**gazeTi `kvali~**

`kvalis~ daarsebis idea 1892 wels gaCnda. daqvrivebuli giorgi wereTeli am wels daqorwinda anastasia TumaniSvilze, romelic, garda imisa, rom mwignobrul-literaturuli interesebiT ganTqmuli ojaxidan iyo gamosuli (mama \_ mixeil TumaniSvili, Zmebi: giorgi, vasil, konstantine TumaniSvilebi...), TviTonac iyo mwerali da Jurnalisti, kerZod, saymawvilo Jurnal `jejilis~ (1890-1923) redaqtor-gamomcemeli. imave wlis seqtemberSi axaldaqorwinebulebs qarTlis sofel brilSi nadimi gaumarTa sazogado da Teatralurma moRvawem niko diasamiZem. nadims eswrebodnen TvalsaCino qarTveli moRvaweebi da swored aq, sofel brilSi, 1892 wlis 6 seqtembers Camoyalibda sainiciativo jgufi (iv. maCabeli, mix. maCabeli, n. diasamiZe da sxv.), romelmac gadawyvita yovelkvireuli perioduli gamocemis daarseba `kvalis~ saxelwodebiT.

TavisTavad amgvari iniciativa droulic iyo da logikuric. jer erTi, rogorc es adre gvaqvs damowmebuli (Tavi \_ `ilia WavWavaZis `iveria~), `ilia WavWavaZem me-90 wlebSi sruliad daaneba Tavi sagazeTo moRvaweobas. Tumca redaqtori iyo, magram saredaqtoro saqmeebSi ar ereoda da Zalian iSviaTad swerda~ (g. lasxiSvili); ilias qmediTi monawileobis gareSe ki `iveria~ srulfasovnad ver asrulebda im drois mTavari qarTuli gazeTis daniSnulebas. amas garda, qarTvel moRvaweTa Soris gamwvavebuli iyo saTavadaznauro-saadgilmamulo bankTan dakavSi­re­buli polemika da iliasTan dapirispirebul banaks survili hqonda sakuTari gamocemis daarsebisa. am mxriv, gasakviri ar aris, rom `kvalis~ iniciatorTa Soris vxedavT iv. maCabels \_ sabanko sakiTxebSi i. WavWavaZesTan dapirispirebuli gundis meTaurs.[[1]](#footnote-1)1

brilSi dawyebulma muSaobam gadmoinacvla TbilisSi da masSi, garda dasaxelebuli pirebisa, CaerTvnen akaki wereTeli, aleqsi WiWinaZe da sxv.; gadawyda, rom gamocema yofiliyo samecniero-saliteraturo ilus­tri­rebuli gazeTi da igi oficialurad gaformebuliyo rogorc Jurnal `jejilis~ yovelkvireuli damateba. redaqtor-gamomcemlis funqcia daa­ki­s­res anastasia TumaniSvil-wereTels (Tavidan aleqsi WiWinaZis kandi­da­tura ganixileboda). Seiqmna saredaqcio komiteti, romelSic Sevidnen giorgi da akaki wereTlebi, iv. maCabeli da sxv. (sxvaTa Soris, iv. maCabels sabanko sakiTxebTan dakavSirebiT `kvalis~ mesveurebTanac mouvida uTanxmoeba da maleve datova redaqcia. ramdenime TveSi mas mihyva a. wereTelic, Tumca mogvianebiT akaki kvlav daubrunda `kvals~).

1892 wlis dekemberSi `iveriaSi~ gamoqveynda gancxadeba: `kvali~, naxa­tebiani axali Jurnali[[2]](#footnote-2)2 (damateba `jejilisa~) gamova 1893 wlidan yovel kviraSi erTxel... redaqtor-gamomcemeli an. T[umaniSvil]-wereTlisa~.

is, rom redaqtor-gamomcemlad a. TumaniSvil-wereTeli iTvleboda, sa­kiT­xis mxolod formaluri mxare iyo da `kvals~ faqtobrivad giorgi wereTeli xelmZRvanelobda \_ 1897 wlamde igi uZRveboda saorganizacio sakiTxebs, gansazRvravda gamocemis xasiaTs, Sinaarsobriv mxaresa Tu ide­ologiur mimarTulebas, a. TumaniSvili ki mxolod finansur saqmeebs ganagebda.[[3]](#footnote-3)3 1897 wlis bolos g. wereTelma gazeTi asparezze axalgamo­sul politikur Zalas \_ social-demokratebs (kerZod, noe Jordanias) \_ gadasca, Tumca `kvalis~ redaqtor-gamomcemlad oficialurad isev a. Tu­ma­niSvili-wereTeli iTvleboda. 1903 wlis martidan gazeTis oficialuri redaqtori iyo nikoloz aleqsi-mesxiSvili, Tumca gamocemas mis daxurvamde faqtobrivad isev social-demokratebi xelmZRvanelob­dnen.

`kvalis~ redaqcia Tavidan imyofeboda eqvTime xelaZis stambaSi, 1898 wlidan ki \_ artileriis quCaze, sasuliero seminariis (amJamad xelovnebis muzeumi) maxloblad. 1901 wlidan redaqcia gadavida sapioris (mesangreTa; amJamad rezo TabukaSvilis) quCaze, noe Jordanias binaSi. gazeTi sxvadasxva dros sxvadasxva stambaSi ibeWdeboda (`wignis gamomcemeli qarTvelTa amxanagobisa~, e. xelaZisa da sxv.).

`kvalis~ pirveli nomeri gamovida 1893 wlis 3 ianvars da misi Sinaarsi aseTi iyo:

**akaki wereTeli**, mimkvleva

**[giorgi wereTeli]**, Cveni gulis-pasuxi

**giorgi wereTeli**, mimoxilva

**akaki wereTeli**, stumrebi

**giorgi wereTeli**, bagrat didi (1360-1395 qr. aqeT)

**akaki wereTeli**, ganTiadi

**moswrebuli sityva**

**akaki wereTeli**, cxel-cxeli ambebi

**sofrom mgalobliSvili**, mekvle (saaxalwlo ambavi)

nomerSi CarTulia ucnobi avtoris mier Sesrulebuli grafikuli gamosaxuleba bagrat didisa, agreTve, mose ToiZis naxati \_ `saaxalwlo milocva xonCiT `kvalisa~ (gazeTis ilustratorTa Soris iyvnen Tvalsa­Cino qarTveli mxatvrebi: gigo gabaSvili, mose ToiZe, aleqsandre mrev­li­Svili da sxv.).

