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Caucasus Journal of Social Sciences

The purpose of the Caucasus Journal of Social Sciences is to publish reports of original research, reviews, and articles of importance to the peoples of the Caucasus region and to the people who has interest, and who work on this region. The CJSS should stimulate, communicate research, critical thinking, and develop modern trends in social sciences. The CJSS should raise issues that have not been covered yet and need to be analyzed from the scientific point of view.

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Articles selected for preliminary consideration by the Editors will be sent to subject matter experts for review. Names of authors and reviewers are kept confidential.

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The Journal articles should be submitted in APA Style (American Psychological Association). The Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association is the style manual of choice for writers, editors, students, and educators in the social and behavioral sciences. It provides invaluable guidance on all aspects of the writing process, from the ethics of authorship to the word choice that best reduces bias in language. Well-known for its authoritative and easy-to-use reference and citation system, the Publication Manual also offers guidance on choosing the headings, tables, figures, and tone that will result in strong, simple, and elegant scientific communication.

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**Conference Collected Works
7-8 October, 2010.**

Maintenance, prevention and right management of the national cultural heritage is one of the most important priorities of modern world, accordingly, for such a rich country as Georgia is from the view point of cultural heritage, talking and discussing such problems is important not only because of the showing problems but also for searching the ways that are approved in different countries and sharing already existed experience. That is the purpose of the international conferences in cultural heritage management that is held by the University of Georgia. The Rubric presents the addresses of the first such conference on 7-8 October, 2010. Wide spectrum of problems was covered on the conference.

**შემოქმედებითი მემკვიდრეობის ტრანსმისიის
არხების განვითარების მიზნით წარმოებული
სამუზეუმო მენეჯმენტის სრულყოფის
პერსპექტივები საქართველოში**

აბესაძე ირინე

შოთა რუსთაველის თეატრისა და კინოს სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი

კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის დაცვა – განვითარება ნებისმიერი სახელმწიფოს კულტურული პოლიტიკის მთავარი საზრუნავია. საქართველოს კულტურული მემკვიდრეობა ქვეყნის გეოგრაფიული მდებარეობის და უძველესი ისტორიის გამო, ბუნებრივია რთულ, მრავალშრიან და მრავალწახნაგოვან ორგანიზმს წარმოადგენს.

კულტურული მემკვიდრეობა მატერიალური, ხელშესახები ღირებულებების გარდა, ის სულიერი ფასეულობებია, რომელიც ქართული პოლიფონიური მუსიკის, ცეკვის, ხალხური სანახაობების სახით შემოგვინახა ჩვენმა ხალხმა. ამავდროულად, ქვეყნის კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის დაცვა მხოლოდ ქართულ სულიერ, თუ მატერიალურ ღირებულებებს როდი იტევს. საქართველოს პოლიეთნიკური კულტურა საუკუნეების განმავლობაში, ჩვენს ცისქვეშეთში მცხოვრებ ეროვნულ უმცირესობათა მემკვიდრეობების დაცვა – განვითარების ხელშეწყობასაც გულისხმობს, რაც კულტურული პოლიტიკის სტრატეგიის მნიშვნელოვანი საკითხია. ამ მხრივ, დროულია საქართველოს ტერიტორიაზე მაცხოვრებელ ხალხთა სულიერი ურთიერთკავშირის ამსახველი მუზეუმის ჩამოყალიბება, თავისი კვლევის ცენტრით. ამგვარი სამუზეუმო ექსპოზიცია, თვალნათლივ დაანახვებს ჩვენს დედაქალაქში ჩამოსულ სტუმრებს, როგორც კულტურათმორისი კავშირების შიდა პროცესებს, ეთნიკურ უმცირესობათა სუბკულტურების მოზაიკურ სურათს, ასევე საქართველოს საერთაშორისო, გარე კულტურულ ურთიერთობებს .

ნებისმიერი სახელმწიფო იმ შემთხვევაში შეძლებს წარმატებული კულტურული პოლიტიკის წარმოებას, თუკი ეცოდინება რა სახის კულტურულ მემკვიდრეობას ფლობს. ამ ასპექტით, კულტურული პოლიტიკის მენეჯმენტში განსაზღვრული უნდა იყოს სრულად ხალხური ხელოვნების ფორმების სრული დემონსტრირება და აგრეთვე, კერძო კოლექციებში დაცული მნიშვნელოვანი კულტურული ფასეულობების წარმოჩენა კერძო კოლექციათა მუზეუმის შექმნის გზით. სტატიაში საუბარია იმ მიზნებსა და ამოცანებზე, რომლებსაც უნდა ისახავდნენ კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის დაცვისათვის მნიშვნელოვანი აღნიშნული პროექტები.

Prospects of Museum Business Improvement in Modern Georgia for the Purpose of Successful Transmission of a Creative Heritage

Abesadze Irine

Shota Rustaveli State University of Theatre and Films

The creative heritage is a conglomerate of cultural values. Any nation by means of cultural values identifies itself with the ethnos. Proceeding from it, in the cultural policy of any state the care of cultural heritage preservation should be priority. Specific geopolitical arrangement in a joint of Asia and Europe and ancient historical development were reflected on cultural development of the Georgian people, having transformed it into a many-sided and difficult organism. It is necessary to notice that protection of material- cultural monuments and also cultural wealth and national creative traditions is impossible without morphological and semantic studying of these values. Thus, purposeful construction of a cultural policy entirely depends on knowledge of structure of a cultural heritage.

Proceeding from told, distribution of cultural values in the course of intercultural interrelations demands creation of protective valuable systems. In cultural heritage structure are meant not only national monuments of the fine arts but also spiritual riches which by means of music, dance and national shows pass from generation to generation.

The cultural heritage of the multinational population of Georgia is a multilayered and difficult organism. It is mainly caused by interrelations of subcultures of the ethnic minority occupying the country since the most ancient times.

Inclusion of cultural property of national minorities in system of a general state cultural heritage of the country, in the long term demands correct and purposeful management. Thereupon, in our opinion, it is necessary to create “the Museum of friendship of the people of Georgia”, the including research center occupied not only studying, but demonstration of spiritual interrelations of the people occupying our multinational country. Also, the demonstration of traditions of tolerance the Georgian to cultural values of national minorities of the country would be possible by creating the Museum of the People occupying the Georgian state.

Creation of such museum which does not have of analog, in our opinion, will show cross-cultural space of Georgia in which various cultural traditions peacefully coexist, in that number of the Abkhazian and Ossetian people. To reach desirable results, the exposition of the mentioned museum showing dynamics of cultural values of the people, centuries living in territory of Georgia, shouldn't be standard and gray.

It is possible only by live dialogue of art-value with visitors of a museum, by means of dialogue of an exhibit with the spectator.

Such permanent and updated exposition will be demonstration of a mosaic of subcultures of ethnic minority and internal processes of an intercultural contact of the people of Georgia. Besides, it will promote an embodiment of cultural dynamics of historical and modern external interrelations.

As to the research center, here on the basis of museum pieces forms of intercultural dialogue should be revealed.

The typology of cultural interrelations, in turn, means following models of intercultural dialogue: - process of change by one - perceiving culture under the influence of prepotent culture; - adaptation of cultural traditions and cultural wealth under the influence of prepotent culture; - ignoring (aversion) of prepotent culture.

Thereupon, it is necessary to note the scientific work, created in emigration by known Georgian scientists of Assyrian culture and the first sociologist of Georgia Mihako Tsereteli, "About civilizations perceiving and civilizations transferring" (M. Tsereteli-1990).

The scientist asserted that in the world there is no region, the cultural which life of inhabitants wouldn't influence culture of the next regions.

On Mihako Tsereteli - there is no spiritual isolates and all people are united in general interrelations. The cultures of different nationalities, formally different from each other, have many common features. M. Tsereteli considered that they are united at least by that fact, that they are cultural phenomena with rich attitude.

In the above-stated scientific work it is noticed, that any nation has the basic cultural core, which reveals the mixed multilayered essence, so-as each nation, was genetically created by mixing of different ethnoses.

It is thought that on an example of creation of the mentioned museum of friendship of the people it is possible to show spiritual relationship, and also distinctions, national cultures of the population of Georgia.

For today, when economic growth of the country depends on improvement of investment space that, in turn, stimulates cultural tourism, it is necessary to give great attention to museum management.

The expert concerning the cultural policy from the USA Saimon Mond, marking huge value of cultural tourism, specified in one paradox that foreign tourists in museums search for exotic exhibits, characteristic for the country which they visit. At the same time rejoice to detection of similarity to the national cultural values.

He, also, warned about possible damages of cultural exhibits by tourists that causes of toughening of system of protection of cultural monuments (S. Mond, 2000).

Proceeding from the above-stated, it is necessary to coordinate work of employees of museums and travel companies.

The basic core of cultural property of any nation is folk creativity. It is possible to confirm that all kinds of professional art formed by transformations of folk bases. In management of a cultural policy forms of those spiritual and the material assets which transfer from generation to generation depends on non-failure operation of channels of transmissions should be accurately defined.

When we contemplate a problem of management of cultural values, naturally, we mean accurate work of those social institutes by means of which there is a giving of cultural values to recipients, whether it is local population or visitor tourists.

At the present stage culturologists allocate 4 basic forms of folk creativity. The first - not isolated from the ethnographic environment, connected with the national way of life which has generated it. These forms meet in mountain regions of Georgia.

The second form-creativity of individual masters based on collective experience, keeping and developing art tradition.

The third - the art craft growing spontaneously because of local cultural tradition.

The fourth form - an art craft based on workshops with the necessary equipment.

All four forms of national creativity especially stimulate interest of visitors and tourists.

The original exposition will be demonstration of development of national forms of creativity of the people occupying our country.

The basis of a similar museum of folk creativity I consider expedient in a city of Batumi where flow of tourists stimulates national economy.

Cultural heritage transmission means transfer of traditions existing in all spheres of culture from generation to generation, their moving to time and space. At first sight, the tradition during moving as though should keep the constant character in archetypes, created by collective consciousness of the people. And actually, motifs which never sputter out, nevertheless are subject to changes during transfer from generation to generation. Thus, transfer to time and space changes character of traditions.

There is an opinion that selection of eternal values depends on time. Only that value becomes eternal which will successfully pass examination in time.

There is also more true reason that esthetic taste, according to public requirement, on change hierarchy of eternal values so much that, in this context, the concept about "eternity" can become under doubt.

So-as each generation from the positions and interests approaches to a cultural heritage, the question is brought: nevertheless, what there is eternally, a masterpiece or the relation of mankind to it? The answer to this question is that, dialogue between cultural value and its perceiving person is eternal.

Therefore, the exhibit dusty a museum dust is dead, nothing speaking. The exhibit should be in live dialogue with the person. Thus, cultural value at ethnic isola-

tion loses the value which reveals only at its inclusion in the international dialogue. The aforesaid speaks about necessity of the correct organization of management of presentation and demonstration of cultural values.

When speak about the transmissionary channels of transfer of cultural values, mean serviceable work of those social institutes by means of which cultural values are transferred to recipients, be it local residents or visitors tourists.

Museums, archives, galleries, the international auctions, the television and printing media, tours, concerts, etc. is an incomplete list of channels of transfer of a cultural heritage, places where cultural values are protected and shown.

At the present stage, in the conditions of tourism intensification in Georgia, on the agenda there is a question of search of ways of the best representation of national traditions and values to foreign tourists. Cultural heritage management, along with another, should mean and the maximum benefit from tourism for rehabilitation of cultural values.

“Pirosmani can't be held locked up” - known Georgian poet George Leonidze, when transferred in gift to the Museum of Arts of Georgia of product of this ingenious artist from the private collection, spoke. Unfortunately, for today very few people follows its example, because of what many masterpieces from private collections remain unknown for general public. Nevertheless, if to glance in history the organization of museum business in Georgia completely depended on private donations, as acknowledgement of that the history of a complete set of our museum funds can serve.

At 18-19 centuries representatives of the higher aristocracy of our country gave great attention to creation of private art collections. On the basis of these collections known Georgian public figures: E. Takaishvili, D. Shevardnadze, A. Saradjishvili, D. Djhgushia and others in the beginning of 20th century have laid the foundation for protection of monuments of arts being in Georgia. It is well-known that all the largest art museums of the world have personal collections in the basis. Now we have a number of private collections with unique exhibits. The majority of them till now are unknown to the wide public. Also they aren't brought in the register of the values which are in territory of the country.

On the present in Georgia there is a number of private collections, in which are thematically united set of unknown persons for wide audience of valuable products of arts.

The idea of creation a museum of private collections, on the one hand, becomes the guarantor of the legal rights protection of the collector, and with another - the state will create all conditions of its safe storage. Any state including Georgia only in that case can carry out successful cultural policy if it is known what property it possesses. In management of cultural policy, there should be determined the forms which represent spiritual and material values.

The result of such museum of private collections would be that the state would be informed about values being on its territory and the private collections, would be in standard ecological conditions, which protected from damages. In this extensive exposition the private property should be legally protected and contain in the conditions of corresponding to the Law on protection of monuments of art. Together with it, thanks to exposition space and art of the modern exhibiting, many, before the unknown products, stored “under seven locks” art masterpieces, will appear on a general review of local and foreign visitors.

To me the positive position of some the Georgian private collectors concerning creation of a museum of the specified type, which is successfully tested abroad, is already known.

Known scientist Michael Bakhtin, comparing a cultural heritage to a fantastic bird the Phoenix, notices that, each time reviving from ashes, it comes back to people only in case of deep comprehension of value of this heritage (Bakhtin of M, 1990).

From the point of view of prospect of development of museum management in Georgia, I consider expedient creation of the above-stated, three various types of museums, which will promote appreciably to business of cultural dialogue of local population with the international community and, thereby, can be a subject of the international cultural exchange.

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არქიტექტურა როგორც საზოგადოებრივი სინამდვილის კონსტრუქცია და მისი როლი საზოგადოების ტრანსფორმაციის პროცესებში

ბახტაძე ნათია

არქიტექტურა არის სოციალური მანიფესტი- განაცხადა ლუის ჰენრი სულივანმა 1901 წელს, და მართლაც, როგორც არქიტექტურის თეორეტიკოსი ვიტორიო მანიაგო ლამპუნიანი წერს, არქიტექტურა შეიძლება ავხსნათ როგორც კულტურული მანიფესტი, რომელიც საზოგადოებრივი განვითარებების პროცესიდან გამომდინარეობს და თავის მხრივაც გავლენას ახდენს ამ საზოგადოების ჩამოყალიბებაზე. მხოლოდ ასეთი ხედვიდან გამომდინარეა დღეს შესაძლებელი შედეგიანი ისტორიული დაკვირვება ნაგებობებზე.

არქიტექტონული უტოპიების განხორციელებას სოციალურ ცვლილებებზე იმდენად მიაქვს იერიში, რამდენადაც ეს არქიტექტურა აღარ კონცენტრირდება საზოგადოებრივ მასებზე, როგორც ამას XX საუკუნის პირველი ნახევრის არქიტექტურა აკეთებდა, არამედ მისი მიზანი ცივილიზებული “knowledge society” ხდება.

თემა სვამს კითხვებს, თუ რისთვის იგებიან არქიტექტურული უტოპიები და რით არის გამოწვეული, რომ ამ ფორმის ნაგებობები ქალაქის პრესტიჟულ ნაგებობებად ეტაბლიერდებიან.

Architecture as a Construction of Social Reality and its Role in the Process of Social Transformation

Bakhtadze Natia

Architecture is social manifest. If we want to know why specific subjects are of a peculiar form we should observe the society as our constructions and cities are reflection of our society. With this view critical research of architecture in reality leans towards research of social relations, which are formed that way¹- stated Louis Henry Sullivan in 1901, and really as Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani, German theorist of architecture reckons, architecture can be determined only as cultural manifest, which proceeds from the process of social development and in its turn puts an impact

on development of this very society.² Only from this point of view it is possible to make historical observation over constructions nowadays.

Sociology of architecture, as one of the most actual scientific disciplines of the XXI century, deals with phenomenon of architectural construction and studies conjuncture of architectural space in sociology and cultural science. However on the international scientific arena, as its actual founders Heike Delitz and Bernhard Shepper explain, we should remind, that Morris Halbvak and George Zemel were interested in relations of architectural physiognomy and society. Such personalities as Walter Benjamin, Michelle Phuko, Norbert Ellias and Ernst Bloch have made deeper analysis of architecture, its social relation and revealed interaction between architectural and social issues. In his "Passages" Walter Benjamin reckons that "architecture is the main witness of society's latent mythology",³ Ernst Bloch depicts architectural fantasy as society's specific utopia⁴.

The assertion that architecture gives face to the society is not new. In the beginning of the XX century vanguard architects put up the social issue of architecture, as far as they charged architecture with becoming constructive force and bringing "order" into social life.⁵

As paradoxical it may sound, vanguard architects of the XX century have founded the above-mentioned relation between the architecture and the society, which is called transformation of the society.⁶ They have related problem of architectural form and the society.

According to Heike Delitz, the paradox is that classical sociology was systemized, when architecture represented transformation of the society – main problem of sociology. Main objective of architecture of the above-mentioned period was to create apparent artificial layer of life free from any traditions, which was unusual at those times.

Progress of the society, attaching new direction to the way of life and feeling was the uppermost objective of vanguard architects. It is witnessed by Walter Gropius's apodictic statement – construction is formation of ways of living.⁷ It was social-technical position of architecture; the objective was to bring order to masses. Vanguard architects have practically created "sensorium", where they studied society, made social diagnosis, analyzed "new masses of the society" that gathered more and more in capital cities, which, according to Delitz, transformed into social inequality.⁸ This class struggle became a core reason of creation of compact settlements with repeating houses and corresponding interior.

Really, according to this architecture, architectural side of our modern society has developed; an "international style" has been created, which ousted any traditions and widespread worldwide. Theory of architecture and sociology determines this architecture as beginning of construction in creative position, which is radicalized in deconstruction.

Deconstructive direction, as the leading stylistic direction of our time systemizes new perspectives worldwide and tries with its own forces to bring the modern society into this field and introduce utopia of deconstructive architecture into social reality.⁹ Implementation of the above-mentioned architectural utopias has such a great impact on social changes as this architecture is not concentrated on social mass, as it was done by architecture of the first part of the XX century, thus civilized “knowledge society”¹⁰ becomes its objective.

Sociology of architecture puts up questions about purposes of creation of architectural utopias and about the reason for this type of constructions to be determined as prestigious constructions of the city.

First of all, sociology of architecture relates architectural utopias to mechanisms of institutional constructions, first evident of which is to impress.

In parallel to these problems, nowadays reconstruction of corresponding global aesthetic modern “European city” or “Global city” is considered as in South-East Europe also in a wide range of cities outside Europe as an example of educational model. New architectural constructions create new universal worlds, which in their own turn reflect their origin, social and public consciousness.

From Georgian reality I would like to draw the attention to Avlabari palace and St. Trinity Cathedral in Tbilisi city. St. Trinity Cathedral – is massive monument, which in the end of the XX century and in the XXI century remains devoted to forms of Georgian orthodox architecture of the XI century; situated besides modern construction of Avlabari palace it represents ideological and constructional variety. Prominence of these two monuments is preconditioned by their visual omnipresence, privileged location and stylistic “eccentricity”. Both constructions were invented as super monuments; they denote new reality and strive to give new face to the society. As architectural symbols they completely determine skyline of the location and highlight self presentation.

These two constructions welcome people visiting Tbilisi from far away; early this role was given to Metechi and monument of Vakhtang Gorgasali. If Avlabari palace with its architectural arrangement becomes the city’s main image construction, which denotes modernization and globalization, St. Trinity Cathedral represents metropolitan area, which is highly crowded. This character from the very beginning was a part of aesthetic strategy of cathedral’s construction;¹¹ a parallel is drawn between Erich Rehberg’s opinion about those symbolic mechanisms, which represent main keys of institutional identity and by means of which institutional self history is generated.¹² At this very time, in the end of 80’s, when Georgia, based on its historical reality, was given an opportunity to decide its own fate independently from Russian and soviet government, decided that construction of St. Trinity Cathedral was necessary as a symbol of gained independence, beginning of new life, presentation of revival of Georgian church life and reintegration and reunion of the country.¹³ The Cathedral was settled as spiritual cathedral, which has been destroyed for two

centuries. On the assumption of this objective, the idea of maintenance of traditions, repeating of architectural forms and ornaments of the XI century, proclamation that the construction should have been “descendant” of Svetitskhoveli serves to self-knowledge. Thus, the church was considered to become a new heart of Tbilisi city. Today, in commotion of theories and academic opinions about maintenance or revival of architecture’s national character, conclusion can be made that origin is constitutional for the past and the future of all humans.¹⁴

Erich Rothaker writes that “Human is plush and axis – tradition”. In history of culture architecture has the meaning of essential dimension, as architecture is the form which maintains past social order. Here the main character of architecture – conservation of old and creation of new - is revealed.¹⁵

Endnotes

¹ Louis Henry Sullivan in: Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnano: (1980). *Architektur und Staedtebau des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, S. 7.

² Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnano: (1980). *Architektur und Staedtebau des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart. S.8ff.

³ Benjamin, Walter. (1982). *Passagenwerk*. Frankfurt am Main.

⁴ Bloch, Ernst. (1959). *Das Prinzip der Hoffnung*. Frankfurt am Main. S. 858ff.

⁵ See for comparison. a) Giedeon, Sigfried. (2000). *Raum, Zeit und Architektur*. Basel, Boston, Berlin. 6. Auflage; b) Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnano. (1980). *Architektur und Staedtebau des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart; c) Posener, Julius. (1995). *Was Architektur sein kann*. Basel, Berlin, Boston.

⁶ Delitz, Heike. (2009). *Architektursoziologie*. Bielefeld. S.5ff.

⁷ Wakter Gropius cited in: Delitz, Heike: (2009). *Architektursoziologie*. Bielefeld.

⁸ Delitz, Heike. (2009). *Architektursoziologie*. Bielefeld. S. 8ff.

⁹ Delitz, Heike. (2009). *Die Architektur der Gesellschaft*. Bielefeld.

¹⁰ Delitz, Heike. (2006). *Die Architektur der Gesellschaft. Architektur und Architekturtheorie im Blick der Soziologie*, in: ‘From Outer Space, Architekturtheorie auserhalb der Disziplin’, 10.Jg., Heft 1, September.

¹¹ See: ilia II. ქალაქ თბილისში მართლმადიდებელი ეკლესიის წმინდა სამების საკათედრო ტაძრის არქიტექტურულ-დაგეგმარებითი გადაწყვეტის ღია კონკურსის შედეგები. (1989).თბილისი.

¹² Markus Daus und Daus und Karl-Siegbert Rehberg. (2009). *Raumsymbolik. Die “Architektur der Gesellschaft” aus der Sicht Institutionenanalyse*, in: Firscher, Ulrich und Delitz, Heike(Hg.): *Die Architektur der Gesellschaft*. Bielefeld. S. 109-131.

¹³ ჟურნალ არქიტექტურა და დიზაინის ინტერვიუ სრულიად საქართველოს

კათალიკოს-პატრიარქ ილია II- თან. (1994). ახალი საკათედრო ტაძარი ვაკეში
ეიგება. ჟურნალი: *არქიტექტურა და დიზაინი*. N1, თბილისი. გვ. 22.

¹⁴ Heile Delitz. (2009). 'Die *Architektur der Gesellschaft* aus der Sicht der
Philosophischen Anthropologie', in: Fischer, Ulrich und Deltz, Heike (Hg): 'Die *Ar-
chitektur der Gesellschaft*. Bielefeld, S. 175.

¹⁵ Rothaker, Erich. (2009). 'Die *Wirkung des Kunstwerkes*', in: Jahrbuch für Äs-
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ქალაქების რეაბილიტაციის ზოგიერთი ასპექტი (ქ. მცხეთის მაგალითზე)

ჭურაძე ნანა
GN პროექტი

არქიტექტურულ-მოცულობითი და ქალაქგეგმარებითი პრობლემები, არქიტექტურული ძეგლებისა და ანსამბლების შენარჩუნება და დაცვა, წარმოადგენს თანამედროვე საზოგადოების განვითარების ერთერთ უმთავრეს ამოცანას.

ძველი ფონდის რეგენერაცია-რეაბილიტაციის აქტუალობის, ერთი მოტივი და მრავალი საშუალება არსებობს. მათ შორის არქიტექტორების მიერ არჩეულ იქნა კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის ზოგად ფასეულობათა დაცვა, რაც აქტუალურია საქართველოს მცირე ქალაქებისათვის.

ნაშრომში განხილულია ზოგიერთი ასპექტი ქალაქ-მუზეუმ მცხეთის მაგალითზე, ისტორიულ ქალაქებში ტურიზმის განვითარების ქალაქგეგმარებითი და ტიპოლოგიური პრობლემები, რომლებიც მჭიდროდ არიან დაკავშირებული ამ მცირე ქალაქების კულტურულ და სოციალურ-ეკონომიკურ საკითხებთან.

საქართველოს გააჩნია უნიკალური კულტურული, ისტორიული, ბუნებრივი და სხვა ყოველმხრივ განსაკუთრებული ხელსაყრელი პირობები მრავალსახიანი ტურიზმისათვის.

ძველი ქალაქების ისტორიული უბნების გადარჩენისათვის განზოგადოებული რეკომენდაციები და წინადადებები, რომლებიც შეიმუშავეს პრაქტიკოსმა არქიტექტორებმა, შეიცავს მცირე ქალაქების განაშენიანებისა და ცალკეულ შენობათა სივრცობრვ-კომპოზიციურ ასპექტებს.

გამოვლენილია აგრეთვე, ხელობასთან დაკავშირებული ძველი ხალხური ტრადიციის განვითარება.

Some Aspects of Rehabilitation of Historical Town (Town Mtskheta)

Churadze Nana
GN Project

Architecture is the synthesis of arts, technology and social life, designed for definite time and specific place. Architectural heritage expresses cultural-technological, social-economic and socio-political state of the country. This is true about Georgia and any other country and is well reflected in our environment and architectural heritage.

Today, when construction-rehabilitation works are underway in the historical zones of a number of towns of Georgia, the main principle of the strategy is to preserve historical-architectural outlook of old towns, particularly-of Mtskheta. Besides, it is necessary to provide the population with proper modern dwelling, to improve their material welfare and finally to harmonize all these aspects.

Mtskheta, located at the convergence of the rivers Mtkvari and Aragvi, has been settled since III millennium BC and its history and legend are well known to each Georgian. No doubt the authenticity of historical monuments, moss-covered old stones, frescos and writings there point to the Georgian culture being unique.

The idea about preserving an old historical part of the town and transforming it into a town-museum arose some time ago, but it turned out to be unrealistic. While, according to the second idea arisen- the old part of the town should be granted with a new function -of a new, modern, active mode of life, combining the modern with the old, preserving its specific characteristics, at the same time-using an individual approach to each specific case.

Mtskheta was formed as the zone of mixed constructions, where apart from the religious centre there are administrative, trade and service centers, small enterprises and dwelling buildings. In spite of being located near Tbilisi attention to Mtskheta started to be paid only from the last decades of the previous century.

The hierarchal terrace, urban structure near Svetitskhoveli, situated between the Royal field hill and Mtkvari-Aragvi banks is clearly outlined in the city. From the balconies and terraces of the houses, built on the mountain, one can see the magnificent view of Mtskheta with its streets and buildings. One can as well see Svetitskhoveli, Jvari, Samtavro, Bebristsikhe, Baguneti, mount Zedazeni, where the most beautiful dynamic rhythm of churches, their towers and domes is formed, embedding special unimaginable feeling and attitude of visitors.

Even today, with minor exceptions, the old dwelling district of the town has almost preserved its ancient look with the urban design characterizing that period.

Small two-storey houses dominate here. There are simple buildings with modest facades. The illegal extensions built in later periods worsen the interior of historically formed cosy streets. These constructions have no architectural value and with the exception of a small number of buildings, there is none having the status of a monument. It is remarkable, that according to their physical or moral state, they do not correspond not only to modern, but to elementary conditions and do not satisfy the requirements of urban designing. Besides, the basic parts of the buildings are worn out and are coming out of their technical state. Therefore, it is essential to have Mtskheta reconstructed.

Some compromise should be made to protect the existing monuments and the buildings valuable for our cultural heritage from the disguised vandalism from the side of the population and private owners. These compromises should be dealt with professionalism for each specific case.

Before starting the works:

< We, the group of architects of “GN project” searched for all the materials and documents in the archives to avoid the use of eclectic popular details and motivations without proper consideration during construction.

< Partial adaptation was applied, which would not cause abruptness of existing artistic architectural outlook. Current landscape and the entire scale of the building site were formed as the result of adaptation.

< It was decided to introduce artistic side without exaggerating old architectural themes.

< “Tbilisian” style or the so called “Oda houses” was used.

< Identity of the old and new construction materials was preserved to the possible extent.

During construction:

< Great attention was paid to the peculiarity of the relief, which had been taken into consideration even prior.

< Uniformity of facades as one of the ways of regulating the architectural outlook of the building was considered. In this case the most important role is given to choosing such artistic-architectural outlook which organically fits into the existing space structure of the building site.

< The details with no scales were changed as recommended by professional architects and designers.

< Selection of less active neutral colors for polychromic facade was considered to be essential.

< One and the same or identical ornaments were used for decorating the banisters and the column arches.

< Several decorative elements, ornament, cornices were restored.

< Great attention was paid to the height, inclination, size and color not to infringe the integrity of the settlement and to fit the roofs into the entire style.

< Mansards were installed in the attics.

< Roof material was completely replaced by tiles.

< Special attention was paid to the wooden ornamented banister of the yard facade as well as to the glass gallery.

< Yards were fenced with simple wooden stone stands.

< Telic gates and fences of the later periods were changed.

< Important attention was paid to the quality of carrying out construction works.

Together with the architectural rehabilitation works the question of preserving the vitality of the small towns and justifying their existence from the economic point of view arouse. The optimal variant for all these is the development of cultural tourism in our country.

This is conditioned by some factors, namely:

a) There are a lot of monuments on the territory of Georgia that cannot be ignored. 12 thousand monuments are registered in the country, out of which 5 thousand are under the state's protection.

b) Georgia has unique cultural, historic, natural and other favorable conditions for tourism.

< This point is to be studied from the following perspectives:

< Tourism demand for a particular site;

< Cognitive value of the site;

< Natural-climatic conditions;

< Material-technical basis;

< Infrastructure of the part of the town;

< Communications;

< Local traditions;

< Ethnographical resources;

< Non materialistic cultural resources;

< Unique industrial resources.

Mtskheta and its surroundings are rich with cultural heritage, promoting the development of tourism of this genre, which will popularize its history, culture, material and spiritual heritage of the area. Although there is great historical-cultural inheritance in Mtskheta, the question may arise how valuable it is to promote tourism there as most of them cannot be considered as touristic sites. They should be restored in such a way as to preserve original outlook, but it is another point of discussion.

As Mtskheta is located near Tbilisi there is no need to have a large number of hotels and restaurants there. It is more important to have an information centre, small original cafés and specific trade centers with workshops.

To maintain our traditions it is advisable to create small workshops, where it will be possible to carry out creative process for tourists. Besides, shops should be opened where tourists will be offered different products. In this way guests will get to know the unique Georgian culture and thus local inhabitants will get involved in modern social life.

The reasonable and purposeful usage of the existing resources and potentials will promote the development of tourism and accordingly - of our economy, which will finally lead to employing people being a big problem in Georgia.

As a conclusion it can be said that the present building site of Mtskheta is the result of historical-social and artistic-agricultural factors formed during centuries, developed and formed in the specific geographical relief.

The most part of dwelling houses are adapted buildings and not historically formed original building sites. That is why we applied to adaptation, considering the structure and nature, as adaptation was implemented by designing the whole part of the town.

Proceeding from the mentioned, in case of taking a decision of further construction of some part of the town, it will be advisable to consider the recommendations of historical-architectural research and construct the buildings which will fit in the existing historical picture of the town. Due attention should be paid to preserving the general values characterizing Mtskheta or its specific part.

Georgia does not have great experience in the field of preserving the cultural inheritance and the latest methods of regeneration. That is why old towns and their parts are in danger of losing their unique characteristics. There are many reasons for the mentioned, one of them being low quality, irresponsible restoring works. Local and international support is needed to preserve old towns to future generations, so that the historical monuments never happen to be on the list of endangered monuments of the UNESCO.

Apart from Mtskheta, unique architectural monument, discussed here, there are many unique settlements which must be preserved as well.



Fig. 1
Gamsakhurdia Street N-35



Fig. 2

Mamulashvili Street N-4

Mamulashvili Street N-4



Fig. 3
Sanapiro Street N-3



Fig. 4
Mtskheta Street, Mrevlishvili House (Sightseeing)



Fig. 5
Mamulashvili Street N-24



Fig. 6
Mamulashvili Street N-20



Picture 7
Mamulashvili Street N-20¹

ფიჭვნარის ატიკური მოხატული ლარნაკები კოლხური სამაროვანიდან

ძნელაძე ნინო
ბათუმის არქეოლოგიური მუზეუმი

ფიჭვნარის სამაროვანი ატიკური მოხატული კერამიკით მდიდარი ძეგლია. მასობრივი წარმოების პროდუქციის გარდა, რომელიც ჩვეულებრივ წარმოდგენილია სხვადასხვა ზომისა თუ ფორმის ლეკითოსებით, აქ აღმოჩენილია ნიობიდების, შუვალოვისა თუ ესქინეს მხატვრების სკოლების ნაწარმიც. საინტერესოა, რომ მოხატული კერამიკა, რომელიც მნიშვნელოვან როლს ასრულებდა დაკრძალვის რიტუალში, რასაც ადასტურებს ჭურჭლის კომპოზიციის თემატიკა, ასევე აღმოჩენილია ბერძნული ნეკროპოლისის თანადროულ კოლხურ სამაროვანზე, რაც უდავოდ მეტყველებს იმაზე, რომ ადგილობრივ მოსახლეობას დაკრძალვის ბერძნული რიტუალის ეს ფორმაც მიუღია. კოლხურ სამაროვანზე სულ აღმოჩენილია სამი მოხატული ჭურჭლი. მათგან გამოირჩევა 1987 წელს აღმოჩენილი მოზრდილი არიზალოსისებრი ლეკითოსი, რომელზედაც გამოსახული ორფიგურიანი კომპოზიცია სტილისტური მახასიათებლებით შესაძლოა შუვალოვის ამფორის მხატვარს, ან მის მიმდევრებს ეკუთვნოდეს.

Attic Painted Vases from Colchian Cemetery in Pichvnari

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The Pichvnari cemetery is rich in attic painted vases. Besides massive goods of different shapes and size one can find the Niobid, Beldam, Bowdoin, Polygnotos, Shuvalov, Aischines and other masters works there. It should be noted that attic painted ceramics being essential part of funeral items are revealed on Colchian grave of Greek times proving that local population shared that Greek funeral ritual.

The first painted pottery is revealed on the Colchian cemetery in 1975. It is a red figure squat lekythos which is dated back to 5th c BC by Mrs Tamar Sikharulidze (1992). There is a winged female wearing wide sleeved tunic with cloak on the lekythos. The figure is turned rightward. The female takes offertory with her right hand out of a bag and spreads over the altar. According to its style it should be Nike's or Psyche's figure.

There is revealed a red figure squat lekythos with simple "running dog" ornament belt around on the Colchian cemetery in 1976. The lekythos is well-preserved. It is dated back to last quarter of 5th century BC (*Sikharulidze, 1992*).

Besides red figure vases there are revealed black figure pottery as well. There is a scene of symposium on one lekythos. It was found in 2008. And, another one was found in 2010. It is a kylix ornamented with dynamic figure of a coachman onto a two-horse carriage between pelmets.

A bigger squat lekythos revealed on a Colchian cemetery in 1987 might belong to the Shuvalov's amphora Painter or his companions or followers. The lekythos is nearly full-restored. There is lost a rather big hand fragment only. It has slopped shape. Its mouth is like a bowl. Its neck is outlined from its shoulders and crown. The body is boomed, and the bottom is thin and profiled. Its neck is decorated with a wide vertical ray belt. The two-figured composition is based onto a line composed with tongue and spot ornament. There is an image of young man wearing a long tunic and slipshodly sitting on an armchair - klismos - on the right side of the composition. He puts his half bare left hand on the bench back. And, he points his right hand to a female keeping a trunk and standing in front of him. Clothes of the both figures are made of dozens of vertical stripes. A slightly bowed knee of the figure standing on is made of a combination of slopped stripes. There is a drapery cloak slipped at the waist of the figure sitting on the klismos. The contours are made of relief lines. One can notice a foot of preliminary outline. Heads are separated with a clay line.

While determining the plot of the composition there was revealed few principal problems. One of them considered determining the sex of the figure sitting on the bench. Long curly hair falling on face and long tunic one can perceive it to be a

female at first glance. But if you stare to the both figures you can notice that eyes and face contours of the figure keeping the trunk differs from another one. The first one has widely opened eyes which do not look very natural. Its low eyelid is longer, while upper one is shorter and without eyelash. The second one is characterized with typical vase-painting eye-shape being as close to the natural anatomic one, i.e. expressive pupil of the eye and eyelash on the upper eyelid. We believe the author used this trick to differentiate the figures. Though the difference might be caused by master' pupil who was involved while making the composition. Similar curly long haired male is known among the works of Shuvalov Painter. Apollo is one of his beloved characters. While determining the period and the master great attention was made to the chair with the back - klismos which is characteristic feature of later mannerists including the Shuvalov amphora Painter. The Pichvnari lekythos composition has great many thematic analogues. Here should be mentioned a red figure oinochoe with Aphrodite sitting on a klismos, Eros and Charis. The oinochoe belongs to the Shuvalov group and is kept at the Adolphseck Museum, Germany (*Boardman, 1997. ill. 223*). It is determined that the master uses 7 main types subdivided into 23 sub-types of expression. The male's figure on the Pichvnari lekythos belongs to 4D Group (the male sitting on klismos and looking leftward), and the female's figure belongs to 2A Group (the female with slightly bowed knees keeping the trunk and looking rightward) (*Lezzi-Hafter, 1976. p.p. 60-62*).

Some details of the composition, particularly the way of expressing female figure and the trunk, have analogues with the contemporary of Shuvalov Painter, Washing Painter's works.

The lekythos as mentioned above is a funeral feature thus its plot should have been associated with passing away and funeral ritual. Generally, attic vases belonged to funeral items expressed offering, decoration of herms with garlands, figures standing at the altar, games dedicated to funeral ritual, rallies, symposiums, and funeral trapeze. The lekythos composition is civil at first sight but it is well-known that civil and sacral have much in common in ancient world. If we look at the plot from that point of view we can see a funeral religious scene of a master and his servant. The master could be any of Chthonic Gods associated with the dead, even Appolo the beloved character of the Shuvalov amphora Painter.

The basic ornament of the main composition of the lekythos attracts our interest. The ornament has its analogue on small size hydria-kalpis with Aphrodite sitting on a klismos and Eros. The last was dated back to 435-420 and considered to belong to the Shuvalov Painter's workshop. It was revealed on the grave No. 5 of the Pichvnari Greek cemetery in 1977.

The Shuvalov Painter, a brilliant representative of late period, was follower of miniature style and Polygnothos School. J. Bazli named him in honour of Duke I. Shuvalov who had owned one of his best masterpieces, a small amphora with Apollo and Muse (kept at the Hermitage, Russia) among his collection. It should be noted that

Apollo is one of the beloved characters of the painter. Nearly all works are made on small ceramic item. The master is not distinguished with diverse ornaments. Despite perfect compositions he is characterized with monotonous manner. One can often see a young man with long curly hair and big eyes having handsome profile among his works. The painter uses one and the same attribute.

The Shuvalov painter researcher Adrian Lezzi-Hafter (1976) divides works into following groups of Early (440-430 BC), Mid (430-420 BC), and Late (420-410 BC) periods. The Early period is characterized with Polygnotos School influence that is mainly expressed in prioritizing two-figured scenes. The Mid period is characterized with rapid development and flourishing of the workshop. And, the Late period is characterized with changing simple and easy style into rich and varied one. The Pichvnari lekytos could be dated back to 430-420 BC.

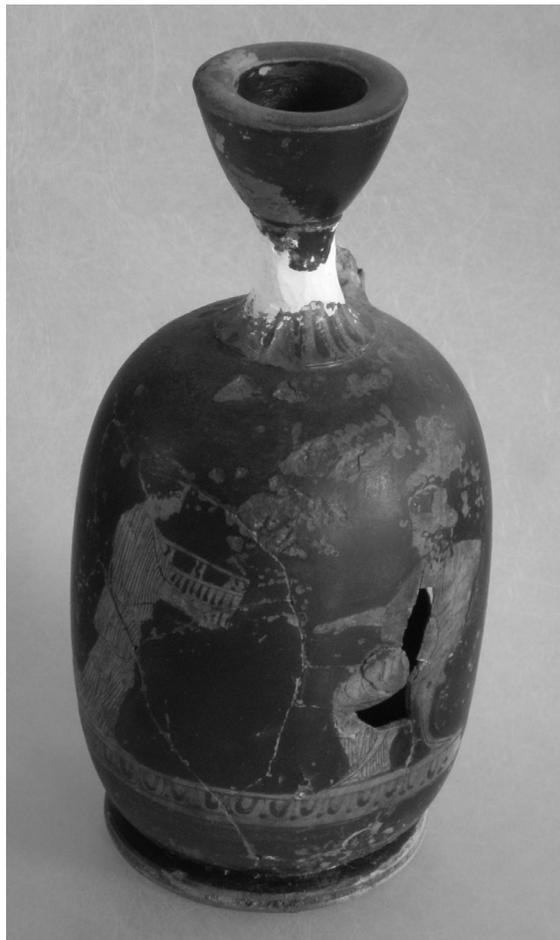


Fig. 1

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ახალი არქეოლოგიური აღმოჩენები სოფელ მახოში

კახიძე ამირან, შალიკაძე თამარ
ბათუმის არქეოლოგიური მუზეუმი

ნახევარი საუკუნუს მანძილზე მეტად საინტერესო საველე არქეოლოგიური კვლევა-ძიებანი განხორციელდა სამხრეთ-დასავლეთ საქართველოს ზღვისპირეთში.

