**Tamaz jologua**

**1832 wlis SeTqmulebis raobisTvis**

1832 wlis SeTqmuleba qarTuli romantizmisTvis arsebiTi mniSvnelobis faqtori iyo. vaxtang kotetiSvilis SexedulebiT, `mecxramete saukunis pirveli naxevris [qarTveli] mwerlebi, TiTqmis yvela, SeTqmulTa saidumlo sazogadoebidan gamovidnen da maTi poezia TiTqos gacruebuli imedebis kompensacia iyo~ (kotetiSvili 1965: 58; sakiTxis garSemo ix. agreTve: abaSiZe 1962: 44; qiqoZe 1963: 79; ingoroyva 1963: 272-273, 279; gawerelia 1978: 120-125 da sxv.). Sesabamisad, 1832 wlis SeTqmulebis raobis SesaZlebeli sizustiT dadgena mniSvnelovania qarTuli literaturuli romantizmis tipologiuri bunebis gansazRvrisaTvis.

SeTqmulebasTan dakavSirebiT dRemde gavrcelebulia oficialuri, imperator nikoloz I-is politikuri nebiT gansazRvruli Tvalsazrisi SeTqmulebis araseriozulobis, mcire masStabis, araorganizebulobisa da, amdenad, uperspeqtivobis Sesaxeb. ra mizani amoZravebda xelisuflebas, amaze mogvianebiT vityviT, jerjerobiT ki mxolod imis aRniSvniT SemovifarglebiT, rom xsenebuli Tvalsazrisis damkvidreba, Cveni azriT, ***ZiriTadad*** kvlevis mcdari meTodologiiTaa ganpirobebuli \_ mkvlevrebi umeteswilad eyrdnobodnen TviTon SeTqmulTa Cvenebebs da arsebiTad ugulebelyofili iyo CvenebaTa urTierTSejerebis principi.

aq davimowmebT mxolod erT, dim. yifianTan dakavSirebul, magaliTs. iTvleboda, rom igi SemTxveviT moxvda reJimiT ukmayofiloTa wreSi, ekuTvnoda SeTqmulTa e. w. `literaturul jgufs~, misTvis miuRebeli iyo SeiaraRebuli ajanyebis idea, xolo roca darwmunda, rom sisxlisRvra gardauvali iyo, CamoSorda SeTqmulTa wres (abaSiZe 1905: 35; abaSiZe 1998: 406; jorjaZe 1989: 405; xundaZe 1936: 61 da sxv.). TviTon dim. yifianis Cvenebebis mixedviT, marTlac ase gamodis, magram sxva SeTqmulTa Cvenebebis urTierTSejerebam radikalurad gansxvavebuli suraTi mogvca; kerZod, gamoirkva, rom dim. yifianma icis filadelfos kiknaZis mier SemuSavebuli saidumlo anbani (goz. 1935: 33), erT-erTi pirveli ecnoba `akti goniurs~ (goz. 1935: 248-249; goz. 1970: 379, 380), debs erTgulebis fics (goz. 1935: 409; goz. 1970: 380; goz. 1976: 47), monawileobs im gegmis ganxilvaSi, romlis mixedviTac rusebs 1831 wels ajanyebuli varSava unda daemorCilebinaT (goz. 1970: 301), eswreba saubars, roca sparseTSi mimaval sol. razmaZes aleqsandre batoniSvilTan kavSirs avaleben (goz. 1970: 129, 218; goz. 1976: 380), mzad aris, wavides ruseTSi da Sexvdes SeTqmulebis iniciatorebsa da ideur xelmZRvanelebs, dimitri da oqropir batoniSvilebs (goz. 1970: 186, 187; goz. 1976: 49), mas s. dodaSvilsa da i. mamacaSvilTan erTad avaleben ajanyebis Rames gasavrcelebeli proklamaciis Sedgenas (goz. 1970: 126, 210, 219), misi monawileobiT muSavdeba ajanyebis Rames yazarmebis, arsenalis, hauptvaxtis, xazinisa da sasursaTo obieqtebis xelSi Cagdebis gegma (goz. 1970: 128, 216, 251, 287; goz. 1976: 75-76, 86, 325, 332, 348) da SeTqmulni dim. yifianis TandaswrebiTve msjeloben imaze, Tu ra saqme Caabaron mas ajanyebis Rames (goz. 1970: 307; goz. 1976: 75; ufro vrclad sakiTxis garSemo ix. jologua 2002: 54-73); Sesabamisad, SeTqmulTa Cvenebebis Sejereba adasturebs, rom dim. yifiani SeTqmulebis SemTxveviTi wevri ki ar iyo, aramed mniSvnelovan figuras warmoadgenda `farul sazogadoebaSi~. winaswari dakvirveba analogiur suraTs iZleva sxva SeTqmulebTan dakavSirebiTac (Tamar da Tekla batoniSvilebi, vaxtang orbeliani, giorgi daviTis Ze da giorgi revazis Ze erisTavebi da sxv.).

ase rom, vimeorebT, sasjelis winaSe mdgar SeTqmulTa mier sagamomZieblo komisiisTvis micemuli Cvenebebi ver iqneba sando masala da SeTqmulebasTan Tu mis calkeul monawileebTan dakavSirebuli sakiTxebis garkveva (an met-naklebad realuri suraTis miReba) mxolod Cvenebebis urTierTSejerebiTaa SesaZlebeli; amasTanave \_ es xazgasmiT unda iTqvas \_ ***savsebiT gasagebi da bunebrivia SeTqmulTa xSiri da gatrafaretebuli uaryofani, roca maT sxva SeTqmulTa Cvenebebze dayrdnobiT uyeneben brals da, Sesabamisad, sakiTxis kvlevisas es uaryofani angariSgasawev argumentad ar gamodgeba.***

1832 wlis SeTqmulebis raobis gansazRvrisTvis aucilebelia gairkves: SeTqmulebis Semadgenloba, geografiuli areali, organizaciuli struqtura, saerTaSoriso kavSirebi, ganzraxuleba saxelmwifoebrivi mowyobis Sesaxeb da sxv.

sanam am sakiTxebze vimsjelebdeT, aucilebelia aRiniSnos ramdenime arsebiTi mniSvnelobis garemoeba:

1. 1832 wlis SeTqmuleba Tavisuflad SeiZleba iqnes ganxiluli imdroindel evropaSi (saberZneTi, serbia, italia, poloneTi, belgia da a. S.) mimdinare ganmaTavisuflebel moZraobaTa konteqstSi (aq, cxadia, igulisxmeba ***ideuri*** da ara ***organizaciuli*** kavSirebi). jer kidev 1920-ian wlebSi mix. polievqtovi aRniSnavda: `Tavisi garegani formebis mixedviTac ki 1832 wlis SeTqmuleba... gvagonebs im nacionalur-ganmaTavisuflebel moZraobebs, romlebiTac ase mdidaria amave epoqis evropiuli qveynebis istoria~ (polievqtovi 1927: 111). k. kacitaZis SexedulebiT ki, qarTvelma SeTqmulebma `mravalsaukunebrivi iZulebiTi `Sesvenebis~ Semdeg saqarTvelo CarTes globaluri xasiaTis istoriul procesSi~ (kacitaZe 1997). sxvagvarad rom vTqvaT, SeTqmulebis iniciatorebma da organizatorebma saqarTvelo evropuli procesebis `velSi~ Seiyvanes da xangrZlivi izolaciis Semdeg qveyana saerTo-evropul politikur konteqstSi moaqcies.