axali perioduli gamocemis ZiriTadi mizandasaxuloba Camoyalibebu­lia g. wereTlis saprogramo xasiaTis werilSi `Cveni gulis-pasuxi~, romelSic avtori mkiTxvels sTavazobs `axals gonebrivs sazrdosa~ da `sazogadoebis yuradRebis Rirsi~ faqtebisa da problemebis gacnoba-analizs, sagangebo yuradRebas uTmobs xalxis materialur umweobasa da gaunaTleblobas da mkiTxvels hpirdeba `am orgvar senze... malamos wacxebas~: `Cven vecdebiT Cvensa da Cvens mkiTxvels Soris mgrZnobiare simebi gavabaT, imis sixaruliT gavixaroT, imis mwuxarebiT SevswuxdeT. Cven vecdebiT yovelsave movlenazed utyuari da safuZvliani sityva warmovsTqvaT, samarTliani azri davadginoT. cxovrebas mecniereba gverdSi amovuyenoT da mecnierebis yuriT visminoT, mecnierebis Tvali vadevnoT qveynis Carxis waRma-ukuRma trials~.

g. wereTlis am sityvebSi mkafiod Cans ilia WavWavaZis \_ zogadad `samocianelTa~ \_ literaturul-Jurnalisturi msoflmxedvelobis Ziri­Ta­di xasiaTi da mimarTuleba. `iveria~, sxvaTa Soris, kmayofilebiT Sexvda `kvalis~ gamosvlas (`...sasixarulo da sasiamovno ambavia, gza dagvilocnia am axali moZmisaTvis. RmerTma didi dRe da Rone misces~). marTalia, `kvalsa~ da `iverias~ Soris maleve Camovarda uTanxmoeba, magram am uTanxmoebis wyaro iyo ara ideologiur-msoflmxedvelobrivi dapirispireba, aramed \_ saTavadaznauro-saadgilmamulo bankis sakredito politikisadmi mkveTrad gansxvavebuli midgomebi: `pirvel xanebSi... gazeTs hqonda nacional-liberaluri mimarTuleba. samSoblos interese­bis dacva iyo misi umTavresi mizani da amisaTvis SeerTebuli Tanam­Sromloba yvela wodebaTa da klasTa saWirod miaCnda~ (d. kariWaSvili). ase rom, msoflmxedvelobrivi TvalsazrisiT pirvel wlebSi `kvalis~ mimarTuleba arsebiTad unisonSi iyo `iveriis~ erovnul programasa da liberalur-demokratiul msoflmxedvelobasTan.

`kvalis~ kulturul-saliteraturo mimarTulebaze saubrisas calke unda aRiniSnos akaki wereTlis programuli xasiaTis werili `cxel-cxeli ambebi~, romelic gazeTis pirvel nomerSi gamoqveynda da romelSic avtori dabejiTebiT imeorebs `TergdaleulTa~ mier jer kidev 1860-ian wlebSi Camoyalibebul fundamentur princips literaturis sazogadoebrivi daniSnulebis Sesaxeb: `mwerloba ucnauri sarkea, sadac qveynis Zveli da axali av-kargianoba umet-naklebod unda pirdapir ixatebodes da ara kerZo sapiradod sanavardo sarbieli. mwerali ki didi moZRvaria qveynisa, romelsac yurs ugdeben `aw da maradis~ da mitomac misi movaleoba RvTisa da kacis winaSe didia!.. kerZoobiTi ram sapirado mter-moyvaroba, misian-sxvisianoba da sxv. mis guls ar unda ekarebodes! vinc amas gadauxvevs, is aris WeSmaritebis gamyidveli...~

oficialurad gamocxadebuli profilis mixedviT `kvali~ samecniero-literaturul gamocemad iyo Cafiqrebuli (`samecniero da saliteratu­ro naxatebiani gazeTi~), Tavidan mkafiod gamoxatuli kulturtregeruli xasiaTic hqonda da, bunebrivia, masSi uxvad ibeWdeboda saliteraturo, samecniero da saganmanaTleblo xasiaTis teqstebi. aq TanamSromlobdnen im drois TvalsaCino mwerlebi da mecnieruli interesebis mqone moRva­weebi \_ sistematurad qveyndeboda akaki wereTlis leqsebi (`ganTiadi~, `WaRara~, `suliko~, `neitrali~ da sxv.), misive prozauli nawarmoebebi (`Cemi Tavgadasavali~, `baSi-aCuki~ da sxv.). ibeWdeboda vaJa-fSavelas poeturi da prozauli Txzulebebi (leqsebi: `sizmari amiranisa~, `Savi Rrubeli~, `SemomRuRune Conguro~ da sxv.; poemebi: `ivane kotoraSvilis ambavi~, `sisxlis Zieba~; moTxrobebi: `erem-serem-suremiani~, `mucela~...). JurnalSi qveyndeboda sxvadasxva Taobis qarTvel mweralTa (barbare jorjaZe, giorgi wereTeli, dutu megreli, baCana, irodion evdoSvili, Sio mRvimeli, egnate ninoSvili, Sio aragvispireli, vasil barnovi, ekaterine gabaSvili da sxv.) nawarmoebebi. mTargmnelobiTi literatura warmodgenilia baironis, goeTes, haines, Selis, puSkinis, lermontovis, senkeviCis, fransis, priudomis, jerom jeromisa da sxvaTa saxelebiT.

gazeTis mesveurebi saTanado yuradRebas uTmobdnen literatu­raTmcod­neobis, literaturis istoriisa da saliteraturo kritikis sakiTxebs \_ qveyndeboda akaki da giorgi wereTlebis, kita abaSiZis, ivane gomarTlis, aleqsandre xaxanaSvilis, romanoz fancxava-xomlelisa da sxvaTa saintereso werilebi.

saTanado yuradRebaa eqceoda saqarTvelos istoriul warsuls da am mxriv gamoirCeva giorgi wereTlis, ivane gvaramaZis (`vinme mesxi~), aleqsandre xaxanaSvilis publikaciebi.

erTi sityviT, arsebobis pirvel wlebSi `kvali~ agrZelebs winamor­be­di qarTuli Jurnal-gazeTebis mier Seqmnil kulturul-saganmanaTleblo da saliteraturo tradiciebs. Tumca, Jurnalze social-demokratebis gavlenis gaZlierebis kvaldakval amgvari tendenciebi TandaTanobiT knindeba (es ar exeba Targmanebs \_ Cven mier CamoTvlil ucxoel avtorTa umravlesoba 1890-1900 ww. mijnaze qveyndeba). mas mere, rac `kvali~ mTlianad social-demokratebis xelSi aRmoCnda da partiul-ideologiuri gamocemis saxe miiRo, masTan moTanamSromle avtorTa umravlesobam liberalur-demokratiuli mimarTulebis Jurnal `moambeSi~ gadainacvla (cxadia, isini `iveriasTanac~ TanamSromlobdnen). `kvalis~ axal mesveurTa xelSi TandaTanobiT minelda agreTve interesi saqar­Tvelos warsulisa da qarTuli kulturis istoriasTan dakavSirebuli Temebis mimarT. momravlda da gabatonda socialur Tematikaze Seqmnili erzac-literatura da sxv.