ეს განსაკუთრებით ითქმის კლასიკური და ელინიზმის ეპოქის ნეკროპოლების მიმართ. შეისწავლებოდა ადრეშუასაუკუნეების სამარ-ხეხი. ბოლო წლებამდე შემთხვევითი აღმოჩენების ამარა ვიყავით გვიანანტიკური, რომაული ხანის სამარხეულ ძეგლებთან მიმართებაში. ახლა ეს თეთრი ლაქაც თანდათანობით ივსება. მიმდინარე წლის ივნისის თვეში ხელვაჩაურის მუნიციპალიტეტის სოფელ მახოში მიკვლეულ იქნა ახ. წ. III ს-სა და IV ს-ის დამდეგის სამაროვანი. განხორციელდა სადაზვერვო გათხრითი სამუშაოები. შევისწავლეთ ამ ეპოქის ხუთი სამარხი. სამარხები ცალკეულ ჯგუფებადაა განლაგებული. თითქოსდა ისინი საგანგებოდ გაჭრილი ოთხკუთხა განივკვეთიანი 30 სმ სიფართის მქონე თხრილით არიან შემოფარგლული. მიცვალებულები დაკრძალული ჩანან მოხრილ პოზაში მარჯვენა თუ მარცხენა გვერდზე, თავით ჩრდი-ლოეთისაკენ. მოპოვებულია საინტერესო და მრავალფეროვანი მასალა, ესენია: წელშეზნეილი კოლხური ამფორები, სამეურნეო ნაკეთობის ადგილოვრივი თუ რომანიზებული ფორმები. იმპორტული წითელ-ლაკიანი ლანგარი, მინის ჭურჭელი, რომაული მონეტები (მე-3 სამარხში ამათი რიცხვი 41-ს შეადგენს), ვერცხლის სამაჯური, მშვილდსაკინძები და ბეჭდები. რკინის სატევარი, ხიშტისებური იარაღი (მუჯირა) და ცული. ზომიერად იყო წარმოდგენილი მინისა და მინისებური პასტის მძივები, მათ შორის იშვიათი ნიმუშები. გრძელდება სამარხში კაჟის ჩაყოლების ტრადიცია.

დაახლოებით 700 მეტრის მოშორებით მიკვლეულია სამაროვნის თანადროული დასახლების ნამოსახლარების ნაშთებიც.

ახალი არქეოლოგიური აღმოჩენები მახოში მრავალმხრივ მნიშვნე-ლოვანია. სამარხთა თანადროული ოქროს ნივთების აღმოჩენის ფაქტი სოფელ მახოს სხვა ადგილიდან ადრეც იყო ცნობილი, გარდა ამისა, ძეგლი მდებარეობს საყოველთაოდ ცნობილ გონიო-აფსაროსთან ახლოს.

დაგეგმილია მომავალში არქეოლოგიური გათხრების გაგრძე-ლება, როგორც სამაროვნის, ასევე განძის აღმოჩენის ადგილებშიაც.

New Archaeological Reveals in Village Makho

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Interesting excavation works have been conducted along south-western shore of the Georgian Black Sea coastline for last fifty years. One should mention excavations and researches in Pichvnari, Tsikhisdziri, Chakvi, Batumi Fortress and Gonio-Apsaros Fortress. Our national as well as human civilization treasure in general, have been enriched with cultural features of different ages, particularly graves dated back to pre-Ancient, Classic, Greek, and Early Mid ages. Except some spontaneous reveals there has been remained uncovered necropolis of Late Ancient and Roman periods. Archaeological excavations and researches of recent years, particularly the Makho expedition in 2010, have filled in the gap.

Village Makho is situated within Khelvachauri Municipality (Adjara Region, Georgia) on the left bank of the River Chorokhi. Graves were found along a slope hill. A canal was dug on its south part down to the north 14x10m. Here is the plan (see Pic.1)

NO I	1-5; 11-15; 21-25
NW	1-5; 11-15
SO	1, 2; 11, 12; 21, 22
SW	1, 2; 11, 12

There was found only clay pots in graves NO 2-5, 12-15, 22-25 and NW 3-5, 13-15. There was found a 30cm-width canal along the excavated area, which considered surrounding five graves. The excavations were continued southwards along SO 1, 2, 11, 12, 21, 22 and SW 1, 2, 11, 12 taking upper humusive layer. Three other graves were found there. Due to time shortage, because of launching the Pichvnari expedition, the research of the graves was laid up till next year. See the description of the graves below.

Grave 1. North-west down, size: 1.25x0.75x0.65m. There was found so called the Tsebelda-type jug, and a small pot and another jug nearby, also the so called tangerine-type glass beads, and Roman silver and copper coins. There was found a bulb-shape glass vessel at foot area and damaged coins at the right shoulder area (see Pic.2).

Grave 2. Northward down. It was situated westward to Grave 1. At first its size was revealed within: 0.6x0.4x0.65m, but later appeared in wider shape with 1.3m length and 0.75 width very close to Grave 1. The grave was full of broken clay pots

and charcoal pieces. There was found a glass vessel, clay vase on a leg, and a bowl to the north, and a silver fibula, damaged coins, bracelet and ring to the east. It seems that the dead had its hand close to the head. There was found two iron lances, axe, a piece of flint, knife and soars tip to eastward (see Pic.3,4).

Grave 3. North-westward down, size: 1.5x0.8x0.65m. It seems that the person was buried bow on a side. There was found a jaw and bigger tun-shape fibula. Most of items were reveled nearby the head area. There was also found 4 silver and 37 copper coins, and a silver fibula and 4 beads between teeth and coins there. There was a silver ring and piece of flint at the left shoulder. There was a small bowl put into a bigger one together with a couple of glass cups and a bulb-shape glass vessel (see Pic.5).

Grave 4. From north-eastward to south-westward, size: 1.25x0.8x1.15m. There was revealed a Colchian bow amphora and clay jug to the west (see Pic.6).

Grave 5. Round-shape with 70sm diameter, 1.3m depth, no real size was revealed. There was only found bigger pieces of charcoal and stones. It seems they turned brown because of fire. It could be considered as a crematory grave (see Pic.1).

Grave Features. Traditionally, pottery items form a part of the grave features. The Colchian bow amphora has been the only one so far (see Pic.6/2). There has been revealed few clay pots, and one of them remained totally saved.

Next group is formed with clay jugs. Special attention should be paid to the jugs found in graves 1 and 4 (see Pics.2/3; 6/1).

Similar jugs dated back to early mid centuries were revealed in Tsikhisdziri (*Inaishvili, 1993:87, Pic.33/1*), Pichvnari (*Kakhidze, Vickers, Mamuladze, 2000:75, Pic.4, Tab. III/1,2*), Tsebelda (*Trapsh, 1971:133, Tab. XXI/3; Gunba, 1978:68-69, Tab.XXI/3; XXV/3; XXVII/2, etc.*).

A clay vase on a leg found in grave 2 seems rather interesting (see, Pic.3/6). Such vase is innovation for pottery along the eastern Black Sea littoral. Its analogues are revealed in Kapandibi, Ureki, etc.

There was revealed a clay bowl (see, Pic. 3/5). The clay bowl found in grave 3 is absolutely different. Its basement had three feet with a hill in the center (see, Pic. 5/8). It is rather interesting that bowls with similar basement were revealed in graves of Greek period (*Kakhidze, Vashakidze, 2010:30, Pic. 88/6, Tab. 150/8*). They seem to be similar to red gloss features.

Red gloss import vase was found only one item (see, Pic. 5/7).

Most of revealed glass items were cups. One of them is well-preserved (see, Pic.

5/9). The second cup was only partly restored (see, Pic. 3/7). The mentioned features have great many analogues (*Alekseeva, Sorokina, 2007:52, Pic. 36/3; Rutti, 1991:73, Tab. 65/1410, etc.*). S. Isings groups such cups into 106/a group (*Isings, 1957:127*).

The third cup was almost restored (see, Pic. 5/11).

Next group was formed with bulb-shape glass vessels. Similar features were revealed among Rein and Gallia ones (*Kunina, 1984:157*), also in Pitsunda (*Lortkipanidze, 1991:140, Tab. LXXII*) and Village Ureki, Lanchkhuti Municipality, where was spontaneously found well-remained glass vessel. Similarity was also found with glass items of Panticapeon at the Hermitage, Russia. They were considered to originate from one of the biggest workshop of Gallia, first of all the so called "Agrippina's Colony" (*Kunina, 1984:160*). One can widely find simple as well as ornamented (cut, gloss, script) glass features analogues in Germany (*Isings, 1957:121-122, form.103*). The same could be said about France (*Morin-Jan, 1913:95-96, fig.110, 111*).

Among other features here should be mentioned perfume glass revealed in grave 1 (see, Pic. 2/2).

Next group of the Makho Features were formed with clothes. There were revealed fibulas in two graves. One of them was fully restored (see, Pic. 3/1). Another one was a bit smaller (see, Pic. 5/6). Similar fibulas have had great many analogues. Similar fibula was found among grave features revealed in one of destroyed graves in Village Kapandibi, nearby Village Makho. The same could be said about grave 73 in Tsikhisdziri (*Inaishvili, 1993:89, Tab. XXXIV/3*). Here should also be mentioned Ureki (*Lekvinadze, 1975:199, Pic. 1, d, e, i*) and Pitsunda (*Tolordava, 1977:4*) among the Black Sea littoral, and Chkhorotsku (*Apkhazava, 1979:9, 104-106*) and Tsebelda and KIdeeti (*Trapsh, 1971, Tab. L1,1; Voronov, Yuschin, 1979:196, Tab. 9/29; Gamkrelidze, 1982:12, 14, 16, 17; Lomtadze, 1957:69-70, Tab. XII/1,3*) among Colchian Regions, and also in eastern Georgia (*Apakidze, Nikolaishvili, Melitauri, Sikharulidze, Sadradze, Dzneladze, Davlianidze, Gavashvili, Iremashvili, Bibiluri, Glonti, 1982:8-9*). The Makho features have had worth analogues in north Black Sea littoral and Europe that could not be stated here (*Ambroz, 1966:251-252, Tab. II/6-8; Tab. III/2, 6-8; Vyazmitina, 1972:131, Pic. 65/6, 8, 11, 59, 85, 366; Tab. 20/4; 157/11; 176/4*). Part of scientists date such fibulas back to 2nd-3rd cc AD (*Apkhazava, 1979:9; Gamkrelidze, 1987:104-105; Trapsh, 1971:171-178, Tab. 17.6, 9, 14*) but others consider them 3rd-4th cc AD (*Voronov and others, 1979:184-187, 189, 191, 193, 197, Pic. 2, 24, 46, 50-51; Apakidze and others, 1982:8, 9; Gamkrelidze, 1982:12, 14, 16, 17*).

There are two silver rings revealed there. One was well-preserved (see, Pic. 3/3), another was a bit damaged (see, Pic. 5/5).

There was revealed only one silver bracelet. Its narrowed ends were crossed in four lines like vine, thus made it available to widen its size (see, Pic. 3/4).

The Makho bracelets have great many analogues throughout ancient times. They have been revealed in several regions of Georgia, particularly in Kapandibi, Ureki (*Khoshtaria*, 1955), Chkhorotsku (*Khoshtaria*, 1941:71, Tab.I), Bori (*Ugreldize*, 1967:57, Tab. 1/49), Sokhta (*Slanov*, 1976:176, Tab. XXII, 21), Aghayan (*Mirianashvili*, 1983:63, Tab. I/b), Armaziskhevi Graves (*Apakhidze and others*, 1982:98-99, Tab. 1XXXVIII, 3, 3/a), and also in Armenia (*Esayan, A. Kalantaryan*, 1976:35-36, Tab. III, I), North Caucasus, Crimea, Russian steppes and forests (*A. Simonenko, I. Marcenko, N. Limberis*, 2008, Tab. 83/11).

Beads were mainly made of glass and glass-type pasta of tangerine shape (see, Pic. 2/1), one was yellow (see, Pic. 5/1), and rest three ones were black (see, Pic. 5/1). Other black round-shape beads had white and gray stones of different size (see, Pic. 5/2). There was only one tun-shape bigger bead with blue rings over brown background and yellow zigzag strips at the edges and light blue one at the centre (see, Pic. 5/3). Similar beads were revealed along lower Danube on the Zolotobalkovski grave (*Vyazmitina*, 1972:33-34, Pic. 13.4). Beads decorated with coloured thread were spread in later Greek period Mokena (*Vyazmitina*, 1972:33-34, Pic. 13/4), and Halschtadt culture (*Kisa*, 1908:870).

Small part of funeral items form iron made tools, particularly iron lances (see, Pic. 4/2). Tradition of keeping iron soear was preserved at that period. There were revealed two iron lances in the first grave and one in another. There was also revealed a knife and axe (see, Pic. 4/1).

It is rather interesting there have been revealed flint and obsidian tools there (see, Pic. 3/2, 5/4). This ancient tradition seems to be popular in south-western Georgian Black Sea littoral during ancient and early mid centuries. Flint tools had been appeared among funeral items since ancient times. It was believed that flint was useful in next world to get fire (*Vyazmitina*, 1972:190, Pic. 40/6, p.120, Pic. 19/5).

There was also revealed Charon Oboli there. Six coins were silver, and the rest were copper. Silver coins were cut in Caesarea in Cappadocia in honour of Roman Emperor Septimus Severus (193-211). Copper coins were cut at different Roman treasures in honour of Emperor Probus (277-282) and Emperor Diocletian (284-305). Similar coins were found in Pichvnari (*Dundua*, 1975:342, 364, 365).

The expedition revealed remains of ancient settlements on land premise of one of the group member workers David Sharadze. The premise is situated 700m eastward to the graves. Most of revealed items were brown plane amphora hands. Some of them were decorated with notches. There were also revealed some basements there. There was collected some fragments of a pitcher. There were dozens of broken pieces and a kind of wretstone. Another worker Otar Sharadze confirmed existence of broken pottery in the premise of well-known Makho golden treasure was found. There was revealed pitcher mouth and body fragments dated back to Roman times (see, Pic. 7).

All abovementioned researched graves dated back to 3rd century AD.

It could be concluded that preliminary investigation filed works revealed rather interesting results. It is important to note that list of graves of south-western Georgian Black Sea littoral dated back to Classic, Greek and Early Mid centuries were enriched with monuments of Late Ancient and Roman times. It is essential to highlight that quite rich treasure spontaneously revealed in Village Makhi, Gonio, and Tsikhisdziri prove significant role of south-western Georgia in process of formation of Lazika Kingdom. Here should be noted that the monument is situated on the left bank of the River Chorokhi nearby well-known Gonio-Apsaros Fortress. Besides Makho, similar features were spontaneously found in villages Kapandibi, Zanakidzebi, and Ureki. It is intended to continue archaeological excavations in Village Makho in future.

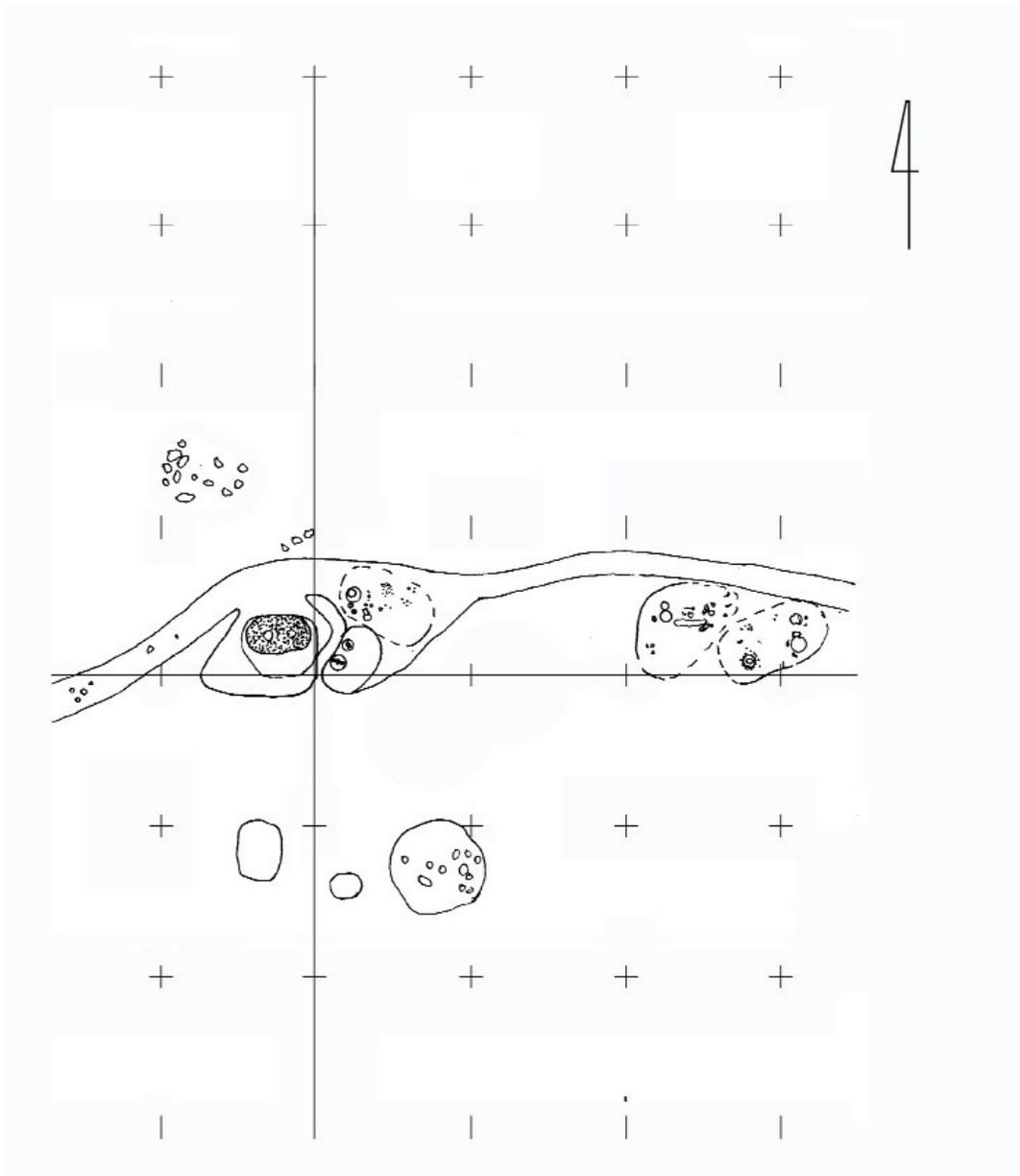


Fig. 1

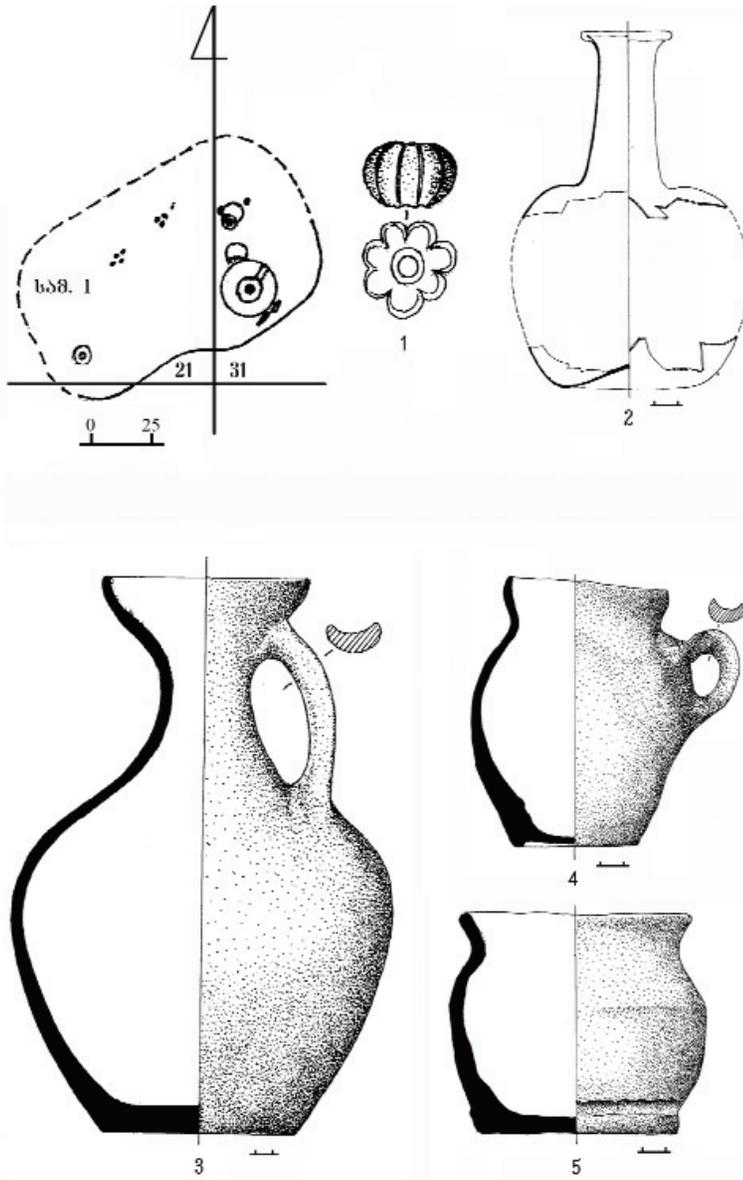


Fig. 2

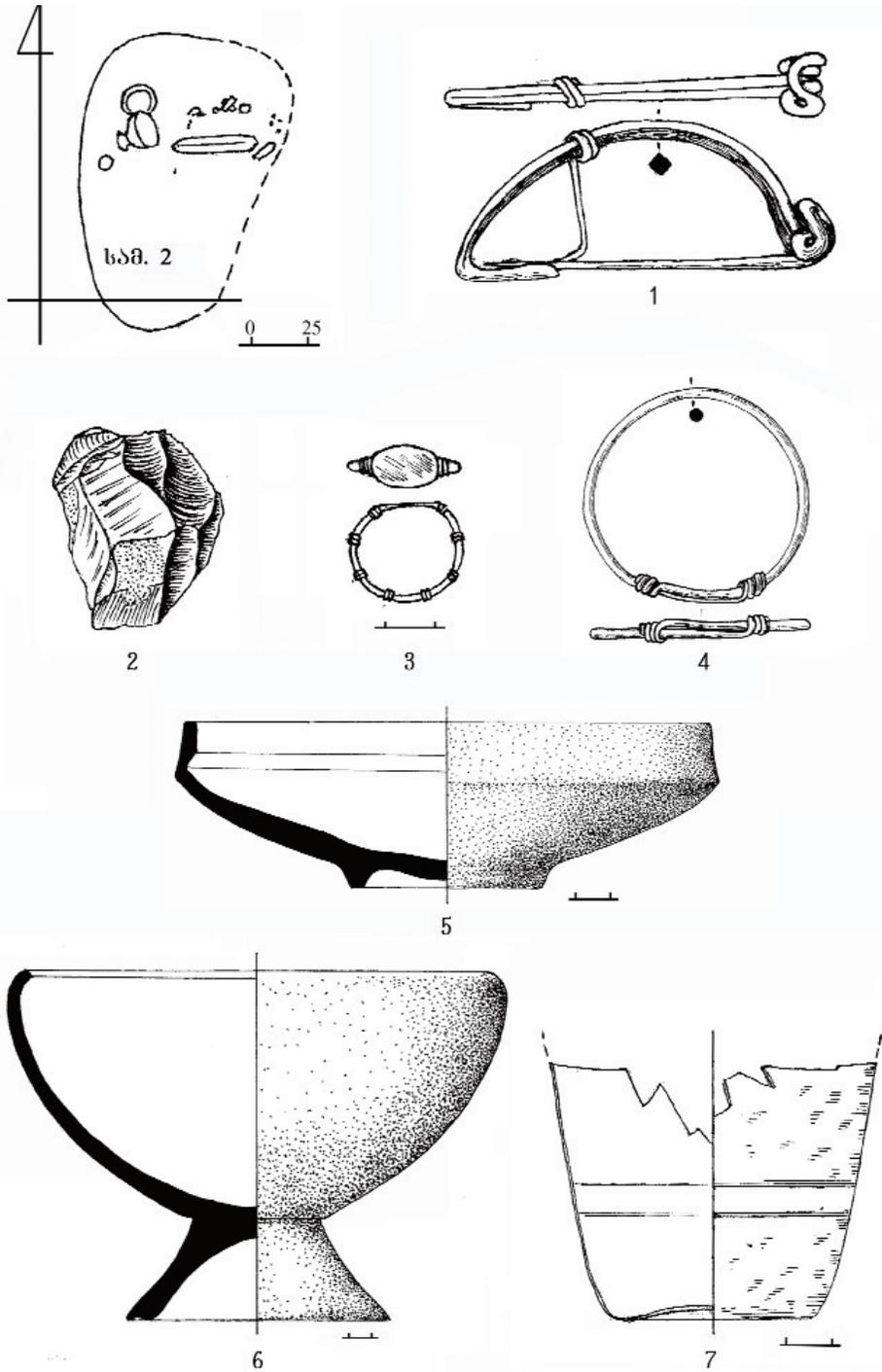


Fig. 3

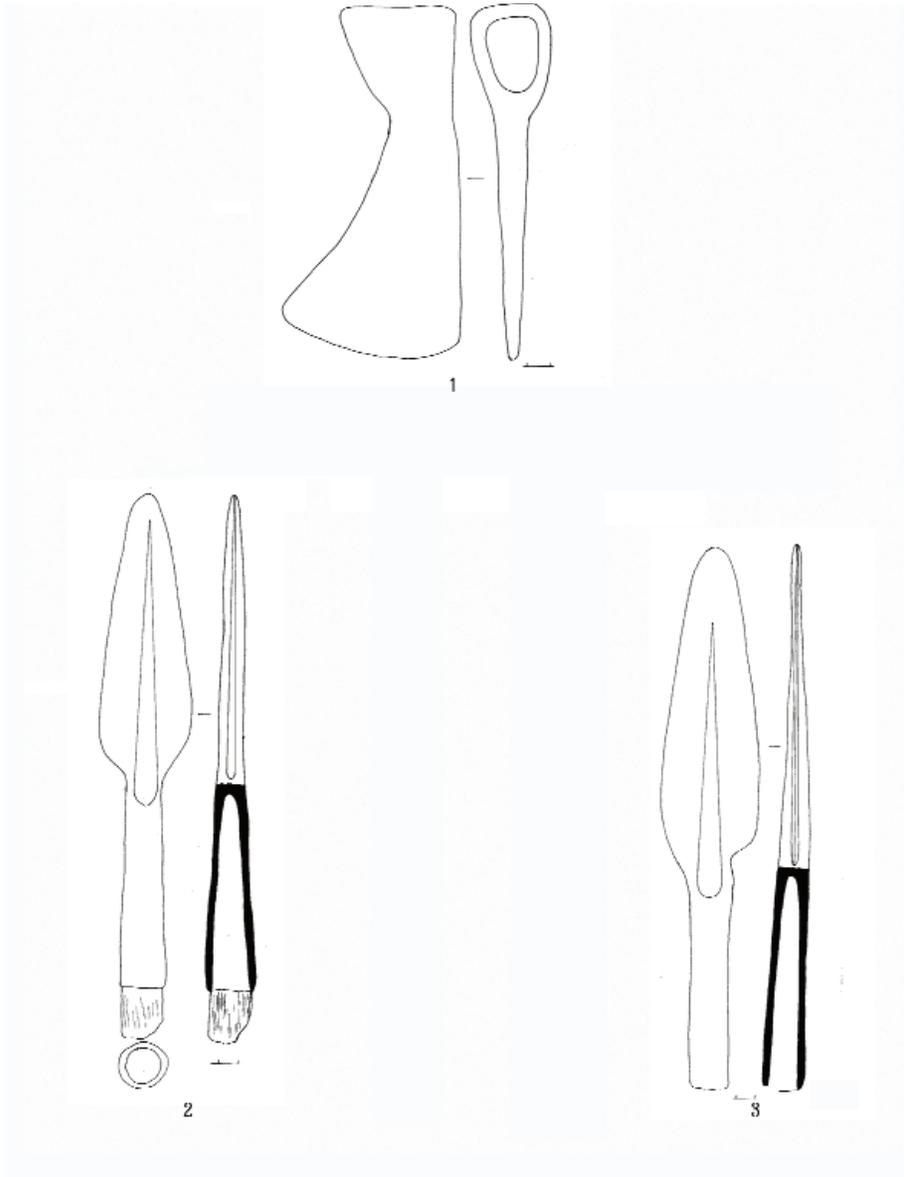


Fig. 4

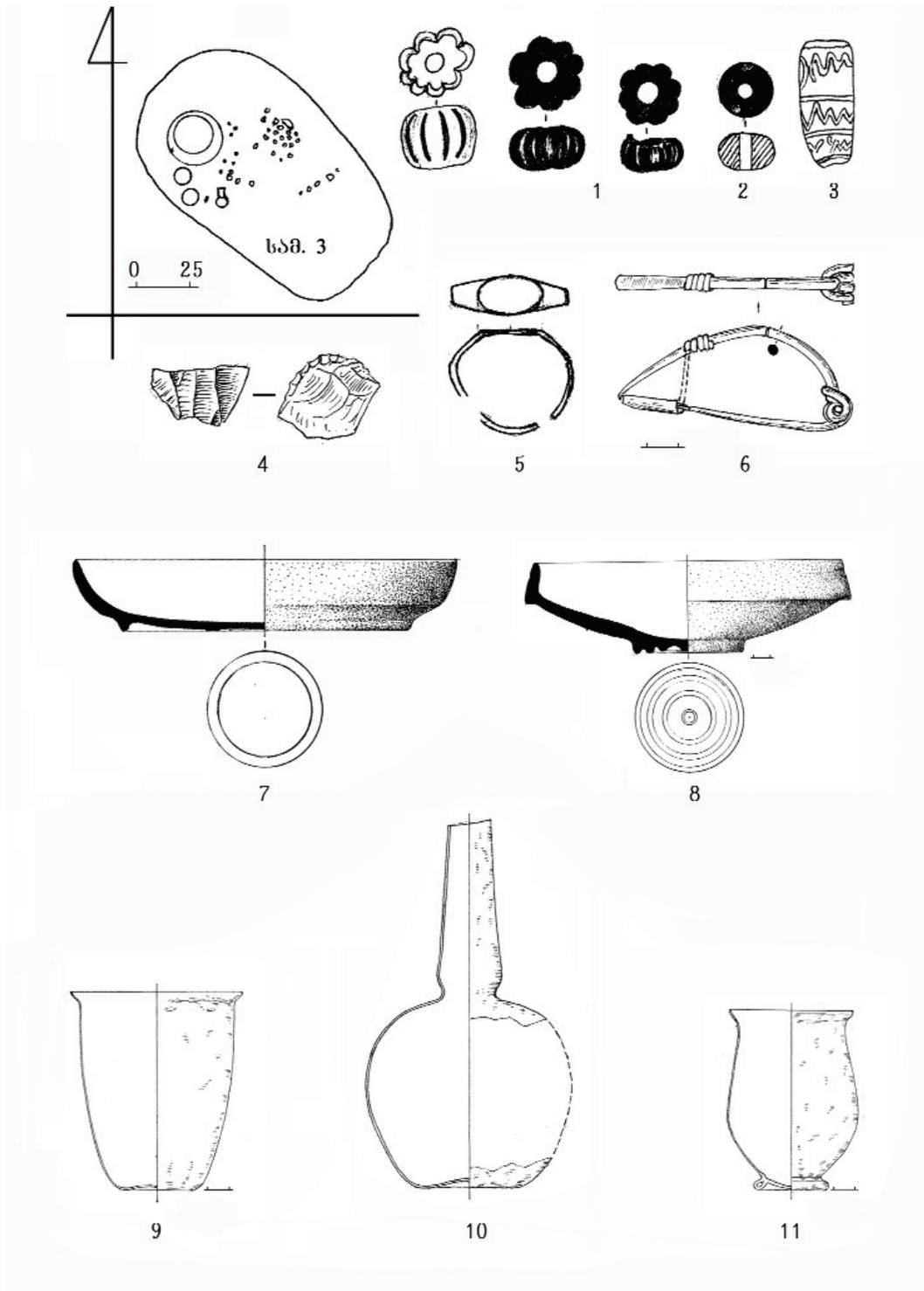


Fig. 5

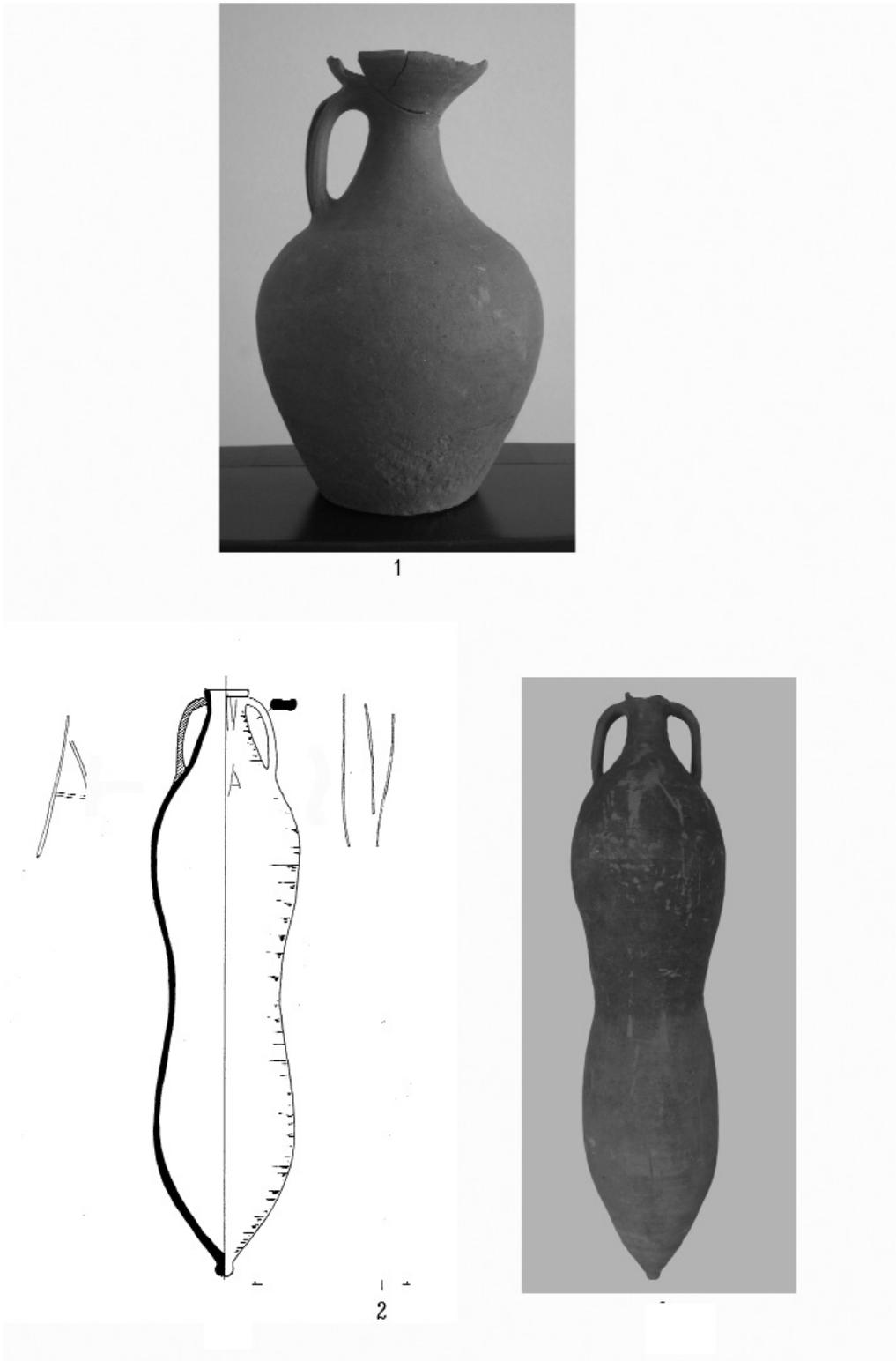


Fig. 6

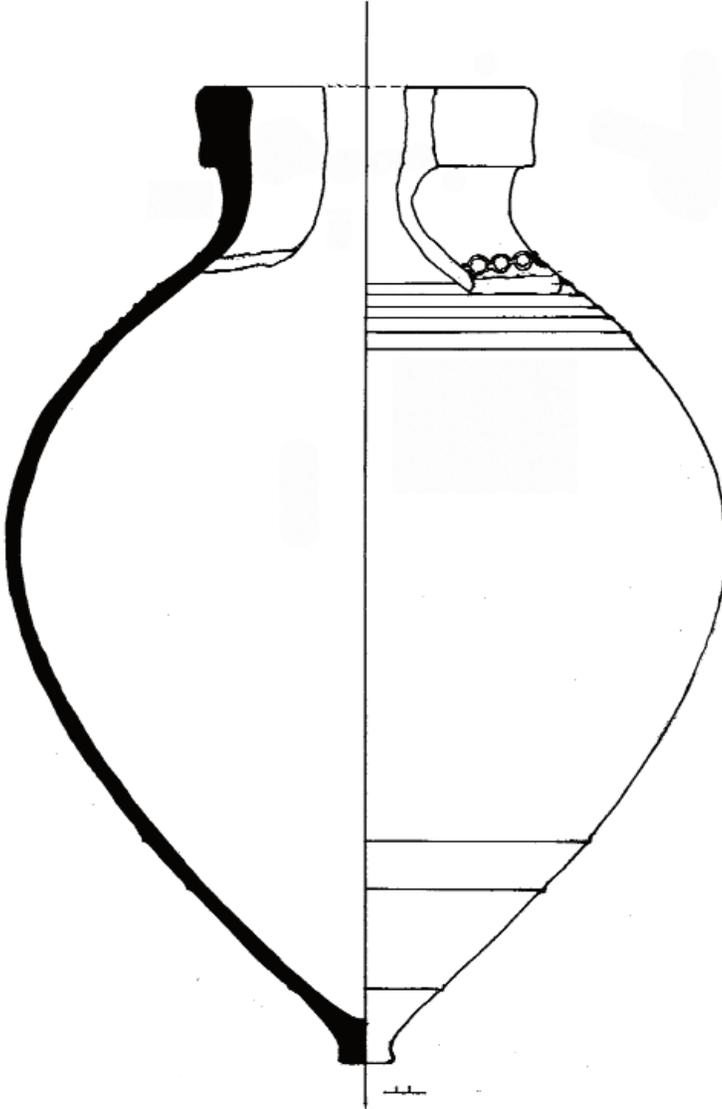


Fig. 7

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აჭარის არქეოლოგიური ძეგლების მენეჯმენტი

ლიჩელი ვახტანგ, ნასყიდაშვილი დავით
ივანე ჯავახიშვილის თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი

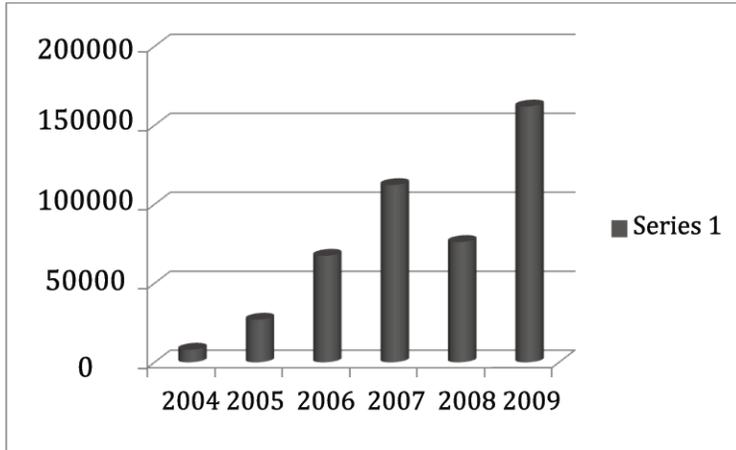
სტატიაში განხილულია აჭარის კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის ძეგლების ერთი ნაწილის ტურისტული პოტენციალი, გარდა სამეცნიერო მონაცემებისა, გამოყენებულია საქართველოს სტატისტიკის დეპარტამენტის მიერ 2004-2009 წლებში აჭარაში დამსვენებელთა სტატისტიკური მონაცემები.

Management of Archaeological Sites of Adjara

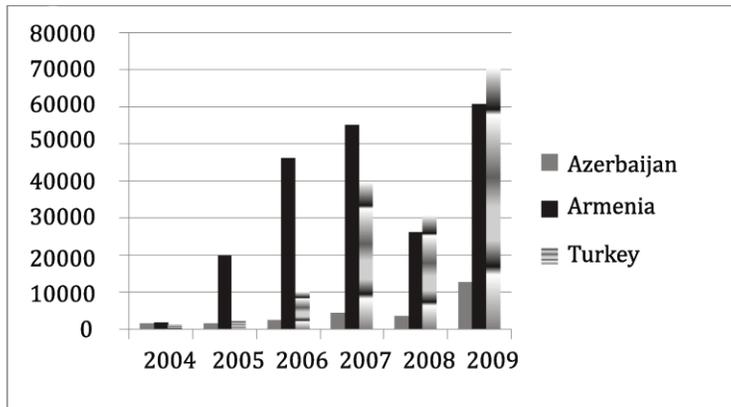
Licheli Vakhtang, Naskidashvili Davit
Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University

The use of the national heritage sites in the shore region of Georgia creates the easy considerably fast prospective, because the phenomenon of Black sea itself plays the leading role in the view of the economical potential. It's not surprising that here the seasonal dependence will be sharp and the peak of the exploitation of sites will be reached in only summer. However this perspective is so big that we can ignore this time factor. We should also regard that besides the high potentiality of Georgia with tourism, the organization of big groups of Tourism could not have been organized yet.

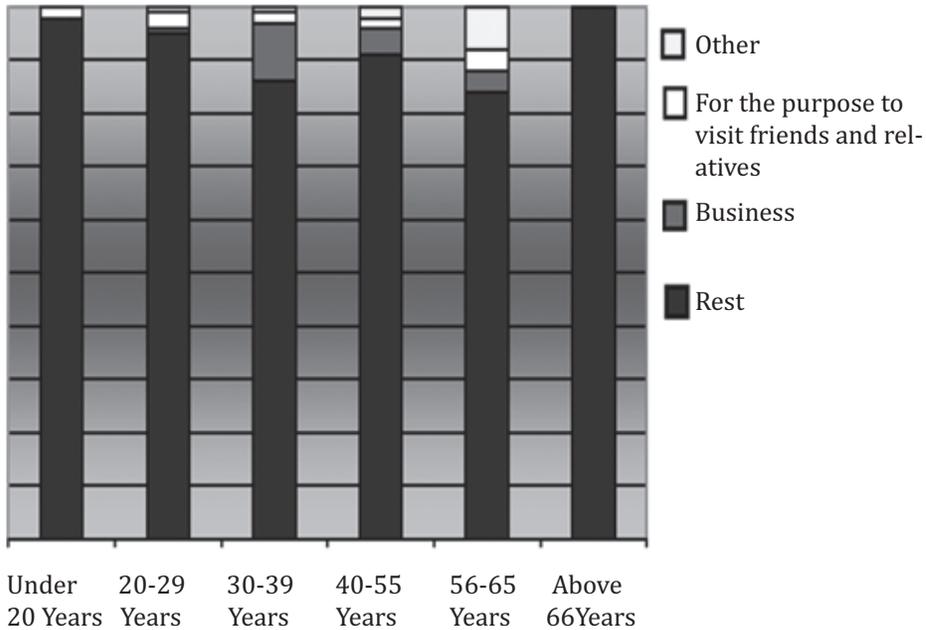
The quantity of entering tourists increases yearly what is reflecting positively on statistics. From the year 2004, till the 2009 the range of foreign citizen-visitors looks as follows:



The majority of the visitors in Adjara represent Azerbaijanians, the citizens of Turkey and Armenia. The majority of them comes in Adjara with the purpose of rest, but for the foreign visitors has not yet been made the offer of Cultural sites as well as touristic base. This situation may have been caused by the passivity of local tourop erators, because they represent Adjara to the main consumers as sea health resort. The right management of Cultural heritage in Adjara will make various touristic sectors which finally will be reflected positively on the sphere of Tourism development.