2. SeTqmulebis iniciatorebsa da organizatorebs gaazrebuli hqondaT, rom srulfasovani saxelmwifoebrivi cxovrebisTvis suverenul uflebebTan erTad kulturis sistemuri ganviTarebac iyo aucilebeli. farul Sekrebebze isini msjelobdnen axalgazrdobis mier drois Sesaferisi ganaTlebis miRebasa da am mizniT `universitetis, samxedro korpusebisa da sxva saswavleblebis~ daarsebis saWiroebaze (goz. 1935: 153), samazro skolisaTvis Senobis agebaze (goz. 1970: 209), Rarib moswavleTa aRsazrdelad Tanxis Segrovebaze (goz. 1970: 208), ganaTlebis gasavrceleblad gazeTis an Jurnalis gamocemaze (goz. 1970: 205, 247; gamoscemdnen kidec literaturul Jurnals `saliteraturoni nawilni tfilisis uwyebaTani~, romlis ZiriTadi daniSnuleba mxatvruli Tu saistorio-saliteraturo teqstebis meSveobiT sazogadoebaSi patriotuli grZnobebis gaRviveba da ajanyebis warmatebisTvis aucilebeli sazogadoebrivi suliskveTebisa da ganwyobebis formireba iyo \_ Jurnalis Sesaxeb, agreTve, wyaroebi da literatura ix. jologua 2013a: 53-81), literaturuli sazogadoebis Camoyalibebaze (goz. 1970: 205), patriotuli mizandasaxulobis mxatvruli nawarmoebebis (originaluris, naTargmnis) Seqmna-gavrcelebaze (goz. 1970: 61-65, 187; xundaZe 1936: 59-61), Teatraluri tradiciis aRorZinebaze (goz. 1935: 153, 407; goz. 1970: 550; yifiani 1990: 155; balaxaSvili 1940: 102-103), biblioTekis daarsebaze (goz. 1970: 209), stambis SeZenaze (goz. 1970: 206, 208) da sxv.; jer kidev 1905 wels kita abaSiZem `kavkasiis arqeografiuli komisiis aqtebSi~ gamoqveynebul uaRresad mwir da tendenciurad SerCeul masalaze (aqtebi 1881: 391-423) dayrdnobiT aRniSna, rom `es iyo SeTqmuleba sazogadoebis ganaTlebulis wrisa~ (abaSiZe 1905: 14; abaSiZe 1998: 394). k. kacitaZis SexedulebiT, SeTqmulebis iniciatorebma da organizatorebma `ruseTis aneqsiis Sedegad dakarguli saxelmwifoebriobis aRdgena politikuri programis donemde aiyvanes... [maT] moqmedebis winaswarganzraxuli programa hqondaT~ (kacitaZe 1997). kulturis aRorZineba am gegmis organuli nawili iyo. sagulisxmoa mix. polievqtovis mosazrebac, romlis mixedviTac, SeTqmulni sazogadoebis `moralur ganaxlebas~ miiCnevdnen `rogorc mosamzadebel safexurs politikuri ganTavisuflebisaTvis~ (polievqtovi 1927: 111). SemTxveviTi ar aris dimitri SveliZis Tvalsazrisi, rom 1825-1832 ww. konspiraciul movlenebs unda ewodos ara `SeTqmuleba~, aramed `SeTqmulebrivi moZraoba~ (rusuli `Заговорческое движение~-s analogiiT) (SveliZe 2014: 3-41) da, miuxedavad terminologiuri mouxerxeblobisa (`SeTqmulebrivi moZraoba~), am mosazrebas, vfiqrobT, seriozuli safuZvlebi gaaCnia.

3. safuZvelsaa moklebuli Tvalsazrisi, TiTqos 1832 wlis SeTqmulebas `Tavadaznauruli (an: feodaluri) nacionalizmis~ xasiaTi hqonda, igi Caketili iyo wodebriv CarCoebSi da kavSiri ar hqonda xalxTan. 1832 wlis SeTqmuleba Tavisi bunebiT udavod da ueWvelad erovnul-ganmaTavisuflebeli xasiaTisaa (sakiTxis istoriografiuli mimoxilva ix. surgulaZe 1968: 269-291), xolo rac Seexeba xalxTan SeTqmulTa kavSirs, sagamomZieblo komisiis masalebSi uxvad moipoveba cnobebi imis Sesaxeb, Tu rogor unda CaerToT ajanyebaSi saqarTvelos yvela fena, pirvel rigSi, glexoba da msjelobdnen imaze, ra masStabiT, formebiTa Tu saSualebebiT ganexorcielebinaT es (goz. 1935: 77-81 da Smd.; ix. agreTve: SveliZe 2014: 15-19) [mravlismetyvelia mTavarmarTebel gr. rozenisadmi polkovnik v. cebrikovis mimarTva, romelic damowmebuli aqvs p. ingoroyvas: `yvela qarTuli sofeli apirebda amboxebas im ganzraxviT, rom ruseTis jarebis nawili amoeJlitaT, nawili ki ganedevnaT saqarTvelodan~ (ingoroyva 1963: 278; mimarTvis publikacia ix. goz. 1935: 83). `SeTqmulebs kavSiri hqondaT gabmuli soflad qarTlis raionebSi, Sida-kaxeTSi, qiziySi, nawilobriv imereTSi~, \_ dasZens p. ingoroyva (ingoroyva 1963: 278); sxvaTa Soris, SeTqmulTa `arsenalSi~ propagandistuli xerxebic Sedioda; magaliTad, aseTi: maT unda gaevrcelebinaT xmebi, TiTqos mTavroba apirebs glexebis `saldaTad~ gawvevas (goz. 1935: 81), rasac glexobis aRSfoTeba da masobrivi gamosvlebi unda mohyoloda da sxv.].

SeTqmulebis iniciatori, rogorc cnobilia, iyo dimitri iulonis Ze batoniSvili (peterburgi. 1825); 1826 wels oqropir giorgis Ze batoniSvili ukve moskovSi ayalibebs SeTqmulTa jgufs, sakuTriv saqarTveloSi ki am mimarTulebiT muSaoba savaraudod ukavSirdeba 1827 wels s. dodaSvilis Camosvlas peterburgidan TbilisSi (moskovis gavliT, sadac s. dodaSvili xvdeba oqropir batoniSvils \_ goz. 1935: 430-431), 1829 wlis SemodgomisTvis mTavrdeba winaswari samzadisi da iwyeba `faruli sazogadoebis~ struqturuli Camoyalibeba, `rasac am saqmisaTvis ruseTidan Camosuli oqropir batoniSvili (1829 w.) da elizbar erisTavi (1830 w.) agvirgvineben 1830 wlis dasawyisSi~ (goz. 1935: 26).

mmarTvelobiT-organizaciuli vertikalis Sesaxeb SeTqmulTa Cvenebebis Sejerebam tradiciuli Sexedulebisgan gansxvavebuli suraTi mogvca (kerZod, es exeba Tamar batoniSvilis rols SeTqmulebaSi da praqtikul moqmedebaTa xelmZRvanel `sameuls~, romelic sinamdvileSi `oTxeuli~ aRmoCnda):

a) SeTqmulebis saTaveebTan, rogorc iTqva, dimitri da oqropir batoniSvilebi idgnen. isini, gansazRvravdnen ra `faruli sazogadoebis~ xasiaTsa da mizandasaxulobas, piradi kontaqtebisa da konfidencialuri (maT Soris, kriptografiuli) mimoweris meSveobiT warmarTavdnen SeTqmulTa muSaobas.

b) `farul sazogadoebas~ saqarTveloSi xelmZRvanelobasa da koordinacias uwevda iniciatorTa mier ruseTidan 1829 wels specialurad am misiiT warmogzavnili Tamar batoniSvili (mamakaci batoniSvilebis saqarTveloSi cxovreba xelisuflebas dauSveblad miaCnda \_ maT SeiZleba qarTl-kaxeTis samefo taxtze gasCenodaT pretenzia). Tamars, Tavis mxriv, kavSirebi hqonda ruseTSi mcxovreb dimitri da oqropir, agreTve, farnaoz da salome batoniSvilebTan. ajanyebis Semdeg bagrationTa aRdgenil taxtze droebiT Tamar batoniSvili unda asuliyo (sakiTxis Sesaxeb ix. jologua 2013b: 179-183). mogvianebiT igi unda Seecvala aleqsandre batoniSvils, magram, radgan igi yoymanobda (goz. 1935: 54; goz. 1970: 594-595), aleqsandres uaris SemTxvevaSi \_ oqropir an dimitri batoniSvilebs (goz. 1935: 365-366; goz. goz. 1976: 17, 23, 224).

g) ajanyebis momzadebasTan dakavSirebuli saqmeebis xelmZRvanelTa cnobil `sameuls~ (elizb. erisTavi, al. orbeliani, s. dodaSvili) unda daematos iase falavandiSvili [sakmarisia iTqvas, rom: a) ajanyebisTvis saWiro praqtikul moqmedebaTa meTaurad (an: erT-erT meTaurad) iase falavandiSvils asaxelebs SeTqmulTa (ZiriTadi birTvis) nawili: al. orbeliani (goz. 1935: 389, 392), elizb. erisTavi (goz. 1976: 379), dim. erisTavi (goz. 1970: 289, 296), dim. orbeliani (goz. 1935: 229; goz. 1970: 306-307)]; b) ajanyebis pirveli Ramis samoqmedo gegma (`pirveli Ramis gankarguleba~) dawerilia iase falavandiSvilis mier (an: misi arsebiTi xasiaTis monawileobiT da masve ekuTvnis `gankargulebis~ saboloo redaqcia \_ goz. 1970: 425, 555-556 da Smd.; aqtebi 1881: 405) da sxv. (vrclad sakiTxis garSemo ix. jologua 2013b: 10-14). ZiriTadad am `oTxeulis~ mxrebzeve unda gadasuliyo ajanyebis warmatebiT dasruleba da taxtze droebiT mefed Tamar batoniSvilis ayvana.