qarTvelma marqsistebma (social-demokratebma) organizaciuli xasiaTis aralegaluri muSaoba jer kidev 1892-1893 wlebSi daiwyes (egnate ninoSvili, noe Jordania, mixa cxakaia, silibistro jiblaZe da sxv.), xolo 1894 wlis maisSi, \_ egnate ninoSvilis dakrZalvaze, \_ isini ukve Camoyalibebuli ideologiiT wardgnen sazogadoebis winaSe. qarT­vel marqsistTa erT-erTi meTauris, silibistro jiblaZis, TqmiT, `Cveni awindeli cxovreba warmoadgens ors axals, erTi-meoris mowinaaRmdege wodebas anu klass. erTis mxriT \_ fizikuri da gonebrivi Sromis warmomadgenelni, meore mxriT \_ muqTaxora burJua-kapitalistebi. pirvelTa xvedria autaneli Sroma-garja, meoreTa ki \_ dasakuTreba am Sromis nayofisa. ai, sad tydeba xidi CvenSi... ai, sad irRveva ufskruli...~.

cnobilia, rom s. jiblaZis mier naxseneb `Catexil xidze~ ilia WavWavaZec intensiurad werda (mxatvruli nawarmoebebi, publicisturi teqstebi), oRond Tu ilias mizani `xidCatexilobis~ aRmofxvra da am gziT socialur fenaTa Tanxmobisa da ideologiuri konsolidaciis miRweva iyo, s. jiblaZe (Sesabamisad \_ qarTveli marqsistebi) sazogado­ebas mdidrebad (mCagvrelebad) da Raribebad (Cagrulebad) hyofdnen da kategoriuli formiT amtkicdebdnen antagonizmis gaRrmavebisa da brZolis socialur-ekonomikur asparezze gadatanis aucileblobas. Tavadaznauroba, qarTveli marqsistebis azriT, TviT istoriis mier iyo sasikvdilod gawiruli da Tu ram saerTo SeiZleboda hqonodaT burJu­aziasa da proletariats, es iyo resursebis gaerTianeba Tavadaznauro­bis, rogorc klasis, dasasamareblad.

qarTveli marqsistebis revoluciuri Zalisxmeva ruseTis imperiaSi arsebuli politikiuri, socialuri da ekonomikuri sistemis mospobaze iyo fokusirebuli. mxolod amis Semdeg miaCndaT maT SesaZleblad (pirvel rigSi, `noe Jordanias frTas~) qarTveli erisaTvis sasicocxlo mniSvnelobis problemebis, \_ maT Soris, erovnuli sakiTxis, \_ gadaWra.

qarTvel marqsistebs `mesamedaselebsac~ uwodeben, rac giorgi wereTlis mier Camoyalibebul e. w. `dasebis~ koncefcias efuZneba. g. wereTlis mixedviT:

1. 1860-iani wlebis moRvaweebi (petre nakaSiZe, dimitri yazbegi, ivane poltoracki, mixeil da daviT yifianebi, ilia winamZRvriSvili, vaxtang TulaSvili da sxv.) ilia WavWavaZis meTaurobiT gamoxatavdnen **libera­luri Tavadaznaurobis** interesebs (es iyoo `uceb afeTqebuli da ucebve Camqrali... liberaluri axalgazrdoba~). g. wereTelma Tavis koncefciaSi adgili ver mouZebna `xalxosnebs~ da isini ramdenadme damajerebeli argumentaciis gareSe `pirveldaselebTan~ gaaerTiana. `saqarTvelos moam­bem~, \_ g. wereTlis TqmiT, \_ `dahgmo Zveli baton-ymuri damokidebuleba, santimentalurad Sexeda man Tavis mwerlobaSi glexis daCagrul beds da Semdeg es grZoba gadaitana samSoblozec~. `saqarTvelos moambis~ daxurvisTanave `pirvelma dasma~, g. wereTlis SexedulebiT, arsebiTad amowura Tavisi funqcia da daiSala. rac Seexeba `iverias~, `mas axali aRara wamouyenebia... iyo gagrZeleba `saqarTvelos moambisa~.

2. `meore dass~ g. wereTeli uwodebs gazeT `droebisa~ da Jurnal `krebulis~ garSemo gaerTianebul **burJuaziul-demokratiuli mimarTule­bis** publicist-literatorebs (niko nikolaZe, TviTon giorgi wereTeli, sergei mesxi, kirile lorTqifaniZe, petre umikaSvili, akaki wereTeli). mweral-publicistTa am jgufma, \_ avtoris azriT, \_ `axal azrovnebis mimarTulebis garda, TviT mwerlobis enac ZirianaT Sescvala~; kerZod, aqamde arsebuli `gadaprexili literaturuli ena advil gasageb mdabio literaturul enaT gadaaqcia~. rac Seexeba g. wereTlis mier naxseneb `axal azrovnebis mimarTulebas~, avtori zogadad aRniSnavs \_ pirveli da meore dasis warmomadgenlebs Soris mudam iyo dapirispireba principul sakiTxebSio, Tumca arc am `principul sakiTxebs~ akonkretebs da arc \_ amgvari dapirispirebis ideur-msoflmxedvelobriv safuZvlebs.

3. `mesame dasad~ g. wereTeli miiCnevs axalgamoCenil marqsistebs, romelTa winamZRolebadac asaxelebs mxatvrul literaturaSi egnate ninoSvils, xolo publicistikaSi \_ noe Jordanias. avtoris azriT, `kvalis~ garSemo gaerTianebul marqsistTa jgufi (social-demokratebi) `namdvil memkvidred unda gaxdes meore dasisa~.

g. wereTlis, \_ TavisTavad TvalsaCino mwerlis, Jurnalist-publicis­tisa da sazogado moRvawis, \_ mier Camoyalibebuli `dasebis~ Teoria tendenciuri, xelovnuri da sqematuria, amasTanave, aq rTuli sazoga­do­eb­riv-politikuri procesebi metismetad gamartivebuladaa warmodgenili: ignorirebulia `TergdaleulTa~ wvlili saqarTveloSi konservatorul-monarqistuli msoflmxedvelobis daZlevasa da `nacionaluri libera­liz­mis~ (a. jorjaZe) Semotanasa da damkvidrebaSi, maTi brZola ganaT­lebis rusifikaciis (zogadad \_ rusifikaciis) winaaRmdeg, erovnuli mi­zan­dasaxulobis intensiuri kulturtregeruli muSaoba, dakninebulia i. WavWavaZisa da misi Tanamoazreebis istoriuli mniSvnelobis damsaxureba qarTuli saliteraturo enis demokratizaciis saqmeSi da sxv.