The research of goals of visitors which come in Adjara according to the age groups processed Adjara tourism department in the 2009. The above mentioned data looks like as follows:



The 90 percent of visitors come to Adjara with the purpose of rest. Unfortunately, we don't have information about the visitors from abroad which use the shore line as the health resort. The research has only been made on the transport with which tourists come to Georgia.

The majority of visitors in Adjara represent Georgian citizens themselves. But also in this case, they are not interested in the sites of cultural heritage. In order to interpret clearly the interests of inner touristic groups is necessary the research, which should be surely initiated by the Department of Tourism, in order to involve the offered service for visitors to their interests and wishes.

Georgia, as the separate touristic object, is not yet placed on the world's touristic map, so it's necessary to find the optimal way which will guarantee the touristic flows.

In this case, it's very perspective to be placed in the road of the international tourist route, which implicates the travel in the territory of Turkey, concretely in the eastern Anatolia and after, the old Georgian provinces (which are located on the territory of Turkey). If Georgian sites will be placed on the final part of this route, then tourists will come via Sarpi in Adjara and after 10 km's, they will see the architectural and Archaeological monuments in the territory of Georgia.

Gonio is the first Georgian village after the border village Sarpi. Visitor who comes from Turkey will absolutely pass Gonio. It is located near the sea, and the ancient settlement is distanced from sea only with autobahn. The modern village is mainly constructed around the ancient settlement.

According to the modern location, the settlement is placed mainly behind the strong, fortification walls. The walls are well preserved, the part of them are restored,

and are very impressive. The construction is quadrangle in plan, the length of each wall is 200 meters, in the corners and in the middle are placed strong towers. It is placed between the sea and the mountain with the green slope and is very effective. In the inner territory of the fortress are processing archaeological excavations and its view is possible. This is the best place in the open air, for arrange different presentations and celebrations.

In the view of perspectives, Gonio can drive attention with two factors: it can be placed in the touristic route, which implicates the survey of eastern Turkey and also Batumi and its surroundings. Its location accomplishes the idea, but it will be also very effective to arrange little hotels web in Gonio, because visitors can rest as well as see the cultural heritage. In such case tourists volunteers could be invited for taking part in archaeological excavations, and they will pay some money for it. Also there could be passed international scientific meetings what is popular method in modern world.

In this ravine the especially interesting matter takes bridges, which had been built in the middle ages, and which are well preserved especially in that place. These are for example – bridges – Makhuntseti and Dandalo. They are located deeply in ravine, but there is much easily to pass there then in the so remarkable sites such as churches – Skhalta, Vernebi, Khikhadziri and others in Khulo. This route creates the big complications due to the road less. In the condition of the resolve of this problem, this will be one of the most prosperous views. It creates the positive conditions for the development of Ecotourism.

From Gonio road goes to Batumi. It is essential to create new, thematic museums system. On the bases of Batumi museum artifacts, could be created museum of medicines, flora and fauna and also museum of ancient items. Or this material could be united in the existing museums. This is such an important question, that it can be resolved with only the agreement of States Cultural-economical politics. It is especially mentionable that Batumi archeological museum can become the uncial museum with few promotions, the rare repository of reflecting Georgian and Greek relations and containing various archaeological material, which will have not only local, but world-wide importance.

But besides the antiquaries, Batumi has the exclusive meaning, as the resort place, which is also well known. Thereby, Batumi is located in the very important cross road, from where is possible to go as in the historical provinces of Georgia as well as the contact outer world with sea. It is well known, that Batumi steel preserves the position of Georgian main resort, and the modern management of its museums will help with the concentration of different interests.

The logical continuation of the road from Batumi implicates the travel along the shore line of sea. With the view of cultural heritage, the next interesting site is Tsikhisdziri, that's location on the slope up in the sea drives attention.

On the territory of Tsikhisdziri are preserved the sites of different prescription, which belong to the different (mainly middle ages) periods. This monument is very gainful by the view, the remains of settlements, churches and fortification that's walls have been preserved, are very effective. Besides that it is surrounded with the remarkable garden of citruses.

Tsikhisdziri is the remarkable place for the development of cognitive tourism that is surrounded with marvelous, sea clean shore. On the territory of Adjara, the most important archaeological monument is the Kobulet-Pichvnari necropolis, and settlement, which are located in the banks of riv. Choloki.

Almost the half of the century is that the necropolis of Pichvnari is being excavated. In this area has been studied several sites, which date to the 3rd-1st mill. B.C. Necropolis, which functioned in the 5th-3rd cent. B.C. is divided into two parts: the local peoples and Greek. These are e.g. pit burials, in which besides human are placed different artifacts. (gold and silver jewelry, everyday things, coins, pottery and etc).

The uncial of this monument represents the thing that here has been discovered, high artistic greek material which has an international meaning. We can say without exaggeration, that the way of the ancient history of Black sea and of the cardinal problems of Archaeology passes the Pichvnari necropolis.

Not only in the territory of Adjara, but also in the Georgia Pichvnari is one of the most perspective sites.

In case of right management, it can support itself, e.g. bring resources, for excavations as well as publications. It can be realized like bringing tourists (volunteers) and also appearing of international contacts (this practice fortunately have the head of excavations).

From Kobuleti is very easy to get in the ravine of riv. Kintrishi, where you can see such interesting sites as: Khino Charch, the stone bridge in Vardzanauli, The Tskhemlari Bridge, which belong to the middle ages. These places can easily insert in the scheme of this micro region.

From Kobuleti to Poti, area located several sites (for example Ureki necropolis, which belongs to the 8th-7th cent. B. C.). But they are conserved and the accent on them could be made if we state the question about its necessary of starting/ continuing excavations, which doesn't go in our countries interests for now because of the very hard economical situation and it is not advisable by the above mentioned reasons

From the Tskaltsminda, the way divides into two parts: one goes to the Poti direction and the other to the Guria.

From the Gurias monuments, close to the shore line are located: The monasteries of the Okona and Jiketi (Lanchkhuti region). A little far from here is the Shemokmedi Cathedral complex (Ozurgeti region). As for the archaeological monuments, they are very much here either: Sujuna settlement and necropolises, (15th-7th century B.C. also middle ages. Gvimbalaure settlement (6th-1st century. B.C. Chipila settlement (the 2nd mill. B.C.) Guleikari (6th-cent. B.C. 1st century A.D) Lanchkhuti (15th-7th century B.C.) Moedani settlement (middle ages) Jurukveti (Paleolithic) Shukhuti (15th-7th century B.C.) Nigoeti settlement (middle ages) Cholobargi settlement (15th-7th cent. B.C.). Kviani necropolis (middle ages), Grigoleti settlement (6th century B.C. 1st century A.D.).

There are several ways for developing cognitive tourism in the Samtskhe (via Khulo). In this direction the mentioning of Vardzia and Sapara is enough.

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რომაული ხანის სამარხები მდ. ჭოროხის ქვემო დინებიდან (კაპანდიბი)

მამულაძე შოთა, ებრალიძე ტარიელ, თურმანიძე მირანდა
გონიო-აფსაროსის მუზეუმ-ნაკრძალი

ბოლო პერიოდში მდინარეების ჭოროხ - აჭარისწყლის ხერთვისიდან ქვემოთ მდინარე ჭოროხის როგორც მარცხენა (მახო), ისე მარჯვენა (კაპანდიბი, ზანაქიძეები) სანაპიროზე მდებარე სოფლებში შემთხვევითი აღმოჩენებისა თუ მცირე მასშტაბის გათხრების შედეგად მოპოვებულ იქნა რომაული (I-III სს) ხანის საკმაოდ საინტერესო სამარხეული მასალები.

ამჯერად ყურადღებას გავამახვილებთ ხელვაჩაურის მუნიციპალიტეტის სოფ. კაპანდიბში შესწავლილ სამარხებზე. სოფელი მდებარეობს მდ. ჭოროხის მარჯვენა სანაპიროზე.

2008 წელს ამ სოფლის მკვიდრმა ენვერ ცინცაძემ თავისი საცხოვრებელი სახლის წინ, გზის ჭრილში შემთხვევით აღმოაჩინა კერამიკული მასალა.

2009 წელს აქვე გონიო-აფსაროსის მუდმივმოქმედმა არქეოლოგიურმა ექსპედიციამ განახორციელა მცირე მასშტაბის სამუშაოები. გასათხრელი ფართობი მოქცეული იყო ორ გზას შორის არსებულ ტერიტორიაზე, რომელიც მკვეთრად რელიეფის შესაბამისად სამხრეთიდან ჩრდილოეთისკენ იყო დაქანებული. გათხრების შედეგად შესაძლებელი გახდა ორი სამარხის შესწავლა. ორივე ორმოს ტიპისაა. დამხრობილი აღმოსავლეთისაკენ. სამარხებში ჩაყოლებული იყო ქოთნები, დოქები, კოჭობები, ჯამები, ვერცხლის სამაჯური, ბეჭედი, სხვადასხვა ტიპისა და ზომის მძივები, მონეტა და სხვა. ერთ-ერთი სამარხი ინვენტარის მიხედვით ქალის კუთვნილება უნდა იყოს. მოპოვებული არქეოლოგიური მასალების უმრავლესობა ადგილობრივი ნაწარმია. გვხდება იმპორტული, კერძოდ, წითელლაკიანი ჯამის ფრაგმენტებიც.

როგორც ჩანს, გვიანანტიკურ ხანაში ადგილობრივ მცხოვრებთ ახლო სავაჭრო- ეკონომიკური ურთიერთობა ჰქონდათ ზღვისპირა ზოლში, კერძოდ, გონიო-აფსაროსში დაბანაკებულ რომაელებთან, რომელთა შუამავლობით იმპორტული ნაწარმი ვრცელდება ადგილობრივ მოსახლეობაში. ანალოგიური სურათი ჩანს მახო მონაპოვრების მიხედვითაც.

სამარხები ახ.წ. II-III სს. თარიღდება.

ჭოროხის ქვემო დინების ამ ზოლში შესწავლილ სამაროვნებზე აღმოჩენილ მასალებზე დაყრდნობით შეგვიძლია ვიფიქროთ, რომ რომაელთა გავლენა ვრცელდებოდა არა მარტო აფსაროსსა და მის შემოგარენში, არამედ ზღვიდან მდინარე ჭოროხის გასწვრივ მთელ სიგრძეზე 20-25 კმ სიღრმეში.

ვეიქრობთ, ეს ბუნებრივიცაა, რადგან აფსაროსში მდგომი ლეგიონერების ერთ-ერთი ძირითადი ფუნქციაც მდ. ჭოროხსა თუ აჭარისწყალზე, ტაო-კლარჯეთისაკენ, იბერიისაკენ, არმენიისაკენ, თუ მეორეს მხვრივ, სამცხე-ჯავახეთისაკენ გამავალი გზების გაკონტროლებაც უნდა ყოფილიყო. რაც შეეხება საკითხს, ახდენდა თუ არა რომაული სამყარო ამ რეგიონის კულტურულ „ანექსიას“, მენარჩუნებული იყო თუ არა რეგიონში საზოგადოებრივი ცხოვრების მმართველობისა და ინფრასტრუქტურის დარგები და ელემენტები, ამის შესწავლა აქ არსებული ძეგლების ფართო მასშტაბიანი გათხრების შემდეგ იქნება შესაძლებელი.

Graves Dated Back to Roman Ages along Lower Stream of River Chorokhi (Kapandibi)

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Gonio-Apsaros Museum-Reserve

For the last period of time quite significant and interesting burial materials have been found accidentally or through low-scale excavations in the villages situated along the left (Makho) as well as right (Kapandibi, Zanakidzeebi) banks of the river Chorokhi downwards from Khertvisi of the rivers Chorokhi and Adjaristskali.

This time we are focusing on the burials studied in the village of Kapandibi, Khelvachauri municipality. The village is situated on the right bank of the Chorokhi River whereas the burial itself is located on the inclined slope of the left bank of the deeply cut gorge in Khelvachauri. Here passes the central road of the village as well. To the right of the central road the roads connecting two families are cut from one and the same place. The burials were located just on the territory between these two roads that was considerably inclined correspondingly to the relief from south towards north. In 2008 the villager Enver Tsetskhladze accidentally discovered ceramic ware in front of his house, on two places on the lower part of the road.

Here as well, in 2009, the standing archaeological expedition of Gonio-Apsarus carried out small-scale works. The excavations gave possibility to study two burials. Both of the burials are of pit shape (Pl. 1).

Burial 1 - is located within the second square of NW sector and partially passes into the second square of NO sector. The burial seems damaged during laying the lower road. Therefore it is impossible to define exact measures. According to the arrangement if the stock put into the burial it becomes obvious that the deceased should have been directed towards north-east. A pot, a jug and a bowl were put into the burial with him (Pl. 2)

Burial 2 – is located within 1 and 11, 2 and 12 squared of NW sector. It is placed in the NE part of the first burial. It is also partially damaged during laying the lower road. The measures of the preserved burial pit are as follows: length 2, 5 cm, width 40 cm, depth 1, 7-1, 8 m. The dead appears to be buried towards NE. There is no trace of skeleton. A silver bracelet and ring, beads of various types and sizes and coins were placed into the grave. To the same burial belong the bowl, jug and fragments of a silver ear-ring accidentally found a year before in the road section (Pls 3-4).

In spring 2010 the whole clay jog was found thereby, 2, 5 m away from the Burial 2. This item should have been the part of one of the burials damaged during the road constructions (Pl. 5).

The group of the burial inventory is comprised by the ceramic ware. The majority of the archaeological finds is of local production. These are: pots, jugs, and bowls. It should be noted that the local production pottery of late Antique period is represented in a very small quantity on the territory of Southwestern Georgia.

A pot (Khelvachauri 08;12. Collection 26-08;2; pl. 2.1) – brownish, with mixtures; mouth and neck broken; roundish body; used to have oval handle modeled to the body and shoulder; the flat bottom, diam. 6,7 cm, height 12,6 cm, fold width 0,5 cm; fire traces are noticeable.

Two jugs are also met in the burial inventory. The first one (Khelv. 08.12. Col: 26-08; 2 pl. 2.3) is damaged in the mouth area. The pot has a flat bottom, spherical roundish body, concave neck and flared mouth. The round-cut handle is modeled in the shoulder and neck area. The clay is brownish, with mixtures. The bottom diam. 5,6 cm, the preserved height – 10,5 cm, fold thickness – 0,3 cm. The vessel has the traces of fire. The second jug (Khelv. 2010.21. Col: 26-08-21 pl. 5) is well-preserved. It has a flat bottom, equally rounded body, concave neck and flared mouth. The vessel has a wide-section handle modeled to the shoulder area. The clay is brownish. The bottom diam. is 10 cm, mouth diam. 11,5 cm, height 15 cm.

Jug (Khelv. 08; 11; Col: 26-08; 1; pl. 3.1). The clay is brown, with mixtures; fold – breakable; has a widened flared mouth; low neck; body – widened towards the bottom; roundish; has an oval-section handle with a groove; flat bottom; bottom diam. 7,5 cm, height 18,7 cm, handle diam. – 2,2 cm.

Bowl (Khelv. 08.14. Col: 26-08; 4; pl. 2.2), the clay – pinkish, reddish color; thick mixtures; has roundish, slightly concave mouth; body inclined towards the bottom; bottom with a concave groove heel. Heel diam. is 9, 0 cm, mouth diam. 16, 5 cm, height 10, 5 cm.

Bowl (Khelv. 08.15. Col: 26-08; 5; pl. 3.2), with pinkish clay; has a roundish, slightly concave mouth; used to have a low, miniature, slightly flared heel; it is preserved in fragments. The clay thickness is 0,4 cm; red-glaze. It finds the direct analogues with the widely spread Roman material, namely, with the materials found on the territory of Gonio-Apsarus which is dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD according to the accompanying inventory and parallel materials (Ebralidze, 2005).

A ring, a bracelet, beads and bow-pins were also found in the Kapandibi burial inventory.

The silver ring (Pl. 3.4) has rather elaborated circle of medium size. The ring is flat in the intaglio places. The shoulders are stretched aside, and bent downwards. Outside the circle is of round shape whereas it is flat inside. A gem-pit is placed on the ring. The gem is damaged. As it is seen from the preserved small fragment, it should have been made of glass. The gem-pit diam. 1 cm, the finger ring – 2, 2 cm. F. Henkel dates the similar rings by 1st-2nd centuries AD (Henkel, 1913, pp. 261-265). The similar ring but made of iron was discovered in Urbnisi as well and here it is dated by K. Javakhishvili to the 2nd century AD according to intaglio (Javakhishvili, 11972, p.54, Cat. 71-72, Tab. XII-71). The seal-ring of the analogous shape is famous from Samtavro cemetery which is dated by K. Ramishvili to 4th century AD according to the ring shape (Ramishvili, 1979, p. 127-128, Cat. 84). Margo Lortkipanidze dates the samples of similar shapes to the 3rd century AD (Lortkipanidze, 1961, p. 32). A silver ring of the similar shape was discovered during the archaeological excavations of the ancient site in Gonuo-Apsarus together with the hoard of coins of the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. Its gamma has a dolphin figure on it (Mshvildadze, 2009, p. 188).

A silver bracelet is of significant importance as well (Pl. 3.3). It is made of a round-shape stem. The narrowed ends of the bracelet overlap each other and four-times plaited like a vine so as it can easily be narrowed and widened according to the need. Similar bracelets seem widespread in the Classical world. They are found in Georgia (Ureki, Chkhorotsku, Gori, Armaziskhevi) as well as in Armenia, North Caucasus, Crimea, etc. (Apakidze, Gobejishvili, Kalandadze, Lomtadidze, 1955, p. 98-99, tab. XXXVIII, 3,3^a. Khoshtaria, 1955, p.25-78; Esayan, Kalantaryan, 1976, p.35-36, pl.III,1; Ugrekhelidze, 1967, p.57; tab. I/49; Ivan, Marchenko und Natal ja Ju limberis, 2008, Cat.54). The similar bracelet was recently found on the left bank of the river Chorokhi in the burial materials studied on the territory of the village of Makho. Kapandibi and Makho are contemporaneous cemeteries of the local population 10 km away from each other.

Glass beads and pendants found in the burials are distinguished with great diversity (Pl. 4.1-12). We will begin the descriptions with the pendants made of monochrome glass.

Dolphin-like pendant (Pl. 4.2) – light green color, transparent, tail raised upwards. Asymmetric (0,6 X 0,2 X 1,8 cm) linear channel is placed in the area of the head. Similar pendants are characteristic of the Hellenistic cemeteries. They are met in the burials of the same period in western Georgia as well as northern Black Sea littoral (Vashakidze, 1973; 1985, p. 23-116; Gigolashvili, 1983, p. 104; Anfimov, 1971, p. 177).

In the second burial 3 pieces of pendants were found (Pl. 4.4) of the amphora-shape, made of transparent glass. All the three samples are with flat bottom. One of them is of Hellenistic period and finds the exact analogues with the samples of the materials found in the Hellenistic burials of Pichvnari as well as with the pendants found on the sites of Dablagomi, Vani, Dapnari, northern Black Sea littoral (Turmanidze, 2007, p. 131-140). The other two are of relatively later shape and are distinguished with sharp contours. The analogous samples are found in northern Black Sea littoral and are dated to 4th century AD (Alekseeva, 1978, p.74).

The samples made of polychrome glass belong to the Roman period beads (Pl. 4.5). They are of ring-shape, with flattened ends. The cylindrical channel is placed in length; the bead nucleus is of black color. A blue glass thread is surrounded at the end of the channel while the main surface is covered with an ornament made of two yellow glass intersected threads that creates a zigzag shape. The analogous sample are found in Pichvnari burial of the 4th-5th centuries AD (Turmanidze, 2009, p. 90-97) as well as in Samtavro which is dated to the first half of the 4th century AD according to the burial inventory (Apkhazava, 1979, p.100-101).

A glass bead is represented with one sample (Pl. 4.6). It is of ring-shape and clearly asymmetric. Six relief gems are arranged in parallel lines on the main part of the nucleus. The gems are created by the alteration of white and blue glass. According to the shape and a gem-making technique the bead looks like a Hellenistic period bead. Similar samples are found on the Classical period cemeteries in Georgia as well as in the northern Black Sea littoral (Gigolashvili, 1983, p. 99-104; Alekseeva, 1975, p.65-70).

Two pieces of Egyptian corrugated samples made of faience (Pl. 4.7-8) bear the ancient outlook too. It is of blue color (1,5-1 X 0,2-0,2 X 2-1 cm). Similar beads are characteristic to the burial complexes of the 5th-3rd centuries BC. However, there are cases when such beads are found in Roman period burials too in single numbers (Turmanidze, 2008, p. 106).

The bumped bead made of yellow, non-transparent glass also looks like an ancient one (Pl. 4. 9). Two relief bumps are placed on the surface of the ring-shaped bead. Similar samples are found in Colchian cemetery of the 5th century BC at Pichvnari (Turmanidze, 2008, p. 30), in cultural layers of the 4th-2nd centuries BC in Vani (Gigolashvili, 1983, p. 111), Tsitsamuri: 3rd-2nd centuries BC, whereas the samples found in Tiramba and Kepebi belong to the 1st-2nd centuries AD (Alekseeva, 1975, p.112; Sorokina, 1962, p.55).

Among the jewelry gems used in beads only cornelian and agate are met.

Cornelian bead (Pl. 4.10) is represented by 4 pieces in all. They are pinkish-brown, of circular shape. Their surface is poorly elaborated. A cylindrical channel is placed on every sample (0, 7-0, 5 X 0,2 X 0, 9-0, 7 cm). According to the shape and the elaboration technique their parallels can be found among the materials of western Georgia and northern Black Sea littoral. They are dated to the 5th century BC (Gogadze, Davlianidze, Pantskhava, 1951; Gogadze, Pantskhava, Darispanashvili, 1950, p. 60-70; Trapsh, 1969, p. 155-156; Lomitashvili, 2003, p.35; Alekseeva, 1982, p.15-16).

One piece of agate bead was found in Kapandibi (Pl. 4.11). It is of oblong shape the surface of which is angled in 14 parts. Similar pieces are found in Chersonesus and Panticapaeon and are dated to the 1st-3rd centuries AD (Alekseeva, 1978, p.17, cat. 61-62).

The rest of the samples of the discovered beads are made of **different colors of glass** (Pl. 4. 12). They are of ring-shape and asymmetric. Similar samples are characteristic to the whole Classical period.

The burial inventory comprises iron, silver and bronze bow-pendants. All of them are damaged. Only the silver bow-pendant can be of certain impression. It is with tied socket, one-fraction, and knee-spring. Similar samples are famous from the Tsikhisdziri

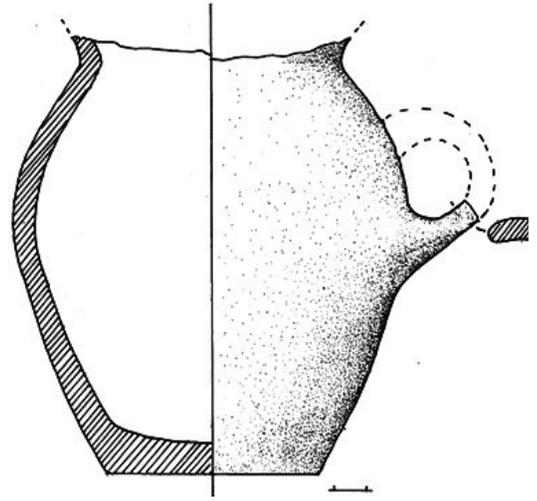
cemetery (Inaishvili, 1993, p.89) as well as from the excavations of the cemetery in the village of Makho. The scholars connect their distribution in the western part of Georgia to the 2nd-4th centuries AD (Apkhazava, 1979, p.9; Ambroz, 1960, p.54; Voronov, 1979, p.186-189). I. Marchenko and N. Limberis dated similar pendants found in Kubani area by the 1st-2nd centuries AD (Marchenko, Limberis 2008, p.398-401). In 2010 the similar sample was discovered in Makho together with the coins placed into the burial. It makes it possible to date such types of bow-pendants by the 3rd century AD.

According to the materials found in Kapandibi it is clearly seen that this cemetery is designated for the local population and was functioning in the 2nd-3rd centuries AD. It is confirmed that in the late Antique period the local populations used to have close trade-economic relations along the Black Sea coastline, namely with the Romans stationed at Gonio-Apsarus through whom the imported ware was distributed among the local population. Similar situation is depicted in accordance with the material found in macho and Zanakidzebi, these adjacent sites to Kapandibi. As it is well seen, both banks of the river Chorokhi were closely populated by the locals during those times.

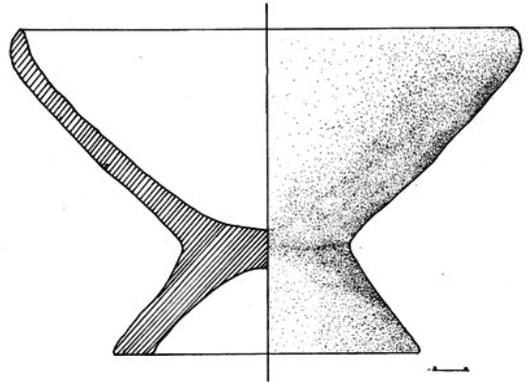
According to the studied burials it also becomes possible to form a certain impression about the religious beliefs of the local population, types of burials and funeral rituals, and according to the burial inventory – about the social issues. The Roman influence seems to spread not only through Apsarus and its vicinities but from the Black Sea towards and along the river of Chorokhi, on the whole territory in 25-30 km inland.

We think it is natural inasmuch as one of the main functions of the legions stationed at Apsarus was to control the roads on the rivers Chorokhi and Acharistskali towards Tao-Klarjeti, Iberia, Armenia, and on the other hand – towards Samtskhe-Javakheti. As for the issue whether the Roman world was committing the cultural “Annexation” of the region or not, whether the social side of governance and infrastructure fields and elements were preserved or not – the study of these issues will be possible only after a large-scale excavations of the sites of this period.

II. 1



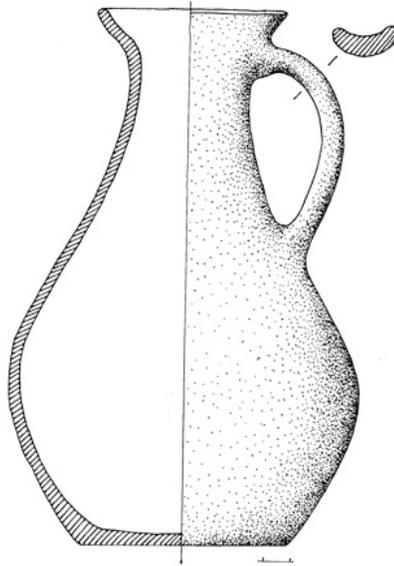
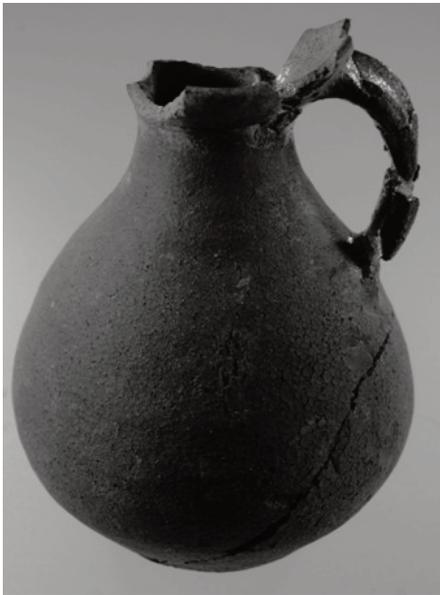
II. 2



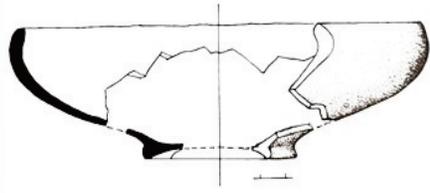
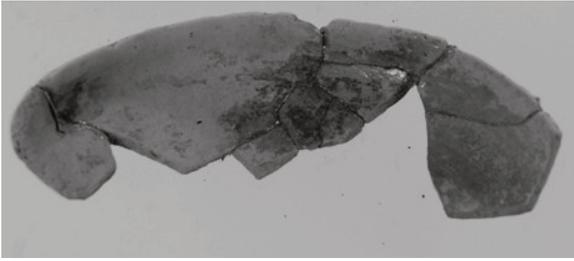
II. 3



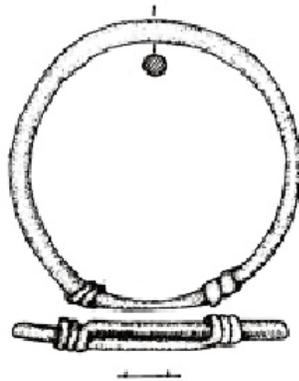
III. 1.



III. 2



III. 3



III. 4



III. 5



IV. 1



III. 2



IV. 3



III. 4

IV. 5

IV. 6

IV. 7

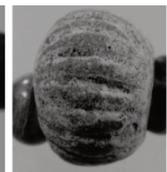
IV. 8



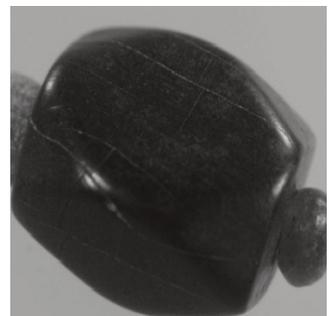
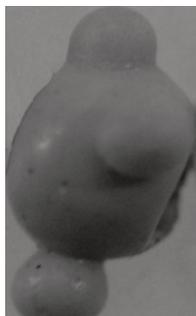
IV. 9



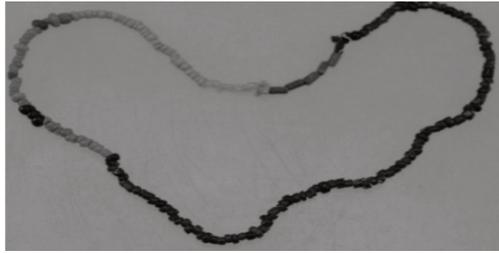
IV. 10



IV. 11



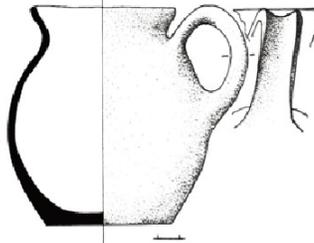
IV.12



V. 1



V. 2



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ქიოსური იმპორტი თურქეთის ტერიტორიაზე

შავლაყაძე ქრისტინე
ივანე ჯავახიშვილის თბილისის სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტი

ამფორებით ვაჭრობა ეკონომიკის კეთილდღეობის ერთ-ერთი საუკეთესო საშუალება იყო ანტიკურ ეპოქაში, ამიტომაც, დღესდღეობით ამ პროცესების შესწავლა ძლიერ მნიშვნელოვანია.

თემა წარმოადგენს ფართომასშტაბიანი კვლევის ერთ-ერთ ნაწილს, რომლის მიზანია შეადგინოს სტატისტიკა ანტიკური ეპოქის სხვადასხვა ცენტრებში აღმოჩენილი ამფორების შესახებ, რაც გაცილებით უფრო გაამარტივებს საერთო სურათის აღქმას.

კუნძული ქიოსი არის სიდიდით მეხუთე საბერძნეთის კუნძულებს შორის. მდებარეობს ეგეოსის ზღვაში, მცირე აზიის სანაპიროდან 7 კმ-ის დაშორებით. ანტიკურ ეპოქაში მას მრავალ ცენტრთან ჰქონდა მჭიდრო სავაჭრო – ეკონომიკური ურთიერთობა.

დღესდღეობით არსებული მონაცემების მიხედვით გამოყოფილია ქიოსური ამფორების 7 ქრონოლოგიური ჯგუფი:

I – ძვ.წ. VII ს-ის ბოლო – V ს-ის დასაწყისი. ამ ტიპის ამფორები ყელგამობერილი და ნაპირლილვაკიანია.

II – ძვ.წ. V ს-ის III მეოთხედი. ამ ტიპის ამფორებისთვის დამახასიათებელია დაგრძელებული ყელი ზევით აწეული გამობერილი ნაწილით,

III – ძვ.წ. V ს-ის II ნახევარი. ყელის გამობერილი ნაწილი ამ ხანებში მხრებს ვიწრო ყელით უერთდება. ეს ერთგვარ გარდამავალ ჯგუფს წარმოადგენს სწორყელიანსა და ყელგამობერილს შორის. მიჩნეულია, რომ ყელგამობერილი ქიოსური ამფორების დამზადების ქვედა ზღვარი ძვ.წ. 430 წელია. ხოლო სწორყელიანი ამფორების შემოღების თარიღი ძვ.წ. V ს-ის 40-იანი წლებია. ასე რომ როგორც ჩანს თავდაპირველად ეს ორი ჯგუფი ერთმანეთის პარალელურად არსებობს.

IV – ამ ჯგუფის ამფორები ძვ.წ. V ს-ის ბოლომდე მზადდება. მათ ცილინდრული ყელი და შეღრმავებული ქუსლი აქვთ.

V – ძვ.წ. IV-III სს. ეს ჯგუფი „ჩაჩისებურძირიანი“ ამფორების სახელითაა ცნობილი. ასეთ ამფორებს ტანი ძირისაკენ შესამჩნევად უვიწროვდებათ და ძირზე აქვთ შერღმავება. ამავე პერიოდიდან იწყება ამფორების დადამღვა.

VI – ძვ.წ. III ს-ის ქიოსური ამფორებისათვის დამახასიათებელია ტანის წაგრძელება, მაღალი კონუსური ქუსლი.

VII – ძვ.წ. II ს-ის ქიოსურ ამფორებს ცილინდრული ყელი, კიდისაგან დაცილებით მიძერწილი ყურები და მაღალი კონუსური ქუსლი აქვთ. ამის შემდეგ ქიოსური ამფორების ტიპი აღარ იცვლება და ძვ.წ. I ს-მდე ამ ფორმით აგრძელებს არსებობას.

Chian import on the territory of Turkey

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Trading amphorae had been one of the best ways for the economic prosperity in antiquity. Nowadays study of these processes is very important.

Theme represents one part of long-term work which's goal is to create the statistics about the centers where chain amphorae are traced. This will make wide picture simpler.

Island Chios is the fifth largest of the Greek islands. Situated in the Aegean Sea, seven kilometers off the Asia Minor coast. In antiquity island had vary intensive trade-economical relations with many centers.

Nowadays by the existing data we have 7 chronological groups of Chian amphorae.

1. The 1st chronological group of Chian amphorae is dated to the end of 7th- the beginning of 5th centuries B.C. These amphorae have bulbous neck and braided side.

2. The second chronological group is dated to the third half of the 5th century B.C. For this type of amphorae is characteristic long neck with higher bulbous upper part.

3. The third group is dated to the second half of the 5th cent. B.C. The Bulbous part of the neck in this period does not stand on shoulders, but is connected to it with narrow neck. This is a transitional group between straight necked and Bulbous necked amphorae. Probably these two groups seem to exist parallel with each other for some time.

4. The fourth group is dated to the end of the 5th century B.C. The amphorae of this group have cylindrical neck and retracted heel.

5. The next group of Chian amphorae are known with the name of „Pointed toe“. This type of amphorae has a body which narrows to the bottom. And they have hole on the toe. B.C. From this period begins the stamping of amphorae.

6. For the 3rd cent. B.C. Chian amphorae are characteristic the elongation of the body and the high conical toe.

7. The last group of Chian amphorae has cylindrical neck; the handle is modeled off the side and they have high conical toe. After this the form of chian amphorae does not change and till the 1st cent. B.C. it remains the same.

In the territory of Turkey Chian import is evidenced in many sites, among them the most important are: Halikarnassos, Nagidos and Ephesus.

The Halikarnassos was the Greek city in the south-western shore of the Caria, in the Asia Minor. Nowadays it is known as Bodrum.

In the terrace of halikarnassos are discovered different buildings of different prescription. There are discovered big numbers of different pottery and among them are also Chian amphorae.

It is thought that the City was founded around 367/366 years B.C. and terrace and the burial buildings probably represented the part of the city from the beginning. In halikarnassos are represented four chronological groups of Chian amphorae (IV-VII).

The 5th chronological group is represented with sacrificial hole - into which libations were poured, in order to contact the under world. It was completely filled with pottery and the most interesting and important fact is that every vessel was related to drinking. And every transport amphorae had been used for wine.

One of the most interesting complexes presents the well "A", which also was filled with pottery. The well is 4, 08 deep, the first building horizon contained 9 Chian and one Coan amphorae. Chian amphorae are so alike, that they were thought to be the parts of one series. These 10 amphorae contained nearly 200 liters of wine, which is unbelievable, because for its high quality, Chian wine was extremely expensive.

The evidence that we deal with the luxury things represents the balsam, which had been identified in one of the amphorae. The balsam is made of the inner scab of the tree. The specie of tree is from Asia Minor, and it had the medical purpose. Because of its rareness, the balsam (the medicine) which had been made of the scab, could have been very expensive either.

The every fragment which was discovered in the Maussoleion terrace belongs to the straight necked group, with characteristic conical toe. They have long, cylindrical neck with long handles, rounded, 5 cm-s off the rolled rim. Shoulders are sharply bent, and the body is long. Usually there is a deep hole on the toe. The clay is fine, red, yellowish, reddish. With few light brown and grey inclusions and small mica flecks. The surface is light brown and yellowish. Several amphorae are painted with red paint.

It has been ascertained, that amphorae with straight neck with pointed toe, didn't have been manufactured later then 375 years B.C. The amphora which was discovered on the context of Maussoleion, with identical toe is dated to the 365 years B.C. So the Maussoleion excavations gave us a new date and disrepairs the beginning of the building to 365 year B.C.

The ancient settlement and necropolis Nagidos is located in the administrative province Mersin, in 10 km-s east of Anamur. From the period of Nagidos's foundation (the second quarter of the 2nd cent. B.C.) it played an important role in the trade. Nagi-

dos had very close relations to the Aegean centers, and the discovered amphorae confirm this evidence.

In Nagidos are represented 5 chronological groups of Chian amphorae (I-III; V-VI), but the finds from Hellenistic period are quit small.

In burials are represented material of the 2nd part of the 5th cent. B.C. Material early then 6th sent. B.C. are not traced, therefore we don't have the data about the 2nd half of the 7th cent. Till the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. However the richest finds from archaic period come from the layers of especially this period. Such a paradox indicates that the first necropolis area should most probably be looked for elsewhere.

Another period lacking evidence is the first half of the 5th cent. B.C.

The types of discovered amphorae are bulbous as well as straight necked. The clay – reddish, yellowish. With the inclusions of limestone and mica.

According to discoveries we can surely say that in Nagidos are represented important groups of Chian amphorae.

Ephesus is the antic city in the western shore of the Asia Minor. Today it is located near the city Seljuk in Turkey.

The city was outstanding with its various constructions, which is characteristic to the antic and especially to the roman cities. Among them the interesting building for us is the Basilika and the stamped Chian amphora handles which had been discovered on the floor of Bazilika.

Only two stamped fragments are evidenced here: on the first one is curved name – **Ἰκεσίου**. On the second one is curved the name – **Ἰκεσίου**, but the difference between these two stamps is the spell I, but they pronounce equally.

The stamps which had been discovered on the territory of Ephesus are dated to the 3rd cent. B.C. Likewise, the Chian stamped ones are equally dated to the 3rd cent. B.C.

Chian amphorae have not been produced after the 1st cent. B.C. Most likely that it was caused by the roman and civil wars, and perhaps the monetary system of emperor Augustus which reduced the permission for the coinage of gold and silver.

სამარხის სტელის ფრაგმენტი ბიჭვინტიდან

თოდუა თემურ
არქეოლოგიური კვლევის ცენტრი

ბიჭვინტაში შემთხვევით აღმოჩენილი სამარხის სტელა მრავალმხრივ საინტერესო ძეგლია, რომელსაც გარკვეული მნიშვნელობა ენიჭება II-III სს-ის პიტიუნტისა და საერთოდ ამ პერიოდის კოლხეთის ისტორიისათვის. მოცემული სტელა თაღისებური ტიპის სტელებს განეკუთვნება. ასეთი ტიპისა და ხარისხის საფლავის ქვები სპეციალურ სახელოსნოებში მზადდებოდნენ. ბიჭვინტის მსგავსი სტელები ფართოდ იყო გავრცელებული რომაულ სამყაროში. ეთნო-კულტურულად იგი დაკავშირებულია ბერძნულ-რომაულ სამყაროსთან. სამარხი სტელა როგორც ჩანს ეკუთვნოდა დაწინაურებული ფენის წარმომადგენელ პიროვნებას.

The Fragment of the Gravestone of the Tomb from Bichvinta

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The gravestones are very important historical-archaeological monuments. The burial stones, steles, contain interesting information about the individual and patrimonial name, the rank, the place of birth, age and merit of deceased. In some cases, there are representations of portraits of deceased either. In other cases, there are some inscriptions, which were the symbol of immortality (J. Wilkins. 1992. p. 7).

The burial stela were spread as early as Mycenaean era. But their serial manufacture begins in Greek-Roman world, from 6th century B.C. till the 4th cent. A.D. during whole this period, the style, form and construction of burial stela had been often changed.

In the stages of different times, there were popular burial steles: tall, thin, with inscription of narrow reliefs, and with decorative ornaments. Often there were small, simple, steles with inscription or without.

In Colchis, the burial stela of antique period are rare. Here they are represented with only 4 samples yet. Two of them are confirmed in Sokhumi, others in Bichvinta. One gravestone from Sokhumi is made of marble and is dated to the 5th cent. B.C. A lot of scientific publications had been dedicated to it (Лордкипанидзе, 1968. сс. 166-176; Трапш, 1989. сс. 163-165).

The second gravestone, which is made of sandstone monolith, had been discovered in the territory of ancient castle of Sokhumi, in the south-eastern section of eight facet temple. The stele is with Greek inscription and is dated to the 4th-5th cent. B.C. (Todua, 2004. pp. 151-153; Kaukhchishvili, 2004. p. 374). Gravestone is not made with high mastery. Probably its author was not a high qualified professional, master. Accordingly, stele could not have been made in serious manufacturing center. Only boldly inscribed and high architecturally designed stelae had been manufactured in such kind of centers.

Steles similar to Sokhumi had been manufactured in the garrison duty (Античная скульптура Херсонеса. 19764. сс. 124). However we should indicate that after the 3rd cent. A.D. in the Greek-Roman world, the manufacture of sculptural-relief and decorative-ornamentally appeared stelae had been stopped. (М. Максимова, М. Наливкина. 1955. с. 312). From the 4th cent. A.D. according to the victory of Christianity, the stelae, which had been stored in special workshops, drew their attention with their simplicity. From now, very rarely only inscriptions are made on steles. However the Sokhumi gravestone belongs to simple type stelae.