SeTqmulebis ZiriTad birTvs (ideuradac, organizaciuladac, raodenobrivadac), xasiaTs, mizandasaxulobas qarTl-kaxeTis batoniSvilebi da Tavadaznauroba Seadgenda, Tumca masSi CarTulni iyvnen ***imerlebi****:* imereTis 1819-1820 ww. ajanyebis aqtiuri monawile da amis gamo erTxans osmaleTSi (axalcixe, trapizoni, konstantinopoli) gadaxvewili T. lorTqifaniZe (goz. 1935: 71-76, 409; goz. 1970: 370, 381, 406, 517; goz. 1976: 429; berZniSvili 1980: 203), agreTve: n. CijavaZe, z. CaxunaSvili da sxv. (goz. 1935: 75-76, 445-448; goz. 1970: 371 da Smd.). SeTqmulebaSi imerelTa monawileobis Sesaxeb g. gozaliSvils uweria: `imereTTan urTierToba SedarebiT mkrTalad aris masalebSi warmodgenili,YTumca safiqrebelia, rom imaze meti unda yofiliyo, rasac Cven aq vtyobilobT. rogorc sxva bevri ramis dafarva moaxerxes SeTqmulT, ueWvelia, rom aqac bevri ram damales~ (goz. 1935: 71); ***samegrelos*** samTavro taxtis memkvidre daviT dadiani (goz. 1970: 367-368, 378); ***afxazeTis*** samTavro ojaxis wevri (mTavris Zma) konstantine SarvaSiZe, romelic afxazeTidan rusebis gandevnis, Savi zRvis afxazeTis monakveTis Caketvis, xolo ajanyebisTvis TbilisSi 300 (sxva cnobiT \_ 500) afxazis Camoyvanis pirobas iZleoda (goz. 1970: 363-364; goz. 1976: 366); filadelfos kiknaZis mixedviT, `mieridgan iyo abel [ColoyaSvili] im TadarigSi, rom ***fSav-xevsureTis*** (xazi Cvenia \_ T. j.) xalxi unda moebirna... Tofis wamlisTvisac fuli gaugzavna abelma mTaSi~ (goz. 1935: 31-32); sagangebod unda aRiniSnos (funqciuradac, raodenobrivadac, erTgulebis xarisxiTac) ***borCaloeli muslimebis*** monawileoba SeTqmulebaSi (mola zamana, bala mahmada, Sixil alia, alaverda da sxv. \_ goz. 1935: 39, 55-56 da Smd.; agreTve: berZniSvili 1983: 27; SeTqmulni borCalodan `ramodenime aseul TaTarTa cxenosans~ elodnen \_ goz. 1935: 79); ***somxebi****:* z. avTandilovi, z. yorRanovi... [goz. 1935: 132, 152-164 da Smd.; agreTve: goz. 1970: 134-136 da Smd.; berZniSvili 1980: 101-104). i. falavandiSvilis dasmenis teqstis mixedviT,[[1]](#footnote-1) ajanyebis Rames RvTismSoblis xatebi unda gamoetanaT rogorc sionis, ise somexTa feTxainis eklesiebidan, es xatebi qarTvel da somex mRvdlebsa da berebs unda sWerodaT da `eZaxnaT, saqarTvelos ganTavisuflebisaTvis Cven Tavs vwiravT~ (goz. 1935: 137; ix. agreTve: goz. 1970: 306); sainteresoa isic, rom xuTi ministridan erTi, sagareo saqmeTa ministri, erovnebiT somexi, generali vasil bebuTovi, unda yofiliyo \_ goz. 1935: 92); ***rusebi:*** duSeTis samazro policiis ufrosi (`ispravniki~) dim. pauSenko, Tbilisis policmeisteri a. melnikovi (goz. 1935: 63-70 da Smd.; agreTve: berZniSvili 1983: 102, 161-162); ***polonelebi:*** samoqalaqo gubernatori p. zavileiski (goz. 1935: 47-53 da Smd.; berZniSvili 1983: 26-27; nikolaiSvili 1967: 71-75), misi Zma m. zavileiski (goz. 1970: 368, 415; goz. 1976: 425), agreTve, 1830-1831 ww. ajanyebaSi damarcxebuli da saqarTveloSi gadmosaxlebuli polonelebi [saubaria ajanyebaSi ramdenime aseuli (daaxloebiT 500) polonelis CarTvaze, romelTa erTi nawili ajanyebis Rames `TaTris moedanze~, SeTqmulTa StabTan, unda gamocxadebuliyo \_ goz. 1935: 137; SeTqmulebaSi polonelTa monawileobis Sesaxeb ix.: goz. 1935: 58-61; nikolaiSvili 1967: 65-81; sagangebod unda iTqvas, rom, ***zogierTi monacemiT, SeTqmulebs jer kidev 1831 wels, poloneTis amboxebis paralelurad, hqondaT gadawyvetili ajanyeba, Tumca polonelTa marcxma es ganzraxuleba CaSala*** \_ goz. 1935: 61, 85-86; varSava i. paskeviCma 1831 wlis 8 seqtembers aiRo, rac TbilisSi imave wlis 24 seqtembers sagangebo zeimiTa da zarbaznebis sroliT aRniSnes. al. orbelianis erT-erTi Cvenebis mixedviT, roca TbilisSi poloneTze gamarjvebis niSnad `zarbaznebi dacales~, i. falavandiSvilTan sadilad myofma oTxma qarTvelma TavadiSvilma `itires da ise wavidnen~ \_ goz. 1935: 212); ***frangebi:*** saqarTvelos sakonsulos mdivani viqtor letelie, romelsac qvemoT calke SevexebiT, agreTve, savaraudod: TbilisSi traqtiris mflobeli, napoleonis armiaSi nabrZoli odie (goz. 1935: 203; goz. 1970: 320-321, 328-330, 348-350; berZniSvili 1983: 123), arqiteqtori bipari [goz. 1970: 97, 329; sxvadasxva wyaroSi: biperi, ripari, ripardi. ix. masze: beriZe 1963: 177), praporSCiki lopleli (goz. 1970: 329), maswavlebeli perJe (goz. 1970: 329); SeTqmulni ajanyebaSi ***lekebis*** CarTvasac gegmavdnen (surgulaZe 1968: 258; al. orbeliani erT-erT CvenebaSi aRwers Tamar batoniSvilTan TaTbirs. batoniSvils uTqvams: `kacni unda gyvandeT, rom lekebSi gagzavnoT da jari moiwvion aleqsandre batoniSvilis saxelzedao~ \_ goz. 1935: 86); filadelfos kiknaZis mixedviT, `nodar jorjaZe gamzadebuli Tavis samourao xalxis didebiT, rom isini ***daRestansac*** (xazi Cvenia \_ T. j.) aurevden~ (goz. 1935: 32); SeTqmulT damuSavebuli hqondaT rusi oficrebisa da jaris nawilebis mosyidva-gadmobirebis gegma da `am mxriv garkveuli nabijebi gadaudgamT kidec. qarTveli oficrebisaTvis TavianT ganzraxva gaundviaT da gadaubirebiaT. anton abxazi Tavis CvenebaSi acxadebda: `aleqsandre orbeliani ambobda, rom samoswavlo batalionis yvela oficeri (igulisxmeba qarTveli oficroba \_ T. j.) mosyiduli iyo da Cvenma naTesavma naTaliSvilmac, romelic am dros am batalionSi iyo, es icoda~ (surgulaZe 1968: 256-257; ix. agreTve: goz. 1935: 385, 387 da Smd.).