XIX s. 60-80 wlebis qarTul sazogadoebriv cxovrebaSi marTlac advi­ladaa SesamCnevi sazogadoebriv-politikur poziciaTa swrafi diferenci­reba, mTeli es procesi mwvave polemikuri suliskveTebiTacaa aRbeWdili, magram gansxvavebul Tvalsazrisebs am procesSi monawileTa Soris ar aRumarTavs iseTi `Cinuri kedeli~, rogorc es g. wereTlis koncefciaSia warmoCenili \_ polemika ZiriTadad mimdinareobda socialur-ekonomikur sakiTxebze, xolo rac Seexeba erovnul sakiTxs (sxvaTa Soris, kulturul-saganmanaTleblo da literaturul-msoflmxedvelobriv principebsac), aq e. w. `dasebs~ Soris, 1890-ian wlebamde (social-demo­kratebis gamoCenamde) arsebiTi xasiaTis gansxvaveba ar yofila.

ase iyo Tu ise, g. wereTelma, \_ `kvalis~ faqtobrivma xelmZRvanelma, \_ jer farTod gauRo kari `mesamedaselebs~ (romlebsac, sxvaTa Soris, i. WavWavaZe `rusuli marqsizmis TuTiyuSebs~ uwodebda[[4]](#footnote-4)4), xolo 1897 wlis bolos, rogorc iTqva, maT Jurnali mTlianad gadasca \_ **1898 wlis ianvridan `kvali~ ukve social-demokratiuli mimarTulebis organoa** da, miuxedavad imisa, rom gazeTis oficialur redaqtor-gamomcemlad a. Tu­ma­niSvili-wereTeli darCa, am droidan gamocemis faqtobrivi xelmZRva­ne­li noe Jordaniaa. amis Sesaxeb n. Jordania wers: `g. wereTelma me gadmomca sruli redaqtoroba, sruliad ar ereoda saredaqcio saqmeebSi da Tu rames daswerda \_ me gadmomcemda gasacnobaT da nebis dasar­TavaT... xSiraT meubneboda erT da imaves: noe, xom ici, me marqsisti ara var, magram raki vxedav, rom xalxis gamoRviZeba SeiZleba am gziT, mec TqvenTan var... **`kvali~ gaxda qarTveli marqsistebis pirveli legaluri organo. es iyo imave dros pirveli magaliTi mTel ruseTis imperiaSi. arsad socialistebs legaluri organo ar qondaT** (xazi Cvenia \_ T. j.)~.

g. wereTeli, \_ 1860-ian wlebSi `TergdaleulTa~ TvalsaCino wevri, \_ iyo gulwrfeli patrioti da sicocxlis bolomde erovnuli idealebis erTgul msaxurad darCa. aseT viTarebaSi bunebrivad Cndeba kiTxva, Tu ram ganapiroba misi gadawyvetileba, gamxdariyo qarTvel social-demokratTa Tanamdgomi da `kvalic~ maTTvis gadaeca?

pasuxs am kiTxvaze vpoulobT am movlenebis monawileTa Tu TviTmxil­velTa sxvadasxva tipis (publicistur, memuarul, epistolur...) teqstebSi, romelTagan aq mxolod ramdenimes davimowmebT:

g. wereTeli fiqrobda, rom qarTveli marqsistebi `jer bavSvebi arian... nel-nela morCebian marqsizmis qavilidan da momarTaven isev erovnul Cangs~ (s. qvariani).

g. wereTeli ambobda: `mesame daselebi gamoswordebian, patriotebad gaxdebian da Zlier erovnul moZraobas Seqmniano. akakic CaiTria g. wereTelma `kvalSi~ da akakic amgvaradve asabuTebda Tavis pozicias~ (v. wereTeli).

g. wereTelma miTxra: `exla iseTi dro dadga, rom Zveli mimarTuleba unda ukuvagdoT, iqidan marto nacionaluri Tavisuflebis miswrafeba davitovoT da sxva socialur-ekonomikur sakiTxebSi marqsisa da engel­sis mimarTuleba unda miviRoT~ (e. TayaiSvili) da sxv.

sagulisxmoa isic, rom g. wereTelma `kvali~ gadasca maincdamainc noe Jordanias, romelmac jer kidev 1892 wels Camoyalibebul sakuTar politikur programaSi scada marqsizmisa da erovnul-demokratiuli msoflmxedvelobis harmonizacia. misi SexedulebiT, `Tuki pirovneba unda iyos Tavisufali, Tu mTeli sazogadoeba Tavis Tavs unda marTavdes, ratom eri, rogorc didi eTniuri sazogadoeba, ar unda marTavdes Tavis Tavs, ar qondes Tavisi saxelmwifo~.[[5]](#footnote-5)5 mogvianebiT ki (1925 wels), emigraciaSi myofma n. Jordaniam ase Camoayaliba sakuTari politikur msoflmxedveloba: `suverenoba eris, batonoba demokratiis, damkvidreba socializmis \_ ai Cveni mizani, ai risTvis vibrZviT Cven~.

n. Jordania Tavisi politikuri msoflxedvelobiT diametrulad gansxvavdeboda im qarTveli marqsistebisagan (filipe maxaraZe, mixa cxakaia, aleqsandre wulukiZe da sxv.), romelTa programac proleta­ruli internacionalizmis principebze iyo dafuZnebuli da ruseTis social-demokratiasTan ganuyofeli erTianobisa da ganuyofeli ruseTis pirobebSi klasTa Soris revoluciuri antagonizmis gaRrmavebaze iyo orientirebuli. es iyo qarTvel social-demokratTa is jgufi, romelsac `saqarTvelos politikuri uflebani ar ainteresebda~ (mix. wereTeli) da 1900-iani wlebis dasawyisSi bolSevikur partiad Camoyalibda[[6]](#footnote-6)6 (sxvaTa Soris, erovnuli sakiTxisadmi qarTvel social-demokratTa umetesobis pozicia erTiani da ganuyofeli ruseTis Sesaxeb hqonda mxedvelobaSi kavkasiis mefisnacval ilarion voroncov-daSkovs, romelic 1906 wels imperator nikoloz II-s swerda: `Tavadaznauroba, samRvdeloeba da inteligencia saqarTveloSi separatistulia, erTaderTi saimedo Zala, romelsac SeiZleba rusis xelisufleba saqarTveloSi daeyrdnos, qarTve­li social-demokratebi arian, marTalia, saSiSi revolucionerebi, magram saxelmwifo centralistebi da ruseTis mTlianobis momxreni~).

n. Jordanias politikuri moRvaweobis Sefaseba rogorc Tanadroul, ise Semdgomi xanis (dRemde) qarTul mecnierul, publicistur Tu memuarul literaturaSi winaaRmdegobrivia \_ ukiduresad negatiuridan uaRresad pozitiuramde.