Its paradox, but fact, that in the very well researched and studied Bichvinta necropolis, had not been confirmed stelae with inscription or image, which however are very characteristic to the burials of Roman period. By now here are identified only two gravestones. One was discovered on the central part of the necropolis, in the ruins of wall of the semicircular construction. The stele is made of the sandstone monolith. On its higher section is curved the quadrangle cavity, in which iron cross was placed. The cross socket is carefully covered with the special valve, which was made of the pieces of groovy tile. The manufacturer which made this stele was evidently less skilled unprofessional master. Stele had not been made in the special workshop; it has been made handicraft with short meeting rule and is dated to the 4th cent. A.D.

What about the second stele (Fig. 1) which had been discovered in Bichvinta it was discovered accidentally in the north-western section of necropolis.

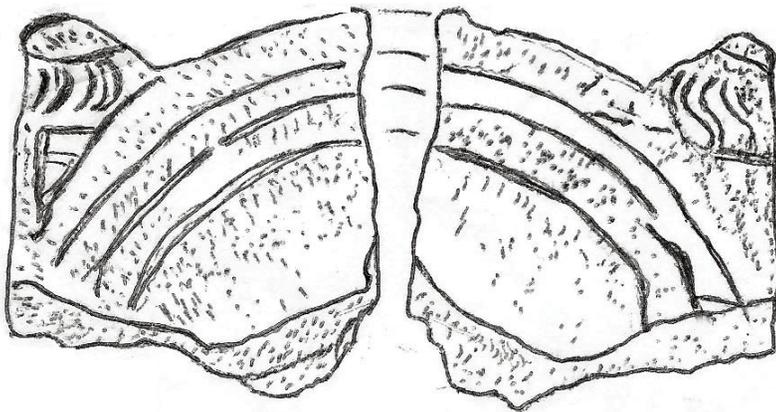


Fig. 1

According to the Petrologic data, the gravestone represents the organic, graining limestone. It consists of the fine protected, microorganisms. On the structure of limestone are not traced marbleizing. The preparatory is of beautiful structure, on it is traced grayish impression and is marble-like. This kind of limestone we meet in western Georgia and in Apkhazeti also (Lortkipanidze, 1991. p. 212). The stele is fragmentary. Only upper, heads fragment (with ledges, which represents the stylizing representation of the flaming torch) is preserved. Stele is well designed. Its producer must have been qualified, professional worker. According to the form of the stele, it's evident that it had been raised in the grave of deceased.

The described stele belongs to the arch-like style steles. These type and quality burial stones had been manufactured in special workshops. Bichvinta stele -like steles were widely spread in the Roman Empire. Its analogies are known from Eskus (Р. Иванов. 1989. с. 46, Рис.2) and Köln (Римское искусство и культура. 1984. сс. 64. Рис.35). Accordingly they are dated to the 1st-3rd cent. A.D (G. Borde nache. 1965. p. 281. Fig. 31). The Bichvinta gravestone analogies is the burial stele which is kept in the museum of Trabzon,



Fig. 2

(Fig. 2), which might have been manufactured in the special workshop. It also belongs to the arch-like stelae. There is big similarity between them, also with the design of ledges. Which either has the stylizing representation of the flaming torch.

It's meaningful that the burial stele of Trabzon is with inscription. On the surface of the stele is curved Latin inscription from which we identify, that the gravestone was raised on the grave of the doctor of 15th Legions vacillation. Stele is dated to the 2nd cent. A.D. and the Bichvinta gravestone, according to analogies and paint-stylistic features should be dated to the 2nd-3rd cent. B.C.

The fragment of Bichvinta gravestone, with its accomplishment and analogies, should have been inscribed. We can't foreclose the possibility that stele belonged to the soldier of 15th legion; which's military formation was delocalized in Pitius in 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. In any case, one thing is evident: the mentioned stele must have been raised on the grave of socially promoted, outstanding, merited person. In the sense of Ethno culture, it is connected to the Greek-Roman ethnos, which represented the dominant of the Pitiunt's military-citizen population.

Perhaps stelae are represented with only two examples on the well studied necropolis of Bichvinta, but besides that, we think that steles might have been wide spread here. The confirming evidence of this represents the thing, that no fact of burial robbing had been identified here. Burials must have been covered with proper surface features, rocks and steles.

So, the accidentally discovered burial stele of Bichvinta is multilaterally interesting monument, which has particular meaning for the history of 2nd-3rd century A.D. Pitiunt and Colchis. Thereby, the discovery of such type of stele is unique for the archaeological actuality of Black Sea Area; furthermore it draws the actual interest.

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ატენის სიონი თანამედროვეობა და პერსპექტივა

კავლელაშვილი ელენე
საქართველოს ეროვნული მუზეუმი

ატენის სიონი განსაკუთრებული მნიშვნელობის ძეგლია ხუროთმოძღვრებით, კედლის მხატვრობით და მრავალრიცხოვანი წარწერებით. მისი მხატვრულ - ისტორიული ღირებულება სცილდება საქართველოს ფარგლებს და კუთვნილ ადგილს იმკვიდრებს მსოფლიო კულტურის საგანძურში. მდებარეობს გორიდან თორმეტი კილომეტრის მანძილზე, მდინარე ტანას მარცხენა ნაპირზე, 40-45%-ით დახრილ კლდის მძლავრ მასივზე მიშენებულ ხელოვნურ ბაქანზე. აგებულია ღმრთისმშობლის მიძინების სახელზე მეშვიდე საუკუნის მეორე ნახევარში და იმეორებს მცხეთის ჯვარს, როგორც არქიტექტურით ისე ტოპოგრაფიით. ტაძარს უმნიშვნელოვანესი ადგილი უკავია ამიერკავკასიაში ცენტრალურგუმბათოვანი ხუროთმოძღვრების წარმომავლობის საკითხის განსაზღვრაში, რადგან მას მეზობელი სომხები იჩემებენ. გურამ აბრამიშვილის მიერ ჩატარებული უახლესი გამოკვლევებით გაირკვა: სუბსტრუქციაზე მეხუთე საუკუნეში ბაზილიკური ნაგებობა მდგარა. მის ნაადგილარზე მეშვიდე საუკუნის მეორე ნახევარში ქართლის ერისმთავრებს ვარაზს, ნერსე პირველ დიდს (682\86-689) და სტეფანოზ მესამე მამფალს (711-739) აუგიათ დღევანდელი ნაგებობა. იგი 983-986 წწ ერისთავთ-ერისთავს რატი პირველ ბაღუაშს განუახლებია, რისთვისაც მოუწვევია ეროვნებით სომეხი რესტავრატორი თოდოსაკი, რომლის წარწერა განაწილებულია ტაძრის სამხრეთ ფასადზე. ატენის სიონი გამორჩეულია მეხუთე, მეშვიდე, მეათე საუკუნეთა რელიეფებით. მეათე საუკუნის ოცდაორი ქანდაკებიდან ცამეტი საერო პირია. ტაძარში მაღალმხატვრული ორფენოვანი მოხატულობა (VIII-XI სს.) და დიდი რაოდენობის მეშვიდე - მეთვრამეტე საუკუნეების ფრესკული, ნაკაწრი და ლაპიდარული წარწერაა. ბიბლიური და ისტორიული ტექსტების გვერდით გვხვდება პოეზიის ნიმუშები. სხვადასხვა დროს ჩატარებული აღდგენითი სამუშაოების მიუხედავად ეკლესიის მდგომარეობა 2000 წლისათვის საგანგაშო აღმოჩნდა. საფრთხე კიდევ უფრო მეტად გაიზარდა 2009 წლის სექტემბერში, როდესაც ტაძრის ზედა ტერასაზე ჩატარებული სამუშაოების შედეგადაც კლდის მასივი 3-4 მეტრის სიღრმეზე ჩაიჭრა. უახლოესი მანძილი ეკლესიასა და განხორციელებულ სამუშაოებს შორის 4-5 მეტრს, ხოლო უშორესი 20-30 მეტრს შეადგენს. ამავდროულად მნიშვნელოვნად დაზიანდა იმავე კლდის დასავლეთ და ჩრდილოეთ მონაკვეთები. ტაძრის დღევანდელი მდგომარეობა საფრთხეს უქმნის

მის გამორჩეულ უნივერსალურ ღირებულებას, ინტეგრულობასა და ავთენტურობას. ყველა ამ მოცემულობის დაცვის უზრუნველსაყოფად საჭიროა ნაგებობის და მისი შემოგარენის უახლესი მდგომარეობის შესწავლა. მათი გრძელვადიანი კონსერვაცია და გამაგრება. აუცილებელია ძეგლის დაცვითი ზონების განსაზღვრა განსაკუთრებული მნიშვნელობის მქონე ძეგლებისთვის მინიჭებული საერთაშორისო კანონმდებლობით დადგენილი ნორმების ფარგლებში. ატენის სიონში, ამავე დროს, კომპლექსური კვლევა-ძიების განახლება საწინდარი იქნება მრავალი ახალი მასალას გამოვლენისა, რითაც ძეგლი კვლავ მნიშვნელოვან წვლილს შეიტანს თეოლოგიის, მეცნიერების და კულტურის სფეროებთან დაკავშირებული სხვადასხვა საკითხების კვლევაში. ეს გამორჩეული ტაძარი ასევე დიდად შეუწყობს ხელს რეგიონში ტურიზმის განვითარებას.

Ateni Sioni Contemporaries and Perspectives

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Ateni Sioni is one of the most important monuments in Georgia by its architecture, wall painting and numerous inscriptions preserved there. The Church of Dormition of the Virgin Mary belongs to the second half of the 7th century. It is located on the distance of 12 km. from the city of Gori near the village of Ateni. The Temple (height 22m., length-width 22X19m) repeats the architectural type of Mtskheta Jvari (the 6th century) both by architecture and topography. It has been constructed on the bank of the river Tana, on the tremendous artificial platform (Height 12/15m., space 800m²) which is built onto a strong massif of the rock bent down by 40-45% and plays one of the most significant roles in general artistic-architectural solutions of the temple.

The central-dome construction is four-apses. The fundament of its plan is underdome quadrature from which passing onto the circle is performed in three lines of tromps. In the interior the four-directional developed apses create a cross in the plan, between the shoulders of which there are located the right-angled premises. The rooms adjacent to the altar are leavening, rennet (sankvetlo) and deacon's house, the south-west premise – a women's area, and the north-west was designated for the feudal lords. The auxiliary chambers are connected with the inner space by three-fourth deep niches of the circle. In them there are cut the apertures (openings) of court chambers. The south-west premise, like Mtskheta Jvari has a door from the outer side put in as well. Setting up of chambers caused appearing of bems at east-west apses by

which it was lightly infringed a central structure as it is in Mtskheta Jvari. The dome is an organizer of the architectural theme. On its hemispheric area there is depicted "Glorious Cross". The interior is decorated with painting of two various periods. To enter the Cathedral is possible through the doors located in the north and south apses.

Structure of the inner space in outer masses of the Temple is expressed by facet projections and deep niches. Ateni Sioni, like the Mtskheta Jvari has been constructed without west facade niches. The facades of the construction are faced with trim quadras of greenish-grayish sandstone. The facades and cupola neck is decorated with ornamented prefixes of windows and relief sculptures. On the facades and interior of Ateni Sioni there are preserved numerous lapidary (scratched out or carved out on stones) and fresco inscriptions.

The yard of the Temple is surrounded by an enceinte strengthened with contraforces. The east wall of the protective wall joins to the artificial platform, accompanies the strong massif of north- boulder rock. The South – borders upon that oldest irrigation system which, in opinion of G.Chubinashvili (1948) should be of the times of construction of the temple. The west wall of protective wall in which it is cut in the only arc door, continues a large massif of the rock.

Ateni Sioni has attracted the researchers' attention since the thirties of the nineteenth century and towards it the interest has not stopped till present so as the temple occupies the most significant place in solution of the problem of origin of central-dome architectural type in the Transcaucasia. The initial of dissimilar points of view on origin of this architectural theme expressed among the scientists' groups was the conduction inscription in Armenian language spread on the south facade of the Temple, where, the Armenian master Todosaki declares himself to be the builder of the Temple. Here we'll be limited by only several points of view.

The Swiss researcher and traveler, Frederic Dubua d'Monpere (1839-1843) dated the Ateni Sioni by the 10th century. He considered its architectural type to be established in the 7th century, in Vagharshapati Temple of Saint Rapsime in Armenia, which had been repeated in the 10th century for Georgians by the architect Todosaki, being Armenian by nationality, .

In opinion of professor of Vienna University, I. Strjhigovski (1918), the martyriums of Grigol Enlightener and Saint Riphstime are the embryos of central-dome architectural type and they became the basis for development of indicated theme both in Armenia and Georgia.

G. Chubinashvili (1939; 1948) on the basis of actual materials defined the fundamental role of Mtskheta Jvari Cathedral in Transcaucasia being originated and developed in the 6th century in the Georgian howls in creation and development of central-dome architectural theme. By his observation Ateni Sioni is an exact copy of Mtskheta Jvari, which is repeated in the thirties of the 7th century by the Armenian Todosaki both by architectural type and topographically.

The Armenian authors tried to get the actual material for the theory of Dubua-Strjhigovski. P. Muadian (1968), on the basis of cross encountered during disintegration of iconostasis of later period of Mtskheta Jvari, on which there is spread the church-building donor inscription in Georgian capital letters (Asomtavruli) writing,

on adjacent facet carved out Armenian grapheme (t) he considered as initial of the architecture of Mtskheta Jvari and identified with Todosaki. By his conclusion it is shown that one and the same group of the masters appeared to work on Mtskheta Jvari and Ateni Sioni and they are the Chalcedonian Armenians immigrated from Armenia to Georgia.

A complex permanently acting expedition of Ateni Sioni which had been headed by deceased scientist G. Abramishvili, greatly contributed to the affair of research of problematic connected with Ateni Sioni.

On the basis of carried out research works G. Abramishvili made clear the wrong bases of those theoretical arguments according to which it was evaluated the interrelations of the Georgian and Armenian architecture – cardinal issues of influences. The researcher in the first turn paid attention to the relief spread on the north facade of Ateni Sioni signed by Todosaki: Lukiane is milking the deer sent by the God which depicts the miraculous aspect of creative work of David from Gareji (Garejeli). The scientist has cleared out that this plot had been based on the metaphrastic edition of “life” of great hermit and initially was depicted in painting of the year of 983 of the main temple of Gareji desert. And this slipped out all bases of dating by the 7th century of the Ateni relief and correspondingly by its master – Todosaki. The next stage of research - study from the paleographical point of view of the Armenian-language constructional inscription distributed on the southern façade of the temple made it clear that the inscription found resemblance with the monuments of the tenth century. At the same time he used to damage the pilgrim postscripts fulfilled in Georgian Asomtavruli and Nuskhui scripts. This fact told about construction of Ateni Sioni much more earlier before carving out of constructional inscription by the Armenian Todosaki and this master of Armenian nationality could not be considered as an architect of the Temple. In inscription Todosaki declared himself as a builder of the Temple, i.e. executor of restoration works and not as an architect. With allowance of all these the researcher identified that execution of restoration works in Ateni Sioni in the 10th century had been imposed on Todosaki.

As a result of study of fresco (the north skirt of altar apse) inscriptions fulfilled in Georgian capital letters (Asomtavruli) and carved out in Nuskhuri scripts (north-west Pylon, deacon’s room, principality) he cleared out that: construction of central-dome temple had been started in the reigns supreme of representatives of Klarjeti Bagrationis House, Varaz Erismtavari and had finished in the period of his son Nerse the First Great (682/86-689) and grandson, Stephanoz the Third Mamphali (711-739). The country of Ateni was their inheritance domain, and Ateni Sioni was the ossuary of this house. The relief church-building donor expressions of Nerse and Stephanoz appeared to be spread on the north facet of apse’s projection. Their names with the topographical significance purpose, is repeated by the master-sculpture of the period of restoration of the 10th century, on that new relief, which is placed on ruins of initial expressions of these church-building donors (Abramishvili, 1965; 1969; 1972; 1977; 1984; 1993; 1995).

As a result of archaeological research works carried out on the territory of Ateni Sioni under the construction, along the south and west facades there were discovered

water on the water storage basin – on the portal of the north timpa and on the west facade Senmurvi, a mythological bird with dog's head, bird's body and peacock's tail. To the 5th century belong the basket type wicker capitals of portal of the Temple's north door, with the faces of a woman and a man sculptured in the center (Abramishvili, 1993, 1996; 2002).

In a decorative system of dome construction of Ateni Sioni there was distinguished two construction periods. From the portrayals of the first period, i.e. the end of the 7th century, there are preserved: the scene of hunting and on the north – two-figure relief with portrayal of Stephane Diacon and before him a public person on knees with entreaty. The second building period is connected with Feudal House of the Baghvashe: according to inscriptions revealed in Sioni it appeared that the Baghvashe had settled finally in Ateni country since the year of 940. Mikael Baghvashe who is depicted on the south facade, has built the border for Ateni Sioni in 945. In 983/84-986. The Eristavt-Eristavi (Grand duke), Rati the First repaired the Temple. For carrying out the restoration works he invited a restorer Todosaki, Armenian by nationality and his guildsmen: consisting of Gergium Erhasan's son and Grigol Dapsi. On the east facade of the temple there is represented a church –building donor sculpture of Rati the First with the model of a church in hands. On the adjacent relief his son, Liparite is represented. The vast scale restoration works carried out at the end of the 10th century have considerably changed the initial decorative system of the temple. Only the static figures located frontally only on the east projection maintain a conditional contact with the first model of architectural type of Ateni Sioni – Mtskheta Jvari . They express a weak contact towards direction of feet (legs) with Our Saviour depicted on the central facet. On other facades and the neck of the cupola it is distributed chaotically. From the twenty-two relieves belonging to the second construction period thirteen are the public persons (Abramishvili, 1972; 1993; 1997; 2003).

As a result of carried out investigations Z.Aleksidze (1978) determined that in Ateni Sioni the Armenian language inscriptions are divided into two chronological groups: those of the second half of the tenth century and of the 17th and 18th centuries. The first group comprises: the constructional inscription of Todosaki; the anthroponomy carved on the relieves of restoration period: names of masters (Todosa, Grigor Daps) and the personages of Old Testament (Samson, Ambakum); On the relieves consisting of two stones, with the aim to adjust correctly the stones enclosed separate graphemes; Inscription of the son of Gergium Erhasan in which with the aim of chronological indication it is applied the fact of Uflistsikhe by Bagrati the Third (on the basis of which fulfillment of the inscription is defined by 982-986 years); The separate graphemes approved in the interior of the temple (signs of stonemasons) and anthroponomes (Ahroni, Giorgi), represent autographs of the masters working on repairing of the shirt of the interior. In the second group there were united: the pilgrim inscriptions of Solomon, Avetis Abegha and Anonim. By conclusion of the researcher: in restoration works carried out in Ateni Sioni the Armenian masters participated only in the eighties of the tenth century.

In spite of all above-indicated, in armenology even for today it is considered as the alpha-betic truth that Ateni Sioni was constructed by the Armenian architect To-

dosaki for the Armenian Chalcedonic parish residing in Georgia, to prove of which they try through vivid falsification of actual materials. The vivid certification of this fact are the “corrections-amendments” included by rude interference of Armenian scientists in the article of G.Abramishvili “Ateni Sioni” published for the last years in Russia according to which as an architect of Ateni Sioni constructed in the second half of the seventh century is declared again the Armenian Todosaki (“Pravoslavnyaya Encyclopaedia”, 2002). Here we shall not enlist of publications of later period.

Ateni Sioni is as well completely distinguished monument by the wall painting preserved in it which is distributed in the interior by two layers. The first layer is aniconic, belongs to the beginning of the VIII century. By it only constructional parts are decorated. The aniconic painting is covered by a monumental painting fulfilled in the second half of the XI century program of which is determined by dedication to celebration of Virgin Mary of the Temple. In the conch of altar there is represented – Virgin Mary with adolescent (“Nikopea”) among the archangels (Michael, Gabriel). The second register – is allotted to the rows of apostles, and the third – to the fathers of the church. In the South apse the apocryphal cycle of God’s Mother is represented; In the North – Scenes of “Twelve Celebrations”; In the West there is a vast reduction of the Last Judgment. At the same time on the North skirt and Bema, in the lower register of painting there are expressed the church-building donor portraits of the Georgian kings and majesties. Initially their number constituted seven. And for today only fragmentally achieved six figures have been preserved. In scientific literature there have been expressed inhomogeneous points of view about the epoch of identification of donors and relatively the wall painting.

In opinion of Sh.Amiranashvili (1957) here are expressed: Catholicos of Kartli; Prince Giorgi – son of the King of the Abkhazians, Kostantine; King of the Armenians-Sumbat Tiezerakali; His underage son, Ashot Ekati; Queen – Daughter of Sumbat Tiezerakali, wife of the son of Konstantine- king of Abkhazian, Giorgi. The researcher defined the date of fulfillment of painting with allowance of one date inscription, 904-906ss. By observation of T.Barnaveli (1957) the start of this graphite inscription was covered the by the layer of painting and the year of 906 can’t be considered as an upper limit.

By observation of R.Shmerling (1974) Ateni Sioni had been painted in 1080 during the reign of Giorgi the Second (1072-1089), who is portrayed as the second church-building donor. The third is – King Bagrat the fourth (1027-1072), others are – the Feudal of Ateni country. Such date envisaged the notice read out by T.Barnaveli (1956): About painting of the temple in 1080 under the reign supreme of the king Giorgi the Second Novelisimos. By the further studying it has been revealed that in this inscription of the west apsidal the date had not been indicated and there had been told of repairing of one part of painting of Ateni Sioni under the ktitorship of Liparit Toreli son of Grigol at the merge of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.(Abramishvili, 1963)

T. Virsaladze (1988; 1991) nominates the year of 1068 as the date if painting of Ateni Sioni. His donors are: Giorgi Mtatsmindeli, Prince Giorgi, son of the king Bagrat the fourth, King Bagrat the fourth, Son in law of the King Bagrat the fourth- sister’s husband – Sumbat Ashot’s son, an under aged nephew of the King Bagrat the fourth –

Ashot, mother of the King Bagrat the fourth, Queen of queens, Mariam, sister of the King Bagrat the fourth, Gurandukht.

G. Abramishvili (1982; 1983; 1993; 1999) defined the church-building donor list in the following sequence: Giorgi Chqondideli-MtsignobarTukhutsesi (Royal Chancellor); Young King David the fourth Aghmashenebeli (Builder) (1089-1125); King Bagrat the fourth (1027-1072); Sumbat son of Ashot, representative one of the branches of the House of the Bagrationis, financier of this painting so as in his inscription it is mentioned the Byzantine monetary unit botanati (was coined in 1078). His juvenile prince Ashot son of Sumbat, king Giorgi the Second (1072-1089), which is certified by determining inscription: "To Ateni Sioni King Giorgi has denoted [stronghold]s impregnable" (from the figure donor only blackish-brownish, small fragment is preserved).isdu(kh)t queen donator [of the calf of tsar Zuar] [sefis zuar]is d(e)geulisa~, wife of Giorgi the Second. The researcher determines the date of painting of Ateni Sioni as 1094-1096. The monumental painting has been repaired several times. The scale repairing it experienced on the boundary of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. When under the ktitorship of Grigol Liparit Toreli's son considerably strengthened "Wall of the West". The next stage of innovation comes on the sixteenth century. That time the painting of tromps was copied.

The Ateni Sioni is worth mentioning temple by numerous epigraphic a fresco inscriptions as well preserved in it. Here one can find witnesses of: Georgian, Syrian, Greek, Armenian, Arabian, Persian, church Slavian, Greek and Hebrew texts fulfilled in Georgian Asomtavruli. Quantitatively the Georgian Asomtavruli, Nuskha and Mkhedruli inscriptions are in excess. Their total number is expressed in three figures. Chronologically they are the oldest as well. In the interior of the Temple, the fresco inscriptions of earlier epoch are covered with thick layer of wall painting of the end of the eleventh century. In places where this painting is thrown down everywhere there are seen the Georgian Asomtavruli, Nuskha and Mkhedruli inscriptions. On the facades and interior carved or engraved inscriptions frequently cover each-other and create some kind of "Palimpsests". Here there are collected the inscriptions both of official, and Pilgrims and pleaders.

It might be said without exaggeration that the inscriptions on Ateni Sioni, have introduced a "Turning over" (revolution) in the issues connected with various problems of the Georgian culture. They have completely changed the dates known till that time of the Georgian Nuskhuri and Mkhedruli writings and they made them older by several centuries (Abramishvili, 1976; Abramishvili, Aleksidze, 1978). In the interior of the Temple (diaconian's, governmental) the Nuskha inscriptions have been already approved for the second half of the seventh century (Abramishvili, 1993). But in the granites fulfilled in Nuskha of Ioane (711) and Georgi (first half of the eight century) a sufficient number of Mkhedruli graphemes are found (Abramishvili, 1984). At the same time the separate Nuskha graphemes comprise the marks of transmission from Nuskha into Mkhedruli, which without doubt proves the fact of gradual transmission from Nuskha into Mkhedruli writing for the beginning of the eight century. (Abramishvili, 1993)

The oldest samples of the Georgian poetry have been revealed in Ateni Sioni. On the East skirt of the Southern apside two rhythmic rhymes of the medieval periods of the IX century preserved under the layer of painting represent the distinguished samples of secular poetry. Here there are allocated the fragments of texts having the oldest date (840-841) known till present of the Four Gospels (Mathews 5, 3-12). The main idea of rhymes – Moral Perfection of a man on this land is near to the motifs of Holy Letter preserved here. (Aleksidze, 1983; *Fresco inscriptions, I*, 1989).

Among the numerous inscriptions of Ateni Sioni, from the point of view of source study, a special group is distinguished which gives quite new notes on various issues of Georgia.

As a result of observations on the Temple it has been revealed that on it the restoration works had been carried out after the tenth century. In spite of this in the eighties of the nineteenth century P. Uvarova found that the construction and its enclosure had been damaged considerably, which is vividly depicted on the photo shot by D.Ermakov enclosed in his publication (MAK, 1894). A heavy state of the first quarter of the twentieth century of Ateni Sioni has been fixed on the measured ones fulfilled in 1919-1921 by architect –painter, M.G.Kalashnikov been invited by the Caucasian Historical-Archaeological Institute existing in Tbilisi and on the photos made in 1922 by the photograph and painter of Tbilisi State University and the painter T. Kiune (Chubinashvili, 1948).

In the thirties of the twentieth century the Department of Protection of Cultural Monuments of Georgia carried out the restoration-recovery works on the Temple, which was completed in 1940. The restoration works have been renewed again since 1957 and by 1985 it was considered to be fulfilled. In 2002 the state of Ateni Sioni appeared again is very heavy: to the cracks on the Temple, peeling off the surface of quadras stone casing, cracking of stones, cracks, cracks of fresco painting, etc. have been added the damages caused by percolated and sub-infiltrated water penetrated from running waters from the roofs and rocks, as well destroy of face work of subtraction, as a result of which the issue of restoration-strengthening had been put strongly. In 2004-2006. The face walls of subtraction were restored.

Lile – On the German-Caucasian Society's instruction and through cooperation of Cultural-Heritage Agency of Georgia, in 2007 the German party started to study the circumstances created on the Temple. In summer of 2010 they have represented the results of their researches, their means and methods. At the same time in 2008 the Georgian Party was charged (imposed) to prepare the Project. The executed Project won in 2009.

Before completion of works on the Projects, Ateni Sioni has appeared before the new danger. The protection zones of the monument being under defense of Cultural Heritage have been destroyed. In June of 2009, on the cliff adjacent to the construction, by means of using of the piles, on upper terrace it was arranged a road for taking the technique. And in September, on the whole length of the terrace a strong massif of the rock was cut – to the depth of three – four meters. The shortest distance between the executed works on the Temple and rock constitutes 4 -5 meters, and the farthest -20-30 meters. A wide line was cut down from the north-west part of this rock, and as a

consequence of widening of adjacent gap the north part of the rock has been damaged. The started works were interrupted on 24th of September, 2009 on the basis of official statement of the Georgian Patriarchate. Unfortunately, The Agency of Cultural Heritage of Georgia has not defined the degree of damage given (harmed) to the Temple and its adjacent territory as a result of indicated works. They have not even made it of special research.

Ateni Sioni is the monument of special importance. Its artistic-historical value exceeds the borders of Georgia and occupies own place in the treasury of the World culture. But the state created on the Temple for today creates threat to its distinguished universal validity. Integrity and authenticity. For securing all these data it is necessary to study the recent state of construction and its vicinities, their long-term conservation and strengthening. It is necessary to determine the protection zones within the norms established by International Legislation granted to the monuments of special importance.

Simultaneously, revival of complex research-works in Ateni Sioni will be a guarantee for many new materials, by which the Temple will contribute considerably in investigation of various issues connected with the spheres of Theology, Science and Culture. This distinguished Temple will greatly contribute to development of tourism in the region.



Picture 1. Ateni Sioni, Upper Terrace, July, 2009



Picture 2. Ateni Sioni, Upper Terrace, September 5, 2009

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საოჯახო და კერძო კოლექციების მნიშვნელობა
კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის დაცვის სისტემაში

ურუშაძე თეა
თბილისის საერთაშორისო უნივერსიტეტი "ლიტერა"

კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის დაცვასთან დაკავშირებით მეცნიერების განვითარები თანამედროვე ეტაპზე მრავალი თეორიული და პრაქტიკული პრობლემა იჩენს თავს.

ამ ეტაპზე განსაკუთრებულ ყურადღებას, თავიდან ღრმად შესწავლას, გაანალიზებას და გადაფასებას მოითხოვს, XX ს-ის დასაწყისიდან და პოსტსაბჭოთა პერიოდის ქართული სახვითი ხელოვნება, რათა სრულად გამოვლინდეს შემოქმედებითი პროცესის სტრუქტურა და მისი თავისებურება.

მუზეუმებში დაცული ნაწარმოებების სამეცნიერო კვლევები ბოლომდე სრულ სურათს ვერ ქმნის და ხშირ შემთხვევაში, განვითარების საერთო კონტექსტში ვერ ჯდება.

ქართული სახვითი ხელოვნების განვითარების მნიშვნელოვანი ეტაპების კვლევას ხელს შეუწყობს საოჯახო და კერძო კოლექციებში დაცული მხატვრული ნაწარმოებები, რომლებიც უნდა ავსებდნენ და ჩართულნი იყვნენ ამ პროცესში.

კერძო საკუთრებაში არსებული მხატვრული ნაწარმოებები, გარკვეული პირობების და მიზეზების გამო, სამართლებრივი წესების დაცვით, დღეს დიდი რაოდენობით საქართველოს საზღვრებს ტოვებს, მიმდინარეობს მათი ინტენსიური გადინება, რაც, როგორც თეორიულ ასპექტში, ისე პრაქტიკულშიც დიდ ზიანს აყენებს ქართულ კულტურასა და მეცნიერების დაცვის სისტემას.

წინა ათწლეულებში თითოეული შემომქმედის მიერ შექმნილი მხატვრული ნაწარმოებები, მათი როლი და თვითმყოფადობა ფასდაუდებელია, როგორც მისი შემოქმედების, ასევე ქართული სახვითი ხელოვნების განვითარების შესწავლის პროცესში.

ზემოაღნიშნულიდან გამომდინარე, ქართული კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის, კერძოდ სახვითი ხელოვნების, ერთიანი სისტემის შესანარჩუნებლად მიზამშეწონილი იქნება, სამართლებრივი მხარეების დაცვით, ისეთი მექანიზმების შემუშავება, რომლებიც ამ ნამუშევრების არსებობას დაიცავენ; უკიდურეს შემთხვევაში, საქართველოს ტერიტორიაზე გაყიდული ნაწარმოების მაღალხარისხოვანი ასლი ან ფოტო-ასლი უნდა რჩებოდეს.

ქართული სახვითი ხელოვნება კულტურული მემკვიდრეობის მნიშვნელოვან მონაკვეთს წარმოადგენს და მისი დაცვის და მართვის სისტემა სწირად უნდა იყოს განსაზღვრული, რაც შემდომში შემოქმედებითი პროცესების განვითარების სრულ სურათს განაპირობებს და საშუალებას მისცემს ხელოვნებათმცოდნეებს მაღალხარისხოვანი სამეცნიერო ნაშრომების შესაქმნელად.

Significance of Family and Private Collections in Cultural Heritage Protection System

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In history of each nation its spiritual world outlook experiences a process of development, and exposes with a different views at each stage in interrelation with various phenomena.

In the course of a time the stored specimens of material and spiritual culture established real worth of the nation and afterwards was formed as the cultural heritage, the significance of which disjoins the certain frames and takes the definite place in the world culture treasure.

Each century is conceived with its interesting and obvious heritage in such treasure, and the culture of each nation makes rich the view of the century.

The Georgian cultural heritage, which is historically marked as the ancient is not studied thoroughly, and in many cases enriches the world culture treasure. The Georgian culture filled the cultural heritage of the nation at all stage of development and at present keeps up abreast with the current art tendencies in the world, and the current processes in the times actively give an each at present too.

At present the Georgian cultural heritage is opened with a sufficient wide range and each direction. Its preservation and protection systems are represented in a way.

Many theoretical and practical problems reveal in the process of the science development process in connection with the protection of the cultural heritage at modern stage, and as always, time demands a revaluation, anew analysis of the processes and estimation, which follow the science always, especially in the sphere of fine art and in this case the Georgian art is not an exclusion.

In connection to the significant political changes the art from the end of XIX century till the 30-ties of XX century in the first, and afterwards the art of the "Soviet" regime require the current transformations in the world outlook of art, the definite affection to the beginning, analyses, research of nature of the art form features and their functioning, anew study of the science study of the science slyly and "structure" of art language using the modern scientific advance principles, as to reveal it with creative potential and peculiarities of the science subsequent and modern period.

The creative works, kept at the museums, which represent basically the various stages of their creation do not carry a fall picture completely and are often out of general context of development.

Profound study and objective estimation of creative work of each painter require to analyses all their significant works and join to the existing art processes which have been stimulating before them.

In time of the process of study of development of the Georgian fine art a definite role will, accomplish the protected works in family and private collections with the

material, which we have in presence. It's desirable to include them in the process of research. It must be mentioned, that during the last years such co-operation is activated and the protected works in the collections were used in many scientific articles and albums.

From time to time there are conducted exhibitions by the collections in the exhibition halls; In this case the family collections are in the most passive state.

In connection with the family and private collections there is a case, which is an object of a great attention, and is connected with many difficulties.

During the last decennials the art works existed in the private collections in case of definite conditions and causes defending the legal rules, and by means of private contacts and by other ways leave their borders of Georgia in a great quantity.

Intensive flow of fine work took place in the past and takes place at present too and it causes a great damage to the Georgian cultural heritage and science as in theoretical aspect, so in practical aspect too.

As we have already mentioned, in the beginning of XX century the pictures accomplished by Georgian painters under the influence of European modernism evoke a great interest because a role and an originality of each painter is invaluable in context of the current processes in Europe, and its creation is notable in the process of study of the Georgian fine art development.

The works created in time of the "Soviet" regime are notable too. They are marked out with their individual style, manner and multiple forms; it must be mentioned, that the art of this period represents a new type of artistic thinking and at present it deserves the right and objective estimation scientifically.

The Georgian fine art of the subsequent period arises heterogeneous discussions. A process of searching of new artistic forms proceeds, many questions arise- among which the first is- what does include an essence of the modern aesthetic frames. Afterwards-an exposure of the artistic system and forms, diversity of artistic means. Against such a background the works created by the Georgian painters make a picture of multiformity and originality from a point of view of their artistic forms and an interesting loading. Their protection and keeping must become an important problem.

Proceeding from the above mentioned it will be advisable to create and elaborate such a system with defending the legal mechanisms of all sides for Georgian cultural heritage, particularly for keeping the specimens of the fine art of all periods especially protected in family and private collections, which will stop their intensive flow and defend their existence in Georgia, and at the worst there would be left a copy of higher quality in time of taking out from territory of Georgia.

In our opinion, at present it is necessary to consider this problem at state structures together artistic institutions very seriously. It is advisable to set up a solid base in some artistic institution as to register such works and their copies.

The Georgian fine art is an important part of the cultural heritage, and its protections and control system must be defined rightly, which afterwards provide a full picture of study of the artistic processes development and assist art critics to create scientific works of higher quality.

ქართული იდენტურობის პოლიტიკური ექსპლუატაცია თანამედროვე სიმღერაში

სტედლერი კატარინა
ჰუმბოლტის უნივერსიტეტი

მიუხედავად იმისა, რომ საქართველოს მოსახლეობის ეთნიკური იდენტობის განსაზღვრისას რეგიონული კუთვნილება მათთვის მნიშვნელობის მქონეა, შეიმჩნევა ქართველ ერთან, როგორც ერთ მთლიანობასთან გაიგივების ტენდენცია. დაახლოების სწრაფვა ერში შესაძლოა გამოწვეული იყოს სხვადასხვა ისტორიული, პოლიტიკური და სოციალური გარემოებებით. საქართველოსა და მის ორ რეგიონს, აფხაზეთსა და სამხრეთ ოსეთს შორის კონფლიქტის გამომწვევი ერთ-ერთი მიზეზი, შესაძლოა სათავეს იღებდეს როგორც სახელმწიფო რიტორიკიდან, ასევე ხელოვნების მოღვაწეთა ერთგვარი კულტურული “კონტრიბუციიდან”. განვლილი წლების მანძილზე მუსიკოსები უმღერდნენ საქართველოს, როგორც ერს და განსაკუთრებულ ყურადღებას სწორედ ქვეყნის ერთიანობაზე ამახვილებდნენ. 2008 წლის აგვისტოს ომმა რამდენიმე ცვლილება განაპირობა ქვეყანაში. ჩემს სტატიაში ეს ცვლილებები განხილული იქნება ტრანსფორმაციამდე და მისი შემდგომი პერიოდის მუსიკალური მონაცემების მიხედვით, იდენტობაზე როგორც რიტორიკის, ასევე პოზიციონირების გავლენის თვალსაზრისით.

Political Exploitation of Georgian Identity in Contemporary Song

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In September 2008 an article was published on Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty’s website proposing that *Georgian Artists Battle Moscow With Music*. The article introduced that the previous war in August between Tbilisi and Moscow over Georgia’s breakaway region South Ossetia was fought not only on the military front. Songs – intended to encourage the nation and weaken the enemy – were sung at political rallies, posted on websites and shown on Georgian TV. Various artists and singers seemed to have joined the armed forces (Rekhviashvili, 2008).

The image of artists uniting with the military during a crisis is nothing new. In Georgia a tendency of cooperation between musicians and politics could be witnessed over the past years, also before the generated conflict in August 2008. The war has brought upon a change in both (state) rhetoric and the positioning of Georgian identity in contemporary song. The aim of my article is to trace this transformation.

Before the War or War Preparation

Over the past years both, the government and the opposition have made song part of their political repertoire. Musicians have taken sides in election campaigns and have shown their support actively when participating at rallies. Next to these rather personal statements in the political world, music has and is being used as the *voice of a nation*.

In 2005 the governing party *Ertiani Natsionaluri Modzraoba* (United National Movement or UNM) launched a program called *P'at'riot'i* with the main goal to "raise patriotic understanding in the youth, help young people to grow up strong in body and healthy in spirit [and] to develop high ethical qualities in the young people" (UNM, 2007). To fulfill these ambitious goals, summer youth camps were organized in the countryside – thousands attended these camps in the past years.¹

To support the program, an annual song contest called *P'at'rinot'i* – combining the words "p'at'riot'i" (patriot) and "not'i" (note) – was initiated. Its aim is first, to encourage musicians to compose new patriotic songs and second, to circulate the awarded songs within Georgia. After the competition's finals, the best patriotic song is not only honored as such, but a professional music video is being produced.

Patriotebi – Patriots

In 2007 the artist Zaza K'orit'eli, better known as Zumba, won the *P'at'rinot'i* contest with his song "Gamarjoba Apkhazeto" (Hello Abkhazia). The melody of the song is beautifully composed with some references to traditional music. The lyrics are based on a poem by Galakt'ion T'abidze, a well-known 20th century poet. They are an ode to Abkhazia and the author's longing for this black sea region. The video, which has been produced, shows the long awaited departure of numerous people, young and old, from different Georgian cities and regions towards Sokhumi, the Abkhazian capital. It is a joyous departure by bus, plane and boat – though in 2007 this was an impossible, even provocative undertaking due to the still tense political situation, established after the war in the early 1990s.

The differences in text between Galakt'ion T'abidze's poem, Zumba's song – as presented at the *P'at'rinot'i* competition – and the music clip, which was produced after the success at the song contest finals, are worthy of note:

The lyrics are based on T'abidze's poem but have gradually been altered for both the song and the video. For the first strophe, Zumba follows the original poem. Yet afterwards he adds to the lyrics, prolonging them for his means, in a similar manner as T'abidze had written his poem. So Zumba's text continues, within the general meaning

of the original, further as a memory of a loved place, far away. But there are some small details, which, in the end, give the text another connotation in regard to the war of 1992-93 over Abkhazia and the years of constant tension, which were to follow.

In his song, Zumba adds the line: “erti tsa gvakvs erti mze da erti zghva” (we have one sky, one sun and one sea). This line contains both reconciliatory and admonitory aspects. The shared entities addressed in the augmented line refer to attributes of nature, but can be translated to life and especially living-together in general. Those who realize and decide to share, what they have in common, will be able to live in a peaceful society. The words seem to reach out, with a subtext though, that refusing the offered hand of diplomatic co-existence will not change the fact that Abkhazia still and definitely belongs to Georgia.

To intensify the political dimension of the music clip, the original poem underwent even further changes. One added line, for example, claims ownership to the Abkhazian sea directly and therefore to the Abkhazian region in total: T’abidze’s “momenat’ra zghva, romelits vrtselia” (I miss the sea, which is so vast) becomes “momenat’ra zghva, romelits chvenia” (I miss the sea, which is ours). This altered line expresses a Georgian-nationalistic and centralistic point of view.

Next to such changes in text, the visual dimension of the music video are produced perfectly for its purpose to declare the unity of the nation in song. At the *P’at’rinot’i* competition, Zumba had performed together with the folk group Chveneburebi, who were singing the traditional back vocals in between the verses. For the music clip, distinguished Georgian singers from different generations and musical backgrounds like the romance singer Nani Bregvadze, the rapper Aleksi Kavtarade alias Lekseni, or the pop singers Nini Badurashvili and Diana Gurtskaya² sung and stared together in their longing for Abkhazia and their happy departure towards Sokhumi. The selection of various artists drew the image that the whole music world was united in the question on Abkhazia – this musical union in political thought could suggest that next to all musicians everybody in Georgia is united. And precisely for that reason, the clip was ideal to show to and convince a large audience that Abkhazia is part of Georgia, and will always be. In 2007, the video was broadcasted both on state television and in Tbilisi’s metro stations, alternating with commercial-like clips promoting Georgian military.