g. gozaliSvilis daskvniT, `tfilisis centri aerTianebda SeTqmulTa sxvadasxva jgufebs da sazogadoebebs, romelnic saqarTvelos sxvadasxva kuTxeSi iyo mowyobili~ (goz. 1935: 33). es `jgufebi~ da `sazogadoebebi~, Tavis mxriv, dayofili iyo mcire-mcire jgufebad (`ujredebad~), romelTa rigiT wevrebsac ar hqondaT uSualo kavSiri sxva `ujredebTan~ (arc icodnen maTi Semadgenloba) da centrs an sxva jgufebs xelmZRvanelebis meSveobiT ukavSirdebodnen (goz. 1935: 7).

rac Seexeba SeTqmulTa raodenobas, sagamomZieblo komisiam 145 SeTqmuli gamoavlina (goz. 1935: 37; berZniSvili 1980: 9), Tumca es monacemi swori ar Cans. al. orbeliani erT Tavis gviandel mogonebaSi ambobs: `bevri kargebi erivnen Cven saqmeSi, magram visic ambavi da saxeli iasem icoda, imaTi gamoCnda da visic ara icoda ra, ***ufro mometebulisa*** (xazi Cvenia \_ T. j.), imaTi ara gamoCnda ra, ise dafarulad darCa imaTi saqme~ (goz. 1935: 7; d. SveliZe varaudobs, rom SeTqmulebis monawileTa raodenoba `500 kacamde mainc aRwevda~ \_ SveliZe 2014: 10).

saxelmwifoebrivi mowyobis formad SeTqmulebs konstituciuri monarqia hqondaT SerCeuli \_ taxtis uflebebi warmomadgenlobiT organos unda SeezRuda. ganzraxuli iyo orpalatiani mmarTveloba. zeda palataSi unda yofiliyvnen mefe da ministrTa sabWo mefisave TavmjdomareobiT, qveda palataSi \_ arCeuli deputatebi mazrebis mixedviT, adgilebze ki unda Seqmniliyo samdivnoebi (erTgvari TviTmmarTvelobis organoebi), romlebSic sazogadoebriv fenebs (Tavadaznauroba, `saero xalxi~, samRvdeloeba) Tav-TavianTi warmomadgenlebi eyolebodaT (goz. 1935: 92-93, 134, 167; surgulaZe 1968: 304; bendianiSvili 1980: 111-112; saintereso detali: dimitri batoniSvili peterburgSi Tavis axalgazrda Tanamoazreebs safrangeTis magaliTze SezRuduli monarqiis Sesaxeb esaubreboda \_ goz. 1970: 479)].

am, erTi SexedviT cxad, suraTSi TiTqos disonansi Seaqvs vaxtang orbelianis Cvenebas: `1832 wels solomon dodaSvilisagan gavigone Semdegi sityvebi: rodesac Tbilisidan oqropir batoniSvils vacilebdi, man miTxra, diax, batono qarTvelebo, ecadeT saqarTvelos ganTavisuflebaso. Tumca me saqarTvelos ganTavisufleba imitom ki ar minda, rom bagrationTa gvaridan vinme gamefdes, aramed, rom saqarTvelo Seiqmnes ***respublikismagvar*** (xazi Cvenia \_ T. j.) saxelmwifod~ (goz. 1970: 35).

v. orbelianis am Cvenebaze dayrdnobiT damkvidrda Tvalsazrisi, rom oqropiri, iseve, rogorc s. dodaSvili, respublikelebi iyvnen da, Sesabamisad, SeTqmulTa Soris iyo respublikis momxreTa jgufi. Tumca gansxvavebuli (Cveni azriT, marTebuli) Sexedulebac arsebobs: `am epoqaSi (XIX s. pirvel naxevarSi \_ T. j.) sityva `respublika~ (sityva-sityviT: sazogado, saxalxo saqme) ixmareboda imis aRsaniSnavad, rasac Cven warmomadgenlobiT saxelmwifos vuwodebT da ara monarqiis antipods... respublika, rogorc warmomadgenlobiTi xelisufleba, upirispirdeba absolutur xelisuflebas da ara monarqias sazogadod. konstituciuri monarqia ki TviTon aris warmomadgenlobiTi xelisuflebis saxe da eqceva `respublikis~ garkveul gagebaSi~ (kacitaZe 1997; ufro adre imave sakiTxze T. papavas uweria: `marTalia, SeTqmulTa wreSi... zogi maTgani, imdroindel revoliuciebis gavleniT respublikanuri ideebisaken ixreboda, magram gana safrangeTis ivlisis revoliuciam liudovike filipe orleaneli mefed ar gamoacxada? etyoba, maSindeli respublikanelebi moliberalo monarqizmsac eguebodnen...~ \_ papava 1990: 49).

oqropir batoniSvilsa da s. dodaSvils `respublika~ (ufro zustad \_ `respublikismagvari saxelmwifo~) ise rom esmodaT, rogorc es k. kacitaZis msjelobaSia warmodgenili, amis sasargeblod metyvelebs is garemoeba, rom sagamomZieblo komisiis masalebis mixedviT, konstituciuri monarqia, rogorc saqarTvelos saxelmwifoebrivi mowyobis forma, SeTqmulTa Soris ar gamxdara ramdenadme seriozuli diskusiis sagani (sakiTxTan dakavSirebiT sagulisxmoa mxolod Tamar batoniSvilis erT-erTi Cveneba \_ elizbar erisTavma miTxrao: kargi iqneboda, saqarTvelos saxelmwifo ise mogvewyo, `rogorc Sveicaria ariso da an soiuzni Statio~, razec vupasuxeo: `[CvenTan] arc xalxia imisTana da arc garemoeba aqvs, amTeni saSinelni mtrebi gars axvevian da ar moasveneben~ \_ goz. 1976: 32-33).

SeTqmulebi ar apirebdnen ruseTTan kavSiris gawyvetas. maTi mizani iyo saqarTvelos saxelmwifoebrivi mowyoba 1783 wlis georgievskis traqtatis safuZvelze (surgulaZe 1968: 293-297; bendianiSvili 1978: 553; bendianiSvili 1980: 100, 104-106; mxedvelobaSia misaRebi is arsebiTi mniSvnelobis garemoebac, rom saxelmwifoebriobis aRdgenisaTvis iseT Tavdadebul da ukompromiso mebrZols, rogoric aleqsandre batoniSvili iyo, ruseTTan urTierToba swored georgievskis traqtatis farglebSi hqonda warmodgenili[[2]](#footnote-2)).

SeTqmulTa mizani da ganzraxuleba iyo, ajanyeba saerTo-kavkasiur winaaRmdegobaSi gadazrdiliyo. al. orbelianis mixedviT, `es SeTqma ase unda momxdariyo, rom mTeli kavkazia Savi zRvidgan mokidebuli kaspiis zRvamdisin, sruliad mTebisa da baris xalxi, unda gaverTebuliyaviT da erTiani aRreuloba mogvexdina~ (goz. 1935: 87, 128; surgulaZe 1968: 248).

SeTqmulebs damuSavebuli aqvT darialisa da Savi zRvis zolis Caketvis gegma, agreTve, ruseTis jaris kaspiispireTidan SemoWris sawinaaRmdego RonisZiebebi (goz. 1935: 86-87), skrupulozuradaa damuSavebuli ajanyebis pirveli Ramis moqmedebebi (rusi samxedro da administraciuli xelmZRvanelebis, agreTve, antagonisti qarTvelebis erT SenobaSi Tavmoyra da neitralizeba, cixis, yazarmebis, arsenalis, xazinis, kvebis obieqtebisa da sxv. xelSi Cagdeba, xalxis quCaSi gamoyvana da sxv. \_ goz. 137-138; aqvT parolic: `rusebis wyveta~ \_ goz. 1935: 84, 147; goz. 1970: 544), gaazrebuladaa SerCeuli ajanyebis dro [Tavidan gviani Semodgoma (20 noemberi \_ goz. 1935: 87), sabolood \_ zamTari (20 dekemberi \_ goz. 1935: 88), roca saqarTveloSi rusuli samxedro kontigenti Semcirebuli iyo, xolo CrdiloeT kavkasiidan jarebis gadmosrola bunebrivi pirobebis (Tovlis) gamo ver moxerxdeboda.