Cven vfiqrobT, noe Jordanias, \_ am TavisdaTavad istoriuli mniSvne­lobis politikuri figuris, \_ msoflmxedvelobis gasaRebi unda veZeboT qarTuli nacionalizmis brwyinvale warmomadgenlis, mixeil (mixako) wereTlis, SefasebaSi:

`noe Jordanias msoflios-xedva marqsistuli iyo... qarTuli naciona­lizmi maSin (1890-1900 wlebSi \_ T. j.) ideurad Zlieri iyo, magram **xalxis darazmva erovnuli Tavisuflebis idealis gansaxorcieleblad man ver SesZlo** (xazi Cvenia \_ T. j.). qarTul marqsizms ki ruseTis revoluciur ZalebTan erTad miaCnda SesaZleblad TviT-mpyrobelobis damxoba, soci­aluri reformebi mSromel klassTaTvis da damyareba demokratiuli Ta­visuflebisa. am mizanTa miRwevis Semdeg, misi (n. Jordanias \_ T. j.) rwme­niT, eric kvlav moipovebda dakargul uflebebs. nacionalisturi brZo­l­is warmoeba uzarmazari imperiis winaaRmdeg, TviT am imperiis revo­lu­ci­onur ZalTa dauxmareblad, mas sruliad uimedod miaCnda.[[7]](#footnote-7)7 am niadgazed swarmoebda brZola sxvadasxva mimarTulebis qarTuli nacio­na­lizmisa social-demokratiis winaaRmdeg. es brZola CvenSi, ro­gorc yve­lgan, xSirad mwvave iyo da mavnebeli mTeli erisaTvis, magram qa­rTveli social-demokratebis arc klassTa brZolis qadagebas da arc qarTveli xalxis mimarTvas wminda socialur-politikuri idealebisaken qar­Tveli eris mTlianoba ar daurRvevia. dadga dro da mTelma qarTvelma erma, ganurCevlad partiaTa, aCvena qveyanas, Tu ra iyo misi neba da survili (igulisxmeba saqarTvelos damoukideblobis gamocxadeba 1918 wlis 26 maiss \_ T. j.)~.[[8]](#footnote-8)8

noe Jordanias politikuri msoflmxedvelobis daxasiaTebisas, vfiqrobT, ganmsazRvreli mniSvneloba aqvs im garemoebas, rom igi Tavisi socialisturi ideebis ganxorcielebisas evropul niadagze idga da ara \_ rusul niadagze. Tavis memuarebSi igi wers (asaxulia 1890-iani wlebis viTareba): `...davinaxe, rom rusuli socializmi namdvili utopiuri da reaqcionuri mimdinareobaa da Tu is marTla ganxorcielda sadme, dave­qa­nebiT ukan barbarosobaSi... aman samudamoT mokla CemSi imdeni wlis SeTvisebuli rusuli socializmi da gadamiyvana evropiul niadagze~. ase rom, **miuxedavad Zireuli ideologiuri gansxvavebulobisa, n. Jordanias politikuri kredo ar dascilebia XIX s. qarTuli sazogadoebriv-poli­tikuri ganviTarebis erT-erT ganmsazRvrel mimarTulebas \_ evropeizms**.

ase iyo Tu ise, 1898 wlis dasawyisidan, rogorc iTqva, `kvali~ mTlianad aRmoCnda social-demokratebis xelSi da maTac pirdapiri ieriSi miitanes `iveriasa~ da zogadad liberalur-demokratiuli mimar­Tulebis qarTvel inteligenciaze: `mesame dasi xdeba dauZinebel mtrad axlandeli Cveni inteligent-meTaurebisa da maTi moqmedeba miaCniaT mavneblad Cveni qveynisaTvis... am bolo dros savsebiT gamomJRavnda `iveriis~ mTeli Sinaarsi, misi sibeCave, misi siTaxsire. misi mimarTuleba Cvens literaturaSi unda aRiniSnos sityviT \_ `reaqcia~.

ilia WavWavaZisa da misi ideologiis winaaRmdeg mebrZoli qarTveli marqsistebisaTvis yvelaze erTgul da saimedo `mokavSired~ epoqis suliskveTeba iqca. saqme isaa, rom mosaxleobis farTo fenebSi social-demokratTa lozungebi socialuri Tanasworobisa da sayovelTao keTildReobis Sesaxeb uaRresad mimzidveli aRmoCnda. im drois fsiqo­logiuri garemo SesaniSnavadaa daxasiaTebuli a. jorjaZis mier: `Tu Tqven imdenad gulubryvilo brZandebiT, rom `qarTveloba~ arc geTaki­lebaT, arc gezizRebaT, icodeT, SavrazmelTa gundSi unda CairicxoT, nacionalistis samarcxvino saxeli unda ataroT da wyvdiadi da bneleTia maSin Tqveni xvedri da Tu gamoxvediT moedanze da SesZaxeT, gulSi xelis CartymiT: amxanagebo! warsuli mZuls, awmyo mezizReba-Tqo, icodeT, Tqveni momavali uzrunvelyofilia. SaravandediT Seimkoba Tqveni kosmopolituri gvami da quCaze gavlis dros Tqvenze TiTs miaTiTeben da ityvian: ai Cveni mxsneli, ai Tavisuflebis mociquli da `Savrazmel nacionalistTa~ amomgdebio~. sagulisxmoa agreTve geronti qiqoZis `mogonebebis~ is monakveTic, romelSic quTaisis realuri saswavleblis moswavleebisa da baTumeli axalgazrdebis polemikaa asaxuli: `baTumelebma Camoitanes TavianTi xelnaweri rusuli Jurnali, romelSic isini Taviseburad gagebuli marqsizmisa da internacionaliz­mis ideebs icavdnen. me mindoda maT Sevdavebodi qarTuli erovnuli kulturis poziciebidan, magram davmarcxdi, vinaidan maT Zlieri mokav­Sire aRmoaCndaT, saxeldobr \_ epoqis suli~.[[9]](#footnote-9)9