In addition to the production of the music clip by *P’at’rinot’i*, Zumba and the other contributing artists were honored by President Mikheil Saakashvili. Some received the *Order of Vakhtang Gorgasali of the Third Rank*, the others the *Order of Merit*. President Saakashvili expressed the impact of the video, published both in Georgian and in English on the *President of Georgia Homepage*, as follows:

Clips such as this are created by the epoch in which they originate, not just by composers and directors. A new ideology has taken shape in our country. There is a new spirit, a new mindset, a new mentality. This is the new Georgia’s message to Abkhazia and the rest of the world. Everything in this clip is very beautiful. Georgia is an especially beautiful country and it is getting more and more beautiful with each passing day. This clip was a joint project. It is hope, it is energy, it is youth and it is the new Georgia. It is an indicator of how far we have come and what great prospects we have.

It is a juxtaposition of where we were and where we are now! (President of Georgia Press Release, 2007)

Though the UNM initiated the *P'at'rinot'i* competition, the contestants do not necessarily support the party as such. One can trace the identification with the fatherland (mamuli) back as far as to Chavchavadze's *Mamuli, Ena, Sartsmunoeba* (fatherland, language, religion), or even farther. For the musicians taking part at the *P'at'rinot'i* competition expresses a relevant musical attitude towards supporting their fatherland.

However, the propagation of the winners' music clips must be considered as a politicized act towards regaining national integrity. In this regard, the governmental line to reestablish Georgia's political and geographical entity must not be forgotten.

There are also songs apart from *P'at'rinot'i*, which aim to support the governmental goal to restore national integrity. Nini Badurashvili's "Psous ts'q'ali" (Water of the Psou) addresses, in the music clip, young Georgian troops directly, when she sings about regaining the separatist region of Abkhazia. The river Psou flows along the Southern slopes of the Greater Caucasus in Abkhazia – as well as on the border to Russia – and eventually into the Black Sea. In the song's chorus the idea of reclaiming land as shown in "Gamarjoba Apkhazeto" can be traced concerning this river: at first Nini Badurashvili sings "daliat, gmirebo, es psous ts'q'alia" (drink, heroes, it's the water of the Psou), which is then changed to "daliat, gmirebo, es chveni ts'q'alia" (drink, heroes, it's our water). The Psou is also declared as still being a Georgian river.

Songs like "Gamarjoba Apkhazeto" or "Psous ts'q'ali" focus mainly on strengthening the unity within Georgia. The breakaway region of Abkhazia is seen as part of the country, which has to find its way back to the fatherland. The national identity, which is defined in these songs, seems to be based totally on the territory issue.

After the War or Defining the Enemy

"We're in a war with Russia, aren't we? We're firing back, with whatever means we have," composer Temo Rtskhiladze said (Rekhviashvili, 2008). Together with Zura Doijashvili he wrote the song „Russia 2008“, which was distributed over the Internet as well as on various broadcasters, including Rustavi 2. The song mocks and attacks the Kremlin leadership as well as Russia as an entire nation with strongly accusing words. The video shows disrespectful images of Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and Russians in different stages of drunkenness. In an interview, Temo Rtskhiladze defends his song as an appropriate message to the Russian people about the dangers of Kremlin aggression (Rekhviashvili, 2008).

The song was created under the first shock of the days of war in August 2008. It is the starting point for a new trend not only a response to direct distress. A shift from focusing on the unity of Georgia to defining an explicit enemy has taken place. This enemy is namely not Abkhazia or South Ossetia, who are still meant to return from their separatist paths, but the enemy is Russia with its ambiguous actions in both past and present towards the two breakaway regions and towards Georgia.

In Spring 2009 another song drew attention throughout Europe. The band Stephane & 3G won the Georgian finals with their song "We Don't Wanna Put in" and

were to participate in this year's Eurovision Song Contest, which took place in Moscow. The title has an ambiguous meaning: a rebellion against putting in as well as against President Vladimir Putin. The written lyrics are about leaving everyday life while dancing in a discotheque. Composer Stephane and the 3G – the three *girls* and musicians Nini Badurashvili, Tako Gachechiladze and Kristine Imedadze – show another story on stage. The refrain “We don't wanna put in the negative move/ It's killing the groove/ I'm trying to shoot in some disco tonight/ Boogie with you” becomes, intentionally mispronounced, an accusation: We don't want Putin. The line “I'm trying to shoot in,” pronounced like *shoot him*, is underlined through the dancing moves of the singers. The performance leaves the three girls on the floor, apparently shot dead.

Georgia initially planned to boycott the Eurovision Song Contest in Moscow because of the August 2008 war, but nonetheless decided to participate. Then suddenly things turned against their late entry: the Eurovision Jury asked the musicians to change the lyrics of their song, because of its extreme, political content, which was supposedly violating the Eurovision competition rules. Stephane & 3G refused, blaming Russia for the jury intervention and their entry was banned for being too political (Kamenev, 2009). The conflict between Georgia and Russia obviously continued on another front.

A change in nationalism, which can be traced in contemporary song, has taken place due to the August 2008 war. The focus on national unity has shifted towards a kind of xenophobia against Russia. This does not suggest that the concern about Georgia's national unity has disappeared, but the musical centre of attention focuses rather on defining the enemy on the border in the north than on borders within the country.

Short Conclusion

It is striking that questions concerning national or political issues are mainly dealt using text and images in contemporary song. Traditional musical elements are sometimes also included and can be utilized to intensify the politicized issues, but they seem not to be *national* enough to declare a specific intention.

Because of the difficult political situation in Georgia today, it seems that musicians as well as spectators tend to be especially attracted to music with nationalistic notions. It is up to stage and audience how these questions of contemporary identification are going to be dealt with in the present and the future. This interaction between musicians, auditors and politics is not static and therefore will continue to reflect the current political and also social debates.

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Footnotes

¹ The exact numbers, which were published on the website of UNM in 2007, are 15.000 students in 2005 and 30.000 students in 2006. Unfortunately these have never been updated over the past years. In addition the official website for the *P'at'riot'i* program (www.patrioti.ge) has been suspended, therefore representative numbers for the years 2007, 2008 and 2009 cannot be given.

² Nani Bregvadze, a romance singer and actress, had been quite famous throughout the Soviet Union. She performed both in Georgian and in Russian, combining her talents on stage in nuanced rendition. Aleksi Kavt'aradze, alias Lekseni, is a popular rapper, who sings about societal problems. He joined in on the *P'at'riot'i* program at its start in 2005. His song "P'at'riot'ebi" (Patriots) was the first to be turned into a music clip and featured as a kind of anthem for the *P'at'riot'i* program. Nini Badurashvili can be called one of Georgia's young present day pop stars. She has been singing together with a broad range of musicians over the past years. Diana Gurstaya is a blind singer from Abkhazia, who performed in the Georgian entry for the Eurovision Song Contest 2008 in Belgrade. Her song "Peace will come" reflected the devastation of war and called for peace.

სტრატეგიული სეპარატიზმი ყოფილი საბჭოთა კავშირის ქვეყნებში

როსლიცკი ლადა
გრონინგენის უნივერსიტეტი

სტატიაში გეოგრაფიული ბრძოლა ძალაუფლებისათვის განხილულია სტრატეგიული სეპარატიზმის კუთხით. ყოფილი საბჭოთა კავშირის ქვეყნები წარმოდგენილია, როგორც იმ ქვეყნების ჯგუფი, რომლებშიც სეპარატიზმი ვლინდება წარმატებული დემოკრატიული ცვლილებების განხორციელების ხელისშემშლელ ინსტრუმენტად. ამავე მიმართულებითაა განხილული რუსეთის ფედერაციის როლი. უსაფრთხოების სახელმწიფო ძალაუფლების თეორიებისა და კოპენჰაგენის სკოლის სექტორული მიდგომის გამოყენებით, ძირითადი ყურადღება გამახვილებულია, თუ როგორ შეიძლება საქართველოს მხრიდან ძალადობის პროვოცირება 2008 წლის ომში. განსაკუთრებული ყურადღება გამახვილდა სახელმწიფო ძალაუფლების კომპონენტების იმპორტირებაზე. მკითხველი ასევე გაეცნობა საგარეო პოლიტიკასა და ტრანსნაციონალურ ორგანიზებულ დანაშაულს შორის ურთიერთობის მნიშვნელობას.

Strategic Separatism in Post Soviet States

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Separatism is deteriorating the national security of the Post Soviet States in the Black Sea Region. To the detriment of global security, it is also impeding the realization of the Black Sea Region project. For these reasons, it is important to be aware of the geopolitical causes for this, to understand the ways separatism is spurred and to search for innovative solutions to an old problem.

Ethnic disparity plays a key role here because, when used as a geopolitical instrument, it disrupts delicately peaceful human coexistences and causes war. Although taking people and territory away from sovereign states through the promotion of separatism blatantly violates state sovereignty and international law, the ancient great power strategy of divide et impera to gain geopolitical power is very much alive today.

In the Black Sea Region, separatist conflicts appear to be keeping the unprecedentedly legitimate democratic interests and presence of the “Democratic West” at bay. It is therefore pertinent to ask how -through the promotion of separatism - today’s great powers modify state power potential to gain geopolitical dominance within the

international realm. It is particularly important to recognize, to prevent and sanction the promotion of separatism in this regard.

At the end of the Twentieth Century, the collapse of the Berlin Wall and Soviet Union marked the starting point of a renewed competition for influence over the Post Soviet States in the Black Sea Region (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine). The number of armed separatist conflicts in Europe, and alongside its borders, (i.e. Kosovo, Transdniestria, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and its looming threat in Crimea) rose when the Trans-Atlantic Alliance, the EU (together and separately, “the “Democratic West””) and the Russian Federation entered an albeit undeclared competition for geopolitical influence. The Russian Federation suffered a severe blow to its global power particularly through the loss of its legitimate presence and control over the Black and Caspian Sea Regions. As a result, the Post Soviet States in the Black Sea Region form the theater over which the Russian Federation and the “Democratic West” cooperate yet struggle for power and influence. Both have apparent interests and advantages within these states. For the “Democratic West” these states represent untapped markets, energy capabilities and cultural wealth. The same holds true for Russia.

Within the Post Soviet States in the Black Sea Region, the main appeal of the West is the perceived respect for human rights and freedoms, and, the material wealth realized within these democracies (albeit, at times, derived from ruthless free market operations). For the Russian Federation, the main advantages are, ironically, familiarity resulting from its hegemonic past, effective political, security and social networks, and, its open criticism of “Uncle Sam-styled” Capitalistic war-making and globalization.

Although there are public representatives within the Post-Soviet States in the Black Sea Region who seek non-alignment and national renaissance, most experts agree that lacking regional cooperation, they are too weak for non-alignment, neutrality or balancing. Their attempts to cooperate sub-regionally (i.e. GUAM) are thwarted both internally and externally. Internally, this reality goads a hungry grab for power between two main political branches; those who longed to see their nation-states align with Western democracies and; the elites and clans wishing to remain in power by aligning with Russia.

Importantly, the *de jure* independence acquired by these states in the early 1990s was coupled with a Kremlin-centric legacy: an inconceivable black market, systemic corruption, an institutional vacuum, and lack of national identity. It is under these circumstances that their chance for political realignment arrived. It is also under these circumstances that the Russian Federation gained an effective position through which to promote separatism there.

Since their independence, numerous internal and external threats have been confronting the national security of the Post Soviet States in the Black Sea Region. The modification of demographic and territorial dynamics, aggressive economic takeovers, the alteration of military capabilities, control over the media, socio-cultural engineering and, in some cases, the modification of history. Many of these threats relate to their transitional status. Some, however, also appear related to the external promotion of discordance and separatism.

These tactics fit well into the Perceived Power Potential formula, developed by Cline in the mid 1970s.¹ Cline identified three tangible (critical mass, economic and economic capability) and two intangible (national strategy and national will) components of state power. By identifying the components of state power and how they interrelate, he (inadvertently) also identifies the sectors of national security that must be fostered and protected by the state. The Copenhagen Constructivist approach to sectoral security analysis is pertinent here. It extends the analysis of national security from the traditional military-political sector to the political, economic, environmental and socio-cultural sectors. Importantly, this sectoral approach also facilitates a regional approach to security analysis.² Regional security (sub)complexes are created based on the sectoral security interdependencies of states geographically bound to one another. Their patterns of amity and enmity create the foundations for regional or sub-regional security analysis. This clustering of states into security complexes based on shared security interdependencies, common histories, geography, and patterns of amity/enmity facilitates the analysis and resolution of their common, transborder security threats.

By combining the sectoral approach to security analysis with Cline's formula a fine framework is made. It can be used to analyze the way foreign policies (either positively i.e. capacity building, or negatively i.e. promotion of separatism) modify the power potential of third states.

Within the Post-Soviet states in the Black Sea Region, the geopolitical struggle for influence, shared Soviet history, transitional development, geographic location and incidents of Russian-backed separatism justify the adoption of a sub-regional approach to understanding and resolving some common security threats facing them. Undeniably, each separatist conflict in the Black Sea Region has its own unique story line and nuances. However, it is remarkable that representatives of the Post Soviet States in the Black Sea Region, particularly pro-western ones, have repeatedly accused the Russian Federation of spurring and supporting separatism. When viewed from a regional perspective, this may be indicative of a foreign policy of strategic separatism.

The Russian Federation is the only, direct, state military actor in all the frozen separatist conflicts in the region (albeit under the guise of CIS peacekeeping). Officially, however, its role as peacekeeper and mediator is rarely viewed from the perspective that Russia is itself a participant or party to the frozen conflicts. This notwithstanding, it is clear that the breakaway regions in the Post-Soviet states in the Black Sea Region secure the Russian Federation with at least a fraction of the geopolitical control it held before the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Within the confines of this study it is, of course, impossible to examine the role played by all state Parties concerned, namely, the Post Soviet States in the Black Sea Region, the "Democratic West", The Russian Federation and the representatives of the breakaway territories. Although such a gigantic and multifaceted study is certainly needed and encouraged, the focus here is on some power modifying activities related to the Russian Federation in South Ossetia, Georgia.

The Russo-Georgian war of August 2008 sent shockwaves through international information channels. Today, there appears to be some international consensus (i.e. EU Parliamentary Commission report on the War in South Ossetia) that Russia and

Georgia are both responsible for the war. The fact that Georgia has been blamed for starting it should not be viewed separately from the fact that Russia has been blamed for provoking the Georgian move. Rather, the nature of this provocation and its history should be examined.

The aim here is to consider some activities of the Russian Federation that have simultaneously modified the perceived power potential and promoted separatism in Georgia. The following examples do not offer an extensive analysis, rather, they are meant to provide insight into how actions that modify a state's power potential promote separatism and, in turn, may provoke confrontations against separatists and the outside powers supporting them.

Tangible Components

Critical Mass – Ppopulation

The critical mass of a state is composed of two elements, the citizens of the state and its territory.

Georgian citizenry has been modified in a number of manners. Although their numbers do not surpass those of the cases below, first, mention must be made of the Georgian citizens that lost their lives in the wars. They have lost their lives as a direct result of geopolitical games. Second, Georgia has lost full authority over its citizens as a result of the alleged policy of (forced) delivery of Russian passports. This policy violates the law and is evident in other breakaway regions in the Black Sea Region. Ironically, this particular policy was also used by the Russian Federation to justify the use of military force outside of its sovereign territory by claiming its duty to protect its citizens living abroad. Third, during the 2008 war over 125 villages and an estimated 26, 000 Georgian citizens were forced to leave their domiciles. This adds to the hundreds of thousands of victims of the 1993 ethnic cleansing, increasing the number of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) from South Ossetia and from Upper Kodori Valley.. These people continue to be deprived of the possibility of returning safely to their homes. Whereas South Ossetia may now be regarded by some as “sufficiently” ethnically cleansed, the fates of these many thousands as well as of those who remain in Perevi, Upper Abkhazia, in the Akhagori and Gali districts remain uncertain. The economic and social implications are clear. Fourth, there is a great risk particularly facing Georgia's internally displaced women and children. They now run a heightened risk of being sold into prostitution, slave labor and illegal human organ market.

Critical Mass – territory

It is clear that Georgia's sovereign control over two of its territories (Abkhazia and South Ossetia), and other areas, has been severely severed. It is important to consider that this may be the result of many years of strategic planning. In this regard, the manner in which separatists have been able to afford and promote their policies, the role played by CIS peacekeeping as well as organized criminals in arming and supporting the separatist movements calls for serious attention.

Military Capabilities

Georgian military capabilities have been negatively affected by the presence and capabilities of the Russian forces. Whereas US support and training of Georgian military was designed to make the state stronger, more interoperable and closer to NATO's Membership Action Plan. The support may have backfired. The military losses, and loss of reputation suffered because of the 2008 war, appear to have had grave repercussions for Georgia's military capability.

The disputed legality of Russian peacekeepers in Georgia has been exacerbated by the non-mandated presence of Russian military troops in Abkhazia and in South Ossetia, especially in Akhgori, Perevi, Upper Abkhazia and in villages around Tskhinvali. Before the 2008 war, these territories were controlled by the central government of Georgia.

The (planned) stationing of Russian military bases (the plans of the Russian Federation to locate additional military bases in Abkhazia, Georgia and South Ossetia, Georgia, including a naval base in the town of Ochamchire and an airbase in the town of Gudauta) are examples of its depleting military capacity. The construction of a radar station in South Ossetia, recently proposed by Moscow, further shows how Georgian military power potential over its own territory Georgia's lies at risk.

Both the Russian Federation and Georgia have been connected to gunrunning (and other forms of illegal trade) in and around the break away territories. The implication of illegally arming separatists and those fighting them are clear: bloodshed and support of informal structures. However, from a strictly Westphalian perspective, recognizing Georgia's formal borders, these transgressions as they pertain to Georgian officials and Russian ones carry a very different analytical weight.

Military and economic capabilities have also been affected by disputed road blockings, the reconstruction of railroads, which were then allegedly used to bring Russian troops and military equipment into the Georgian territory as well as the deployment of railroad troops to Georgia.

Economic capabilities

Next to direct economic sanctions imposed by the Russian Federation, Georgia has clearly suffered damages resulting from the war. Be it as it may that the international community (i.e. EU and US) have pledged significant reconstruction aid to Tbilisi, the economic capabilities and trade have suffered. Whereas the EU and US continue to exclusively deal with Tbilisi, the Russian Federation has been dealing directly with Abkhazia and South Ossetia for many years. The legal character of its investments is an intriguing one. Of particular interest here is the use of Russian, quasi-state companies. Gazprom is a good example in this regard.

After the colored revolutions, the use of Gazprom as a political instrument increased dramatically. The provision of "free" energy to these territories and the construction of pipelines to feed them create lifelines for the breakaway territories. However, the legality of the agreements, how and between whom they are made is un-

clear. Interestingly, a number of governments have even connected Gazprom to transnationally organized criminals.

The “frozen conflict” areas in the Black Sea Region are often noted as being “international criminal black holes”. It is important to consider the origins of shadowy funds that are used to develop breakaway regions, including the development of housing projects and economic centers. Unfortunately, as some of these territories grow and gain strength, attention to how this relationship relates to the breakaway territories in the Black Sea Region appears lacking. It is also necessary for experts to address the reasons for this being so.

Intangible Components

An effective way of dividing a people (or a state) is to cast doubt on the value of their shared immaterial wealth (i.e. shared values and principles, cultural commonalities, and histories). Lacking trust in their commonalities, the trust and willingness to cooperate towards a common future diminishes. Without a sense of a shared identity and purpose, the targeted group loses the intangible power it once had. According to Cline, without intangible power the group/state loses effective control over (and benefit from) their tangible power (i.e. material resources). For this reason, he allots more value to the intangible components of state power than to the tangible ones in the Perceived Power Potential Formula. The two components of intangible power are National Strategy and National Will.³ These intangible components can be seen as the two main categories containing a nation’s “soft power”. Despite their value to national security and due to their intangible or illusive quality, calculating how and the extent to which, national strategy and will are modified by strategic foreign policies of third states is a complicated matter.

Unfortunately, there is a very fine line between friendly interstate relations (i.e. economic cooperation, promotion of minority rights, educational development), and the manipulations of these relations for the accumulation of power and/or the promotion of separatist foreign policy. To put this theoretical knowledge into some context, it is useful to consider some activities that may influence the politics and societies in the Black Sea Region.

The Russian Federation has signed so-called “Friendship and Cooperation Treaties” with most of the Post-Soviet states in the Black Sea Region. To promote the development of separatist territories, it has also signed similar Friendship Agreements with all of the breakaway territories in the Black Sea Region. It is possible for some to interpret the provisions of both kinds of “Friendship Contracts” as legalizing activities that deteriorate national security/power potential to the advantage of an outside state.

One example of apparently friendly acts that may lead to the modification of intangible state power is the organization and funding of celebrations that promote separatists and the states supporting them. At times, they may be qualified as psychological operations to influence the moral of a state. A recent example of this in Georgia was the celebration of Russia’s friendliness and grandeur towards the breakaway region of South Ossetia. Putin, Luzhkov and Kokoity celebrated the construction

of a new settlement. In fact, the celebrations were marked by the renaming of one of the most important ancient Georgian villages, “Tamarasheni” to “Moscow”⁴

Whether or not experts will agree that such a move directly humiliates the Georgian people and state is secondary to the fact that Russia’s promotion of its soft power in this regard increases its own power in the region. However exemplary this use of “smart power” by the Russian Federation may be, it nonetheless leads one to ponder if the separatists there are authentic minority rights freedom fighters, why do they not insist that elements of their own soft power (i.e. culture/language) be promoted and not the power of the neighboring state.

For many years, anti-state and anti-western newspapers connected to foreign government money flows have been printed and dispersed free of charge in the break-away territories in the Black Sea Region. Of import here is that these newspapers were often printed under an official license.⁵ Other forms of indirect third state (or quasi state) control media and broadcasting have also been linked to the promotion of separatism. Although the use of soft power in this regard requires time to influence the population and, when connected to intrusive foreign policies of third states, it may require special (securitization) attention from governments.

The line between censorship and the limitation of political and civil freedoms, on the one hand, and the abuse of such freedoms by third states in their geopolitical competition for power, on the other, is a very fine one. A government’s lack of control (or excess thereof) in this regard can lead to grave consequences for the state internally and in its international relations. This fine line ties developing states or states in transition, into a predicament mature democracies rarely have to face.

From the outset, these examples of how Georgia’s intangible power has been affected may appear soft. However, when trying to understand the provocations Georgia experienced it is necessary to ask whether the organized tactics used to modify the various elements of Georgia’s perceived power included the use of crime. It is important to note that a foreign policy designed to infiltrate and modify intangible components of state power through affecting the political and societal sectors of national security, often relies upon the political criminal nexus; self-serving government officials and media-proprietors corruption by foreign officials and other forms of law bending.

Recourse

Georgia may be responsible for starting the war in 2008. However, it is unclear what, if any, legal recourse is available to it for the provocation it experienced in this regard from Russia. When looking for legal recourse an interesting question for Georgia (and other states experiencing state sponsored separatism) is, how many of the transnational power deteriorating acts were committed using transnational organized crime.

The relationship between separatism and the shadow economy via organized crime is very well documented. In addition, within the confines of the criminal codex of most states, treason and the promotion of separatism and anti-state sentiment and the promotion of hate are criminal acts. Within the confines of international law, state

sponsorship of such acts is prohibited because it constitutes, among other things, interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. The use of similar (criminal) tactics for the promotion of state interests abroad is referred to in the preparatory works of the UN Palermo Treaty against Transnational Organized Crime. Importantly, such acts, when connected to representatives and policies of third states, also fall within the confines of the treaty.

Investigation into the tactics used and the identification of actors involved, can invoke the Palermo Treaty. Whereas the effectiveness of the treaty itself has yet to be proven, its value as a diplomatic tool can rest in the power it has to explain the nature of certain provocations.

Conclusion

The ancient, great power strategy of dividing and conquering nations to gain geopolitical power is very much alive today. In the Black Sea Region, the end of the Cold War has resulted in an undeclared competition for geopolitical influence there.. As a result, separatism appears to be used as a geopolitical instrument in the Post Soviet States in the Black Sea Region. These states have come to form the theater in which the Russian Federation and the “Democratic West” paradoxically cooperate and struggle for power and influence.

It is important to understand the ways separatism is spurred. It is not enough to consider how the material components of state power are modified to promote separatism. Three tangible (critical mass, economic and economic capability) and two intangible (national strategy and national will) components of state power have been identified by Cline. The modification of intangible power components can reduce a state’s control over its tangible power to nothing. The value of all these components can be modified without the use of blatant coercion. This notwithstanding, such modifications – which may take years – can effectively spur separatism and even provoke violent reactions from states experiencing them.

It is clear that the promotion of internal strife and separatism does not fall within the parameters of friendly state relations. However, the line between friendly interstate relations (i.e. economic cooperation, promotion of minority rights, educational development) and the manipulations of these relations for the accumulation of power and/or the promotion of separatist foreign policy is very fine. By combining the Constructivist’s sectoral approach to security analysis with Cline’s Perceived Power formula a fine framework is made for analyzing how foreign policies (either positively i.e. capacity building, or negatively i.e. promotion of separatism) modify the power potential of third states. The adoption of a regional or (sub) regional analysis is facilitated by studying the patterns of amity/enmity among states geographically bound.

In the Post Soviet States of the Black Sea Region, the geopolitical struggle for influence, shared Soviet history, transitional development, geographic location and incidents of Russian-backed separatism justify the adoption of a sub-regional approach to understanding and resolving some of their local, cross border externalities and common security threats. In Georgia, numerous tactics related to the Russian Federation have resulted in

the modification of Georgian power potential to the extent of promoting separatism. These tactics may have provoked Georgia to “defend itself” by starting the war in 2008.

When looking for legal recourse, an interesting question for Georgia (and other states experiencing state sponsored separatism) is, how many of the transnational power deteriorating acts were committed using transnational organized crime. It is important to note that a foreign policy designed to infiltrate and modify components of state power often rely upon psychological operations, the political criminal nexus; self-serving government officials, corruption by foreign officials and other forms of law bending. A number of international legal instruments are available, including the Palermo Treaty against Transnational Organized Crime.

It may be naïve to believe that states and the people who run them will learn how to apply wisdom and choose wellbeing and intangible power over welfare and material wealth. However, when one considers that in the Twenty First Century state actors continue to use the ancient strategy of *divide et impera* to gain power, their leaders appear to have learned nothing good from two World Wars. Nor have they learned the value of peace.

Endnotes

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¹ Cline R. S. (1977). *World Power Assessment 1977: A calculus of strategic drift*, Westview Press Boulder.

² Buzan, Wæver, de Wilde, (1998). *Security: A new framework for analysis* Boulder: Lynne Rienner., Buzan B., and Wæver O. (2003). *Regions and Powers: The structure of International Security* Cambridge.

³ Moscow Wants Radar Station in S. Ossetia, Civil Georgia. 1 July, 2008. Tbilisi.

⁴ Major General de Maira Mattos added *Authority of the Nationals* to the group of intangibles.

⁵ <http://www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=21386>

⁶ In this context, “anti-state” must not be mistaken for “oppositional” because they are linked to funding and intrusive foreign policies of third states.

**ქართული ნაციონალიზმი და საბჭოთა ხელისუფლება:
1956 წლის მოვლენები და მათი გავლენა**

სმითი ჯერემი
ბირმინგემის უნივერსიტეტი

ნაშრომი ეხება თბილისში 1956 წლის მარტის მოვლენებს, როგორც გადამწყვეტ ეპიზოდს ქართული ნაციონალიზმის განვითარებაში XXI საუკუნეში. იმ დროს, როდესაც წითელმა არმიამ ცეცხლი გაუხსნა

დემონსტრანტებს, რომლებიც შვიდი დღის განმავლობაში შეიკრიბნენ სტალინის სიკვდილის პატივის მისაგებად, ურთიერთობა საქართველოსა და საბჭოთა კავშირთან, ახლა უკვე რუსეთთან, შეიცვალა. ეს მოვლენები საქართველოს პოლიტიკის წინააღმდეგ 1950 წლიდან მოქმედებს, სადაც ძირითად ელემენტებს შორის არის: სტალინის კულტი, ლავრენტი ბერიას და მისი მხარდამჭერების ძირის გამოთხრა, აფხაზეთისა და სამხეთ ოსეთის სტატუსი, ადგილობრივ დონეზე რუსეთ-საქართველოს ურთიერთობა. მოსკოვში გამოქვეყნებულ წყაროებზე და კვლევებზე დაყრდნობით, ნაშრომი გთავაზობთ დამატებით ინფორმაციას 1950-იანი წლების საქართველოს პოლიტიკურ სოციალური განვითარების მიმარ-თულებით.

Georgian Nationalism and Soviet Power: Background and Impact of the March 1956 Events

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Between 2nd and 11th March 1956 thousands of young people took part in un sanctioned commemorations of the anniversary of Stalin's death in Tbilisi and other cities in Georgia, culminating in armed interventions by the Red Army which cost dozens if not hundreds of lives. Most general histories describe the decision that sparked these events – Khrushchev's denunciation of Iosif Stalin and the cancellation of commemorations of the 3rd anniversary of Stalin's death – with little reference to any context broader than the Stalin cult:

In Georgia [Stalin] was venerated as a national hero although he had executed many Georgians. A riot took place in Tbilisi.¹

Historians who do look beyond the immediate causes tend to do so at a high level of generalisation:

The famous riots in Tbilisi...were not simply an outburst of hurt Georgian pride, as the popular version has it, because the “great son” of their nation had been denigrated. According to witnesses and participants in the protests, what actually happened was that the initial pro-Stalin demonstrations that occurred....rapidly developed into nationalist protests. By 9 March...demonstrators were no longer concerned about Stalin, but the question of Georgian self-determination and civil liberties. Some apparently openly called for Georgian independence....²

For these authors, whose sympathies are clear, the demonstrations were a manifestation of the eternal Georgian longing for independence. In many respects, Georgian nationalism changed little over the course of the twentieth century, and the 1956 events were part of a long sequence (1905, 1924, 1978, 1988) of more or less insurgent protests against Russian or Soviet rule. Georgian nationalism, with all its complexities and contradictions, is an essential part of the background to the events of March 1956. The significance of personality cults – in this case, those of Stalin and Beria – can not be understood in isolation from this broader background. Analysis based on anything in between the immediate demands of protestors and sweeping generalisations about the Georgian nation have, however, been hampered by lack of dependable sources and the Manichean framework of totalitarianism which reduces analysis to support for or opposition to, in this case, the Georgian national cause.

This contribution seeks to focus attention on the medium term circumstances surrounding March 1956. This was a key event in the relationship between Moscow and one of its peripheries - Georgia. Destalinisation shook up many of the old certainties across the Soviet Union, but in Georgia destalinisation coincided with the political reorientation of the republic after twenty years of domination by Beria and his supporters. Khrushchev's secret speech led to the era of open dissidence in the Soviet Union, and to the emergence of the 'thaw generation' which played such a key role in the collapse of Soviet communism and the order that replaced it.³ In Georgia, however, the process of destalinisation itself fuelled the hostile character of Georgian nationalism, and the street protests which followed only two months after Khrushchev's Secret Speech further cemented the peculiar character of destalinisation in Georgia.⁴ This could not but have a profound impact on a generation of Georgians which included Zviad Gamsakhurdia and other participants in Georgia's post-independence civil war.⁵ For the mass of Georgians, March 1956 seems to have been a turning point in which anti-Russian attitudes became, for the first time, an integral part of Georgian nationalism. The ultimate consequences of this can be seen in the August 2008 Russia-Georgia war.

This paper is based mostly on published sources and is the product of preliminary work intended to lead to a full-scale research project on the 1956 events and their circumstances. As such, it may succeed in identifying different factors that lay behind these events, without being able to isolate which of these factors was more important

than the others: while some eyewitness accounts are recorded, more extensive oral history would be needed to establish the principal motives of the protestors. The recent availability of Georgian Communist Party archives will, hopefully, yield precise insights into the political and social context.

The course of events in Tbilisi from 3rd-9th March 1956 are pretty well established. A detailed account by the Trud journalist S.Statnikov, later published in *Is-tochnik* in 1995, is more or less corroborated by the account drawn up by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia for the Presidium of the CC CPSU.⁶ Further colourful details, such as the pig adorned with a photograph of Khrushchev that was paraded around the streets of Tbilisi, are provided by eyewitness accounts recorded much later.⁷

On the surface, it is clear what motivated the demonstrators. The disturbances began as spontaneous commemorations of Stalin's death in the absence of any official events. Monuments to Stalin provided the focal point in Tbilisi, Gori and Sukhumi; portraits of Stalin (and to a less extent Lenin) figured prominently; poems in praise of Stalin were read out; speeches denounced Khrushchev's secret speech; the slogan 'Long Live Stalin' was chanted; and so on. An appeal read out to the crowd at Stalin's statue in Tbilisi on 9th March by Ruben Kipiani summarised their demands. At different trials Kipiani later claimed variously that he had been drunk and had the petition thrust on him, reading it out without being aware of its contents, or that he had been told that it was written by the First Secretary of the CC CPG Mzhavanadze.⁸ At his first interrogation by the KGB on 21st March 1956 he claimed the document was written by a half-Jewish schoolgirl called Eteri.⁹ In spite of Kipiani's unreliability as to the provenance of the document, he was consistent as to its contents and the sources indicate that the demands were received favourably by the crowd:

1. Return the closed letter [circulated to party organisations after the Secret Speech] on I.V. Stalin to the CC CPSU
2. Remove Khrushchev, Bulganin and Mikoyan for their declarations against Stalin and impeach them
3. Ask Molotov to form a new government and hold new elections to the Central Committee and government. To include Mzhavanadze and Stalin's son, Vasilii Stalin, in the new government
4. Return Stalin's son Vasilii to the Soviet Union
5. Review the circumstances of Beria's execution and the reasons for sending Vasilii Stalin out of the Soviet Union. This review should be conducted by appropriate organs under the leadership of Georgia
6. Name Akakiya Mgeladze Secretary of the CC CPG - a true pupil of Stalin, who appointed him head of Abkhazia
7. Release Bagirov - a true son of the people of Azerbaijan - from prison
8. Send these demands immediately for publication in the newspapers *Kommunist* and *Zarya Vostoka*, printing them word for word and in translation.¹⁰

The demands are truly Stalinist in two senses: they envisage a return to the old order, embodied in a government led by close associates of Stalin, while the strength of the personal attachment to Stalin and his cult is attested by the three references to his son Vasilii.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, later recollections of eyewitnesses and participants in the March 1956 events (collected in a volume devoted to 1956) disagree as to the strength of feeling for Stalin personally. According to Eduard Shevardnadze 'They didn't think Stalin was God here in Georgia'. Rather, what motivated the protests were the slurs against the Georgian nation that Khrushchev had supposedly added to his denunciation of Stalin.¹¹ This analysis is partly confirmed by the recollections of demonstrator Mikhail Dzhilabadze, who insisted that in denouncing Stalin Khrushchev had insulted the whole of Georgia and the protests were against Khrushchev's nationality policy.¹²

Givi Bepkhvadze denied even this – Stalin did not actually think of himself as a Georgian, and the demonstrations were rather protesting against Khrushchev, who wanted to throw Georgians out of Georgia.¹³ Kaki Kavsadze, whose good friend Rauli was among the fatalities of the events, illustrated rather the confusion of the time, insisting he was not a Stalinist but that he felt compelled to protest after being told that the positive portrayals of Stalin over the last thirty years were a lie.¹⁴ Other testimonies, however, refer to affection for Stalin as the sole motive for participation in the March 1956 events.¹⁵

To seek to pinpoint a single overriding motive for participation in a mass event is likely to be futile given the different biographies and dispositions of different protestors. The small number of published testimonies suggest that devotion to Stalin was real but was also a symptom of Georgian national pride. All of the sources suggest that the demonstrators were overwhelmingly young, most of them students, which again suggests a link not just with Georgian nationalism but also with political radicalism influenced by that nationalism. Memories recounted at such distance are also likely to be faulty, especially when feelings about such a controversial figure as Stalin are concerned. The evidence does, however, point overwhelmingly towards the centrality of the figure of Stalin in motivating the Georgian demonstrations, and this makes investigation of the Stalin cult in Georgia an important topic for research.

This conclusion should not, however, prevent us from looking into further factors behind the events. The conclusions of the CC CPG report delivered to the Presidium of the CC CPSU pinpointed the Stalin cult alongside a litany of the usual suspects – hooligans and anti-Soviet, parasitic and immoral elements, mistakes in propaganda work and so on. But in more sober analysis, the report also points to weaknesses in economic policy, and mistakes in nationality policy with especial regard to Abkhazia and South Ossetia.¹⁶ Such candidness did not even amount to self-criticism, given that any such faults could be laid at the feet of the Beria-sponsored group which had been in power in Georgia until 1951.

If the Secret Speech came as a bolt from the blue for most citizens of the Soviet Union, Georgians may have been less surprised by it. From one perspective, the events of 1956 were a continuation of a process initiated in 1950 by Stalin himself. The so-

called 'Mingrelian affair', which Khrushchev described as a personal initiative of Stalin over which he did not consult, resulted in a widespread purge among the republic's leadership which has generally been interpreted as aimed at weakening the grip of Lavrenti Beria on the region.¹⁷ The mention of Beria in Kipiani's list of demands is just one indication that the cult of Beria, while not as significant as that of Stalin, was of at least some consequence. Perhaps more telling is the nervousness of the surviving Presidium members in dealing with the legacy of the man they had had executed. Khrushchev's exasperated cry of 'Beria shot Georgians as much as he did Russians!' in response to the March 1956 events¹⁸ sums up his appraisal of the place of Beria for Georgian nationalism. The difficulty of dealing with Beria's legacy also took more concrete forms. Even before Beria's execution, in August 1953, the Georgian CC wrote to Khrushchev requesting that measures be taken to expel Beria's relatives from the republic.¹⁹ It took until May of 1954 to fully authorise this action,²⁰ and in September the following year some of Beria's relatives, exiled to Krasnoyarsk and Kazakhstan, were still proving sufficiently troublesome for the KGB and the Presidium to order their arrest.²¹ Coincidentally, the Presidium of the CC CPSU returned to the matter of Beria's malingering influence in the immediate aftermath of the March 1956 events, resolving that a commission should set to work releasing political prisoners wrongly imprisoned by Beria and his associates.²² While this measure did not refer specifically to Georgia, and may already have been under discussion in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet before the March events, it is another piece of evidence focussing on the Beria legacy as a further cause of tension within the Georgian SSR. While there is as yet no direct evidence of Beria's supporters using the disturbances and their aftermath to pursue a political agenda, the fact is that a substantial group or 'clan' of Georgians, among them many Mingrelians, had recently been ousted from power and were handed an opportunity by Khrushchev to make something of a populist comeback. Beria's name clearly still had some popular resonance and the role of the remnants of his support in 1956 at least deserves further investigation.

Beria and his associates had, after all, controlled Georgia at all levels since the early 1930s, and exorcising his influence on the republic was going to be a difficult task to achieve without causing major disruption. For those who identified Beria as a champion of Georgia, the undermining of his position by Stalin, followed by his arrest and execution after Stalin's death, would easily be interpreted as a blow against Georgia's freedom to manage its own affairs within the strictures of Soviet federalism. It might also have been taken as a move against the Georgian nation, which foreshadowed the insults dealt to Stalin in 1956.

But the Mingrelian affair may have represented more than just a move on Stalin's part to undermine the position of a former favourite who was now falling out of favour. Despite Khrushchev's claim that Stalin never discussed the purges in Georgia with the Politburo, the purges were accompanied by an administrative reorganisation which saw the creation of two new *oblasti* with their own regional party organisations (*obkomi*) centred on Tbilisi and Kutais. While this move is easily interpreted as further weakening the position of the CC CPG by creating rival power bases, the Politburo resolution on the reorganisation makes for instructive reading. Overtly, the aim of the re-

organisation was to 'strengthen the leadership of Party and Soviet organs in economic, agricultural and cultural construction'. Mechanisation of agriculture and electrification of the countryside were immediate aims, but emphasis was also put on the creation and strengthening of the various clubs, cultural organisations, and media outlets for mass-political education work, particularly among Georgian youth. The new organisations were also urged to assist the MGB in the struggle with foreign agents and to report up to higher levels of the party and state on 'serious mistakes of lower institutions over non-fulfilment of Party and government decisions, anti-State activities, incorrect and illegal use of financial resources and material resources'.²³ If taken at face value, this resolution would indicate a raft of serious concerns over the state of Georgia: a youth and working population that was out of touch with the political values of the regime, and open to the ideas of foreign subversion, and a corrupt and/or incompetent party and state apparatus. While there is nothing here as extreme as Khrushchev's Secret Speech claim that Stalin believed Georgian nationalists were preparing a move to secede from the USSR and unite with Turkey, there are signs that the centre was concerned with developments in the republic, behind which one might consider a rise in Georgian nationalism linked with the Beria regime. On the other hand, much of the language of this resolution is formulaic and fairly standard for the times and on this evidence alone it is hard to judge whether Stalin and the Presidium perceived a real, deeprooted problem in the republic.