SeTqmulTa CvenebebSi mimofantuli calkeuli cnobebis TavmoyriT irkveva, rom SeTqmulebis organizatorebs hqondaT saerTaSoriso kavSirebi, maT Soris, safrangeTisa da inglisis politikur da diplomatiur wreebTan:

 1831 wels Tamar batoniSvili SeTqmulTa erT jgufTan erTad ierusalimis mosalocad apirebda wasvlas, gzad igi aleqsandre batoniSvils unda Sexvedroda, ierusalimSi qristes saflavis Tayvaniscemis Semdeg parizSi gamgzavrebuliyo, iq politikur wreebs Sexvedroda, iqidanve inglisSi jer niadagis mosamzadeblad Tavisi warmomadgeneli gaegzavna, Semdeg ki TviTonac iq Casuliyo. orivegan Tamars rusebisgan gaTavisuflebaSi daxmareba unda eTxova, Tumca gamJRavnebis SiSiT mogvianebiT gegma uaryofil iqna [(goz. 1935: 365; sakiTxis garSemo ix. agreTve: goz. 1970: 95; III: 9-10; Tamar batoniSvili `mmarTvelobis evropul wesebSi gaTviTcnobierebuli iyo~ (surgulaZe 1968: 305) da misi ganzraxva dasavleTevropul saxelmwifoebTan (gansakuTrebiT, safrangeTTan) kavSirebis damyarebisa unisonSi iyo dimitri da oqropir batoniSvilebis evropul orientaciasTan; aRsaniSnavia isic, rom Tamar batoniSvils saqarTveloSi frangebis mowveva imisTvisac undoda, rom `francicebi diax kargad daawyoben saqarTveloSi rigsao~ (goz. 1935: 87; e. i. qveynis mmarTvelobiTi sistemis gamarTvaSi dagvexmarebiano \_ T. j.)];

ajanyebis Semdeg oqropir batoniSvili parizSi unda wasuliyo da Tanamemamuleebs iqidan daxmareboda (`...franciaSi unda wasuliyo da imas iqidgan esaqma. dodaevma miTxra, Tu aq moxda rameo, oqropir pariJSi wavao~ \_ goz. 1935: 366; ix. agreTve: goz. 1970: 155; zogi cnobiT, sazRvargareT oqropirTan erTad dimitri batoniSvilic unda wasuliyo \_ goz. 1976: 388);

dimitri batoniSvils miaCnda, rom gareSe Zalis gamoyenebiT (inglisi, safrangeTi...) SesaZlebeli iyo, zegavlena moexdinaT ruseTze, raTa igi daTanxmebuliyo qarTl-kaxeTis samefos aRdgenas 1783 wlis traqtatis `uflebriv normaTa safuZvelze~ (bendianiSvili 1978: 553);

s. razmaZis CvenebiT, `fiqrobdnen... Tu inglisi an safrangeTi daxmarebas aRmouCenT, saqme warmatebiT dasruldeboda~ (goz. 1970: 275). TviTon s. razmaZes, rogorc iranSi ruseTis sruluflebiani ministris, graf iv. simoniCis, TanamSromels, davalebuli hqonda `daemyarebina urTierToba aleqsandre batoniSvilTan da TavrizSi myof ingliselebTan~ (goz. 1976: 444), Tumca am saqmis Semdgomi msvleloba (ingliselebTan s. razmaZis kavSiri) masalebSi ar Cans.

SeTqmulebis masalebSi gvxvdeba mari broses saxeli. am mxriv sainteresoa mimowera ruseTis sagareo saqmeTa ministr k. neselrodesa da kavkasiis mTavarmarTebel gr. rozens Soris. kerZod, k. neselrode swers mTavarmarTebels: `parizidan miRebuli cnobebis Tanaxmad, somxuri enis profesors levalians [unda iyos: levaiani (ix. buaCiZe 1983: 41) \_ T. j.] da vinme broses ganzraxuli hqoniaT ***safrangeTis mTavrobis brZanebiT*** (xazi Cvenia \_ T. j.) somxeTsa da saqarTveloSi viTomda samecniero mogzauroba, romlis namdvili mizania am qveynebSi aRreulobis Teslis mimobneva da jaSuSuri moRvaweoba~ (goz. 1935: 38). sainteresoa isic, rom mari broses urTierToba hqonda TavSesafris saZebnelad parizSi gadaxvewil vaxtang da tariel imereTis batoniSvilebTan. imave k. neselrodes mixedviT, `b[atoni] brose Tavis sityvebSi ara hmalavs, rom imerel TavadebTan urTierToba misi politikis gareSe ar dgas. is maT qarTul enaze acnobebda ruseTisaTvis araxelsayrel cnobebs imaT samSobloSi aRreulobis dros da, amasTanave, aimedebda maT, rom daubrundebodaT samemkvidreo mamuli safrangeTis mTavrobis gavleniT...~ (goz. 1935: 39; sakiTxis garSemo ix. agreTve: buaCiZe 1983: 40-44; m. brosesa da imereli batoniSvilebis urTierTobis Sesaxeb ix.: xanTaZe 1966: 25; buaCiZe 1983: 33-36);

sagangebod unda aRiniSnos safrangeTis sakonsulos mdivnis, viqtor letelies, kavSiri SeTqmulebasTan. dokumenturi wyaroebis mixedviT, letelies aqtiuri konfidencialuri urTierToba aqvs SeTqmulebTan rogorc saqarTveloSi, ise ruseTSi [goz. 1935: 45-47; goz. 1970: 43-44, 350 da Smd.; berZniSvili 1983: 79-81; surgulaZe 1968: 253-254; oqropir batoniSvilis axlo urTierTobis Sesaxeb v. leteliesTan ix.: goz. 1976: 178, 180, 221; farnaoz da dimitri batoniSvilebTan \_ goz. 1935: 45; goz. 1976: 236; sainteresoa isic, rom letelie saubrobda qarTulad (goz. 1935: 46), flobda qarTul xelnawerTa koleqcias (berZniSvili 1983: 80-81), kavSiri hqonda mari brosesTan da, sxvaTa Soris, mari broses mier 1830 wels parizSi gamocemuli e. w. `parizis qronikis~ xelnaweri swored v. leteliem Cautana m. broses 1826 wels parizSi (xanTaZe 1966: 20); v. letelies urTierTobaze, magaliTad, al. WavWavaZesTan ix.: goz. 1935: 45-47; goz. 1970: 152, 155-156, 162, 317, 352-353; g. r. erisTavTan \_ goz. 1970: 152, 154, 162-163, 352-353; dim. orbelianTan \_ goz. 1935: 46; goz. 1970: 485; goz. 1976: 451-452]. SeTqmulebis Cavardnisas v. letelie peterburgSi imyofeboda (berZniSvili 1983: 80) da SeTqmulebis gamomJRavnebisTanave datova ruseTi (samSobloSi gaemgzavra \_ goz. 1935: 45; goz. 1976: 206); sagamomZieblo komisia, Tavis mxriv, ar CaeZia am ambavs, v. letelie Seiyvana VIII kategoriaSi imaT Soris, `vizedac SeiZleba eWvis mitana, rom maT an icodnen SeTqmulebis ambavi, an mas TanaugrZnobdnen~ (goz. 1935: 38) da igi sasjelis gareSe datova.

