruladganwyobili generali nikoloz muraviovi dainiSna. n. muraviovma pirveli rigis amocanad Tavisi winamorbedis politikur-administraciuli mmarTvelobisa da kulturul-saganmanaTleblo politikis radikalurad Secvla ganizraxa. igi saerTod fiqrobda kavkasiaSi naxevrad gasamxedroebuli mmarTvelobiTi reJimis aRdgenas da, marTalia, es man ver moaswro (1856 wels peterburgSi gadaiyvanes, xolo mis adgilze al. bariatinski daniSnes), magram, sanam mefisnacvlis Tanamdeboba eWira, n. muraviovma gaauqma qarTuli Teatri, m. voroncovis mier daarsebuli italiuri opera da sxv.

manamde ki (1854 wlis noemberSi) g. erisTavma datova qarTuli Teatri, xolo roca sabolood darwmunda, rom `ciskris~ beWdvis ganaxlebas veRar SeZlebda, Jurnalis gamocemis ufleba qarTuli Teatris axal xelmZRvanels, ivane kereseliZes, gadasca, TviTon ki mSobliur xidisTavSi (goris mazra) dabrunda, sadac sicocxlis bolomde darCa.

1857 wels (#12) iv. kereseliZis `ciskarSi~ `molaybe~ aseT Sefasebas aZlevda giorgi erisTavis damsaxurebasa da `ciskris~ daxurvasTan dakavSirebul garemoebebs:

`ualago ar iqmneba vsTqva: ra grZnobiT vuyurebdiT g. erisTavs, romelmanca daafuZna **`ciskari~**, aRadgina dacemuli qarTuli ena, mravali keTili SesZina saqarTvelos da ufro mets SesZinebda, ukeTu Cuen gardagvexadna madloba damfuZneblisaTvis. magram ra magodeni sinidisi aris CuenSi! nacvlad madlobisa, xSirad damdureba ismoda amgvar kaczed, romlisaca talanti da Sroma Rirsi aris SeniSvnisa da romlisa wyalobiTac axlac gamodis Jurnali. g. erisTavi rom ar yofiliyo, aqamdinc daZinebulni viqnebodiT. ra naxa qarTvelTa poetman, rom veRar gaawyo Tavisi grZnoba Cuenzed... amooxvriT daaneba Tavi Jurnalsa da sTqua: rogorc giwiravT, ise hswireTo! Cuenc magis meti ki ar gvindoda. ai, ra fasi aqus CuenSi WeSmaritsa talantsa da amasTanave Sromas~.

`ciskars~ imTaviTve xarvezebi dahyva:

miuxedavad imisa, rom TbilisSi im dros ara erTi da ori TvalsaCino mwerali cxovrobda (razec miuTiTebda i. meunargia Cven mier zemoT damowmebul citataSi), g. erisTavma ver SeZlo maTi CarTva saJurnalo saqmianobaSi. dRes Wirs imis axsna, Tu ratom ar daibeWda g. erisTavis `ciskarSi~ vaxtang orbelianis, zurab antonovis, nikoloz berZniSvilis, dimitri yifianis arc erTi Txzuleba; aleqsandre orbeliani da mixeil TumaniSvili TiTo-TiTo poeturi nawarmoebiT, grigol rCeuliSvili erTaderTi TargmaniT, xolo grigol orbeliani da rafiel erisTavi ori-sami leqsiT arian warmodgenilni. samagierod, JurnalSi uxvad ibeWdeba dimitri bagrationisa da luka isarliSvilis saeWvo literaturuli Rirsebis Txzulebebi.

`ciskrisa~ da misi mesveuris gansakuTrebuli mniSvnelobis damsaxurebad iTvleba (da es asecaa!) is, rom pirvelad aq gamoqveynda nikoloz baraTaSvilis leqsebi, Tumca gaugebaria, ratom Semoifargla redaqtori poetis mxolod oTxi leqsiT [sxvas yvelafers Tavi rom davaneboT, im dros n. baraTaSvilis megobarTa da naTesavTa wreSi poetis ramdenime xelnaweri (avtografuli) krebuli moipoveboda].

rusuli literaturaZiriTadadaleqsandre bestuJev-marlinskis proziT Semoifargleba. marTalia, marlinskis Txzulebebs 1820-1830 wlebSi gatacebiT kiTxulobdnen ruseTSi, magram mwerlis dideba maleve Caqra, xolo 1850-ian wlebSi igi arsebiTad sakuTar samSobloSic ki aRar axsovdaT. am mxriv, gasagebia TviT Jurnalis didi mexotbis gr. dadianis (kolxidelis) guliswyroma: `ciskarSi~ raRaebsac gaugebels amalaT begsa beWduen. ratom afuWeben qaRalds da dros karguen. gana Zueli leqsebi da ucxo-ucxo moTxroba ar iSoveba saqarTveloSi?~. unda vifiqroT, redaqtori am SemTxvevaSi marlinskis TxzulebaTa kavkasiurma Tematikam daainteresa.

aRaras vambobT imaze, Tu rogor moxerxda, rom im drois umdidresi rusuli literaturidan saTargmnelad maincdamainc umniSvnelo literaturuli figuris, rafail zotovis, Txzuleba (ufro zustad, romanis nawyveti) SeerCiaT.