`iveriis~, i. WavWavaZisa da misi Tanamoazreebis winaaRmdeg namdvili `koleqtiuri laSqroba~ ganxorcielda 1900 wlis ianvarSi, giorgi wereTlis gardacvalebisa da dakrZalvis dReebSi \_ dakrZalvaze sityviT gamomsvlelebma (noe Jordania, karlo CxeiZe, vasil kirvaliZe, noSrevan merkvilaZe da sxv.) anaTemas gadasces yvela (gansakuTrebiT, `iveria~ da ilia WavWavaZe), vinc g. wereTlis Sexedulebebs pativs ar scemda da social-demokratTa ideebs ar iziarebda. `mesamedaselTa~ amgvar `Znelad warmosadgen uzneobas, utaqtobas da usircxvilobas~ (g. lasxiSvili) mZafrad gamoexmaura dapirispirebuli banaki (artem axnazarovi, giorgi lasxiSvili, kita abaSiZe...). brZolam iliasa da misi msoflmxedvelobis winaaRmdeg Tavis apogeas mas Semdeg miaRwia, rac Jurnal `mogzaurs~, romlis oficialuri redaqtori ivane rostomaSvili iyo, faqtobrivad filipe maxaraZe Caudga saTaveSi.[[10]](#footnote-10)10

wina TavSi (`ilia WavWavaZis `iveria~) Cven ukve SevexeT v. nacvliS­vilis mier i. WavWavaZis winaaRmdeg `mogzaurSi~ gamoqveynebul werils (`saguramos da Woportis sazogadoeba~), ilias pasuxsa (`nuTu?~) da am polemikasTan dakavSirebiT gazeT `iveriis~ pozicias. xolo imis sailustraciod, Tu ra uxamsi da daundobeli iyo qarTvel marqsistTa brZola ilia WavWavaZis winaaRmdeg, aq davimowmebT fragments f. maxa­ra­Zis im werilidan, romliTac man `mogzaurSi~ upasuxa ilias publikacias \_ `nuTu?~: `T-d ilia WavWavaZes Cven iqamdisac vicnobdiT, Tu ra `kacuri kaci~ brZandeboda is, ras emsaxureba, ra Seadgens misi suliskveTebis sagans... igi gvelaparakeba Cven, rogorc kerZo sakuTrebis ideologi, rogorc memamule... amieridan qarTvel mkiTxvels saqme eqneba qarTvel memamulesTan, romelsac mTeli Tavisi sicocxle mxolod imisTvis moundomebia, rom glexebi eyvlifa da etyavebia. Cven ar gvgonia, saqarTvelos miwaze moipovebodes meore iseTi sastiki memamule, romelsac ase uRmerTod gayavdes cxovrebaSi glexebis gayvlefis sistema~ da a. S. (mogvianebiT igive f. maxaraZe ilias dakrZalvasTan dakavSirebiT werda: `nuTu Cvenma `WeSmaritma mamuliSvilebma~ ver gaiges, rom revolucionur aqtis msxverpls gvirgvins ar mivutanT saflavze, samZimars ar gamovucxadebT?~).

1890-iani wlebis dasasrulidan ilia WavWavaZis winaaRmdeg farTo fro­n­tiT gaSlil brZolaSi noe Jordaniac CaerTo \_ `kvalSi~ zedized gamoaqveyna werilebi, romlebSic igi ilias uwodebda `reaqciuli moZra­obis meTaurs~, `armazis alagas aRmarTul kerps~ da a. S.; sagangebod unda aRiniSnos n. Jordanias vrceli naSromi `presa~, romelic 1900 wels gagrZelebebiT gamoqveynda `kvalSi~ da warmoadgens `nimuSs midgomil da calmxriv literaturul nawarmoebisa~ [a. jorjaZe; imave 1900 wels n. Jordaniam es Tavisi naSromi wignadac gamosca saTauriT \_ `qarTuli presa (guSin da dRes)~]. mkvlevari giorgi abaSiZe Tavis wignSi `ilia WavWavaZe. cxovreba da Rvawli~ (Tb.: 2005) vrclad exeba am sakiTxs da aRniSnavs:

`n. Jordania werda, rom qarTuli presa `erTianad gaTaxsirebulia, rogorc gonebrivad, ise zneobrivad; imas aRaraviTari umaRlesi ideali ar itacebs, ar afrTovanebs, da wvrilman, umniSvnelo rameebSi garTuli, TavdaRmarTSi swrafad eSveba da samaris kars uaxlovdeba~, xolo qarTuli presis es gaTaxsireba ilia WavWavaZis moRvaweobis Sedegia, \_ ilia WavWavaZisa, romelic saTaveSi Caudga `konservatorTa jgufs~, daaarsa gazeTi `iveria~, daupirispirda progresul gazeT `droebas~... da qarTuli presa `ganviTarebis umdables safexuramdi~ CamoaqveiTa: reaqcioneri ilia WavWavaZisa da misi `iveriis~ wyalobiT, `qarTulma presam Tavisi xeliT gaikeTa kubo, Cavida Sig, gulxeli daikrifa da axla mxolod wesis agebas da dasamarebas elis~.

1900-iani wlebis dasawyisSi xangrZlivi brZoliTa da SromiT daRlili, janmrTelobaSeryeuli i. WavWavaZe TandaTanobiT Camocilda sazogadoebriv asparezs. man, rogorc adre iTqva, `iveria~ sxvas (al. sarajiSvils) gadasca da mTeli Tavisi darCenili energia sabanko saqmeebis warmatebisaken mimarTa, magram, gr. yifSiZis TqmiT, `daselebma ufro moumates brZolas da ieriSi ieriSzed mihqondaT iliazed da erovnuls mimarTulebazed. ilia TiTqmis miyuCda, miiCrdila, moSorda samoqmedo asparezs, magram daselebi mainc ara scxrebodnen, radgan im mimarTulebis deda-boZad, romelsac uarhyofdnen daselebi, isev is iTvleboda. imas ertya brwyinvale Saravandedi qarTvelTa didi patrio­tisa, erovnulis mgosnisa, qveynis mesveurisa da mesaidumlesi. daselebis azriT, usaTuod saWiro iyo am kerpis damsxvreva, am Zvelis RmerTis Semusvra, ilias damdableba, mis abrus gatexa. misi sruli damarcxeba iqneboda damarcxeba da gacamtvereba im msofl-mxedvelobisa, romlis cxoveli gamomxatveli da mociquli iyo ilia~.

unda iTqvas, rom `mesamedaselebma~ aRviraxsnili, yovlad uRirsi pro­pa­gandis meSveobiT miaRwies sazogadoebis farTo fenebSi ilia WavWavaZis saxelisa da saqmis diskreditacias (ase, magaliTad, 1902 wels naZala­de­vis muSaTa samkiTxvelos gaxsnisas Tbiliselma muSebma ilia WavWavaZes, rogorc `muSaTa mtersa da moRalates~, namdvili obstruqcia mouwyves da sxv.).

axali ideebiTa da revoluciuri suliskveTebiT egzaltirebuli sazogadoeba advilad dahyva ilias winaaRmdeg mimarTul propagandasa da moralur terors da saqme iqamde mivida, rom, \_ samson fircxalavas TqmiT, \_ ilia WavWavaZis `gamoqomagebac~ ki `samZimo gaxda~.

marTalia, Cven dRemde ar mogvepoveba dokumenturad dadasturebuli cnobebi i. WavWavaZis mkvlelobis organizatorTa Sesaxeb, magram SeiZ­leba iTqvas \_ qarTvelma marqsistebma zogadad da, gansakuTrebiT, maTma bolSevikurma frTam Seqmnes is fsiqologiuri da moraluri atmosfero, romelSic SesaZlebeli gaxda ilia WavWavaZis mkvleloba.