Cven ar viciT, ucxoeTTan kidev ra kavSirebi imaleba Cven mier damowmebuli cnobebis miRma, radganac, jer erTi, SeTqmulni cdilobdnen am kavSirebis damalvas da, meorec, amas xels uwyobda sagamomZieblo komisia, romelsac, Tavis mxriv, ucxoeTTan SeTqmulTa kavSirebis `waSla~ \_ ukidures SemTxvevaSi, gaubraloeba \_ surda.

asea Tu ise, udavod gasaTvaliswinebelia g. gozaliSvilis Sexeduleba: `Tu am cnobas (SeTqmulTa urTierTobas leteliesTan \_ T. j.), agreTve m. broses qarTvel SeTqmulebTan damokidebulebas Rrmad CavukvirdebiT, agreTve, Tu movigonebT TavrizSi aleqsandre batoniSvilis inglisis warmomadgenlebTan urTierTobas da elizbar erisTavis araerTxel naTqvams mosalodneli daxmarebis Sesaxeb, \_ SeiZleba vaRiaroT, rom SeTqmuleba evropis diplomatebis gavlenas Tu maTs waqezebas moklebuli ar unda yofiliyo~ (goz. 1970: 163; sakiTxis Sesaxeb ix. agreTve: surgulaZe 1968: 257-258, 296-297). Cven vfiqrobT, SeTqmulebis masalebi iZleva saSualebas, g. gozaliSvilis mier mecnieruli sifrTxiliT formulirebuli es mosazreba gavaRrmavoT da ufro Tamamad vTqvaT, rom ***SeTqmulebs hqondaT kavSirebi evropis (safrangeTi, inglisi) politikur da diplomatiur wreebTan da moelodnen kidevac maTgan daxmarebas.*** am mxriv sagulisxmoa samxedro ministr al. CerniSovisadmi mTavarmarTebel gr. rozenis konfidencialuri mimarTva, romelSic vkiTxulobT: `am batoniSvilebs (dimitris, oqropirsa da sxvebs \_ T. j.), romlebic ganaTlebulni arian, albaT, ar SeeZloT ar daenaxaT, rom maTi ganzraxvebi ganuxorcielebeli iqneboda, Tu ara hqondaT garedan rame daxmarebis imedi~ (goz. 1976: 451). zogadad ucxoeTis daxmarebaSi ki, pirvel rigSi, unda vigulisxmoT politikuri da diplomatiuri daxmareba, gansakuTrebiT, ruseTTan urTierTobaSi. analogebi iyo: saerTaSoriso mxardaWeriT am dros konstitucia da seimi hqondaT ruseTis imperiaSi Semaval fineTsa da poloneTs (ix. surgulaZe 1968: 296-297; SeTqmulTa saerTaSoriso kavSirebze ix. agreTve: SveliZe 2014: 42-58).

dasasrul, davimowmebT k. kacitaZis mosazrebas: `[SeTqmulebs] sworad hqondaT navaraudevi, rom e. w. aRmosavleTis sakiTxi aucileblobiT gadaizrdeboda omSi, erTi mxriv, ruseTsa da, meore mxriv, inglis-safrangeTs Soris. isini mxolod omis TariRis gansazRvraSi Secdnen. yirimis omis saxeliT cnobili konfliqti 1853-1856 wlebSi mimdinareobda da ruseTis samxedro kraxiT dasrulda~ (kacitaZe 1997; sainteresoa Cveneba i. falavandiSvilisa, romelic wers: `sovetniki [al. orbeliani] meubneba, razmaZe sparseTidan karg ambebs gvatyobinebs, TiTqos ingliselebi ruseTis winaaRmdeg amxedrebas apirebeno~ \_ goz. 1970: 309; ix. agreTve: goz. 1935: 136). unda vifiqroT, SeTqmulebis iniciatorebsa da organizatorebs surdaT, saqarTvelo xsenebuli dapirispirebis arealSi moeqciaT da miznis, georgievskis traqtatis pirobebis, miRweva am fonze ecadaT.

SeTqmulebi garkveul imedebs ukavSirebdnen egviptis faSas, muhamad alis, romelsac im dros (1831-1833) osmaleTTan omSi gamarjvebis realuri perspeqtiva hqonda, konstantinopolTan iyo misuli da sabolood osmaleTi gamanadgurebeli marcxisgan ruseTis energiulma daxmarebam ixsna. SeTqmulTa CvenebebSi am mxriv saintereso cnobebia daculi (goz. 1935: 136, 325, 457; goz. 1970: 454, 559; goz. 1976: 43, 340, 373 da Smd.; surgulaZe 1968: 258). SeTqmulTa ganzraxva, moepovebinaT muhamad alis mxardaWera, sworad gaTvlili nabiji iyo. osmaleTis damarcxebisa da saqarTveloSi SeTqmulebis gamarjvebis SemTxvevaSi Cndeboda albaToba, saqarTvelos saxelmwifo kavkasiaSi muhamad alis mokavSired qceuliyo, rac qarTvelebisTvis perspeqtivaSi xelsayreli argumenti iqneboda ruseTTan momgebiani poziciis misaRwevad. uaRresad sainteresoa, rom muhamad alim scada Crdilokavkasiel xalxebSi aleqsandre batoniSvilis avtoritetis gamoyeneba \_ 1832 wels aleqsandre batoniSvili kisrulobs egviptis faSas Suamavlobas Samilis winamorbed yazi-molasTan, xolo aleqsandres mier yazi-molasTan saidumlo davalebiT gagzavnili sami piridan erT-erTi, bala mahmada, specialurad TbilisSi Camodis da SeTqmulebis erT-erT xelmZRvanels, al. orbelians, xvdeba, aqedan ki aleqsandre batoniSvilTan al. orbelianis werili miaqvs (goz. 1935: 55-56; goz. 1970: 109-110; ix. agreTve: goz. 1935: 216).

SeTqmulni iranis mxardaWerasac varaudobdnen (surgulaZe 1968: 258). g. gozaliSvilis azriT, `al. batoniSvilTan [SeTqmulTa] urTierToba TviT sparseTis saxelmwifosTan urTierTobas gulisxmobs, radgan... aleqsandre sparseTis xelisuflebis surviliTa da xelis SewyobiT moqmedebda ruseTis winaaRmdeg~ (goz. 1935: 57).

SeTqmulebs urTierToba aqvT osmaleTis elCTan \_ l. orbelianis erT-erTi Cvenebis mixedviT, 1831 wels al. orbelians misTvis uTqvams, rom `is daiareba aq osmaleTis elCTan da aqvs am sagnis Taobaze laparaki~ (goz. 1935: 57); TviTon al. orbelianic adasturebs, rom erTxel s. dodaSvilis saxlSi misuls iq `osmalos poslaniki~ daxvda (goz. 1935: 57); s. dodaSvilic, Tavis mxriv, aRiarebs, osmaleTis elCTan `xSirad daviarebodi... erT saRamos ki Caize moviwvie~ (goz. 1935: 57); v. orbeliani sagamomZieblo komisias uCvenebs: `gavigone dodaSvilisagan 1831 w., rom osmaleTis elCi erT saRamos masTan iyo~ (goz. 1935: 58).

ase rom, 1832 wlis SeTqmuleba kargad iyo organizebuli, gamoirCeoda eTnikuri mravalferovnebiT, moicavda yvela socialur fenas, hqonda farTo (kavkasiuri) masStabi da mizandasaxuloba, gegma ajanyebisa skrupulozurad iyo damuSavebuli, arsebobda saerTaSoriso kavSirebi da, rom ara i. falavandiSvilis gamcemloba, ***SeTqmulebis iniciatorebsa da organizatorebs hqondaT ajanyebis warmatebiT dasrulebis realuri Sansi*** (ra Sansebi hqondaT gamarjvebis ***SenarCunebis*a**, es sxva saqmea da am sakiTxze msjeloba varaudebis sferoSia SesaZlebeli. am mxriv sainteresoa i. falavandiSvilis erT-erTi Cveneba: `[al.] WavWavaZem Tqva, rom, Tumca SeiZleba rusebis saqarTvelodan gayvana, magram Zneli iqneba SemdgomSi maTTan brZolao~ \_ goz. 1935: 136).