`ciskris~ literaturul produqciaSi ar Cans erTiani literaturul-msoflmxedvelobrivi da enobrivi pozicia, rac iwvevs literaturul da enobriv ekleqtizms, ar dabeWdila arc erTi kritikuli xasiaTis werili da sxv.

giorgi erisTavis `ciskris~ nakli iyo isic, rom igi ar asaxavda Tanadroul cxovrebas. marTalia, Jurnals imTaviTve hqonda akrZaluli politikur Temebze wera, magram, saTanado interesi rom yofiliyo, ganyofileba `sxua da sxua anbavi~ redaqtors, albaT, mainc miscemda SesaZleblobas, mkiTxvels cxovrebis Tundac susti majiscema egrZno. am mxriv, sagulisxmoa Jurnalis erTi SexedviT mkacri, magram arsebiTad swori Sefaseba: `ciskars~ ara hqonda axlandeli Jurnalis xasiaTi; is ar exeboda dRis varams, ar arCevda Tanamedrove saero da sapolitiko kiTxvebs, ar iyo warmomadgeneli arc erTi Taobisa, arc erTi partiisa, arc erTi sazogado azrisa. is ubralo, yovelTviuri krebuli[[2]](#footnote-2)6 iyo~ (i. meunargia).

ufro Semwynarebeli iyo ilia WavWavaZe, romelic saerTod didad afasebda g. erisTavis Rvawls qarTuli kulturis ganviTarebaSi da mas s. dodaSvilTan erTad qarTuli Jurnalistikis mamamTavradac miiCnevda, xolo sakuTriv `ciskarze~ werda: `marTalia, maSindeli `ciskari~ metad fexmokle da xelmokle iyo, magram es epatieba rogorc axals saqmes, jer uCveulos da uasakos...~

marTlac, Teatris saqmeebiT isedac ukiduresad datvirTuli g. erisTavi sazogadoebis mxridan gamoCenili uyuradRebobisa da gulgrilobis gamo martodmarto SerCa Jurnalis Sedgena-gamocemis mZime saqmes: igi iyo literaturuli masalis mompovebelic, ZiriTadi avtorica da mTargmnelic, qarTuli zepirsityvierebis nimuSTa Semkrebic, sastambo saqmis momgvarebelic, koreqtoric... masve unda ewera mkiTxvelTa erTi nawilisaTvis saintereso da gamosadegi `gakeTeba Rvinisa evropiul gvarad~, `murabis da Jeles gakeTeba~, `bati ZmriT~... garda xelmokleobisa, Cans, redaqtor-gamomcemlis ukiduresi gadatvirTuloba da mouclelobac iyo imis mizezi, rom sustia `ciskris~ teqnikur-poligrafiuli gaformeba, uxvadaa koreqturuli Secdomebi da a. S.