Of the other factors mentioned by the CC CPG report on 1956, and which may already have been playing a role in 1951, the economy is an altogether different question, while material on Abkhazia and South Ossetia is notoriously hard to obtain. The 1951 reorganisation took Akakiya Mgeladze away from leading the CP in Abkhazia to head the new Kutais *obkom*, and it is noticeable that until then the Politburo of the CC CPSU had not discussed appointments in Abkhazia since 1943. The period 1934-1951, it can be argued, was the only period in the past 200 years when Abkhazia was effectively ruled from Tbilisi. The removal of Beria's supporters brought this period to an end, and Khrushchev also moved rapidly in the summer of 1956 to remove and reverse the policies of linguistic and cultural Georgianisation. A commission he formed reported back on the overwhelming desire of Abkhaz parents to have their children educated in Abkhaz and Russian rather than Georgian, and the same commission also made moves to restore the Abkhaz-language presence in universities and newspapers.²⁴ Given the subordination of Abkhazia and South Ossetia achieved during Beria's ascendancy, the reversal of this power relationship and of linguistic and cultural policies could easily be interpreted as blows aimed deliberately against the Georgian nation. In any case, after the March 1956 events there were a number of complaints from Abkhaz citizens that the Georgianising policies previously associated with Beria were being renewed.²⁵

The slogans which featured most heavily in March 1956 centred around Stalin, Lenin, and denunciation of Khrushchev, and in fewer cases around Georgian national demands and claims for independence. From the available accounts, there is little to suggest actively hostile attitudes towards other ethnic groups, in particular Russians.²⁶ This was in contrast to the Baltic republics in the same period, where slogans such as

'Russians go home!' and 'Freedom from the Russian occupiers!' featured heavily in public graffiti and on defaced ballot papers, and were reported to the CC CPSU. While there is, accordingly, little to suggest that anti-Russian attitudes as such were a motivating factor in the March events, there is at least some evidence that in their aftermath Georgians in certain areas were targeting ethnic Russians for acts of violence, intimidation, and discrimination – the latter in particular are mentioned as having been sanctioned at the lower levels of the CPG and Soviet authority structures. The CC CPG reports on the March events denied that there were any significant national antagonisms prior to the events, but admitted to a growth of this manifestation of Georgian nationalism afterwards.²⁷

But even then the CC CPG seems to have been downplaying the extent of Georgian-Russian tensions when their reports are compared with the letters of complaint that were making their way to the CC CPSU. Towards the end of April 1956 a group of Russian inhabitants of Tskhaltubo sent a desperate appeal to Voroshilov, claiming they were 'in fear of our lives' as a result of the anti-Russian mood. They had been told to leave immediately or face the consequences, amid rumours that anti-Russian atrocities were being prepared for 1st May. One of the leaders of the anti-Russian campaign was the local procurator, and the authorities were doing nothing to stop the threats or protect the population.²⁸ In the same week a military officer on the railways complained to Zhukov of the growing nationalism in Tbilisi and that he was treated as 'an alien, a Pariah, an undesirable'. According to this letter, official capitulation to nationalism was demonstrated by the removal of non-Georgians from their positions.²⁹ Later in the year, a member of the CPSU for twenty years, Boris Belkov, alerted the central committee to the growing number of assaults on Russians in his town of Rustavi, which had grown so regular that Russians could not go out at night. He linked rising nationalism on the part of the authorities to corruption, a link that was to be made with growing regularity.³⁰

This apparent growth in anti-Russian attitudes raises important questions about centre-periphery relations and the nationalities question in the USSR, as well as more general questions of the way in which nationalists do not just designate 'primordial' characteristics to other groups but also assign guilt and blame to entire national groups. In addition to Khrushchev's denigration of the memory of Stalin and other longstanding grievances, the shooting of demonstrators gave Georgians a further cause for complaint against the central authorities. The authorities in charge of the CPSU, the administrative structures of the Soviet Union, and the Red Army, were Soviet rather than strictly speaking Russian, and although they were located inside the RSFSR, its capital city was also multiethnic. Such considerations did not prevent the regime's opponents in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia identifying their situation as that of a Russian occupation, and it seems that Georgians viewed the central authorities in the same way. The difference is that, at least in March 1956, the protests do not appear to have been motivated in the first place either by anti-Russian feeling or anti-communism at all. Indeed, the demonstrators were calling for a return to the communism which for them was represented by Lenin, Stalin, Beria, and Molotov. Yet the armed suppression of what might otherwise have flourished into a 'Tbilisi Spring' precipitated – or

brought to the surface – a wave of anti-Russian hostility. Reconciling this more typical manifestation of nationalism with the pro-Stalin, pro-communist feelings of the demonstrators (if indeed the same individuals did share both types of sentiment) is one of the challenges the case of the March 1956 events presents. After all, as Givi Bepkhvadze pointed out, Stalin himself had had little connection with Georgia for the last fifty years of his life, and was in many ways an odd choice for a national icon.

This paper has been based on a limited range of sources, but the opening of the archives of the Georgian Communist Party and KGB should make possible a more detailed picture of the development of Georgian nationalism and the place of the 1956 events. Other scholars, notably Thornike Goradze, see the March events as a crucial turning point. Georgian nationalism, blended with socialism, had been at the basis of the independent state of 1918-21 and had continued to provide a headache for the Bolsheviks after sovietisation. But the resistance to the 1921 Red Army invasion and the risings of 1924 appear to have been anti-Bolshevik rather than anti-Russian in character, while in the years of Beria's ascendancy Georgian elites accepted Soviet rule and prospered, much as they had in the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. Nationalism seems to have been defined as much by attitudes to Georgia's own minorities as by relations to Moscow. But this changed immediately the moment the Red Army opened fire on Tbilisi on March 9th 1956.

Endnotes

¹ Robert, Service. (2003). *A History of Modern Russia from Nicholas II to Putin*. London: Penguin. p. 342.

² Bohdan, Nahaylo, & Victor, Swoboda. (1990). *Soviet Disunion: A History of the Nationalities Problem in the USSR*. New York: The Free Press. p.120.

³ Wisła, Suraska, (1999). *How the Soviet Union Disappeared: an Essay on the Causes of the Dissolution* (Durham NC: Duke University Press. pp.12-32.

⁴ Viktor Kozlov. (2002). *Mass Uprisings in the USSR: Protest and Rebellion in the Post-Stalin Years* (New York and London: M.E.Sharpe. pp.132-33.

⁵ This was a formative period for many other future leading figures in Georgian politics. In 1956 Eduard Shevardnadze was head of the Georgian Komsomol. Georgia's first post-Gamsakhurdia foreign minister, Aleksander Chikvaidze, who studied in the same class at University as Mikhail Gorbachev, hints at the impact of the March events on his generation and also provides insights into the official youth politics of the time. A.Chikvaidze. (2006). *Na izlome istorii: SSSR – Rossiya – Gruzija* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya. pp. 28-29. Further evidence of the 1950s as a formative period for Georgian politicians is provided by the dissident poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko in a 1986 interview: 'the first thing [Georgian first secretary Jumber Patiashvili] told me was that when he was a student he managed to smuggle his way into the great hall of Tbilisi University to listen to a poetry recital of mine....Do you know what he said to me: "We grew up in the spirit of your poetry"', cited in Jerry F. Hough. (1997). *Democratization and Revolution in the USSR, 1985-1991* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press. 56.

⁶ 'Dokladnaya zapiska Biuro TsK KP Gruzii o massovykh volneniyakh naseleniya gg. Tbilisi, Gori, Sukhumi i Batumi 4-9 marta 1956 g. v svyazi s osuzhdeniem kul'ta lichnosti Stalina' in A.A. Fursenko (ed.) *Arkhiv Kremlya: Prezidium TsK KPSS 1954-1964. Tom 2. Postanovleniya 1954-*

1958, pp. 283-289. A good Summary Based on Statnikov's Account is Provided by Viktor Kozlov, *Mass Uprisings in the USSR*, pp.112-135. This in turn is a translation of *Massovye Beporiadki v SSSR: pri Khrushcheve i Brezhneve, 1953 – nachalo 1980-kh gg.* (Novosibirsk: Sibirskii khronograf, 1999).

⁷ Account by Mikhail Dzhahabadze in Lev Lur'e and Irina Malyarova. (2007). *1956 god. Sere-dina veka*. St. Petersburg: "Neva". p.142.

⁸ Kozlov, *Mass Uprisings*, pp.121-122.

⁹ 'Protokol doprosa zaderzhannogo Kipiani Rubena Baakovicha ot 21 maret 1956 goda' in Dzhahabadze etc. *1956 god*, p.166.

¹⁰ Idem, p.168.

¹¹ Eduard Shevardnadze in Lur'e and Malyarova, *1956 god*, pp.140-41.

¹² Mikhail Dzhahabadze, idem, p.142.

¹³ Givi Bepkhvadze, idem, pp.145-46.

¹⁴ Kaki Kavtsadze, idem, pp.150-51.

¹⁵ Otar Urushadze, idem, pp.152-53.

¹⁶ *Arkhiv Kremlya tom 2*, pp.290-91.

¹⁷ John Ducoli. (1993). 'The Georgian Purges 1951-53', *Caucasian Review*, vol.6, 1958, pp.54-61; Amy Knight, *Beria: Stalin's First Lieutenant* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press. pp.159-64; Yoram Gorlizki and Oleg Khlevniuk. (2005). *Cold Peace: Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945-1953* (Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp.109-13.

¹⁸ 'Protokol no. 17. Zasedanie 23 Maya 1956 g.' in A.A. Fursenko (ed.). (2004). *Arkhivy Kremlya: Prezidium TsK KPSS 1954-1964 tom 1: Chernovye protokol'nye zapisi zasedanii Stenogrammy* (Moscow: Rosspen) p.133.

¹⁹ 'Zapiska A.I. (1999). Mirtskhulavy v TsK KPSS o vyselenii c territorii Gruzinskoi SSR rod-stvennikov L.P.Berii', V.Naumov and Iu. Sigachev (eds), *Lavrenti Beria. 1953. Rossiya XX vek: dokumenty* (Moscow: 'Demokratiya). p.382.

²⁰ 'Zapiska komissii TsK KPSS o rodstvennikakh osuzhdennykh po dely L.P.Berii s prilozhe-niem proekta postanovleniya TsK KPSS', idem, pp.394-95.

²¹ 'Zapiska I.A. Serova v TsK KPSS o nabliudeniia za povedeniem vyslannykh rodstvennikov lits, osuzhdennykh po delu L.P.Beria', idem, pp. 395-96.

²² 'Soobshenie Prezidiuma Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR o merakh po bystreishei likvidatsii posledstviu prestupnoi deyatel'nosti Berii i ego soobshchnikov', *Arkhivy Kremlya tom 2*, pp. 221-22.

²³ Politburo proceedings of 29.X.1951, Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sotsial'no-politicheskoi Istorii f.17, op.3, d.1091

²⁴ 'Dokladnaya zapiska komissii TsK KPSS N.S.Khrushchevu o rezul'tatakh proverki raboty uchebnykh zavedenii i gazet v Gruzinskoi SSR', 30th September 1953, unpublished.

²⁵ Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Noveishei Istorii f.5, op.31, d.60, ll.121-123, 137-149.

²⁶ In addition to the accounts already mentioned, see the KGB and army reports in Lur'e and Malyarova, *1956 god...*pp.156-62.

²⁷ 'Report of the CC CP Georgia to N.S.Khrushchev on signs of nationalistic inclinations of the Georgian population in connection with the condemnation of the cult of personality of Stalin at the XX Congress of the CPSU [not later than 23rd May 1956], *Arkhivy Kremlya tom 2*, pp. 296-303.

²⁸ Letter from Russian Inhabitants of Tskhaltubo to Voroshilov, 27th April 1956, RGANI f.5, op.31, d.60, ll.75-76.

²⁹ Letter from a railway forces officer to Zhukov, 22nd April, 1956. RGANI f.5, op.31, d.60, ll.79-84.

³⁰ Letter from Boris Gavriovich Belkov, 28th August, 1956. RGANI f.5, op.31, d.60, ll.93-94.

მეგრელები, როგორც პოლიტიზირებული იდენტურობა ქართულ–აფხაზურ კონფლიქტში

უეისი ანდრეა
ცენტრალური ევროპის უნივერსიტეტი

ცენტრალური ევროპის უნივერსიტეტი, ბუდაპეშტი ნაშრომი განიხილავს მეგრულ იდენტურობასა და ეთნიკური თვალსაზრისით ამ საკითხის განსაკუთრებულ მგრძნობიარობას. რამდენიმე ფაქტორმა, რომელიც საფუძვლად უდევს ქართულ–აფხაზურ კონფლიქტს, ასევე დიდი როლი ითამაშა მეგრული იდენტურობის ეთნიკური კუთხით პოლიტიზირებაში. პირველი, შენარჩუნებულია საბჭოთა ნაციონალური პოლიტიკის მემკვიდრეობა, რომელშიც ენა გათანაბრებულია პოლიტიკური მისწრაფებებისა და მიზნების მიღწევის პოტენციურ საშუალებებთან, ავტონომიზაციისა და სეპარატიზმის ჩათვლით. მეორე, არსებობს სტუმართმოყვარეობის ტრადიცია, რომელიც იცავს სტუმრებს პრობლემების არასწორი ინტერპრეტაციისაგან. მესამე, ეს შეიძლება აიხსნას რუსეთის მუდმივი, აშკარა ჩარევით ამ საკითხებში. ამ ფაქტორების შედეგად იქმნება გაურკვეველი ვითარება მეგრული საკითხის მიმართ პოლიტიკური კუთხით, როგორც ადგილობრივთა, ასევე უცხოელთა მხრიდან. ამავდროულად, აღქმის ეს მოდელები წარმოადგენს შინაგან ან გარეგან მექანიზმს კულტურული სიახლოვის შექმნისა და წარმოჩენისათვის.

Mingrelians as a Politicized Identity in the Context of the Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict

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Introduction

On a nice summer day in June 2009 I met with Eka in the centre of Zugdidi. Eka, who was in her early fifties, was a native of the town and belonged to some circles that constituted a (self-perceived) more “educated” stratum of its population. This stratum would automatically by chance gather at cultural events in town, for instance in the gallery or the museum. On my mind was the sensation of a vaguely immanent threat

that (too) many questions about Mingrelian identity used to trigger as reactions by my conversation partners. The evocation of this threat was embodied by Russia's alleged desire to slowly incorporate more and more parts of Georgia into its realm. The starting point of which – similar to Abkhazia and as the logical next step – would be the recognition of Mingrelians as different from Georgians; this would be followed by subsequent autonomy, then a separatist movement, and finally integration with Russia. There is hardly any space left for doubt regarding the actual capacity of the overarchingly orchestrating Kremlin to enforce its will. This threat scenario could pop up in virtually any conversation and be left in the open air in its ambivalence. The ambivalence made it a virtual impossibility for me to distinguish whether my conversation partner had taken this threat seriously or had just referred to it as an automatic reflex without attaching any deeper meaning to it. In other words the border between probability and fiction became blurred. Nevertheless, for the most part facial expressions became more firm, with a surreal insistence on the matter, upon my disbelief and doubt. The omnipresent threat of Russia as a military power did not surprise me, but the virtual endless capacity ascribed to Russia to turn whole realities of today upside down tomorrow.

I used the opportunity of meeting Eka to discuss my thoughts with her, and ask what she thought. I began by saying the fatalism I had encountered seemed absurd to me, and was even to a certain extent comical. I also told her the paranoia over Russian meddling was irrational as there is no separatist movement or wish for autonomy in Mingrelia whatsoever, and everyone knows that. I confessed that I could not help, but laugh at the absurdity of it. She replied with a serious, but not at all angry manner, sighed and shrugged her shoulders: "I also laughed twenty years ago about Abkhazia."

The aim of my article – in line with my presentation at the CBSR conference – is to analyse how Mingrelian identity/ethnicity in particular is dealt with; and what Mingrelian ethnicity tells us about ethnicity in the Georgian context in general¹. These reflections are based on a period of eleven months I spent doing research for my doctoral dissertation in Zugdidi. My understanding of ethnicity is mainly based on Barth (1969), Gringrich (1998) and Brubaker (2004), but I will further elaborate on this concept at a later stage of this paper, as the terminology is of crucial importance to my argument. Throughout the paper I will put Mingrelian ethnicity into the wider framework of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict and see how the conflict is interpreted in the vernacular, and also in (Georgian) academia. I believe that the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict has in fact had a great impact on the way ethnicity – and what in Georgia is rather termed 'regional identity' – is dealt with. The main reason to choose the Abkhazian conflict is the way a "Georgian-Abkhazian" (comparative) frame of reference is implicitly established in Georgia when it comes to Mingrelian issues, an idea which I will pursue throughout this text. This frame of reference goes back to the history of nationality politics and the perceived role of Moscow as the only real, almost omnipotent, power centre. But the paper also brings in the role of hospitality and different representations differentiated for insiders and outsider, something which the concept of cultural intimacy will help us to understand. In very short and necessarily simplified words I will explain the issues that underlie the current debates and the politicisation of Mingrelian

ethnicity. Mingrelians in contemporary English language publications are often called a sub-ethnic group of Georgians (for instance Cornell 2001). Roughly 400,000 to 490,000 (Vamling 2000) live in Georgia, mainly in the historical region of Mingrelia/Samegrelo between Guria and Abkhazia². While the category of sub-ethnic seems like a comfortable way out, the only thing the use of this category does is to avoid looking behind the underlying assumptions, which themselves form the objects worthwhile for research.

Three historical events and their particular interpretation are important in the Georgian context. The first is the use of written Mingrelian texts that were used by the tsarist administration to inform serfs about the abolition of serfdom. The second is Mingrelian cultural autonomy in the Zugdidi rayon³ in the 1930s. The third is the Mingrelian affair in 1952, where upon the fabrication of a separatist plot a large part of Beria's network⁴ was purged. I mention these events not because I believe that there is ignorance about them in the academic community or among the interested public in Georgia, but rather because of the way these historical facts are interpreted and if possible concealed in public – at least to foreigners.

My main aim is to analyse the circumstances of suspicion and discomfort present around “Mingrelian issues” in Georgia, particularly upon an expression of interest by a foreigner like myself. I have often found that when I tell Georgian researchers my dissertation topic many react in a similar way: before I am even asked about my beliefs or assumptions on Mingrelia or Mingrelians I am told pre-emptively that Mingrelians are Georgians. A position that, at least concerning within the boundaries of Georgia “proper”, I had never challenged even before having lived in Zugdidi.

This discomfort on the part of my hosts has presented a problem I have been struggling with, almost since I have become interested in the whole universe of assumptions that lie behind ethnicity in Georgia. For the most part the complexity of a so-called “Mingrelian issue” has remained an enigma to me, which I have so far been unable to receive a satisfying answer to. Yet most often the explanations that were offered puzzled me much more, and were more enigmatic to me than what I had myself thought of as explanation. In this paper I want to shed light on some of these ostensible contradictions through Herzfeld's (1997) concept of “cultural intimacy”. The concept should best be understood as a phenomenon that forms a crucial link between the nation-state and its population and allows for the subversion of official discourses and their adoption alike.

Ethnicity, Local Identity and Suspicion

The term ethnicity applied to the Mingrelian case seems to trigger strong reactions. Nevertheless, I confidently believe that these reactions are based more on a difference in terminology and its respective underlying understanding and assumptions. Ethnicity as a concept must not be confused with the term “ethnic group”. Through the use of “ethnicity – in contrast to the term “identity” that could also be used - I mainly want to point to two crucial factors. First, Mingrelian issues possess a highly political

dimension. Second, as opposed to other forms of identity like gender for instance, ethnicity is tied to (imagined) place – and in the Mingrelian case additionally to language and surname. In contrast to “ethnic group” ethnicity allows for the acknowledgement of multiple layers of attachment, which manifest themselves in situational concrete ways (Barth 1969, Gingrich 1998). For instance a Mingrelian⁵ in Tbilisi might feel his identity as Mingrelian prevails during a cosy chat with fellow Mingrelians in the yard, whereas watching the news one hour later s/he feels perfectly and proudly Georgian. Therefore the use of ethnicity, contrary to ethnic group, highlights that human beings do not have one exclusive layer of belonging to one single place in their identity. Further, my example illustrates that different layers of identity do not necessarily constitute conflicting loyalties as such. Even though anthropologists have worked with underlying relational assumptions of ethnicity that did not necessarily presuppose the boundedness of groups, at least since the Manchester School, only Brubaker (2004) has coined the phrase “ethnicity without groups”, which matches very well with earlier assumptions of these anthropologists. This phrase can be read as very simple advice – not to presuppose the existence of ethnic groups, but rather to look at mechanisms of belonging to (imagined) places and political mechanisms, which are both at work in ethnicity. For sure the term “ethnicity” is not ideal either, but it should at least provide us with a better working language.

Regional diversity is seen by Georgians as a treasure, and is something that evokes pride. Upon further inquiry about specificities of Mingrelia, regional diversity is quickly brought into the picture, but it must not cross certain boundaries, for instance language. The specificity must remain on an equal level in relation to other provinces of Georgia to be acceptable – for instance the representations of difference in food, landscape or customs, as very often Mingrelia is contrasted to K’akheti in the East of the country. When it comes to language the issue becomes further complicated. Diversity between provinces is not sufficient to explain the reactions upon research interests touching political aspects of the Mingrelian case. Neither is it my aim to express that the existence of a different idiom would give Mingrelia a higher degree of difference. What I want to argue is not that its inhabitants are so much different, but that they possess a feature of potentially dangerous difference to the territorial integrity of the Georgian state; a difference that bears more than a regional component, namely their own language and exactly its status.

If we do a short excursion through the 20th century, we will encounter a phenomenon that could be called “the myth of unwritten-ness”. It would start with promulgations on the abolition of serfdom, liturgy texts, a school book in Mingrelian, from as early as the 1860s, introduced by the Czarist imperial administration, but with local support. And above all one could refer to the huge amount of newspapers and books in Mingrelian produced during the days of the Mingrelian Cultural Autonomy in the 1930s (Feurstein 2007, Gvaramia and Tsitsishvili 2009). When parts of the linguist establishment call Mingrelian a dialect, instead of a language, and they insist on this point of view, this is only comprehensible to me in a political context. I am not a linguist and I will not go into any sociolinguistic argument about the distinctions between dialect and language, but I am a social anthropologist with common sense. The argument that

Mingrelian has been an unwritten idiom clearly does not fully comply with the historical facts. Even though throughout the course of history the conversion of idioms into languages have been power projects and idioms acquired the status of languages often did so via undesired texts in a quasi-colonial environment.

But let us follow my line of argument, about why the dialect-language discussion is interesting, rather than to enter the discussion itself, which would be likely end in a deadlock of positions and perceptions. During this very conference I was rightly criticized by another participant because I mentioned the dialect-language debate regarding Mingrelian. His argument was that something like this debate does not belong to a scientific realm. According to him someone who claimed that Mingrelian was a dialect – be it of Georgian or, the more refined version, of the Zan-language⁶ – would not be taken seriously by linguists and social scientists in Georgia, the implication was that therefore such a person could not be considered a serious scientist. This conversation took place during the session where I presented an earlier version of this paper; however, the next day another conference participant repeatedly told me she believed that Mingrelian is indeed a dialect.

I interpret this experience less as a discrepancy, but more as several layers of representation, whereby the category of person spoken to plays a decisive role. These layers of representation can be best grasped through the term cultural intimacy. By cultural intimacy I draw on a set of ideas around the large issues of state and nationalism, in order to help grapple with seemingly opposed everyday life phenomena, such as when people conform with official ideology and subvert it at the same time. Cultural intimacy is defined by Herzfeld as “the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality” (Herzfeld 1997). The concept of cultural intimacy leads me to believe that the researcher who tried so hard to convince me that Mingrelian was a dialect, did not herself necessarily believe Mingrelian to be a dialect on all levels. But I will come back to this phenomenon in the hospitality section. For now, I would conclude that this boundary between what is acceptable in terms of regional diversity in a Georgian academic (and non-academic) context and what is not, seems to stop somewhere around the language issue. But in order to make this argument clearer and underline the importance of language, we have to briefly go back to the history of Soviet nationality politics.

The Logics of Soviet National Politics Continued

The nationality politics throughout long periods of Soviet history with its “state-sponsored evolutionism” (Hirsch 2005), but also in its ambiguousness, have been pointed out by several authors (Hirsch 2005, Martin 2001 and Slezkine 1994). The making and un-making of different entities within the Soviet “federalist” system over time, and the policies that accompanied the making and un-making, such as the involvement of ethnographers/anthropologists in the forming of ethnic categories or the policy of “korenizatsija”⁷ have also been outlined by these authors. If we want to understand why the issue of language is such a delicate one, apart from the fact that script

has played a very important role in Georgian history and current Georgian historiography, we must look at what language has signified for the underlying definitions of who and what could potentially become an autonomous entity in the socialist Soviet political framework. In the case of some languages that had been unwritten prior to late tsarist/imperial or the early Soviet period, we can see very clear examples of how the boundary between dialect and language, written and unwritten, has in fact been quite fluid, arbitrary and quickly convertible. For practical and for political reasons a line had to be drawn between the entities to be formed and the ones that were not. But apart from the undoubtedly political rationale reasons, language was one, if not the decisive “objective” criteria, which underpinned early Soviet national policies. The importance of language in the Soviet nationality politics derived from the very heart of the definition what a nation (a nationality or an ethnic group) was in the Soviet context. According to Stalin (1913) a nation possessed a common language and “there is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages”.

If we analyse these bases and apply them again to the Mingrelian case it becomes more obvious why the language vs. dialect discussion is so tricky: because of the political implications to classify Mingrelian as language. The implicit logic says that if a group of people speaks their own language and not a dialect, this is potentially dangerous. This group, or more likely somebody on its behalf, might claim that it is a separate group of people; and in turn might ask for the “subsequent” and “corresponding” political status. According to this logic, based on an implicit comparison with Abkhazia and South Ossetia, an unavoidable sequence is established between autonomy and separatism. These assumptions do not lead to an outspoken and explicit fear and suspicion, but remain in a subtext of assumptions. Mainly Soviet heritage, namely the implications of a Soviet understanding of ethnicity and its ethno-territorial consequences, underlies also the current understanding of federalism and politically implies fear and suspicion connected to anything supposed to more than regional identity. A similar situation was outlined by another conference participant the day before my presentation, when he discussed potential applications of federalist models to Georgia and the aftertaste of Soviet heritage, which the concept of autonomy has received in the Georgian context. At this point we can see the suspicion for a potential analogy between Mingrelia and Abkhazia – how ever remote and improbable the chances for its occurrence might be. This suspicion arises from the underlying belief in the logics of Soviet nationality politics and results in the fear for yet another separatist Georgian region, which I have outlined in the introduction.

Hospitality

There is yet another issue that is linked with the way ethnicity is dealt with - namely hospitality, which I will only analyse so far as to foster an understanding of the ethnicity and Mingrelian issue. Any anthropologist or probably any foreigner in general, who has enjoyed (and sometimes endured) huge benefits on the hands of Georgian individuals, will certainly be thankful like I am. Georgians like to point out that this seemingly unconditional hospitality is a shared cultural trait of Georgians. In

turn, almost all foreigners, who were so well received in this country, hasten to confirm Georgian self-perceptions with – undoubtedly rightful but unreflected – praises for this hospitality. However, as pointed out by Selwyn (2000), hospitality comes with mutual moral obligations. The re-affirmation by the guest of the host's own image forms part of these moral obligations expected from a guest to comply with. However, some other expectations tend to come with the Georgian hospitality package. It seems to me that there has been an implicit understanding in most of Georgian society – extending also to academia – that for all the complexity the “ethno-political” situation in Georgia possesses – the assumption prevails that the complexities of Georgian social reality go beyond comprehensibility to outsiders who have not been socialised into familiarity with the Georgian context from early childhood on. In order to alleviate the burden of understanding for the foreign guest, sometimes rather curious explanations are provided, explanations that for instance can hardly be accepted by a Mingrelian native speaker outside the political establishment (like the statement that Mingrelian is a dialect). I want to give one more example, also from this conference:

The moment a discussion popped up with the perception of minorities at the centre of attention, the debate of which was in Georgian – but which at least from my perspective would have been interesting to the whole audience-, one of the two discussants involved would conclude upon – a statement that this (discussion) is something we do not have to translate, it would only irritate our guests. I have to stress that I doubt his intentions were mean in any way, but I suppose for him this debate was something that belonged to the culturally intimate realm, reserved for internal discussion, but not to be shared with the foreign conference guests. However, there is a certain danger in this approach: if nobody is to show foreign social scientists complexities, but rather simplified representations they will be more inclined to believe that this person's analytical capacities lurk behind, which is certainly not the case. This probably happens because of the fear of misrepresentation of complex issues.

Narratives provided to guests often lack complexity, but can gradually become more complex as a relationship develops. I would not be surprised in a few years from now to hear more personal stories about how in a more concrete manner Mingrelian issues affected events in the civil war or the Georgian Abkhazian conflict. Further, rather than to take the concept of cultural intimacy to understand aspects of hospitality, this story should illustrate that such obstacles do not only hinder foreign researchers, but much more fundamentally also restrict local social scientists in their research agendas as well. Unfortunately, certain taboos have probably prevented work being carried out on Mingrelian issues. For example, pure language enthusiasts have not been able to pursue their publication and language advocacy projects. Social scientists have been restrained in investigating alternative ethnic histories of the 20th century, while they could have focussed more on either the recent past or on regional political history, including the Mingrelian language question. Yet another factor why above mentioned potential research agendas are difficult to pursue is the suspicion regarding outside meddling by Russia.

Locals Tied to Outside Meddling

From a certain perspective, hospitality explains what might happen to foreign researchers in Georgia. But there is another factor that helps to disentangle the suspicion I have previously outlined, which is applied despite (or because of?) the hospitality bid. This last factor in my personal puzzle is (perceived) outside meddling as a potentially all-encompassing explanatory framework. This is not to deny the fact that on various occasions (most likely) a divide and rule policy in the tsarist empire and later the Soviet Union played a decisive role, but can almost the whole course of history be blamed on outside meddling?

During a conversation in Zugdidi with a student in the social sciences, who was just about to enter into a master course in Tbilisi, we talked about the question of Russian mingling. During the conversation he asked me whether I knew Georgian history. I did not know what to answer, because it is difficult and almost inconceivable claim to have an idea of Georgian history, but at the same time not to agree with Georgian main-stream historiography. Most likely, I should have said that I do not necessarily know history, but that the idea I have about Georgian historiography is not so bad. So I answered that it depended. Then he explained that during their history they had a lot of invasions, and traitors were involved in nearly all of them. So it was not only Russia, but they, Georgians, also had had a lot of traitors, who have played a vital role.

One could probably critically examine the all encompassing framework underlying many assessments of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict or Georgia's position in general – be it on a state level or reinforced by believes in the vernacular: that Russian imperialism is the main clue to its understanding. The small story exemplifies an approach, which according to my own experience is very prominent in the vernacular as well as among many intellectuals. Such a view would imply also the hesitation to reassess Georgian and Soviet Georgian policies in the past and only protract the representation of vulnerable Georgia; and to ignore the role Georgian Soviet personalities played. If in historiography they are called traitors, what does this historical interpretation imply? It means that there is only one alternative variant to “it is all Russia's fault”. Either Russia is the only source, or it must have had its henchmen, in the form of traitors (“moghalat'e”). Two implications derive from that: on the one hand, it offers a way how Georgians can have taken part in the story as actors, without questioning the “Russia's fault” paradigm, while on the other hand it basically excludes that throughout the past 150 years there have been sincere efforts by local enthusiasts that only focussed on language conservation, without being political henchmen of the neighbour up North. However, again I believe that more than to take these discourses literally, we benefit from taking a look at the context these discourses take place in and regard them as a mechanism of external, and probably also internal, representation. Some of these representations locals would not take very seriously in their literal sense either.

Conclusion

I have outlined throughout the text the background of the most important underlying issues of sensitivities regarding Mingrelian ethnicity in Georgia. These issues stem from the assumption that thinking a different language automatically implies and is coupled with political aspirations. In other words; the underlying understanding stems in most parts from Soviet nationality politics, an understanding where in many cases a different language meant - or at least was "logically" connected to - some status of "autonomy". This kind of thinking, which apparently still prevails, drives many efforts to preserve cultural heritage into a dubious light and equates them in terms of potential sanctions with separatist efforts. This creates a constant atmosphere of suspicion around anyone interested in these questions, be it locals or foreigners. This paper argues that Mingrelian ethnicity is not politicized by Mingrelians themselves, but as a result of the prevailing culturally moderated perception of outer circumstances.

As a result of these political constellations and their perception Mingrelian ethnicity has become partly a taboo issue, which is only taken up by a few researchers and is particularly regarded with suspicion if a foreigner becomes interested in this topic. At the same time Mingrelians themselves do not question their Georgian identity or see it in conflict, at least not within the boundaries of Georgia proper. This paper argues that several factors have contributed to the politicization of Mingrelian identity. These factors are the same that lie also at the heart of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict. As I have outlined in the paper, the current and ongoing issues around Mingrelian ethnicity are influenced by a mixture of factors, but basically the underlying Soviet heritage, in which language is potentially highly coupled with political aspirations and goals. And in contrast to some likely expectations, to apply the concept of ethnicity, which I have outlined, spares anyone researching Mingrelian identity issues from assuming that the very existence of Mingrelian ethnicity creates conflicts in terms of loyalty for citizens.

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Endnotes

¹ First of all I would like to thank the organizers and participants of this conference for all the insights and help they have provided me with. I am deeply grateful for their readiness to assist me, also nolens volens in struggling to understand many Georgian dynamics. Particularly I want to mention Tamta Khalvashi, who throughout my stay has been very encouraging.

² Others live in the Gali region (Abkhazia) and in the capital Tbilisi. There are no official statistics, such as a census category, therefore estimations are necessarily very rough.

³ Rayon was a Soviet administrative division.

⁴ Beria was a leading Soviet politician in Stalin's entourage and head of the NKWD from 1938-1946.

⁵ As I have already indicated by Mingrelian I envision more the subjective side – I emphasize self-identification, be it on the basis of language use, ancestry or even surname.

⁶ A historical remedy to be able to say that Mingrelian and Laz are dialects, is to bring Zan language into the picture, a language that does no longer exist in the present and that is merely an issue in linguistic classifications, see for instance Vamling (2000), who is very diplomatic about it.

⁷ Korenizatsija was a Soviet policy of the 1920ies to foster a local non-Russian Soviet elite and co-opt it into Soviet power structures. The content of this policy was carried on in later decades as well.

ეკონომიკის უახლოესი გამოწვევები და ეკონომიკური განათლების პრობლემა

აბულაძე კონსტანტინე
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

თანამედროვე ეკონომიკური მეცნიერება განიხილავს ცოდნას, როგორც ქვეყნის ეკონომიკური განვითარების ფაქტორს, ინვესტიციის ფორმას ადამიანურ კაპიტალში, რაზეც მნიშვნელოვნადაა დამოკიდებული ეროვნული წარმოება და საზოგადოების ცხოვრების დონე.

ცხადია, რომ მოვლენათა განვითარების ყველაზე სასიკეთო პირობებშიც კი ჩვენ ვერ დავაფინანსებთ ფუნდამენტურ და გამოყენებით კვლევებს იმ მოცულობით, როგორც ეკონომიკურად განვითარებული ქვეყნები. ასეთ ვითარებაში დიდი მნიშვნელობა ენიჭება ინტელექტუალური რესურსების მართვის ღრმად გააზრებულ პრაქტიკას, პოლიტიკას, განათლების სისტემის მხარდაჭერასა და განვითარებას.

ამ მიზნით ჩვენი ქვეყნის ერთ-ერთ წამყვან უმაღლეს სასწავლებელში – საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტში დაიწყო ეკონომიკური სწავლების არსებითი განახლების პროცესი. ეკონომიკური თეორიის, მიკრო და მაკროეკონომიკის ფუნდამენტურ კურსებთან ერთად, რომლებსაც ტრადიციულად ასწავლიან ეკონომიკური პროფილეს ყველა უმაღლეს სასწავლებელსა და უნივერსიტეტების შესაბამის ფაკულტეტებზე, ჩვენი უნივერსიტეტის ეკონომიკის, ბიზნესისა და მართვის სკოლის ინიციატივით შემოღებულია ახალი სალექციო კურსები: ეკონომიკური რეფორმები, ეკონომიკური პროგნოზირება, ეკონომიკური სისტემები და ეკონომიკური საბაზრო მოდელები, ეკონომიკური აზრის ევოლუცია: ნობელის პრემიის ლაურეატები, კლასიკური ეკონომიკური კვლევები.

The Improvement of Teaching Economic Subjects

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Modern economic science considers knowledge as one of the factors of the country's economic development, a kind of investment in human capital which largely determines national production and the level of social life.

In the period of economic globalization postindustrial countries show a significant interest in intellectual resources, which is related to the development of new, knowledgebased economy.

Currently, the utilization of natural resources is also dependent on expertise, on the technologies used. The progress of mankind through the utilization of natural resources clearly illustrates this. Thus, the accumulation, transmission and enrichment of knowledge has become a driving force of social progress.

The economy of the knowledge based postindustrial society differs from that of the previous formations in the following respects:

Firstly, the knowledge embodied in goods and services is an important part of their value. One of the indicators of the increase of the share of research in the production of goods and the provision of services is the dynamics of the expenditure on research and construction & development works. This could be illustrated by the production of household appliances and agricultural produce, extraction of oil and valuable minerals as well as the production of astronautic and aeronautic equipment. The largest share of the market price of modern cars is the value of their design, electronics and other like components.

According to experts, the world market of goods and services with a high share of knowledge based components is developing five times as fast as traditional world markets.

Secondly, due to the above listed reasons, the activities related to the development and application of knowledge are gaining increased importance in the postindustrial society. Special importance is attached to education, the nature and content of which is undergoing dramatic changes. A real education industry has been created in the world. Such an industry is basically state funded. These expenses are as important for many countries as the expenses on national defense, health and social protection.

Thirdly, the main feature of knowledge based economy is that within the overall number of employees, the share of specialists involved in the development, transmission and application of knowledge is steadily increasing. For example, in the US, they already constitute one third of the population employed in the economic sector. One group of researchers maintains that this is a result of scientific and technological progress and the related increase in labor productivity and living standard. Other experts explain this by the exhaustion of natural and working resources. There is still

another group which links the changes in social production trends with information and communication revolutions.

Currently, information revolution is rightly considered to be the most important event after the invention of written language, and the printing press, whereas communication revolution is thought to be the most important event after inventing the wheel and the steam engine.

As a result of the integration of these XX century phenomena, we receive a synergic, rather than a cumulative effect in the social, economic and cultural sectors.

Information revolution has largely contributed to market globalization and, what is most important, has created new forms of arrangement of economic activities (electronic trading) as well as new economic activities per se (electronic money). All this will dramatically change economic practice in the near future. It is just the combination of these objective trends that determines the role and importance of intellectual resources.

Market globalization, the increased number of transnational companies and modern technologies facilitated the conquering of new markets, and, in parallel, created hyper competition at the transnational scale.

In the situation like this, a complex and multi-facet economic phenomenon – the ability to be competitive, acquires a paramount importance. In the current conditions, the basis of competitiveness is the innovative activity of market subjects.

The economy of the countries developed in the course of globalization is undergoing a lot of strategic changes. This trend is likely to strengthen in the post-crisis period. If, for example, in the second half of the last century, a long-term planning of economic activity was considered to be one of the main conditions for success, currently, the emphasis has shifted to the ability to rapidly adjust production to the changeable micro and macro environment.

Intense competition has not only accelerated the introduction of changes and the increase of hi - tech products. It has also significantly reduced the life cycle of goods. Due to this, many enterprises are trying to renew their goods and services. Otherwise it will be more and more difficult to retain one's own market share.

All the above determines several qualitative attributes of the post-industrial economy:

Attribute one – The quality of material basis and work force in enterprises falls behind the pace and scale of scientific and technological progress.

Attribute two – Increase in transactional expenses, related to the search for information, market research, concluding contracts and like activities, rather than production itself, i.e. procurement of raw or any other kind of material, work remuneration, etc.

In the situation like this, the production of goods implies lower expenses than their sale. Therefore, demand for obtaining/processing information, marketing research, advertising and other knowledge-based activities has largely increased.

Attribute three – Enhancing the role of the management's intellectual resources. It has to be noted that in the period of economic crisis as well as in the post-crisis period, managerial knowledge is no less important than the producer's skill level.

Attribute four – Need for continuing education determined by rapid structural changes in economy as well as intense competition not only between different companies, but also between the employed.

It is clear that even in the case of the best scenario, we will not be able to finance fundamental and applied research to the same extent as economically developed countries. In the situation like this, an emphasis is made on a well grounded practice of the management of intellectual resources, the relevant policy and the support and development of the educational system.

When it comes to teaching economics, the manual always becomes the main concern. Currently, in the higher educational institutions of Georgia, they mainly use general orientation manuals (economic theory course, micro and macro economics), or what in some of the countries falls under the general concept *economics*. These include widely recognized classical manuals, whose authors are distinguished economists like G. Mankiw, C. McConnell and S. Brew, R. Pindyck and D. Rubinfeld, J. Sloman and M. Sutcliffe, W. Baumol and A. Blinder.

I am very pleased to note that thanks to the contribution of the *Open Society-Georgia*, other NGOs and Georgian economists, who ensured the translation and publication of these manuals, they are now accessible for Georgian readers.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that our book market is currently saturated with economic manuals and additional readings. A large quantity of books published by different Georgian institutions for higher education and independent authors has recently appeared on the market.

In the 90-s of the last century, after almost seven decades of the dominance of scholastic economic ideas and the “expectation of the total failure of capitalism”, we finally had the opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the scientific basis of market economy. We had a chance to learn, in detail, about different aspects of companies’ activities, like the rational use of resources, reduction of expenses, the ways to maximize profit, regulation of product supply in market economy, etc.

Scientific, student and business circles expected from western economics courses to be clearly practice oriented. However, in already several years’ time, after transition economies accumulated certain experience in teaching economic subjects, it turned out that like courses did not often consider the theoretical issues directly related to future businessmen’s practical activity. For example, to illustrate the behavior of companies, as well as the other economic issues and processes, they used mono and duo production models, whereas, we mostly encounter the producers of multi-products on the actual market. Even the smallest shop or kiosk sells diverse goods and tries to further widen its assortment. On the other hand, large enterprises have to choose out of a large number of commodities and produce exactly what the market wants. To do this, the managers of companies have to answer the three fundamental questions of market economy – What? How? Who for?

The activity of firms and companies is pictured in such a way, as if they were focused on the production of one and the same goods. You get an impression that the companies know exactly what the demand curve is going to be like, whereas, in reality, the manager is unaware of it. Also, the demand curve is so changeable, that any attempt of its prediction can be only regarded as an aid helping to orient oneself.

All these are latent problems of economics teaching. They manifest themselves not in the course of learning (the student without practical entrepreneurial experience does not even notice them), but after graduating from a higher educational institution, when, after starting practical activity, the graduate clearly sees that he/she is not able to effectively apply, in practice, the knowledge acquired through economic theory. As people start practical activity in real life situations, it often turns out that it is extremely difficult to apply in practice the knowledge obtained through the discussion of economic models and implement seemingly very clear recommendations.

No one questions the utility of reviewing models in the course of economics teaching, but, at the same time, it is necessary for a general theoretical economic context to include actual economic problems and their detailed description.

Another example of the gap existing between theory and practice is that adequate attention is not given to important economic categories (e.g. quality and competitiveness), which have to be thoroughly researched in the present conditions.

When describing a competitive market they use an unrealistic assumption about the operation of all the companies in equal conditions. We cannot, of course, limit ourselves to this abstract analytical stage. It would be more desirable to review the model of pure competition taking into consideration the difference between the company's expenditure and its behavior. Attempts to maximize profits is shown using the examples of the companies producing one sort of products.

Another important point is to consider the effects entailed by limited information available to economic subjects as well as asymmetric information and their impact on companies' activities. Almost any regular course in microeconomics describes companies' behavior in such a way, as if the companies knew in advance which obstacles to expect during their future activities. As for the extremely important problem of economic risk, it is either briefly discussed in the final section of the course, or is not discussed at all.

The manuals of economic theory do not highlight the entrepreneur's personal, creative role or his/her function in the coordination of the entrepreneur's and the consumer's interests. Nothing is said about the entrepreneur who constantly searches for unsatisfied market demands. At the same time, nothing points to the importance of entrepreneurial skills and they are only mentioned as one of the production factors.

It is clear that the combination of theory and practice is an extremely difficult task, which, even according to the methodology of economic theory, is determined through scientific abstractions and certain assumptions made in the course of economic studies.

The reproduction of intellectual resources and their management is topical not only for the leaders of world economy, but also for the economies in transition. This is especially important for those higher educational institutions of our country where economic disciplines are studied by a large number of students, who, in the future, are going to be employed by public and private enterprises, by the so-called economic block of state authority bodies. Given the dynamics of changes taking place in the world as well as in our country, fundamental education offered to such students has to include the theoretical approaches able to explain and predict economic processes given the changeability and instability of economic institutions.