davubrundeT sakiTxs: ra mizani amoZravebda xelisuflebas (imperatoridan mokidebuli sagamomZieblo komisiis CaTvliT), roca man miCqmala SeTqmulebis namdvili miznebi da masStabi, xolo iniciatorebi, organizatorebi Tu monawileebi SedarebiT msubuqad dasaja \_ 145 gamovlenili monawilidan 47 udanaSaulod iqna cnobili (goz. 1935: 38; berZniSvili 1980: 9), danarCeni `danaSaulis~ xarisxis mixedviT sxvadasxva kategoriaSi gadaanawiles (goz. 1935: 37-38, 500-502; goz. 1976: 427-431, 435-437), samxedro sasamarTloze mxolod 13 SeTqmuli gaiyvanes (goz. 1976: 428, 434; surgulaZe 1968: 264) da amaTganac zogierTi (l. orbeliani, iv. erisTavi) saerTod gaaTavisufles (goz. 1976: 435), sabolood ruseTis guberniebSi daaxloebiT 35-mde SeTqmuli gadaasaxles, Tanac samoqalaqo an samxedro samsaxuris uflebiT (goz. 1976: 427-437), saqarTveloSi datovebuli `damnaSaveebis~ umravlesobas ki policiuri meTvalyureoba akmares (goz. 1976: 430). 1835 wlidan daiwyo SeTqmulTa \_ imperator nikoloz I-is mier SewyalebulTa da SendobilTa \_ TandaTanobiTi dabruneba saqarTveloSi,[[3]](#footnote-3) sxvadasxva mizeziT mxolod ramdenimes ver eRirsa samSoblos xilva (s. dodaSvili, s. razmaZe, i. falavandiSvili, mola zamana; ra bedi ewiaT T. lorTqifaniZesa da seminarist gr. taliaSvils, Cven es ver gamovarkvieT).

SeTqmulebis masalebze zerele dakvirvebiTac ki aSkaraa, rom sagamomZieblo komisia ar aris dainteresebuli, safuZvlianad gamoarkvios movlenebis arsi, xSirad Tvals xuWavs Seusabamobebze SeTqmulTa CvenebebSi, uyuradRebod tovebs urTierTgamomricxav versiebs da a. S.; g. gozaliSvilis dakvirvebiT, `komisiis SekiTxvebi braldebulTa mimarT isea formulirebuli, rom braldebuls uadvildeba maTze nebismieri, araarsebiTi, an sruliad uaryofiTi pasuxi gasces. komisiis amgvarma muSaobam xeli Seuwyo braldebulT TavianTi saqmianobis ara erTi momentis dasafaravad~ (goz. 1976: 185). igive g. gozaliSvili, eyrdnoba ra mTavarmarTebel gr. rozenisa da samxedro ministr al. CerniSovis mimoweras, daaskvnis: `arc ruseTis xelisufleba iyo dainteresebuli, SeTqmulebisTvis seriozuli xasiaTi mieca da misi namdvili buneba gamoemJRavnebina; misTvis gacilebiT xelsayreli iyo, garkveul mosazrebaTa gamo, es ambavi zogierTi dardi-mandi qarTvel TavadiSvilebis axalgazrdaTa erTi jgufis fuqsavatur ocnebad gaesaRebina. mTavrobam gangeb miCqmala qarTvelTa SeTqmulebis ambavi, raTa igi sazogadoebrivi azris msjelobis sagani ar gamxdariyo~ (goz. 1935: 37). rac mTavaria, TviTon SeTqmulnic xvdebodnen, rom maT garSemo uCveulo viTareba iyo Seqmnili. al. orbelianis erTi gviandeli mogonebis mixedviT, `yvelas aTqmevines SeTqmulebs da sxvanica mravalni alaparakes, rom ***rac moxda, es mamulis gamoxsnis SeTqma ar aris*** (xazi Cvenia \_ T. j.), sxvas mniSvnelobas aZlevdnen, raRac sxva mizezebs. es ruseTis mTavrobis saidumlo aris, romelica iman unda icodes da sxvam aravin, raisaTvisac sdebda sxva mizezebsa~ (goz. 1935: 6).

marTlac, xelisuflebisTvis ar iyo sasurveli (arc Sin, miT umetes \_ arc sazRvargareT), gamJRavnebuliyo arsebuli saxelmwifoebriv-politikuri reJimiT sayovelTao ukmayofileba `nebayoflobiT SeerTebul~ qveyanaSi.[[4]](#footnote-4) meorec, ruseTs gaCaRebuli hqonda sisxlismRvreli omi CrdiloeT kavkasiaSi da, cxadia, ar surda seriozuli konfliqti am omis placdarmad qceul saqarTveloSi. amas garda, evropis sazogadoebrivi azri jer kidev ar iyo Cawynarebuli ruseTis mier poloneTis 1830-1831 wlebis ajanyebis CaxSobisa da ajanyebul patriotTa xocva-Jletis gamo (am sakiTxze ix. surgulaZe 1968: 266-268). Cveni azriT, usaTuod gasaTvaliswinebelia erTi arsebiTi mniSvnelobis garemoebac \_ ruseTis monarqias ganzraxuli hqonda, saqarTveloSi (saerTod kavkasiaSi) Tavisi politikis dasayrdenad qarTveli Tavadaznauroba gadaeqcia da misTvis, cxadia, ufro advili da mosaxerxebeli iqneboda, urTierToba hqonoda ara ***dasjil***, aramed ***Sewyalebul*** fenasTan.

Sedegi nikoloz I-ma sul male sakuTari TvaliT ixila \_ 1837 wlis oqtomberSi igi ewvia saqarTvelos da warCinebuli wodeba mas gulwrfeli aRtacebiT, grandiozuli nadimiTa da pompezuri dResaswauliT Sexvda (isarlovi 1899: 181-184; balaxaSvili 1940: 134-142; uilbrahami 1990: 39-47 da sxv.). ruseTis monarqi darwmunda \_ damdgari iyo qarTveli Tavadaznaurobis imperiis samsaxurSi Cayenebis dro da, aqedan mokidebuli, ***Cveni Tavadaznauroba TandaTanobiT kavkasiaSi ruseTis monarqiuli taxtis dasayrden fenad transformirdeba***.[[5]](#footnote-5)

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**`literaturuli Ziebani~. XXXVIII. 2017, gv. 55-72.**

1. mokled dasmenasTan dakavSirebuli garemoebebis Sesaxeb...