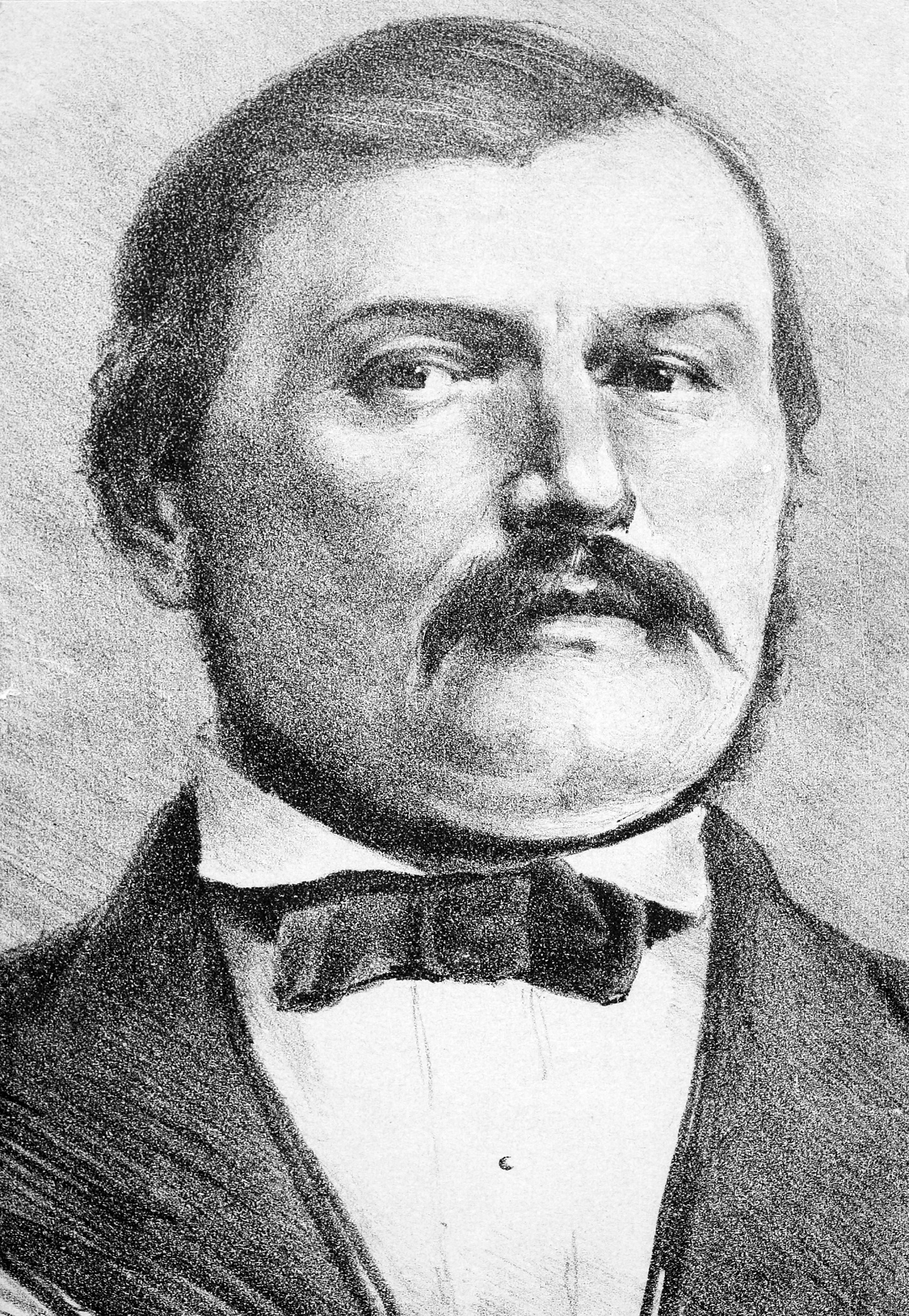
g. erisTavis `ciskris~ garSemo Seqmnil viTarebas zustad Seesabameba i. WavWavaZis Tvalsazrisi \_ gamoTqmuli sxva dros da sxva garemoebis gamo: `nuravin ifiqrebs, rom Jurnali marto erTisa kacis nebiT ibadeba. ara, TviTon cxovrebave gvaCvenebs xolme imis saWiroebas, kaci ki mxolod mixvdeba am saWiroebas da Jurnalis gamocemiT pasuxs aZlevs. rac cxovreba ufro Zlieria, ufro janiani da Ronieria, imodenaTa imis moTxovnilebani da saWiroebani didni arian~.

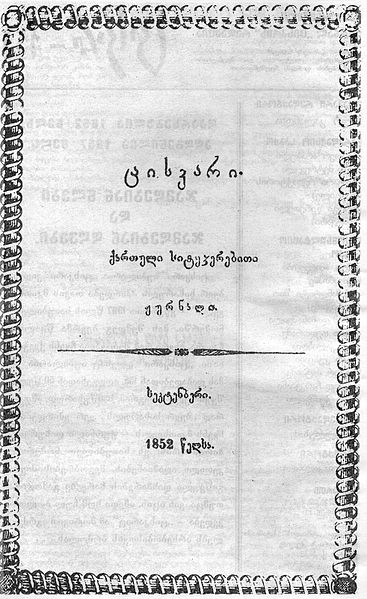
vinaidan imdroindeli qarTuli sazogadoebriv-kulturuli cxovreba ver aRmoCnda `janiani da Ronieri~ da, Sesabamisad, susti aRmoCnda misi `moTxovnilebani da saWiroebanic~, erTi adamianis (redaqtor-gamomcemlis) Zalisxmeva ar eyo sazogadoebis interesebis sasargeblodve `ciskris~ SenarCunebas.