1900-iani wlebis dasawyisi saqarTveloSi revoluciuri mimarTulebis social-demokratiuli presis aRmavlobiT aRiniSna (gazeTebi `brZola~ da `proletariatis brZola~, Jurnali `mogzauri~...), gaCnda socialistur-federalisturi mimarTulebis presac (parizSi gamomavali gazeTi `saqarTvelo~, romelic aralegalurad vrceldeboda saqarTveloSi; mwvave politikuri Sinaarsi SeiZines gazeTma `cnobis furcelma~ da Jurnalma `moambem~). aseT viTarebaSi `kvalma~ ver gauZlo konkurencias da krizisi daetyo. amas isic daemata, rom gazeTis faqtobrivi xelmZRva­neli noe Jordania iZulebuli gaxda, politikur devnas evropaSi gahqce­oda... 1903 wlis agvistodan noembramde `kvalis~ gamocema Sewyvetili iyo. ZiriTadi mizezi krizisisa TviTon `kvalSive~ 1903 wlis noemberSi irakli wereTelma (`yvirilelma~) ase axsna: `kvali~ winaT ukeT akmayofilebda maSindeli cxovrebis moTxovnilebas, vidre dRevandeli cxovrebis moTxovnilebebs daakmayofilebs da es imitom, rom cxovrebam gauswro literaturas da iseTi Cqari nabijiT wavida win, rom arasodes winaT ar uvlia. gaumarjos im cxovrebas, romelmac kvals gaaswro~.

dauZlurebuli `kvali~ axal 1904 wels TiTqos axali imedebiT Sexvda, magram mxolod cota xans gaitana Tavi da imave wlis TebervalSi sacenzuro wesdebis darRvevis gamo xelisuflebam igi daxura.



1. 1 ilia Wyonia Tavis memuarul TxzulebaSi `Cemi dRe da sofeli~ (`mnaTobi~, 1928, #8-9) iv. maCabels `kvalis~ daarsebis mTavar iniciatorad asaxelebs: `1893 w. iv. maCabelma anastasia TumaniSvil-wereTlis saxelze gamoiTxova nebarTva yovelkvireuli saliteraturo da sazogadoebriv gazeTis `kvalis~ gamocemisa da Seudga bankis saqmeebze miudgomel da piramTqmeli werilebis weras~. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. 2 TviTon gamocemas sinamdvileSi `gazeTi~ aweria da ara `Jurnali~ (`samecniero da saliteraturo naxatebiani gazeTi~). miuxedavad amisa, zogjer `kvals~ Jurnaladac moixsenieben da formiTa Tu Sinaarsobrivi struqturiT, vfiqrobT, igi marTlac ufro Jurnalia, vidre gazeTi (am mxriv, sagulisxmoa, rom qarTuli presis analitikur bibliografiaSi `kvali~ `Jurnalebisa da krebulebis~ bibliografiaSia Setanili). winamdebare wignSi Cven angariSs vuwevT damkvidrebul tradicias da gamocemas gazeTs vuwodebT.

3 a. TumaniSvil-wereTlis TqmiT,`me mxolod Semosaval-gasavlis mxriv viyavi saqmeSi (Tumca gazeTi Cemi saxeliT gamodioda) da TiTqmis arc ki wamikiTxavs, Tu ra pirobiT unda isargeblon imaT (giorgi da akaki wereTlebma \_ T. j.) `kvaliT~. noe Jordanias TqmiT ki \_ `am (1901 \_ T. j.) wlidan `kvali~ savsebiT SeviZineT anastasia wereTlisagan (miveciT sami aTasi maneTi)~. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. 4 zogadad i. WavWavaZe maRali azrisa iyo karl marqssa da mis ekonomikur moZRvrebaze (sxvaTa Soris, erTgan mas `didebul marqssac~ uwodebs), magram miiCnevda, rom marqsizmi Tavisi klasobrivi winaaRmdegobisa da revoluciuri suliskveTebis gamo damRupveli iyo mcirericxovani, \_ miT umetes, saxelmwifoebriobas moklebuli, \_ erebisaTvis. sakuTriv qarTvel marqsistebs ilia bralad uyenebda marqsizmis safuZvlebis vergagebas, noe Jordaniaze ki werda \_ eg iseTi marqsistia, `romelTanaebze TiTon marqsma sTqva: rac gindaT damarqviT, oRond marqsistobas-ki nu damwamebTo~. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. 5 nacionaluri sakiTxis Jordaniaseuli gaazreba (vgulisxmobT 1890-iani wlebis viTarebas), rogorc Cans, arsebiTad misaRebi aRmoCnda i. WavWavaZisaTvis, ris gamoc iliam n. Jordanias `iveriis~ redaqtoroba SesTavaza. mogvianebiT n. Jordania ixsenebs: `erT dRes movida CemTan al. yifSiZe da gadmomca, ilia WavWavaZes surs Tqveni naxva da xval diliT gelis Tavis saxlSio... meore dRes wavedi. mimiRo Tavis samuSao kabinetSi. gavecani, dajdomisTanave daiwyo: SegawuxeT erTi saqmisaTvis. me msurs Tqven gaxdeT `iveriis~ xelmZRvaneli, redaqtori sruli uflebiT, mxolod roca Cvens Soris iqneba azrebis didi gansxvaveba \_ me Cemsas davbeWdav, Tqven Tqvensaso. me sxvebi mTxoven gazeTis gadacemas, maT ar gadavcem, gamocdilebiT vici maTi ambavi, Tu Tqven aiRebT, mzaT var gadmogceTo~ (n. Jordania ar uTiTebs TariRs, Tumca konteqstidan Cans, rom es Sexvedra 1897 wels unda momxdariyo). n. Jordanias am dros, faqtobrivad, ukve hqonda Tavisi perioduli gamocema (`kvali~) da, rac mTavaria, igi iyo i. WavWavaZesTan dapirispirebuli politikuri jgufis meTauri. amitomac man ilias Tavaziani uari uTxra. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. 6 ganxeTqileba ruseTis social-demokratiul partiaSi, romelmac ganapiroba kidevac partiis bolSevikebad da menSevikebad daSla, ZiriTadad swored revoluciur procesebSi proletariatis adgilisa da rolis sakiTxs ukavSirdeba. social-demokratTa 1903 wlis yrilobaze erTi frTa (momavalSi \_ bolSevikebi) kategoriulad moiTxovda partiis programaSi SeetanaT punqti proletariatis diqtaturis Sesaxeb, meore frTa (momavalSi \_ menSevikebi) aseTive kategoriulobiT ewinaaRmdegeboda programaSi am punqtis Setanas. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. 7 am sakiTxze Tavis memuarebSi (`Cemi warsuli~) noe Jordania wers: `...cvlileba unda momxdariyo saerTo Zal-RoniT ruseTis masStabiT. Cveni patara erisTvis es taqtika TavisTavad sagulisxmo da misaRebi iyo, marto qarTveloba xom ver gaumklavdeboda ruseTis veSaps. CvenTvis saWiro iyo mokavSire brZolaSi, rom izolaciaSi ar movxvedriliyaviT da ar gavlesiliyaviT~ (sxvaTa Soris, sainteresoa XIX s. dasawyisSi saqarTvelos saxelmwifoebriobis gauqmebisa da ruseTTan SeerTebis n. Jordaniaseuli Sefaseba: `eris meTaurebma da winamZRolebma ver SeZles Tavisi Zal-RoniT mtkice marTvelobis damyareba da iZulebuli Seiqnen ruseTisTvis miemarTaT. da roca maT Tavisi ufleba erTmorwmune ers gadasces, amiT uarhyves Tavisi batonoba da masTan erTaT samSoblos winanduraT meTauroba. es, ase vTqvaT, Tavis Tavis gadayenebaa, Tavis uZlurebis gamoaSkaravebaa~ \_ erTi saukune. `kvali~, 1898, #9). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. 8 qarTvel social-demokratTa (menSevikTa) umetesi nawili gulwrfeli patrioti iyo da amis sailustraciod mravalTagan aq mxolod erT magaliTs moviyvanT. ruben yifiani emigraciaSi igonebs: `26 maiss, Cveni damoukideblobis gamocxadebis dRes, vlasa (social-demokrati vlasa mgelaZe \_ T. j.) miimala da aRar sCanda, vnaxe mxolod gvian naSuadRevs. Cems SekiTxvaze, Tu sad iyo, mipasuxa: `mamadaviTis eklesiaze zars vrekavdi: ilia WavWavaZes, akaki wereTels, dimitri yifians Tavisufleba mivuloceo~. `me ar meguleba arc erT universalur eposSi mamuliSviluri aqti, egzom ayvanili miTiur simaRlemde~ \_ wers am amaRelvebeli faqtis Sesaxeb grigol robaqiZe.