One of the effective means ensuring the readiness for the most recent economic challenges is university education, which has always been fundamental and, at the same time, oriented at the students' narrow specialization. Similarly to the formation of new fields in economics, new directions appear in economic sciences. This process is especially intense in the economies that are in the state of transition.

The fundamental character of education is determined by the overall arrangement of the educational process in addition to studying basic disciplines during the first years. The balance of special and fundamental education is favored by the three-stage system of higher education - bachelor's, master's and PhD programs. These three stages of education meet any requirements of market economy.

Given the current university education, it is possible to single out the two functions of economic knowledge – professional and general cultural. Each one has its related specific tasks. Professional function of the acquisition of economic knowledge suggests that modern specialists, lawyers, journalists, political scientists and public administrators cannot operate without a needed level of economic knowledge. Furthermore, the professional function does not require deep knowledge of micro and macro economics. Therefore, in this case, the teaching of economic disciplines can be ensured through brief economic programs.

The other function of economic knowledge is general cultural. It implies the training of specialists who will have thorough knowledge of social processes. In this case, one of the crucial issues is the studying of economic theory, which encompasses different schools and directions. Thus, the utilization of the foreign models presented in modern economic manuals will be effective only if during the lecture, in the classroom, the students analyze in the context of standard theoretical situation national economy, economic situation in the country's regions and the activity of specific economic subjects. If the analyses does not take into consideration national or cultural traditions, it will be of no use.

For the above purpose, Georgian University, one of the leading higher educational institutions in the country, has introduced important innovations into the teaching of economic disciplines. Along with the fundamental courses in economic theory, macro and micro economics, traditionally delivered at the corresponding faculties of all the institutes and universities teaching economic disciplines, the University's economic, business and administration schools have introduced new courses (economic reforms, economic forecasting, economic systems and economic market models, the evolution of economic thought: Nobel prize winners, classical research in economics).

We are also planning to introduce courses in institutional economics, public sector economy, sectoral market economy, etc.

We find it extremely important to carry out interdisciplinary research involving economics, sociology and political sciences, which will make it possible to model administrative and other external influences on the economic activity of the enterprises and organizations of civil society. One of the promising directions is quality of life issues, which is also studied through interdisciplinary research involving economics and sociology. Competitiveness of Georgian economy is a topical research problem.

Linking theory and practice is a creative process. For this reason it has to take into consideration national traditions, the optimal balance between general economic

and special disciplines, research potential of higher educational institutions, and, what is even more important, the market demand for future specialists.

At the same time, given the intensification of the applied aspects in the teaching of economic disciplines, we should not ignore the current interest in economic theory. Disputes about the importance of economic theory have always been groundless, since such a theory creates the methodological basis for general economic thinking. What we have to think about is the direction to be taken during the in-depth teaching of economic theory.

We believe that instead of aligning theory with practice, we ought to make theoretical generalizations based on practical experience. Such an approach agrees with the internationally observed practice of teaching economic disciplines and is well illustrated in the manuals of managerial economics.

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პასუხისმგებლობების ცენტრები უმაღლეს სასწავლო დაწესებულებებში

ამაშუკელი მაია
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

მოცემული სამუშაოს მიზანს წარმოადგენს უმაღლესი სასწავლო დაწესებულების მმართველობითი აღრიცხვის სისტემის შესაძლებლობების გამოვლენა პასუხისმგებლობების ცენტრების მიხედვით, უმაღლესი სასწავლო დაწესებულების იმ შიდა პროცესების სახით, რომლებიც უზრუნველყოფენ შემოთავაზებული საგანმანათლებლო მომსახურების ხარისხს.

უმაღლეს სასწავლო დაწესებულებაში მმართველობითი აღრიცხვა შეიძლება განვიხილოთ, როგორც მისი საინფორმაციო სისტემის ნაწილი, რომელიც ქმნის შესაბამის ინფორმაციას და უზრუნველყოფს მართვის ყველა დონეს განათლების ხარისხის ამაღლებისაკენ მიმართული მმართველობითი გადაწყვეტილების მიღებას.

ხარისხის შემუშავებისას უმაღლესმა სასწავლო დაწესებულებამ, პასუხისმგებლობის ცენტრების ფუნქციების შესრულების ხარისხის მართვის ინსტრუმენტის სახით, უნდა გამოიყენოს ფუნქციონალურ ღირებულებითი ანალიზი. ძირითადი ადაპტაციური სტრატეგია „მაქსიმალური ხარისხი“ შეიძლება გამოყენებული იქნას მხოლოდ პასუხისმგებლობის ყველა ცენტრის ფუნქციების ხარისხიანი შესრულების პირობით, რომლის მონიტორინგსაც ხარისხის მენეჯმენტის სისტემა უნდა უზრუნველყოფდეს.

Responsibility Centers in Higher Education

Amashukeli Maia
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In the 90ies, for hundreds and thousands of European companies, a quality assurance, a total quality management (TQM) and a quality confirmation certification became the most important matters. First, the importance of quality and of its continuous improvement for growth of organizations and success in business was declared by the Japanese industrial companies. Later on, this wave of Struggle for Quality reached Europe as the ISO 9000 standard. Although the ISO standards only partially

cover TQM and the TQM is only a constituent of those standards, in Europe, ISO certification turned de-facto the most accepted form of quality confirmation. (Powell, 1995)

Right after the industrial companies, users of educational system started requesting the quality confirmation. (Burgar, 1994; Chizmar, 1994; Yudof, Busch-Vishniac, 1996) In this context, for educational institutions, certification turned out to be a response to that requirement. (Rhoades, 2004)

TQM has been applied to business and industry; and recently has been introduced (Luxton, 2005), experimented and implemented in higher education institutions (Charles, 1992) to provide high quality and standards for both industry and higher educations. (Najafabadi, 2008)

The earliest applicants for the ISO certification in the educational system were business training institutions and it was reasonable as such organizations were closer to business than other traditional universities. Since the 90ies, other broad profile universities have started implementing the ISO certification and TQM processes. Some of them preferred to have such certification only in certain parts of their operations.

There is no doubt that today the educational system undergoes rapid changes and obviously, it will do it also in the future. It is inevitable as communications technologies are rapidly developing (E-learning, remote learning etc.). That is why an institution of higher education must think it over to save itself and take actions globally. (Marginson, 2006)

How can a university convince its future students and their employers of getting much more than they expect?

An answer to this question, despite some scientist's critical attitude, according to the university experience of many countries, turned out to be the TQM application in the university management system (Luxton, 2005; Yonezawa, 2002; Shastri, 2010; Leveille, 2005).

A management directive for ISO 9001:2000 application in TQM and educational system is IWA 2.

In order to help education institutions, the ISO IWA 2 standard appeared in 2003: "Quality Management Systems. Guideline for the Application of ISO 9001:2000 in Education" (revised in 2007). It did not add anything to, did not replace or modify the requirements of ISO 9001: 2000; it was conceived with a view to allowing a clear understanding of the ISO 9001:2000 and ISO 9004:2000 standards' requirements and of the way in which they are implemented in the education area (*IWA 2: 2007 – Quality Management systems – Guidelines for application of ISO 9001:2000 in education*).

IWA 2 refers to the university as the university production system (UPS) and defines it as follows: UPS is a complex of the following independent processes – teaching, learning and researching; the three independent processes use resources (including human resources), materials and information, which operate harmoniously to achieve specified educational objectives.

In the ISO 9000:2001 standards, the concepts are used such as Efficiency, i .e. a degree of achievement of planned results and Effectiveness showing a link between achieved results and used resources. These concepts are used whenever a degree of realizing any decisions made needs to be followed. To analyze IHE (RC) processes, their

description and interaction, different methods and instruments of quality control may be used subject to their specificity and needs, including VAM. As the term Function is a constituent of the term Process, a process quality may be interpreted as a quality of function performance of its constituents. Budgets of subdivisions and reports on the budget performance in compliance with performance criteria become a key budgeting component ensuring a link between the management accounts and the quality of education system. (José ...,2006, Daedalus, 2000)

Table 1.

Strengths and weaknesses of decentralized structural subdivisions of IHE based on RCs

Strengths	Weaknesses
Better quality of management decisions, less time for making such decisions.	Loses in result of unmatched activities of structural subdivisions
Concentration of responsibilities for making management decisions, fewer number of any potential co-ordinations	Working for a short-term perspective, effect of skimming the cream off leading to lower IHE effectiveness in future.
A university administration is out of a routine of petty controls, more time for addressing strategic objectives.	Greater distance between the IHE administration and its functional subdivisions.
A subdivision operates on the basis of "Cost-Profit" approach, lower tendency of re-using resources.	Uneven distribution of workloads between structural subdivisions, unfair competition for perspective and profitable trends of activities.
Clear performance criteria for structural subdivisions.	Possible lowering of effectiveness of some key functional activities.

A concept Responsibility Center is a key to the management accounts by centers of responsibility. The concept of RC, According to Journal of Management Accounting Research first formulated by John A. Higgins in the middle of last century, offers a definition of degree of certain individuals' responsibility for financial results of their performance.

Responsibility center is a segment of IHE whose manager is accountable for specified set of activities. Responsibility also entails accountability. Accountability implies performance measurement, which means that actual outcomes are compared with expected or budgeted outcomes. This system of responsibility, accountability, and performance evaluation is often referred to as responsibility accounting because of the key role that accounting measures and reports play in the process.

While forming a IHE management system by centers of responsibility on the basis of its organizational structure, it is required to follow Higgins's rule: every structural unit of an enterprise is burdened only by those expenses or incomes, which can be under its responsibility and control.

When defining the centers of responsibility, first of all IHE's organizational structure should be taken into account and then, its horizontal and vertical sections are seen. The horizontal section is limited to a circle of activities of individual persons responsible for the center while the vertical one predetermines a hierarchy of authorities of persons responsible for making managerial decisions. Independently from a structural subdivision size in the management account, four types of RC are identified, which are characterized by various degrees of financial responsibility and by managerial authorities of center leaders – cost centers, revenue centers, profits centers, investments centers. Comparative characteristics of the abovementioned centers are given in the table below.

Table 2.
Comparative characteristics of centers of responsibility

Comparative characteristics of centers of responsibility					
RC types	Objectives of management accounts	Criteria of center performance evaluation	Criteria of financial responsibility of center leaders	Managerial authorities of center leaders	Comments
cost centers	Measuring and recording expenses at the input of CR	Direct expenses	A center leader is responsible for incurred expenses	The least managerial authorities, limited to controlling expense formation and its expediency	Centers of expenses may be either isolated or included in other centers of responsibility
revenue centers	Recording results of CR performance at the output	Size of earnings	A center leader is responsible for receiving earnings but not for expenses	Managerial authorities are focused on the matters related to receipt of earnings	Centers of marginal incomes may be marked out (a difference between earnings and variable expenses)
profits centers	Measuring and recording costs at the input of RC and expenses within this RC and net results at the output of RC	Size of profits received	A center leader is responsible both for incomes and expenses of the center	More authorities in making decisions (e.g. by quality and quantity of rendered educational services)	Number of centers of incomes depends on a degree of management decentralization.
investments centers	Measuring and controlling expenses and incomes of RC and evaluation of effectiveness and use of investments	Effectiveness of use of investments (rate of return on investments)	A center leader is responsible both for incomes and expenses of the center as well as for the effectiveness of use of funds invested to the center	The most managerial authorities (e.g. making its own investment decisions)	As usual, a center of investments is an organization as a whole, in this case – a IHE (university administration)

Virtually, all given types of RC may be present in the IHE management system. The IHE management system by RC (financial system of management), which is based upon different degrees (Cole, 1995) of financial responsibility is shown below (Figure 1).

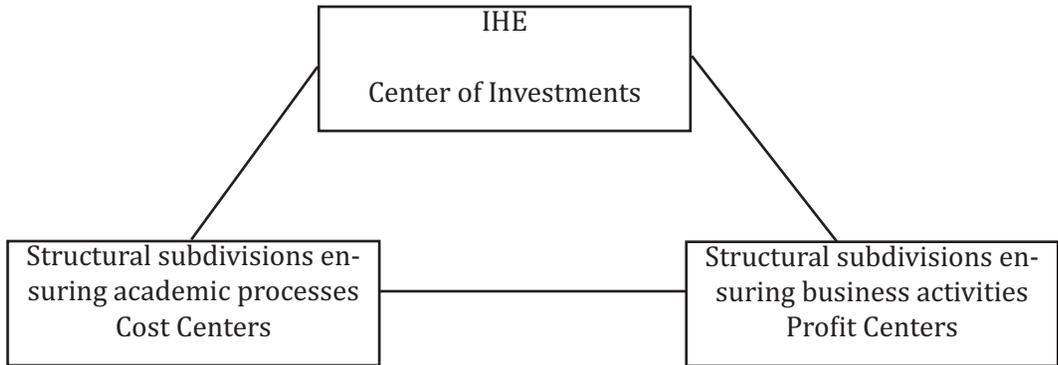


Fig. 1

Schematic diagram of decentralized IHE management system

Specific content of this scheme may be filled up based on analysis of current organizational structure aiming at the identification of the most expensive and the most profitable subdivisions.

For a successful decentralized system operation, highly skilled managerial personnel should be in place and all objectives and concerns of both IHE as a whole and its individual subdivisions should be well-coordinated. A decentralized management system formation assumes, first of all, that the following two interrelated objectives are met: sharing responsibilities among executors and controlling their performance. For that, center leaders should duly distribute the duties (functions) of their subordinate personnel and develop appropriate performance criteria.

For the managerial control, all cost incurred by RC should be divided into controlled and uncontrolled costs. In particular, the cost division into controlled (i.e. those expenses which may be governed by managers) and uncontrolled ones is the basis of accounting by centers of responsibility – being one of the most important approaches to the realization of management accounting at the IHE. (Huisman..., 2004)

One of the methods, which enable a manager to govern expenses (incomes) of RCs as required to meet the objectives of management accounting and to make reasonable managerial decisions is a value analysis method (VAM).

VAM differs from almost all other economic analysis methods by its universality, availability and relative simplicity of algorithms to enable evaluation of RC operations.

The value analysis means a method of systemic examination of object's (in this case, of CR's) functions focused upon minimizing expenses for its operation provided that both its quality and usefulness are maintained (improved). The VAM is based on a functional approach to the object examination, the main point of which is to examine the object not in its specific form but in combination of all functions to be performed by that object. In the VAM, a function means an external manifestation of properties of any objects in the given system of relations. A IHE management system may be identified with a condition of analyzed object – in this case of CR – its ability to operate, effect and serve the needs.

Using the VAM, managers first of all should formulate those functions which must be performed by their subdivisions independently from real executors, i.e. the functions required. Then they should classify these functions according to their variety:

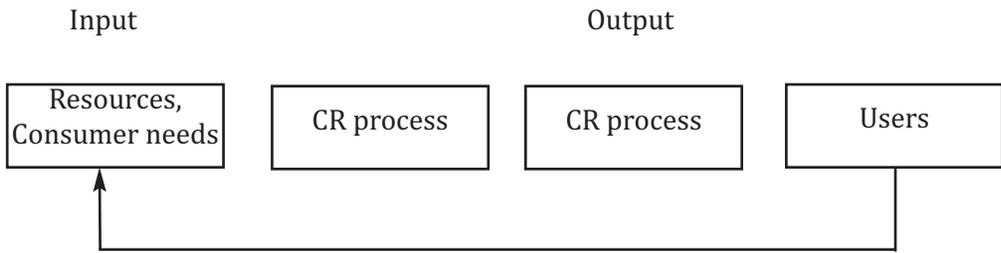
- < main function – determines RC's purpose, main point and meaning of its functioning as a whole;
- < secondary functions – reflect secondary objectives of its forming;
- < basic functions – play a leading role in ensuring RC's working capacity, ensure all appropriate conditions for the main function implementation;
- < auxiliary functions – promote and ensure realization of basic functions.

The function classification is a critical stage in the VA process, as it allows to proceed to quantitative assessments of functions such as a meaning and a relative meaning, which are determined on the basis of expert methods.

Functions' quantitative assessments are applied for comparing to relative expenses for the performance of these functions aiming at the identification of "faulty functions" where the relative expenses exceed their meaning. Manager's influence upon and control over expenses aims at removal of those faulty functions. At the same time, the main accent in the VA methodology is placed upon identification and pre-action of causes of inconsistency between the quality and the expenses and elimination of implications thereof.

According to ISO 9000:2001 standards, the term Quality should be construed as a degree of compliance of any object's characteristics (services, processes, products) with certain requirements (norms, standards). (Powell, 1995), Therefore, the quality of higher education is a balanced compliance of all aspects of higher education with certain goals, needs, norms and standards. (Hogg ..., 1995) A comprehensive approach should be applied to the quality of higher education. This approach includes a guarantee of quality of requirements (goals, standards, norms), a quality of conditions (inputs to education), a quality of processes (scientific and academic, financial, managerial etc.), a quality of results (both current and aggregate results of teaching, characteristics of career rising of graduating students etc.) (Sporn, 2004, Karapetrovich ..., 1998)

Thus, the centers of responsibility may be viewed – as in compliance with ISO 9000:2001 standards - as the processes, which should be construed as an aggregate of interrelated and interactive types of activity transforming both inputs and outputs. Any center of IHE's responsibility, when viewed as a process, may be presented as a scheme shown on Figure 2 below.



Fi. 2
RC process scheme

All types of activity related to processes are possible always provided that appropriate resources are available. On the basis of user assessment, CR manager may regulate the process aiming at the improvement of its efficacy and effectiveness. The main goal of the responsibility centers (RC) is to determine functionally required inputs to ensure the quality level of rendered services satisfactory to consumers.

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სამეწარმეო რისკ-მენეჯმენტის ძირითადი ასპექტები

ავალიშვილი მარინა
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

სამეწარმეო რისკ-მენეჯმენტი მსოფლიო ეკონომიკური მეცნიერებისა და პრაქტიკის შედარებით ახალი მიმართულებაა. იგი ეფუძნება ტრადიციული რისკ-მენეჯმენტის მიდგომებს, მაგრამ ამავე დროს მისი წარმატებით განხორციელება საჭიროებს სპეციალური უნარ-ჩვევების განვითარებას. ყველა ორგანიზაცია თუ მეცნიერი, რომელიც სამეწარმეო რისკ-მენეჯმენტის პრობლემებზე მუშაობს, განსხვავებულად აყალიბებს სამეწარმეო რისკების კლასიფიკაციას და მართვის პროცესის ეტაპებს, მაგრამ ყველა მეთოდოლოგიაში საერთოა სამეწარმეო რისკ-მენეჯმენტის შემდეგი მახასიათებლები: (1). სამეწარმეო რისკ-მენეჯმენტი ორგანიზაციის მენეჯმენტის ნაწილია, რომელიც მიმართულია რისკების შემცირებაზე; (2) სხვადასხვა რისკების მართვა და მონიტორინგი ხორციელდება არა ინდივიდუალურად, არამედ კოორდინირებულად და ერთიანი სტრატეგიით. შესაბამისად, ეფექტიანი სამეწარმეო რისკ-მენეჯმენტის პირობებში კომპანიას შეუძლია გრძელვადიანი კონკურენტული უპირატესობა მოიპოვოს. (3). სამეწარმეო რისკ-მენეჯმენტი ზრდის კომპანიის ღირებულებას კომპანიის მფლობელებისა და მთლიანად საზოგადოებისათვის.

ინტერესი სამეწარმეო რისკ-მენეჯმენტისადმი ბოლო წლების განმავლობაში საგრძნობლად გაიზარდა, თუმცა მისი განვითარების დონე მნიშვნელოვნად განსხვავდება ამათუიმ ქვეყანაში. სამწუხაროდ, საქართველოში მეწარმეები ნაკლებად იცნობენ ამ სფეროს და რისკების შემცირების მარტივ მექანიზმებსაც არ იყენებენ, რაც უამრავი ფაქტორით არის განპირობებული. სამეწარმეო საქმიანობის რისკების კვლევა აქტუალური საკითხია როგორც მეცნიერების, ისე საქართველოს ბიზნეს სექტორის განვითარებისათვის.

Basic Aspects of Enterprise Risk Management

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Introduction

There has been a significant increase of interest in Enterprise Risk Management (ERM). What has changed during the last decades is treating the vast variety of risks in a holistic manner and elevating risk management to a senior management responsibility, although practices have not progressed uniformly through different industries and organizations. The general evolution toward ERM can be characterized by number of driving factors: More and more complicated risks; external pressures; portfolio point of view; quantification (advances in technology and expertise have made quantification easier); boundary less benchmarking; risk as opportunity. Increasingly organizations have come to recognize the opportunistic side, the value-creating potential of risk. Accordingly, risk management practices become more and more sophisticated.

Although enterprise risk management represents a return to the roots of risk management, in order to be involved with enterprise risk management, traditional risk managers need to obtain some additional skills. Traditional risk managers need to learn about VaR and other methods in order to engage comprehensive risk management process. Knowledge of portfolio theory as a method for dealing with correlated risks is also critical.

Since enterprise risk management involves so many different aspects of an organization's operations, and integrates a wide variety of different types of risks, no one person is likely to have the expertise necessary to handle this entire role. In most cases, a team approach is used, with the team drawing on the skills and expertise of a number of different areas, including traditional risk management, financial risk management, management of information systems, auditing, planning and line operations.

Enterprise Risks and Risk management Process

Enterprise risk management is, in essence, the latest name for an overall risk management approach to business risks. Precursors to this term include corporate risk management, business risk management, holistic risk management, strategic risk management and integrated risk management. Although each of these terms has a slightly different focus, in part fostered by the risk elements that were of primary concern to organizations when each term first emerged, the general concepts are quite similar.

The first enterprise risk management publication, presciently titled *Risk Management and the Business Enterprise*, was published in 1963, after six years of devel-

opment, by Robert I. Mehr and Bob Hedges. As initially introduced in this publication, the objective of risk management is “to maximize the productive efficiency of the enterprise.” The basic premise of this text was that risks should be managed in a comprehensive manner and not simply insured.

Casualty Actuarial Society (CAS) has adopted the definition of enterprise risk management as the discipline by which organization in any industry assesses, controls, exploits, finances and monitors risks from all sources for the purpose of increasing the organization’s short- and long-term value to its stakeholders. (CAS, 2003).

COSO (Committee of Sponsoring Organizations) defines enterprise risk management as a process, effected by an entity’s board of directors, management and other personnel, applied in strategy setting and across the enterprise, designed to identify potential events that may affect the entity, and manage risk to be within its risk appetite, to provide reasonable assurance regarding the achievement of entity objectives. The definition reflects certain fundamental concepts. Enterprise risk management is: a process, ongoing and flowing through an entity; effected by people at every level of an organization; applied in strategy setting; applied across the enterprise, at every level and unit, and includes taking an entity level portfolio view of risk; designed to identify potential events that, if they occur, will affect the entity and to manage risks; able to provide reasonable assurance to an entity’s management and board of directors; geared to achievement of objectives in one or more separate but overlapping categories (COSO, 2004).

Scientists define enterprise risk management and classify the enterprise risks differently but it is clear that a new field of risk management is opening up, one requiring new and specialized expertise.

Recently, many developed countries have seen a tendency to change the rules of corporate governance. Traditionally, many people believed that a firm should serve only its shareholders. However, most people now believe that firms must satisfy the needs of all stakeholders, including employees and their families, the public at large, customers, creditors, the government, and others. A company should contribute to improving its communities and the environment.

Advantages of an integrated enterprise risk management approach include: alignment of risk at all levels to strategic objectives; accountability for and ownership of risk management; an ability to foresee and predict risk occurrence; taking preventative action - minimize costly time; optimization risk taking by the organization; capability to aggregate and correlate information about the current state of risk exposure at strategic, operating and process levels.

Direct Benefits of Risk Management includes:

(1) No Surprises - Early Warning Systems (identify, assess and prioritize risks; install appropriate control processes and information; promote organizational learning and knowledge transfer);

(2) Effective Responses - Good Reactions (integrate risks into planning and decision-making; strategically reduce exposure levels to acceptable levels; rapidly respond to issues and reduce negative impacts);

(3) Greater Chance of Success - Better Outcomes (maximize chances of achieving objectives; improve ability to anticipate and prepare for change).

A useful way to conceptualize ERM is along two dimensions: one spanning the types of the risks included and the other spanning the various risk management process steps.

The organizations working on enterprise risk management frameworks classify enterprise risks in different categories according to various risk characteristics.

The CAS categorized enterprise risks into four types:

< *Hazard Risks* (fire and other property damage; windstorm and other natural perils; theft and other crime; personal injury; business interruption; disease and disability; liability claims);

< *Financial Risks* (price; liquidity; credit; inflation/purchasing power; and hedging/basis risk);

< *Operational Risks* (business operations; empowerment; information technology and information/business reporting);

< *Strategic Risks* (reputational damage; competition; customer wants; demographic and social/cultural trends; technological innovation; capital availability; and regulatory and political trends).

An enterprise's sources of value, whether tangible or intangible, are inherent in its business model. They are affected by sources of uncertainty that must be understood and managed as an organization works to achieve its performance objectives. They may be external or internal. (PROVITI, 2006)

According to the PROVITI Business model, these three broad categories – environment, process and information for decision-making – provide the basis for understanding the sources of uncertainty in any business. *Environment risks* are uncertainties arising in the external environment affecting the viability of the enterprise's business model. *Process risks* (financial, Empowerment, information technology, governance, regulation, integrity and operations) are uncertainties affecting the execution of the business model, and therefore often arise internally within the organization's business processes. Because inadequate knowledge and information breeds more uncertainty, *information for decision-making risks* (strategic, public reporting and operational) are uncertainties affecting the relevance and reliability of information supporting management's decisions to protect and enhance enterprise value.

Meulbroek L.K. classifies enterprise risks into seven categories: operational risk, product market risk, input risk, tax risk, regulatory risk, legal risk and financial risk (Meulbroek L.K., 2008).

The steps of enterprise risk management are quite familiar to traditional risk management, but scientists also define them differently. Shawna Ackerman, a consultant at MHL/Paratus Consulting, lists these steps as (Ackerman, 2001): Identify the question(s); Identify risks; Risk measurements; Formulate strategies to limit risk; Implement strategies; Monitor results and repeat. Another consulting firm lists the steps as (ARI 2001): Identify risk on an enterprise basis, Measure it, Formulate strategies and tactics to limit or leverage it; Execute those strategies and tactics; Monitor process.

The following steps of the risk management process are described in the Australian/New Zealand Standard in Risk Management (AS/NZS 4360):

Establish Context – This step includes external, internal and risk management contexts. The external context starts with a definition of the relationship of the enterprise with its environment, including identification of the enterprise's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats ("SWOT analysis"). This context setting also identifies the various stakeholders (shareholders, employees, customers, community), as well as the communication policies with these stakeholders. The internal context starts with an understanding of the overall objectives of the enterprise, its strategies to achieve those objectives and its key performance indicators. It also includes the organization's oversight and governance structure. The risk management context identifies the risk categories of relevance to the enterprise and the degree of coordination throughout the organization, including the adoption of common risk metrics.

Identify Risks – This step involves documenting the conditions and events (including "extreme events") that represent material threats to the enterprise's achievement of its objectives or represent areas to exploit for competitive advantage.

Analyze/Quantify Risks – This step involves calibrating and, wherever possible, creating probability distributions of outcomes for each material risk. This step provides necessary input for subsequent steps, such as integrating and prioritizing risks.

For successful implementation of the enterprise risk management, it is crucial to understand role of the risk measures and modeling.

Most of the measures common in the practice of ERM can be placed in one of two categories: measures related to the degree of the organization's *solvency*, and measures related to the volatility of the organization's *performance*.

The measures in these two categories are used for distinctly different purposes and focus on distinctly different areas of the organization's risk profile. Following and complementing the narrative descriptions of these measures are illustrations and formulas where appropriate. Solvency-related measures are probability of ruin, shortfall risk, value at risk (VaR), expected policyholder deficit, tail VaR or tail conditional expectation, etc. Performance-related measures are variance, standard deviation, semi-variance and downside standard deviation, below-target-risk, etc.

Risk modeling refers to the methods by which the risk and performance measures are determined. The models used within any organization are typically customized to accommodate the unique needs of, and the specific risks faced by, that organization. The two general classes of stochastic risk models are statistical analytic models and structural simulation models. "Statistical" vs. "structural" refers to the manner in which the relationships among random variables are represented in the model; "analytic" vs. "simulation" refers to the way in which the calculations are actually carried out.

These models generally presuppose the existence of sufficient data with which to parameterize the models. This is often not the case in practice, particularly as respects operational and strategic risks.

There is a wide variety of risk modeling methods that can be applied to a specific risk. They differ by the extent to which they rely on historical data vs. expert input. We should take in consideration that models are not decision makers; people are. Therefore, the real issue is the culture that people have around modelling.

Integrate Risks – This step involves aggregating all risk distributions, reflecting correlations and portfolio effects, and expressing the results in terms of the impact on the enterprise’s key performance indicators (i.e., the “aggregate risk profile”).

Assess/Prioritize Risks – This step involves determining the contribution of each risk to the aggregate risk profile, and prioritizing accordingly, so that decisions can be made as to the appropriate treatment.

Treat/Exploit Risks – This step encompasses a number of different strategies, including decision as to avoid, retain (and finance), reduce, transfer, or exploit risk.

Monitor & Review – This step involves continual gauging of the risk environment and the performance of the risk management strategies. It also provides a context for considering risk that is scalable over a period of time (one quarter, one year, five years). The results of the ongoing reviews are fed back into the context-setting step and the cycle repeats.

The steps of enterprise risk management are the same, except for minor changes in wording, as those first enumerated by Mehr and Hedges in 1963.

Enterprise risk management in different countries and in Georgia

In developed countries, in an increasing number of industries boards of directors are required to review and report on the adequacy of risk-management processes in the organizations; researches and seminars are being conducted to explain the process, provide examples of applications and discuss advances in the field; universities are starting to offer courses titled enterprise risk management.

There has been a significant increase of interest in enterprise risk management in the last years. In 2008, Deloitte conducted ERM Benchmark Survey with a goal to capture and report feedback on the current state of ERM implementation for a cross-section of companies and industries (excluding Financial Services). In the survey, there were 151 company responses from North America, South America, and Europe representing consumer business, energy, manufacturing, process industries, and telecom and media. Most of these companies are mid-sized companies with annual revenues between \$1 - \$20 billion (Deloitte, 2008). Some key themes about ERM that emerged in the survey are:

- < Interest in ERM is growing, but 56% of respondents have had ERM programs in place for less than two years;

- < Regulation and regulatory compliance appear to be key drivers of ERM;

- < There is confusion about what ERM really means;

- < The primary goals of current ERM programs emphasize process and structure over outcomes;

- < Risk has not yet been fully incorporated into core business decision-making processes, such as strategic planning, capital allocation, and performance management;

- < The combination of lack of understanding of the benefits of ERM and difficulty in proving the business case is the biggest challenge facing ERM proponents;

- < The majority of respondents are not confident in the level of their organization’s preparedness for mission critical risks;

- < Organizations that report that they are better able to manage risk have a

more structured approach that has been in place for two years or more;

< Current ERM programs are typically focused on risks to existing assets and miss the connection to future growth.

In Georgia, enterprise risk management is not much developed. Particularly small and medium businesses do not use various types of risk minimization methods that are adopted in developed countries. That limits the development opportunity for companies. Taking in consideration unstable business environment of Georgia, enterprise risk management is crucial for companies' survival and effective functioning. There are many reasons that enterprise risk management is not used in Georgia, especially by small and medium enterprises:

- < Managers do not realize importance of the enterprise risk management;
- < Lack of the financial sources make difficult to form new department - risk management sub-system - in the companies' management system;
- < Shortage of the risk management specialist on the labour market of Georgia;
- < Financial instruments (Forwards, Futures, Options, Swaps, etc) of risk management are not developed in the country;
- < Lack of books or materials on risk management on Georgian language;
- < There are no think tanks working in this field;
- < Models and methods used for risk measurement and assessment are quite difficult and it requires special skills and appropriate education;
- < For successful implementation of the enterprise risk management it is important to have statistical data in organizations and for effective risk minimization it is needed to integrate risk management policy with business strategy.

It is clear that development of the enterprise risk management is important for all developing countries including Georgia to improve business performance and increase companies' value for shareholders and society. Special survey should be conducted to determine risks in different business sectors, quantitative and qualitative methods of risk assessment should be adapted and risk management instruments should be developed. Studying of Enterprise risk management is important for science and education system in Georgia and research will be much more valuable if we concentrate on defining the risk management system that would be easy to introduce and use in Georgian businesses.

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**რევოლუციური პროცესები ტრადიციულ და
ხავერდოვან რევოლუციებში
(არის თუ არა ყველაფერი ახალი კარგად დავიწყებული ძველი?)**

ბარბაქაძე სოფიო
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

ხავერდოვანი რევოლუცია საკმაოდ ახალი ცნებაა. მისი მთავარი მახასიათებელია „ხავერდოვანება“ ანუ არა-ძალადობრივი ხასიათი, სწორედ ეს განასხვავებს თანამედროვე რევოლუციას ტრადიციულისაგან- რომელიც ძალაუფლებისათვის ძალადობრივი ბრძოლით ხასიათდებოდა. მოცემული სტატიის მიზანია იმის გარკვევა, რამდენად დიდი განსხვავებაა ხავერდოვან და ტრადიციულ რევოლუციებს შორის. ამის გასარკვევად მოხდება რამოდენიმე ისტორიული მნიშვნელობის მქონე რევოლუციის - ინგლისის, ამერიკის, საფრანგეთისა და რუსეთის რევოლუციების განხილვა, რევოლუციათა საერთო მახასიათებლების დადგენის მიზნით. ამის შემდეგ ვეცდებით გაგარკვიოთ კვლავ მოქმედებს თუ არა რევოლუციათა ტრადიციული პრინციპები ახალ, ხავერდოვან რევოლუციებში. სტატიაში ცენტრალურ ადგილს დაიკავებს „რევოლუციური პროცესის“ ცნება, რომელიც პირველად კრეინ ბრინტონის წიგნში „რევოლუციის ანატომიაში“ გამოჩნდა. მოხდება ავტორის მიერ დადგენილი რევოლუციის მახასიათებლების მისადაგება თანამედროვე რევოლუციებისადმი. საკითხის სირთულიდან და ვრცელი ისტორიული მასალის არსებობიდან გამომდინარე ძირითადად შევეხებით რევოლუციების განვითარების ციკლს: კერძოდ როგორ იწყება, ვითარდება რევოლუციური პროცესი, რა არის რევოლუციის დაწყებისა და წარმატებით დასრულების წინაპირობები, რა იწვევს რევოლუციური პროცესის მიმდინარეობისას ხელისუფლების ერთხელ ან რამდენიმეჯერ შეცვლას. სტატიაზე მუშაობის პროცესი დაემთხვა ყირგიზეთში მნიშვნელოვანი მოვლენების განვითარებას - იგულისხმება 2005 წლის ხავერდოვანი რევოლუციით სათავეში მოსული პრეზიდენტის- ბაკიევის მიერ ხელისუფლების დაკარგვა. მართალია, თავდაპირველად ყირგიზეთის „ტიტების რევოლუციის“ განხილვა არ იგეგმებოდა, მაგრამ ამ მნიშვნელოვანი მოვლენისათვის გვერდის ავლა ხავერდოვანი რევოლუციების მახასიათებლებზე საუბრისას მიუღებელი იქნებოდა.

Revolutionary Processes of Traditional and Colour Revolutions (Is all New Well-Forgotten Old?)

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A common explanation of the term “revolution” is the following: “revolution is the sudden, violent, and drastic substitution of one group governing a territorial political entity for another group formerly excluded from the government, and an ensuing assault on state and society for the purpose of radically transforming society” (Snyder, 1999). From the first sight it is clear that the “colour revolution” definitely does not fit into these criteria: none of the colour revolutions were violent, none resulted (or aimed at) radically changing the existing society. However the roots of colour revolution go to the traditional revolution. A revolution has re-shaped itself to adapt to the changing environment. A colour revolution is a product of 21st century, influenced by various aspects of globalization (political, economic, cultural, financial, military, information technologies, etc.). Let’s proceed onwards to determine how a concept of “revolution” evolved through time and what has remained unchanged from the 17th century up to now.

Before moving on to the main issue- investigation of the similarities between revolutionary processes of traditional and modern revolutions it would be appropriate to define the term “revolutionary process” itself. According to Crane Brinton, the term can be summarized as the following: financial breakdown of the existing (authoritarian) system, followed by organization of discontented groups to remedy the breakdown, followed by “revolutionary demands on the part of these organized discontented, demands which if granted would mean the virtual abdication of those governing, attempted use of force by the government, its failure, and the attainment of power by the revolutionists” (Brinton, 1938). The next step of the revolutionary process is attainment of power by the revolutionaries- a formerly unanimous group which is beginning to dissolve into competing sub-groups. As the author puts it- “These revolutionists have hitherto been acting as an organized and nearly unanimous group, but with the attainment of power it is clear that they are not united. The group which dominates these first stages we call the moderates.... power passes by violent ... methods from Right to Left”. This is the way it happened with the traditional revolutions. Now let’s go on to find out what the revolutionary process is like for the modern “colour revolutions”.

Phases of the Revolutionary Process

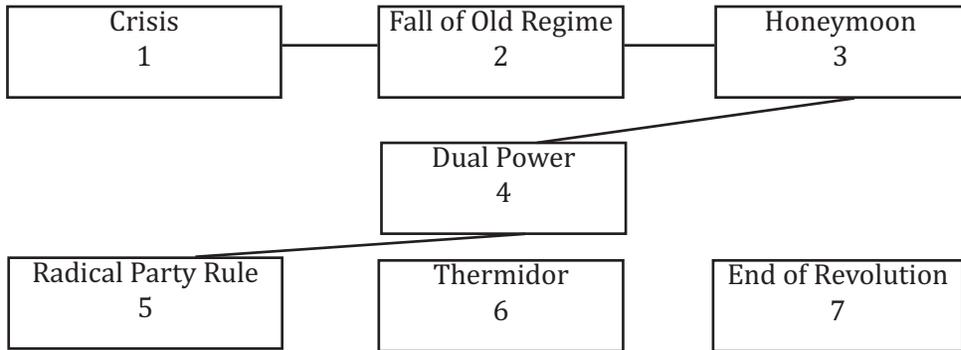


Fig. 1

Crisis and fall of the Old Regime- Traditional Revolutions

Usually, any revolution begins with the problems in the pre-revolutionary regime. These problems include a wide range of issues from financial to economic to social. For example, according to the historians, the main causes of the French Revolution could be summarised as follows: the *financial problems*- France was heavily indebted because Louis XV fought many wars, while his successor Louis XVI gave support to the American colonists (during the American Revolution) what nearly exhausted the economy and brought France to the verge of bankruptcy. The *economic problems* of the pre-revolutionary France included pervasive famine accompanied by rising prices on food. The *social problems* are generally associated with the Enlightenment philosophy- the new generation of the ruling class began to assume that the privileges enjoyed by them were unjust and redundant. These were the intellectuals who alienated themselves from the government which was in fact representing interests of the ruling class. In short “the ruling class became politically inept” (Brinton, 1938). Another social problem included the fact that the opportunities were not open to young talented individuals from middle and low classes. These were the persons which took active part in the revolution.

Same trends could be observed during the American Revolution: the so-well-known “no taxation without representation” and the Boston Tea Party manifested the standing economic, financial and social problems in the American society.

The social repressions and striking inequality, together with bad labour conditions and struggle for re-distribution of agricultural land culminated in the Russian Revolution in 1917.

The fall of the old regime is preceded by the government’s decision to respond to the revolutionists by using security forces and its failure to do so: during the Russian revolution the army which was sent to confront revolutionaries refused to march against its own people and joined the manifestants. In France and in England the monarch failed to employ effective anti-revolutionary strategies due to various reasons ranging from political ineptness to the lack of military training.

Crisis and fall of the Old Regime- Modern Revolutions

After fall of the Soviet Union Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan [as well as other Post-Soviet states] had suffered substantial declines in GNP and a large proportion of population lived in poverty. (Lane, 2009). The distribution of wealth and income was drastically unequal, especially in comparison to the relatively egalitarian wealth-distribution under the socialist system. *Social problems* were well demonstrated in the decline of life expectancy rate: in 2000-2005 life expectancy in Georgia had declined from 74 to 70, while in the Ukraine from 68 to 67 years and in Kyrgyzstan from 67 to 65. (Kazakhstan was an exception from a common rule: here life expectancy has increased in 2 years and reached 66 years). (Lane 2009) Below are some statistics, which will give us a general idea about the social and economic conditions in 2000-2005 in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan (together with some other developing states).

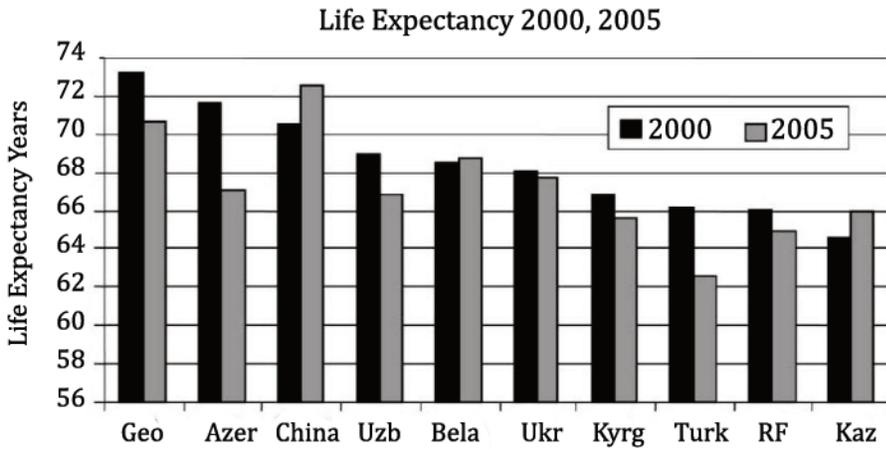


Figure No. 2

Source: Lane, D. (2009) *Colour Revolution as a Political Phenomenon Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics.*

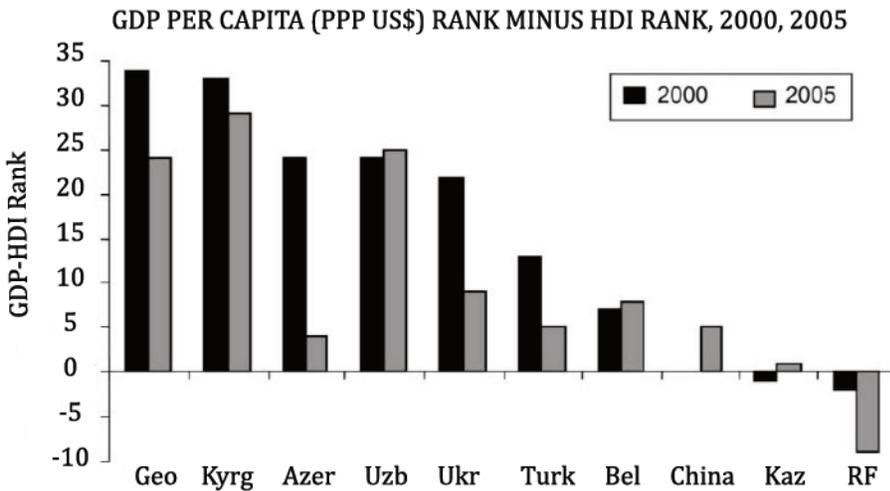


Figure No. 3

Source: Lane, D. (2009) *Colour Revolution as a Political Phenomenon Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics.*

If the idea of Enlightenment (and later socialism) was the engine of the traditional revolutions, *democratization, economic development and integration to Western institutions* (EU and NATO) served as an ideological basis for the colour revolutions. The Georgian elite and the population were unanimous in their support for pro-Western foreign policy, as a guarantee of national security and economic development. Even during the referendum held in 2008- long after the Rose Revolution, 77% of Georgians voted in favour of NATO membership (Table No1).