yovelive zemoTqmuli, rasakvirvelia, srulebiT ar niSnavs zogadad giorgi erisTavisa da misi naamagari Jurnalis negatiur Sefasebasa da amiT `ciskris~ mniSvnelobis dakninebas. giorgi erisTavis `ciskarze~ msjelobisas aucileblad unda gaviTvaliswinoT i. WavWavaZis kidev erTi Sexeduleba: `yvela dros Tavisi tkivili aqvs... da WeSmariti meistorie, viTarca gamkiTxveli, jer im droebis qerqSi unda Cajdesda mere ganikiTxos TviT droebis Svilnica~.

da Tu viTarebas am kuTxiT SevxedavT, advilad davrwmundebiT, rom `ciskarma~, miuxedavad araerTi naklisa, pozitiuri roli Seasrula qarTuli Jurnalistikisa da mwerlobis, \_ zogadad qarTuli kulturis, \_ istoriaSi. man gamoacocxla imdroindeli qarTveli sazogadoebis kulturul-saliteraturo interesebi, gaaRviva interesi nabeWdi literaturuli teqstisadmi, SeZlo Zveli da Tanadrouli qarTuli mwerlobis popularizacia \_ aq gamoqveynda pirvelad Teimuraz I-is, Teimuraz II-is, vaxtang VI-is, sulxan-saba orbelianis, daviT guramiSvilis, grigol orbelianis, nikoloz baraTaSvilis Txzulebebi, aleqsandre WavWavaZis originaluri leqsebi... qarTvel mkiTxvels saSualeba mieca (Tundac susti da arasrulfasovani Targmanis meSveobiT) qarTul enaze pirvelad gacnoboda f. petrarkas, p. kornelis, f. Sileris, v. hiugos, a. mickeviCis sakacobrio mniSvnelobis Semoqmedebis calkeul nimuSebs, rac afarToebda qarTveli mkiTxvelis literaturul Tvalsawiersa da xels uwyobda literaturuli azrovnebisa da interesebis evropeizacias. sagangebod unda aRiniSnos is faqtic, rom `ciskari~ iyo pirveli qarTuli perioduli gamocema, romlis furclebzec qarTveli qalebis Txzulebebi daibeWda (daria erisTavi, el. wereTeli) da amiT sazogadoebis TvalSi, Teatraluri xelovnebis kvaldakval, axali stimuli mieca qarTvel qalTa moRvaweobas kulturul-saliteraturo asparezze...

erTi sityviT, giorgi erisTavis `ciskarma~, Tavisi drois erTaderTma qarTulma periodulma gamocemam, aaRorZina da gaagrZela s. dodaSvilis mier danergili, erovnuli interesebisa da mizandasaxulobis gamomxatveli Jurnalisturi tradicia da `1852 wlidan daudo dasabami im saJurnalo (Jurnalistur \_ T. j.) cxovrebas, romelic mesamoce wlebidan araCveulebrivad gaizarda da iqca qarTuli sazogadoebrivi ganviTarebismTavar faqtorad~ (vaxt. kotetiSvili).





1. 1 m. voroncovis `kavkasiuri politikis~ Sefaseba qarTul samecniero, publicistur Tu memuarul literaturaSi mkveTrad gansxvavebulia \_ uaRresad pozitiuridan (gr. orbeliani, dim. yifiani, p. ioseliani, a. jorjaZe, i. meunargia da sxv.) ukiduresad negatiuramde (vaxt. kotetiSvili, n. avaliSvili, s. gersamia, al. kalandaZe da sxv.; sakiTxisadmi winaaRmdegobrivi damokidebuleba hqondaT al. orbelians da n. nikolaZes). Cveni azriT, m. voroncovis `kavkasiuri politika~ yvelaze sworad da lakoniurad Sefasebulia akaki wereTlis mier \_ **voroncovi momavlis saqarTvelos ganixilavda rogorc `politikurad garusebuls, magram Tavis sarwmunoebiT, eniT da erovnul elferiT~** da amas igi akeTebda `**saevropio sworis gziT**~.

   aqve unda davimowmoT a. jorjaZe, romlis mixedviTac, `voroncovi ver Sehqmnida CvenSi verc Teatrs, verc periodul presas, TviT sazogadoebaSi rom ar yofiliyo amisaTvis saWiro elementebi~ (a. jorjaZe). sakiTxisadmi analogiuri damokidebuleba hqonda maqs. berZniSvilsac. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. 6 samecniero literaturaSi aRniSnulia, rom Tavisi struqturiTa da SinaarsiT `ciskari~ Jurnals ki ara hgavs, aramed `yovelTviur krebuls~, `almanaxs~, `almanaxismagvar periodul gamocemas~ da sxv. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)