aqve unda iTqvas, rom qarTvel marqsistTa erTi nawili gamoirCeoda ukiduresi kosmopolitizmiT da, am mxriv, damaxasiaTebelia menSevik irakli wereTlis (sxvaTa Soris, giorgi wereTlis Svilis) werili `mamuliSviloba, erovneba Tu xalxis samsaxuri~ (`kvali~, 1903, #4,15,20), romelSic avtori amtkicebda \_ mamuliSvilobis dacva moZvelda da xels uSlis sazogadoebriv progresso. Cans, i. wereTlis es werili hqonda mxedvelobaSi geronti qiqoZes, romelic mogvianebiT Tavis `mogonebebSi~ werda: `gansakuTrebuli protesti Cvens (quTaisis realuri saswavleblis moswavleTa \_ T. j.) Soris irakli wereTelma (yvirilelma) gamoiwvia, rodesac man 1903 wels `kvalis~ Sinaur mimoxilvaSi ganacxada, Cven arc gacveTili patriotizmi gvakmayofilebs da arc samSoblosa da qarTul enaze yvirili, Cveni ideali sakacobrio idealiao; awmyo gveliviT gvezizReba, warsuli WiriviT gvejavreba, Cven brwyinvale momavlisaken vicqirebiTo~.

ufro Sors midiodnen marqsisti-bolSevikebi. f. maxaraZe, magaliTad, amtkicebda: `CvenTvis nacionaluri kultura ar arsebobs, nacionalur enas mxolod pirobiTi da warmavali mniSvneloba aqvs, xolo rac Seexeba nacionalur zne-Cveulebebs, isini mxolod konservatorobis gamomxatvelia~. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. 9 1890-iani ww. dasasruls `iverielTa~ da `kvalelTa~ dapirispirebis fonze Camoyalibda `gancalkevebuli patara jgufi qarTvel inteligenciisa, romelic savsebiT ver miemxroboda verc pirvel da verc meore banaks~ (g. lasxiSvili). am jgufma Jurnal `moambeSi~ moiyara Tavi da igi `pirvels (`iverias~ \_ T. j.) uaxlovdeboda erovnulis idealiT, xolo meores (`kvals~ \_ T. j.) socialuris miswrafebiT~ (g. lasxiSvili). aq naxsenebi Jurnali `moambe~ (1894-1905; redaqtori \_ al. Wyonia) erovnuli mimarTulebis liberalur-demokratiuli gamocema iyo da saganmanaTleblo-kulturtregerul sakiTxebsac sagangebo yuradRebas uTmobda. Tavidan gamocemis publicistur profils arsebiTad gansazRvravda niko nikolaZe, romelic qveynis xsnas vaWroba-mrewvelobis ganviTarebasa da erovnuli burJuaziuli klasis (n. nikolaZis TqmiT, `SuaTana dasis~) ganviTareba-gaZlierebaSi xedavda. 1900 wels `moambis~ gamomcemelma jgufma SeiZina valerian gunias mier 1896 wels daarsebuli sainformacio xasiaTis gazeTi `cnobis furceli~, romelsac, miuxedavad imisa, rom oficialurad redaqtorobdnen jer al. Wyonia, xolo Semdeg al. jabadari, faqtobrivad g. lasxiSvili xelmZRvanelobda. gazeTTan aqtiuri TanamSromloba daiwyes axalgazrda moRvaweebma: arCil jorjaZem, kita abaSiZem, ilia aglaZem, samson fircxalavam da sxv.; `cnobis furceli~ axali Taobis mTavar gamocemad iqca. faqtobrivad, es aris qarTvel avtonomistTa perioduli organo, romlis wiaRSic Camoyalibda saqarTvelos socialist-federalistTa partia.

Cven am or gamocemaze (`moambesa~ da `cnobis furcelze~) ar vCerdebiT, radganac maTi politikur-ideologiuri xasiaTi da mimarTuleba arsebiTad 1900-ian wlebSi Camoyalibda da, amdenad, Cveni azriT, isini XX saukunis qarTul presas miekuTvnebian. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. 10 sxvaTa Soris, legaluri qarTuli gamocemebidan pirvelad swored `mogzaur­Si~ gaCnda saerTaSoriso revoluciuri proletariatis devizi `proletarebo yvela qveynisa, SeerTdiT!~, romelic Semdeg sabWoTa presis devizadac iqca. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)