iase falavandiSvilma kavkasiis korpusis Stabis ufrosis movaleobis Semsrulebels, general vl. volxovskis, SeTqmulebis Sesaxeb 1832 wlis 9 dekembers, naSuadRevs, gamoucxada (aqtebi 1881: 391-392; goz. 1935: 9; dasmenis teqsti iases mogvianebiT, 11 dekembers, daawerines \_ goz. 1935: 130-138). ambavi imdenad moulodneli da daujerebeli iyo (`Tavidan eWvis TvaliT Sevxedeo~, \_ swers mTavarmarTebeli gr. rozeni samxedro ministr al. CerniSovs \_ goz. 1935: 9), rom i. falavandiSvili ar daupatimrebiaT (unda vifiqroT, falavandiSvilis naambobs undoblad imitomac moekidebodnen, rom ufro adre, 1826-1827 wlebSi, sxva saqmesTan dakavSirebulma misma erTma crudasmenam saxelisuflebo wreebSi didi rezonansi gamoiwvia, saqmem peterburgamde iara, iq imperator nikoloz I-is gasarCevi gaxda, TviTon iase ki cixis karamde miiyvana \_ ix. jologua 2013b: 9). 10 dekembris dilas iases monaTxrobi mis mier dasaxelebul erT-erT SeTqmulTan, anton abxazTan, gadaamowmes (goz. 1935: 9); SeTqmulTaTvis cxadi gaxda, rom konspiraciuli organizacia Cavarda. dapatimrebis pirvel talRamde (10-11 dekembris Rame) darCenil droSi SeTqmulebma ara marto mtkicebulebaTa ganadgureba moaswres (mxolod ramdenime werilobiTi mtkicebuleba gadarCa SemTxveviT), aramed, rogorc Cans, Tavadacvis taqtika da strategiac SeimuSaves: braldebebis uaryofa, eWvmiutaneli faqtebis wardgenis SemTxvevaSi ki `danaSaulis~ aRiareba-monanieba da mtkiceba imisa, rom centralur xelisuflebasa da politikur sistemas ki ar ebrZodnen, aramed \_ adgilobriv usamarTlo biurokratias. iyo SeTqmulTa kategoria (i. falavandiSvili, s. razmaZe, z. ColoyaSvili da sxv.), romelic dakiTxvebze amtkicebda \_ `faruli sazogadoebis~ saqmeebSi imitom vmonawileobdi, rom msurda, yvelaferi dawvrilebiT Semetyo, Semdeg mTavrobisTvis mecnobebina da es, ubralod, ver movaswario (goz. 1935: 146, 258; goz. 1970: 224, 307), zogierTi gulaxdili aRiarebis gzas daadga [magaliTad, luarsab orbelianma erT-erT CvenebaSi ganacxada \_ `ar var tyuilis Tqmas Cveulio~ (goz. 1935: 491) da, marTlac, rac icoda, kidevac moaxsena sagamomZieblo komisias]. oriode sityva i. falavandiSvilis mier SeTqmulebis gacemis motivaciaze: 1832 wlis dekembris dasawyisSi aleqsandre batoniSvilTan gagzavnili Sikriki Cavarda borCaloSi da iq maSinve xma gavrcelda mosalodneli areulobebis Sesaxeb. am xmam TbilisSi swrafad CamoaRwia da SeTqmulTa rigebSi dezorganizacia Seitana. iasem gadawyvita, ajanyebis saqme ganwiruliao da, Tavi rom gadaerCina, gasca SeTqmuleba. miuxedavad dasmenisa, iases samudamo gadasaxleba miesaja (helsingforsSi, dRevandel helsinkSi, ganlagebul disciplinarul batalionSi ganaweses) da es sasjeli sagamomZieblo komisiis mier asea dasabuTebuli: sinamdvileSi Tavis gadarCena surda, Torem borotganzraxulobis gaTqmis survili rom hqonoda, amas ori wlis winac moaxerxebdao (aqtebi 1881: 407). dasasrul, gavrcelebuli versia, TiTqos iase sakuTarma Zmam, nikoloz falavandiSvilma, aiZula, gaeca SeTqmuleba, ar dasturdeba (sxvas yvelafers Tavi rom davaneboT, erT-erT CvenebaSi iase sagamomZieblo komisias uxsnis mizezs, Tu ratom ***ar gaumJRavna*** sakuTar Zmas, imdroindel `RraJdanski Rubernator~ nikoloz falavandiSvils, SeTqmulebis ambavi \_ goz. 1935: 258); Sesabamisad, dasmena iases individualuri gadawyvetileba iyo (ufro vrclad am ukanaskneli sakiTxis garSemo ix. jologua 2013b: 200-202). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. aleqsandre batoniSvilisTvis zogadad misaRebi iyo 1783 wlis georgievskis traqtatis pirobebi, oRond igi ver egueboda qarTl-kaxeTis samefos mospobas da ibrZoda imisaTvis, rom traqtatisTvis realuri xasiaTi da Sinaarsi mieca [`cxovreba ese Cemi ara ars cxovrebad wodebad, aramed gangrZelebuli tanjva mamulisa CemisaTvis~, \_ swers aleqsandre batoniSvili 1813 wlis 15 Tebervals saqarTvelos mTavarmarTebel nik. rtiSCevs da dasZens: `viTxov mixiloT, viTarca ra keTil mzrunvelman da marTlmadidebelman qristianeman da yovelive gamomicxados maRalaRmatebulesobaman Tqvenman, raTa SemeZlos... meca vego maradis erTgulad maTis imperatorobiTis didebulebisa vidre ukanasknelad sisxlTaca CemTa daTxevamde da maSin scnobT samsaxurisa erTgulebasa da SeZlebasa~ (orjonikiZe 1999: 92-93); 1816 wlis 27 noembers ki aleqsandre batoniSvili general iv. delpocos swers: `[sparselebma] ragind mravali xazinani gamomigzavnon, Cemi keTili azri ar Seicvleba da verca vin guls Semicvlis misis monarxis safarvelsa Sina Sevrdomasa~ (orjonikiZe 1999: 111); sakiTxis safuZvliani kvlevis Semdeg e. orjonikiZe daaskvnis: `aleqsandre batoniSvili bolomde am moTxovnis (traqtatiT gaTvaliswinebuli pirobebis \_ T. j.) erTguli darCa da mTeli misi Zalisxmeva umTavresad iqiTken iyo mimarTuli, rom rogorme aeZulebina ruseTi, Seesrulebina 1783 wlis traqtatis pirobebi~ (orjonikiZe 1999: 9; ix. agreTve: berZniSvili 1980: 107)]. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Tbilisidan tambovSi 1834 w. 18 ianvars (griSaSvili 1940: XLVIII) gastumrebul al. WavWavaZes kidev ufro adre epatia `danaSauli~ \_ mTavarmarTebel gr. rozenis mier ruseTis samxedro ministr al. CerniSovisadmi 1834 wlis 30 agvistos gagzavnili mimarTvidan irkveva, rom al. WavWavaZe imperator nikoloz I-s peterburgSi xazgasmuli keTilganwyobiT miuRia, sufraze miuwvevia da uTqvams \_ rac warsulSi iyo, daviwyebas mivceTo [aqtebi 1881: 423; peterburgSi al. WavWavaZis cxovrebis (1834-1837 ww.) Sesaxeb ix. maxaTaZe 1996: 120-128]. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. ###  ase, magaliTad, mTavarmarTebeli gr. rozeni winaaRmdegi iyo, SeTqmulTa saqme ruseTis mmarTvel senats ([Правительствующий сенат](https://www.google.ge/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=0ahUKEwjznf6RufXWAhUlG5oKHdKuDsgQFgg1MAM&url=https%3A%2F%2Fru.wikipedia.org%2Fwiki%2F%25D0%259F%25D1%2580%25D0%25B0%25D0%25B2%25D0%25B8%25D1%2582%25D0%25B5%25D0%25BB%25D1%258C%25D1%2581%25D1%2582%25D0%25B2%25D1%2583%25D1%258E%25D1%2589%25D0%25B8%25D0%25B9_%25D1%2581%25D0%25B5%25D0%25BD%25D0%25B0%25D1%2582&usg=AOvVaw06oJL2zmpLmWj7yVcNp6JE)) ganexila, radgan SiSi hqonda \_ `senati gazeTSi gamoacxadebso~ (goz. 1935: 5).

 [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. rusi imperatoris pirvel vizits saqarTveloSi erTi pozitiuri Sedegi mohyva. nikoloz I-ma, darwmunda ra wamyvani fenis, Tavadaznaurobis, srul loializmSi, gadawyvita, amierkavkasia samxedro reJimidan mmarTvelobis samoqalaqo wesze gadaeyvana. es ki, Tavis mxriv, obieqturad gacilebiT ukeTes garemos qmnida sazogadoebriv-kulturuli viTarebis mowesrigebisaTvis, xolo patriotulad ganwyobil inteleqtualur elitas erovnuli ideologiis Seqmnisa da ganxorcielebis ufro xelsayrel pirobebs uqmnida. cota xanSi gamoCnda pirveli saimedo niSani \_ 1842 wels dim. yifianis iniciativiTa da saerTo xelmZRvanelobiT daarsda `tfilisis kerZo saamxanago biblioTeka~ (1842-1848), ***sazogadoebriv iniciativaze dafuZnebuli*** pirveli mwignobrul-saganmanaTleblo dawesebuleba, romlis garSemoc Tavi moiyares imdroindeli saqarTvelos saukeTeso Svilebma (nikoloz baraTaSvili, grigol, vaxtang, zaqaria orbelianebi, aleqsandre da daviT WavWavaZeebi, zaqaria falavandiSvili, elizbar erisTavi, mixeil TumaniSvili, konstantine dadiani da sxv. \_ `biblioTekis~ Sesaxeb, agreTve, wyaroebi da literatura sakiTxis garSemo ix. jologua 2002: 74-95, 228-260). daiwyo uaRresad saintereso, kulturasa da ganaTlebaze orientirebuli politika, romelmac 1860-ian wlebSi `TergdaleulTa~ didi Taoba warmoSva, Tumca es ukve sxva saubris Temaa. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)