The *initiators of the colour revolutions* (as well as during the traditional revolutions) were the young generation (students and young generation of politicians often supported from their “ideological counterparts” from the West). The Kyrgyz youth movement KELKEL (renaissance) together with various NGOs was actively involved in street protests and suffered severe repressions; Ukrainian Youth leadership was also actively confronting the existing regime. “Western-sponsored civil society organizations have been used positively in support of the “Orange” tendency. The Ukrainian youth movement PORA (It’s time), for example, supported by the Westminster Foundation, brought in Serbian agitators to train 200 activists to organize the events that have later become known as the Orange revolution” (Lane, 2009). One can easily trace similarities between PORA and the Georgian youth movement KMARA (It’s enough) which was active before and during the “Rose Revolution”. (Similarities are found in the activities as well as in the names of the two movements.)

Table 1
Conditioning Factors Promoting/Retarding Democracy Promotion

Elite Affinity to EU	Predisposition for Change - Consequent on Effects of Transformation			Popular Affinity to NATO ‘The West’
	Strong	Strong	Weak	
Negative or N/A	KYRGYZSTAN	RUSSIA	BELARUS	Negative
Divided	UKRAINE, SERBIA			Divided
Positive	Georgia			Positive
	High	Low	Low	
	Mobilization of Public for Democracy Promotion			

Source: Lane, D. (2009) Colour Revolution as a Political Phenomenon

Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics

The leaders of the existing regime *failed to/were reluctant to use force* to suppress the rising revolutionary movement. Unlike the relatively harsh antirevolutionary measures employed during the traditional revolutions, measures taken against potential organizers of the “colour revolution” were quite “mild” in nature and included banning the exit polls, occasional repression of the opposition parties and its leaders—especially in Kyrgyzstan.

While the Tulip Revolution, unlike its predecessors— the Rose and the Orange Revolutions, saw some violent clashes between the demonstrators and the police forces (in the Southern cities of Osh and Jalal- Abad) the violence in Kyrgyzstan was spontaneous and unpredictable rather than government-initiated.

From Honeymoon to Dual Power Phase - Traditional Revolutions

“In each revolution a short “honeymoon” Phase follows the fall of the old regime. Honeymoon lasts until the “contradictory elements” among the victorious revolutionaries assert themselves... Power then has a tendency “to go from Right to Center to Left.” (Brinton, 1938) Honeymoon is a short phase which begins with the victory of the revolutionaries who are coming to power. Both the leaders and the public are happy about the results and optimistic about the future. The revolutionary group, which is still unanimous, forms a moderate government.

The Honeymoon is shortly followed by the *Phase of dual power*, during which the revolutionary group— which has been (at least at the first sight) unanimous in its aspirations, goals and actions, is dispersing into conflicting parties. The thing is that the main aim of all revolutionaries had been to achieve change of power. They had very little time and opportunity to discuss and agree the policies which would be undertaken after the main goal (change of pre-revolutionary regime) had been achieved. The divergence of opinions soon makes itself visible among the revolutionaries. According to Brinton a more radical wing separates itself from the legal moderate government and forms an “illegal” radical government. This process is known as “dual power”.

In England the dual power took the form of “Presbyterian moderates in Parliament and the illegal government of the extremist Independents in the New Model Army.” (Brinton, 1938) In France, Girondin moderates controlled the National Assembly while the Montagnard radical group controlled the network of Jacobins and the Paris commune. In Russia government of the Duma was moderate while the radical, illegal Bolshevik government was a Network of Soviets.

To a number of reasons from lack of organization to failure of effectively opposing radical groups (its former allies) the moderates lose power, which goes to the leftists.

Honeymoon and Dual Power- Modern Revolutions

A honeymoon phase marked by unanimity of revolutionaries was characteristic to both Georgian and Ukrainian colour revolutions. The modern “honeymoons” were shortly followed by disagreements mounting between the former revolutionaries. The schism was manifested in mutual allegations, later followed by a part of revolution leaders braking away from their past allies and establishing new opposition movements.

The Georgian Honeymoon lasted from 2003 to 2006- until the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Salome Zurbishvili created a new party- Georgia’s Way; a number of politicians followed Zurbishvili’s way out of the government - including one of the key leaders of the Rose Revolution Nino Burjanadze and a former Prime Minister Zurab Noghaideli.

The Ukrainian honeymoon lasted just several months, before President Viktor Yushchenko dismissed his Prime Minister and the co-author of the Orange Revolution- Yulia Tymoshenko from the post of Prime Minister during a live TV address to nation. After leaving her post Tymoshenko became a leader of the opposition party All-Ukrainian Union “Fatherland”, she also founded the Yulia Tymoshenko Bloc.

While in Georgia and Ukraine the opposition was united at least before and during the revolutions, Kyrgyzstan lacked a united opposition from the very beginning of the Tulip Revolution. It also lacked dominant opposition figures which would lead the popular uprising and which would summarise opposition’s aims and expectations. Before the elections, the opposition parties tried to create a united anti-governmental coalition, however all they could achieve was creation of several and not very well coordinated coalitions. Only two prominent figures were visible in the opposition ranks: a former foreign minister Roza Otunbaeva and a former Prime Minister Kurmanbek Bakiyev. (On the 24th of March a large crowd of protesters occupied the building of parliament, a day later Bakiyev was named by the parliament as an acting president.)

Summarizing- general characteristics of “leftist” revolutionaries: The people who leave the ranks of the ruling party and join opposition movements have (both in past and now) a common trend to build their arguments on the failures of the revolutionary government. Namely the governments are accused of failing to fulfil promises made during the revolution. However as the history shows us, this sort of failure and accompanying disillusionment is natural to any revolution for several reasons- including the fact that the new government “has to shoulder some of the unpopularity of the government of the old regime” with “the worn-out machinery, [and the worn-out] institutions of the old regime. (Brinton, 1938) Reforms take a lot of time and energy to be drafted, initiated and effectively carried out. The newly shaped opposition frees itself of all obligations taken by the revolutionaries in the pre-revolutionary phase, leaving the burden of responsibility on the shoulders of the government. (In fact, at the time when the promises of better future were made to the society, the leftists were also a part of the revolutionary group).

Radical Party Rule- Traditional Revolutions

The radical party came to power in Russia after the October Revolution, same happened in France with the purge of the Girondins and in England with "Pride's Purge". The American Revolution was the only exception from the common rule as it never had a radical dictatorship and Reign of Terror, "though in the treatment of Loyalist, in the pressure to support the army, in some of the phases of social life, you can discern ... many of the phenomena of the Terror as it is seen in our three other societies." (Brinton, 1938)

The time of radical governance is often called "the reign of Terror and Virtue", as it is characterised on the one hand with foreign and civil wars, abundance of executions and repression; and on the other hand with "organized asceticism" ruling out such "social vices" as gambling, alcoholic drinks and prostitution. In the end "politics becomes as real, as pressing, as unavoidable ... as food and drink," their "job, and the weather." (Brinton, 1938)

The Reign of Terror is characterised with centralization of power under one governing body, often accompanied by decline of political participation. One of the policy characteristics is spreading "the gospel of revolution" to other countries. We can take France, Russia and Britain as examples.

Do Radical Parties Come to Power in Modern Revolutions?

After observing current post-revolutionary political events it's difficult to single out common trends of the colour revolution at this stage. Despite mass anti-governmental protests held in 2007-2009 in Georgia, the opposition failed to come to power. One part of the opposition agreed to enter the government thus returning to the regime of the political dialogue.

The 2010 presidential elections in Ukraine turned out to have the results which no one could expect during and shortly after the Orange Revolution in 2005: the president Viktor Yanukovich was elected through "a fairly transparent process" with the 48.95% majority of the popular vote. Yanukovich, the Prime Minister under the president Leonid Kuchma (a soviet-type dictator) was one of the candidates of the controversial 2004 presidential election which served as a catalyser of the Orange revolution. The key and most popular opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko (often listed among the world's most influential female leaders) lost elections with 45.47 % of the popular vote. Therefore, a member of the pre-revolutionary government, not the radical wing of former revolutionaries came to power in Ukraine.

The picture is different in Kyrgyzstan: political crisis soon followed after Bakiyev come to power. Series of protests were held in the capital city in 2006 as Bakiyev failed to carry out the promised reforms including eradication of corruption and crime, establishing the rule of law and limiting presidential power by giving more authority to parliament and the prime minister. The protests continued through 2007 with periodic

skirmishes between the protesters and the police forces, until the president agreed to sign documents limiting his powers. One of the opposition leaders was Almazbek Atambayev- a Minister of Industry, Trade and Tourism in 2005 and a Prime Minister in 2007. Atambayev was the main opposition candidate in the 2009 presidential elections, however on the Election Day he withdrew from the contest on the basis of upcoming election fraud. Bakiyev was re-elected by 78% of votes, however the opposition regarded the election illegitimate and mass protests began.

Clashes between protesters and the police forces resulted in 41 casualties. Finally on the 7th of April president Bakiyev left the capital, while the opposition overran government offices, substituting existing authorities with their candidates. The leader of the opposition and the head of the transitional government became Roza Otunbayeva- Bakiyev's fellow revolutionary (during the Tulip Revolution) and a former foreign minister of Bakiyev's government. Before this, Otunbayeva served as a foreign minister and deputy prime minister during Askar Akayev's government. She later became her country's ambassador to the United States and Canada, and also served as the Kyrgyz ambassador to the United Kingdom, and deputy head of the United Nations special mission to Georgia (New York Times, 2010). At least at this stage the Tulip Revolution reveals some resemblance with the traditional revolutions. In both cases a group of former revolutionaries overthrows the initial post-revolutionary government. At this moment it's difficult to argue whether Otunbayeva's government will prove to be more moderate or more radical than Bakiyev's one. If somebody will choose to draw historical parallels while making forecasts about Kyrgyzstan's near future- results will be discouraging.

At this stage of the revolutionary process the main factor distinguishing a traditional and a colour revolution is the following: in two out of three colour revolutions radical opposition did not come to power. Although in Georgia and in Ukraine a part of former-revolutionaries turned to opposition, they failed to overthrow the post-revolutionary government. Furthermore, in Ukraine the main opposition leader Tymoshenko lost the elections to the candidate commonly associated with the pre-revolutionary government. In Georgia the post-revolutionary government is still in place, while the opposition demonstrations in the spring and summer 2009 proved unsuccessful. (In the latter case the only parallel from history of revolutions is the American Revolution, which did not go through the "reign of terror" phase.)

At least one feature is characteristic absolutely to all (colour and traditional) revolutions: the drive to "spread the Gospel of revolution" to other states. Some scholars have named the event a "revolutionary wave" which started in Serbia in 2000 Bulldozer Revolution, emerged in Rose Revolution of Georgia in 2003 and later swept the entire post-Soviet space with mixed success. Both Serbian and Georgian revolutionaries have consulted opposition forces of Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan on the non-violent methods of protest.



Map No.1

Retrieved from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colour_revolution#Reactions_and_connected_movements_in_other_countries

Thermidorian Phase - Traditional Revolutions

During traditional revolutions the phase of radical rule was always soon replaced by a phase of relaxation of the revolutionary policies. According to Brinton this is a phase of Thermidor, marked with convalescence from the “fever” of the “Reign of Terror,” and relaxing of revolutionary policies. Thermidor was a period that followed the fall of Maximilien Robespierre’s rule in France. In Russia the “New Economic Policy of 1921 can be called “Russia’s Thermidor” and “perhaps the best date for Thermidor in England is Cromwell’s dissolution of the Rump” (Brinton, 1938).

According to the book Thermidorian phase has two characteristic elements:

a) Centralization of power in the hands of a charismatic individual, which begins to rule single-handedly. Cromwell in England, Napoleon in France, Lenin in Russia can be examples.

b) The missionary spirit of spreading revolution is replaced by aggressive nationalism. The leaders begin to create empires: Ireland was reconquered and Jamaica was seized during Cromwell. Napoleon created his European empire. Bolsheviks reconquered the newly independent neighbouring states and created a soviet empire (USSR).

Although American revolution did not result in the reign of terror the 1780’s showed some Thermidorian features in the American society- including increase of crime and frivolity of society.

Radical Rule and Thermidorian Phase- Colour Revolutions

It’s challenging to speak about the Thermidorian phase of the colour revolutions. As long as the change of power in Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan occurred rather recently, we are standing before a choice of two scenarios of future.

Scenario number 1: the new governments will prove to be less democratic and more radical than the former ones (as it happened during English, French and Russian revolutions during the “reign of terror” phase).

Scenario number 2: the colour revolutions will miss the “reign of terror” phase (the term rather owning a debt to history than predicting upcoming massacres, however implying some radicalism and certain degree of political repressions) and will directly turn to the Thermidorian phase with a strong individual concentrating all powers and ruling the country single-handedly (automatically singling out possibility of democratic rule).

Those who are more optimistic and less involved in the sphere of politics would argue that there is a third scenario, namely: the new governments (which are created after overthrowing the post-revolution government) will keep their promises bringing peace and prosperity to their countries. However even if any revolutionary leader ever had serious intentions to make sweet dreams of one’s nation true, he inevitably sees the impossibility of radical changes after coming to power. After all, any decision-maker knows: there is an enormous difference between rhetoric and realpolitics.

Lasting results of Traditional Revolutions

According to Brinton the long-lasting results of the revolutions are disappointing. After all- if the French revolution did have any noticeable result, it was standardisation of measuring systems. Some antiquated practices were also eliminated in England. In Russia, the Bolsheviks brought industrialization which helped in reviving the bogged-down Russian economy. However attempts at establishing new religions and personal habits came to naught. While revolutions aspired to establish overall peace, brotherhood and equality of men on earth, results of revolutions seemed rather irrelevant. (Brinton, 1938)

Lasting results of Colour Revolutions

What could be the long-lasting results of the colour revolutions? It’s difficult to say. Most probably the revolutions should end some “antiquated” practices lingering from the communistic period, including all-out-corruption at all levels of bureaucratic apparatus and cronyism (most spectacular achievements in this direction being observed in Georgia, according to several independent studies). However even these limited achievements are doubtful when the new governments are lead by conservative leaders who began their political careers in the pre-revolutionary periods. At least no one can deny that both Yanukovich and Otunbaeva were members of pre-revolutionary regimes that brought nothing but stagnation from 1991 to 2005 both in Ukraine and in Kyrgyzstan.

Making Conclusions

After having discussed four traditional and three colour revolutions, we can finally sum up our findings as following: all revolutions, no matter violent or non-violent in character, still have the same historical roots and shared features, namely: all revolutions start with economic, financial and social problems in the pre-revolutionary regimes. Young generations take active part in organizing revolutions. Existing regimes fail to use military forces to suppress the revolutions. After the fall of the old regime the revolutionary group splits into conflicting parties, fight for power begins. In the end (in most cases) the moderate government loses power.

During traditional revolutions power tended to shift from the Right to the Center to the Left. The coloured revolutions showed a different pattern of power shift: from the Right to the Center, back to the Right (originality of the pattern owing a debt to the outside forces, having particular interests in these states).

Probably one more example from history would be appropriate before proceeding on: The Right to the Center to the Left pattern was in mind of Zbigniew Brzezinski (National Security Advisor during presidency of Jimmy Carter) when he insisted to maintain support of Iran's Shah during the Iranian Revolution. The knowledge of the revolutionary process prompted Brzezinski to foresee that the moderate Iranian government would not survive long. The only way to avoid radicals coming to power in Iran- was preventing occurrence of any revolution at all. However Brzezinski's advices were not taken into consideration, as a result, radical Iranian government under Aiatola Khomeini soon overthrew the moderates and the USA finally lost its strategic partner in the region.

What we have to bear in mind (and on what Brzezinski's political assumptions were based) is that a revolution, just like a living organism, goes through several phases of evolution (from birth to maturity to old age). According to the examples discussed, all revolutions followed the same pattern with more or less intensely visible characteristics at this or that phase.

What we also have to bear in mind is that a revolution is not a single event but rather a chain of events. After the first piece of domino loses its balance the fall of the whole set will inevitably follow. The concept of revolution is inseparable from the concept of the domino effect. This domino effect may be manifested into two ways: 1) "Chain reaction" i.e. evolution phases of the revolution follow each another (micro-level of analysis); 2) "Wave of revolution" i.e. spread of revolution from one country to the others (macro level of analysis). The wave of colour revolutions, for example, swept the states of the former Soviet space.

We were able to make comparison between traditional and colour revolutions up to the 5th phase of the revolutionary process. This is because the modern revolutions have occurred rather recently. At this stage we can just make predictions what the 6th and 7th phases of the colour revolutions will look like (and making predictions is rather in the competence of fortune-tellers than of scholars). The only thing we can be sure of is that these phases will occur. One conclusion we can make at the end of the article is that the revolutionary process of the colour revolutions is still proceeding on.

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საქართველოს ურთიერთობა აღმოსავლეთ ევროპასთან ანტიკური ხანიდან დღემდე

ბერაძე თამაზ
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

საქართველო აღმოსავლეთ ევროპას ძირითადად შავი ზღვით ესაზღვრება, რომელიც მას საუკუნეთა მანძილზე აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის ქვეყნებთან უფრო აახლოებდა ვიდრე გამოყოფდა.

საქართველო აღმოსავლეთ ევროპას თავდაპირველად შავი-ზღვისპირეთის ბერძნული კოლონიების შემდეგ კი რომაული ქალაქების მეშვეობით უკავშირდებოდა. VI-XII საუკუნეებში საქართველოს გზა აღმოსავლეთ ევროპისაკენ ძირითადად ბიზანტიის იმპერიაზე გადიოდა. VIII-XII საუკუნეებში საქართველო აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის ქვეყნებს “ვარიაგებიდან საბერძნეთამდე” სავაჭრო გზითაც უკავშირდებოდა.

XV-XVIII საუკუნეებში საქართველოს აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის ქვეყნებიდან ყველაზე მჭიდრო ურთიერთობა რუმინეთთან, უნგრეთთან და პოლონეთთან ჰქონდა.

XIX საუკუნიდან საქართველოს ურთიერთობა აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის ქვეყნებთან კიდევ უფრო გაცხოველდა. განსაკუთრებით, საბჭოთა კავშირისა და სოციალისტური ბანაკის დაშლის შემდეგ. სამწუხაროდ, აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის ქვეყნების ევროკავშირში გაერთიანებამ თავისებური ხავერდოვანი ფარდა ჩამოუშვა საქართველოსა და აღმოსავლეთ ევროპის ქვეყნებს შორის.

Georgia-East Europe Relations since Ancient Times until Now

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Georgia borders with Eastern Europe via Black Sea, thus connecting these two regions rather than separating them. It's not surprising that Georgia has at least forty centuries history of relations with Eastern Europe.

According to archaeological materials, on the merger of II-I millennia BC, Georgia was crossed by commercial transit road which connected Eastern European tribes with Egypt and Syria through the Northern Caucasus (Лордкиფანიძე О. & Мусхелишвили, Д. 1970, pp. 1-3). In the same epoch, first contacts of Georgia with Eastern Europe via the Black Sea are proved.

Georgian relations with Eastern Europe through the Black Sea had especially intensified since VIII-VI centuries BC, when the shores of the Black and the Azov Seas were webbed with Greek colonies and outposts. The first Greek settlements of this time: Apollonia (Sozipol, Bulgaria), Messembria (Nesembre, Bulgaria), Odessa (Varna, Bulgaria), Toma (Konstanza, Romania), Tyra (Belgorod, Ukraine), Pitiunt (Bichvinta, Georgia), Dioscuria (Sukhumi, Georgia), Gienos (Ochamchire, Georgia), Phases (Poti, Georgia), became the links connecting the countries across the Black Sea coast. All through the Antique epoch, Georgia had tight commercial, economic relations with Western/North coasts of the Black Sea and other Eastern European countries bordering them. These relations were stimulated by the fact that in the first century AD, the entire Black Sea region was incorporated in the Roman Empire.

In the VI-XI cc., the most part of the Black Sea basin was in the frames of Byzantium and this was quite beneficial for Georgia's relations with the East European countries.

In the VIII-XI AD, Georgia kept its links with the Eastern Europe countries thanks to the so-called "Rout of Variags to the Greece", dealing even with far Scandinavia and the Baltic states. X century coins of Georgian King David Kurapat, excavated in modern Estonia and Poland, works as a solid proof for this (დუბინა, 2006, pp. 188-190).

The main direction of this route passed through the Baltic Sea, the Western Dvina River (Daugava) and the river Dnepr, with the state of Kiev Russia on its middle and Southern parts. In the X-XII cc, Georgia maintained both political and commercial-economic relations with this kingdom. According to Russian chronicles, in 1153-1154, the great Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav, married the daughter of Georgian king Demetre I (1125-1156) (ცინცაძე, 1956, pp. 172-178). It's noteworthy that "Book of Holy Fathers" of Kiev Cave Monastery tells us that mosaic stones for the main cathedral of this complex were transported from Georgia (ცინცაძე, 1962, pp.12-19).

In the XI-XIV cc, Georgia had especially intensive cultural and economic relations with Bulgaria. Near the city of Plovdiv, the outstanding Georgian-born military and political figure of Byzantium, Grigol Bakuriani founded special Abbey for Georgian monks. This abbey is now known as Bochkovo and is the second largest in Bulgaria, after the Ryla Monastery. From the very beginning, Bochkovo became the important center of Georgian and Bulgarian culture. As a peculiarly Georgian monastery, it functioned until XV century, and was under the patronage of Bulgarian kings – especially King Ivan Asen II (1218-1241), and Ivan Alexander (1331-1371). After the Ottoman invasion in the beginning of the XV century, the Georgian monastery was ruined and then rebuilt as Bulgarian one. Nowadays the Bulgarian monks respect the memory of their predecessor Georgian Holy Fathers. The dome is still crowned with scripted Georgian cross and the monastery keeps the Icon of Holy Mother of 1311 with the Georgian scripture on it (ჩუბინა, 1980, pp. 84-87).

In the historical sources, the relations of Georgia with Hungary are proved from the XIII c., from the time of the 5-th crusade, in which the king of Hungary, Andras II also participated. The king of Georgia, Giorgi IV Lasha, also planned to take part in this event and thus Georgia and Hungary established diplomatic relations in the first decade

of the XIII c. Afterwards, 1235, king of Hungary, Bela IV sent special mission to the East, headed by the monk Julian. From the Constantinople, this mission took way to the Northern Caucasus and bypassed Georgia from the North (ჭარდო, 1968, pp. 6-7).

After the great Mongol conquests, interest of the Catholic Church for Eastern Christian countries increased greatly; In 1318, Pope of Rome founded Catholic Archbishopate in the capital city of the Mongol Kingdom of the Ilkhans – Sultanye, and then it moved the Episcopate from Smyrna to Tbilisi. Also, Catholic monks in Georgia were mostly Hungarians, as it is said in the chapter 38 of the voyage log (1253-1255) of the envoy of Louis IX king of France to the Orient, Guillome Rubruckvis: “In the town of Nakhichevan, there came to me a Dominican monk, padre Bernard Catalani, who was the Prior of the Holy Grave Order in Georgia, that possesses vast lands there... Then he went to a Hungarian padre who lives in Tabriz... the one that traveled with me to Tbilisi, accompanied by a servant”. Before that, in the chapter 30, he describes a Resurrection Day feast in Karakorum, carried by the Georgians, the Russians and the Hungarians together (რუმბრუკვისი, 1942, pp. 128-173).

In the second half of the XIII c., the so-called “Italian Colonization” started in the Black Sea basin, and mostly Genovese factories were founded there, among them in Georgia Tskhumi (Modern Sokhumi) proper. These factories pushed the trading-economic relationships, and as it came clear, in the XIII-XV centuries Georgia held close contacts with Eastern countries around the Black Sea. Georgian merchants and traders settled in Crimea, in Kafa (modern Theodosia) alongside with Italians and Hungarians (Берадзе, 1989, pp. 101-104).

From the second half of the XIV century, the Ottomans threatened most of the kingdoms of the Eastern Europe, and this stimulated their interest towards Georgia. Special notice should be paid to the reign of then king of Hungary, and afterwards - the Emperor of Germany, Jhigmond (1387-1437) who sent several diplomatic missions to the Eastern countries, and we presume that Georgia was not excluded from the list.

During the time of first crusade in Balkan in 1396, King Zhigmond and his allies has been severely defeated near Nikopol, and the Ottomans captured Hungarian officer, someone Johan Shiltberger, and detained him for more than a decade. Getting back home, Shiltberger had to cross Caucasus, and then he published his journal, contributing many pages to Georgia. Thus, it's no surprise, that in Hungary, they held substantial information about Georgia and the Georgians' participation in the Ferara-Florence Ecclesiastical conference in 1438-1439, was met with great interest.

In May 29, 1453, Constantinople fell and the millennium-time Byzantine Empire ceased to exist. This fact had a great resonance in Europe: Pope Pius II tried to consolidate western and Eastern European countries into a big anti-Ottoman coalition aiming at liberating Constantinople. He initiated representative international conference in Mantua, Italy, that planned to organize crusade against the Turks. The conference was attended by the representatives of leading European states with Hungary and Poland amongst them. The participants were exalted hearing about Georgia's readiness to join the coalition with its 75,000 army and the Hungarians promised to delegate some 40,000 warriors on their behalf.

Pope Pius II sent Lodovico of Bologna as an ambassador to the eastern countries. After the successful diplomatic negotiations, the ambassadors of the Eastern countries – Georgia, Trapezunt Empire, Ak-Koinlu (White Lambs)... gathered in the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, and moved toward Europe by the land route. They crossed the Northern Caucasus and arrived to Hungary, where they were met with great respect and hospitality by the king Mattias Huniad (1458-1490). “The King of Hungary generously welcomed them and after the negotiations, there emerged the mutual hope of success for this simultaneous endeavor” – writes one of the Hungarian chroniclers (ჭარდი, 1968, pp. 15-23).

In XIII-XV centuries, Georgia communicated with Western Europe primarily by the sea, but there was yet another rout - connecting the country from its Black Sea ports with the main commercial Genoa colony – Kafa and then through Ukraine, Poland and German lands – to Italy. Till 1475, this was the route used by lot of ambassadors to/fro between the Ruler of the White Lambs – Uzun-Hassan and the city-states of Italy (Бераძე, 1989, pp.146-147). In these negotiations, aiming at joint opposition to the Ottomans, actively participated some Georgian principedoms – on one side, and Matias Huniad of Hungary – on the other.

After death of the king of Hungary, this state soon degraded and then lost independence.

In XVI c. Georgia, especially the western part of it, suffered from the Ottoman invasions and the ambassadors of several Georgian Principedoms and the Hungarians, used to hold meetings in Istambul. Thus, it is no surprise, that there are a lot of interesting historical documents kept in Hungary, concerning Georgia in the first half of XVI century (ჭარდი, 1968, pp. 33-155).

Georgian-Hungarian relationships never seized even after Hungary lost it's independence. From this perspective, it is very interesting to survey the heritage of an Austrian diplomat Peter Bedick, who had been bestowed the title of Hungarian count for his successful diplomatic efforts. Peter Bedick more then once traveled to Iran through Georgia. He wrote a volume of memoirs about his first diplomatic mission, stressing the theme of Georgia and the Georgians dwelling at the court of the Shah of Iran. He emphasizes meeting with the King of Kakheti – Erekle I, whose letter to mother the above-mentioned Austrian diplomat burdened himself to carry to Moscow (ჭარდი, 1968, *უნგრეთ-საქართველოს ურთიერთობის ისტორიიდან*. pp. 10-12).

In XV-XVI cc. most of Eastern European kingdoms lost their independence. The entire Black Sea basin was under the Ottoman control. As for the other Eastern European countries, they were incorporated into the so-called Holy Roman Empire – to be more precise, in the Austrian Empire. Naturally, all these minimized the interrelations between Georgia and the East Europe, at least on the state level.

After the fall of Constantinople, the Black Sea became a “locked lake” of the Ottomans, but this did not affect on Georgia's trade activities with surrounding countries. In XVI-XVIII cc., trading ships regularly crossed the waters between seaports of Georgia, Kafa, Varna and Burgos (Бераძე, 1989, pp. 75-77).

Along with commercial-economic relations, in XVI-XVIII centuries Georgia was also connected with political entities on the Western Black Sea coast with cultural-re-

ligious identity. The vivid example of this is the history of establishing first printing-house in Georgia (Ватеишвили, 2003, pp. 75-77).

The first Georgian printed book was produced in 1629, in Italy, Rome.

Approximately 6 decades after, the initiator of establishing Georgian printing house was King Archil – then reigning in Imerety. He commissioned a well-known specialist, Hungarian-Vlakh Miklosh Kish, of Transilvania origin, to prepare Georgian fonts in Amsterdam. The fonts were ready for 1687, but it was impossible to transfer appropriate sum of money and by that time, delivering fonts to Georgia and establishing the printing house has failed.

Actually the first printing house in Georgia was established by Vakhtang VI, the king of Kartli. For this, he contacted the Gospodar of Vlakhia - Ioan-Konstantin II Brinkovianu (1688-1714) and this step was no accidental choice. In that period of time, in the Vlakhia principedom, there lived a well-known ecclesiastical figure – Antimoz of Iveria. It's clear even by his nickname, that Antimoz was of Georgian origin, born approximately in 1750 and his mundane name was Andria. Kidnapped from Georgia at the age of sixteen, he then was ransomed by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and was given the best education for the time. Antimoz learned several European and Oriental languages and soon became prominent man of letters throughout the whole eastern Christendom.

In the beginning of the XVIII century, he was invited by the Gospodar of Vlakhia and in 1708 was appointed as Metropolitan of Vlakhia. Since then, he travailed for the renaissance of the Romanian National culture. It was he who substituted the Greek language with Romanian in the liturgies; He established four printing houses in Vlakhia and printed books on Romanian, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, and Old Slavic Languages. He published several original works too, with his own illustrations and miniatures. In Bucharest, he built big Abbey, the portal and windows of which were of his own design. In the ornaments, he used Georgian and Romanian motives, and these ornaments are considered as the best examples of wood engraving until now.

Antimoz of Iveria Lived in Vlakhia for 10 years and became one of the leaders of Romanian Peoples' struggle for independence. In 1715, anti-Romanian Party of the Fanariots seized the power in Vlakhia. The new Gospodar – Nikolaos II Mavrocordat ousted him for his views. By Gospodar's order, Antomoz was abdicated from the Church, renamed as Andria and given a life sentence to the St. Catherine Cathedral on the mountain of Sina. But on his way to the seclusion, he was killed and his body was thrown into the river waters. On June 21, 1992, the Orthodox Church of Romania proclaimed him a saint and set September 27 as his memorial day (გვინბოძე, 1973, pp. 95-160).

But some time before, Antimoz sent a Hungarian-Vlakhian specialist for book-printing, Mihai Ishtvanovich, to the king of Georgia, Vakhtang VI. Mihai, renamed into Georgian manner – Stephaneshvili, built a printing press in Tbilisi, brought up several high-quality workers and went home in 1711 (მარაშვილი, 1955, pp. 84-94).

One of the kingdoms in East Europe, that managed to maintain its independence, was Poland, named as Rech-Pospolita since 1569.

In 1385, Poland has been united with Lithuania, thus reaching the Black Sea and Georgia as well. The first contacts between Poland and Georgia were established by

then. As it has been noted, there was a route via Ukraine and Poland that connected Georgia to the Eastern European countries. Right by this route joint group of Georgian and Spanish ambassadors marched to Rome and Madrid, carrying letters of Konstantine II, King of Kartli, to the Pope and King of Spain. It comes out that Georgian ambassador held special talks in Poland, as old Russian translation of several Georgian letters are to be found in Polish Archive – Russian being one of the State languages in Poland and Lithuania of that time (ჯონჯაძე, 1965, 11-41).

In XVI-XVII centuries, Georgia traded with Poland via the Black Sea: numerous Polish coins of that time had been found in Georgia. Presumably, silk was carried out to Poland, and amber and all kind of handicraft from Poland and western European countries were taken in (Берадзе, 1989, pp. 132).

In addition, Georgia of that time, already divided into several princedoms, still kept contacts with Cossacks of Zaporojie, as they were considered as subjects to the king of Poland.

The Cossacks' first successful sea raids on Ottomans territories took place in 90-ies of the XVI century. In the beginning of the XVII century, they passed through the Ottomans' and their vassal's – Crimea khanate borders and devastated Ottomans lands in the Black Sea region. The Ottoman ships were systematically attacked and ravished. In a short time, the Cossacks became considerable power in the region and "the Cossacks Problem" played a great role in the foreign policy relations of Ottoman Empire, Poland, and Georgia (ჯონჯაძე, 1965, pp. 50-70).

Political entities of Georgia - primarily sea coast princedoms of Odishi and Guria, as well as Imereti Kingdom, fully assisted the Cossacks in their battles with the Ottomans. We have very interesting notes by a well-known Italian traveler Pietro Della Vale, who visited Persia in the 20-ies of the XVII century: "Georgian Princes of Imereti, Odishi, and Guria heartily welcome the Polish Cossacks living down the Dnepr River, as they are also Christians. As I have found out, these two people are keen to each other. They say that even the King of Poland himself has deep friendship and carries correspondence with these Princes. Also, trading ships are frequently sailing between these two countries. Such a situation may have a great beneficial outcome for Georgians, as the Cossacks dominate on the Black Sea and have a great power. The king of Poland can give a helping hand to Georgians via the Sea – in case of disaster the Georgians may suffer from Persians and Turks" (Della Valle, Pietro, 1627, pp. 10-12).

In the I half of the XVII century, the rulers of Georgia tried to use Cossacks factor on the Black Sea: the prince of Odishi, Levan II Dadiani (1611-1657), designed a special project aiming at exporting silk from Iran and South Caucasian countries to the Western Europe via Georgia, Black Sea, Ukraine, and Poland. Transporting silk through this route would have been at least twice cheaper than by other commercial-transit ways.

To accomplish this goal, Levan Dadiani took several primary steps: he sent his personal ambassador Nikiphore Cholokashvili to Poland and also, started diplomatic negotiations with Western European countries. Unfortunately, in the 50-ies of the XVII century, the Ottomans eventually managed to neutralize "The Cossack Treats" I the Black Sea region, and Levan II's projects ultimately failed (ანბეღავა, 1990, pp. 103-121).

It becomes evident, that in the XVII century, many Georgians lived in Rech-Pospolita and were rather successful at the King's court. One of the vivid examples of this is Bogdan Gurjizki's diplomatic career.

First, rather interesting is a surname – Gurjizki, the polish version of “Gurji” i.e – Georgian. In fact, in every document of the 60-ies of the XVII century, related to his activities, this person is named as Bogdan Gurjizki and he too calls himself Bogdan Gurji (Georgian). We should also mention that all through his diplomatic career, he previously wrote his rapports mainly in Georgian.

Its noteworthy, that Bogdan Gurjizki's original Georgian name is yet unknown; till the end of 40-ies of XVII century, he lived in Georgia and was the subject of the King of Kartli – Rostom. In the second half of 50-ies he moved to Poland, took active part in this country's military campaigns and was promoted as a senior officer. In 1668 the King of Poland, Jan II Kazimir (1648-1668) sent Gurjizki to Suleiman, Shah of Ispahan, as an ambassador, where he successfully accomplished his diplomatic mission (ზედგენიძე, 1983, pp. 40-55). Georgian ambassador of Polish King passed through the Georgia and was welcomed by the King of Kartli, Vakhtang V Shah-Navaz (1658-1675) who gave him a letter to deliver to the Polish king: “King of Kings, and Great Ruler – Shah-Navaz Khan greets You, John Kazimir, wishes You prosperity, lasting peace and success in all Your endeavors. We thank God to know You are in good health – from the letters received from the Great Chancellor of Your kingdom, Great Poland's Lieutenant-general Ioan Lezunski. Your humble servant, officer of Your kingdom – Gurjibeg Danbek came here to renew peace and foster the friendship You maintain with His Majesty King Suleiman... Your envoy passed through our lands without any inconvenience and now he is on his way back to Your Highness” (ქართული დიპლომატიის ისტორია, pp. 334-337).

From the second half of XVII century onwards, Rech-Pospolita began to lose its power – lost Eastern Ukraine and abandoned the Black Sea coast. As a result, the relations between Georgia and Poland failed for a long time.

In 1795, the Kingdom of Poland ceased to exist. A bit later, in the beginning of XIX century, the Russian Empire annexed Georgia; afterwards, most part of Eastern Europe and South Caucasus were divided between Russian and Austrian (later: Austro-Hungarian) empires.

In the XIX century, the Baltic states, as well as big portions of Ukraine and Poland, were also incorporated in Russian Empire; others – in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus, Georgia had only scientific-cultural relations with the Eastern Europe countries.

Cultural interrelations between Georgia and Ukraine has been established in 1760, when an eminent Georgian poet Davit Guramishvili (1705-1792) settled in Mirgorod. Before his death, he asked Prince Mirian, the son to the King Erekle the II, to deliver his collection of poems, titled “Davitiani”, to Georgia (ბარამიძე, ასათიანი, ჟგენტო, 1954, 4-8).

The founder of modern Ukrainian literature, Taras Shevchenko, also played a great role in establishing these relations. “Georgian people has much in common with us, the Ukrainians’, - said he. He had a great sympathy toward Caucasus and called for its' independence. Perhaps, that's why in 1912, Georgian newspaper “Temi” wrote, that

“he is a genius... he is not just calling for independence, but in his poems praising brotherhood between all men and nations” (ზარამიძე, ასათიანი, ჟგენტო. 1954, p. 25). They say, that in 1858, getting back to Petersburg from exile, Shevchenko made an acquaintance with an eminent Georgian writer and statesman, Ilia Chavchavadze, highly praised in Ukraine. Shevchenko’s lyrics had been translated into Georgian by several Georgian poets, and similarly, many Georgian classics are published in Ukraine. In 2007, Shevchenko’s monument was raised in Tbilisi and that of Shota Rustaveli in Kiev.

It’s noteworthy, that another Ukrainian poet, Lesia Ukrainka, spent last years of her life in Georgia, and she used to say, that “if I had not been an Ukrainian, I would have wished to be a Georgian” (ზაბიშკოვი, 1957, p. 12).

Since the second half of XIX century, many Georgians studied in the universities of Odessa, Kharkov, and Kiev in Ukraine. In addition, at that time, Tartu University of Estonia was another center of high education for Georgian youth (ზაქანიძე, 2004).

Georgian students had their community, which successfully introduced Georgian culture to Estonian people (Исаков, С.Г. 1969, pp. 112-165). The representatives of Estonian culture who lived in Georgian cities since the II half the XIX c introduced Georgia to Estonians. In the II half of the XIX c. Estonians settled in the inseparable part of Georgia –Abkhazian territory. Unfortunately in 1992-1993 due to the combat fights caused by Abkhazian separatists and Russian Federation, Estonian population who lived in Abkhazia had to leave the Georgian territory and return to their historical motherland.

It appeared that Georgia and Georgian people had more common with Polish people rather than other European people who were populated in Russian Federation.

It is known that in 1815 in Vienna Congress the winner countries divided Poland among each other. The biggest part, together with Warsaw entered the Tsarist Russia’s territory and received the name, so called “Polish Kingdom”, which actually was governed by Russian Emperor. Till 1831 the “Polish Kingdom“ had some autonomy : relevantly liberal constitution, Seim, government, however the situation completely changed after November 29, 1830 when the Anti-Russian rebellion blew up, but was defeated after one year. As the revolution was suppressed repressions followed from the Russian Federation: constitution was abolished, the best part of Polish intelligence was urged to immigrate. In 1830 after the rebellion Tsar’s government settled many of Polish people in Georgia. They left an important spot in the Georgian political-cultural life. This time Georgians like Polish people fought for their independence. As it is known, the first part of the anti-Russian fight finished with the 1832 plot. The Polish gave an example to Georgian plotters: the most actual for the 1832 plot organizers was the mutiny which started in November, 1830 in Poland. Georgian plotters tried to follow up their examples and experiences. Poland figured also in the independent Georgia’s future projects prepared by Georgian plotters. Unfortunately, the plot was disclosed and its members were sent to Poland (საქართველოს ისტორიის ნარკვევები, ტ. IV., 1973. pp. 952-955; მეტრეველი, 2004, pp. 17-23).

The second wave of the rebel against the dominance of Russian Empire blew up in 1863-64 yy. The Georgian democratic society responded actively to this rebel .The suppress of the rebel in Poland caused the new wave of settlement of Polish people in Georgia (ხუციშვილი, 1959, pp. 18-27).

In the second part of the XIX c. the Russian administration's high rank Georgian official's name – General Peter Bagrationi was well known among Polish population. He was a chief of the Warsaw railway and a prince Aleksander Imeretinsky. He took a high rank positions in Poland, and the period of Imeretinsky's governance was called "the Imeretinsky Era" In the second part of the XIX c. in the Georgian community in Warsaw not only Georgian military persons and officers but also Georgian merchants and craftsmen were included. As it is known there was a Veterinary Institute in Warsaw where many of Georgians received education. Among them was Noe Zhordania, the future leader of the independent Georgia (ვოზნიაკი, 2004, pp. 95-109).

Among people subjugated by Austria-Hungary Empire, Georgia had close cultural relationship with Hungarians and Czechs. In this respect among Hungarian culture representatives the famous painter and graphic Mixai Zichi should be named in the first line. In 1881 Zichi under the request of Georgian intelligence visited Georgia and started working on the book "Knight in the Panther's Skin" illustrations. He made 34 paintings on the theme of "Knight in the Panther's Skin" poem free of charge, among them he selected 27 and added to the Georgian text of the famous poem published in the XIX c. Mixai Zichi also painted several pictures on Georgian theme (გორდუზიანი, 1966).

Representatives of Czech culture and sport have also a big merit towards Georgian culture in the XIX c and at the beginning of the XX c. Among them the famous teacher of the II Tbilisi Young Men gymnasium Josef Drbolhav and the writer Rakushan should be named. Among the Czechs who lived in Georgia also I. Svatosh – Tbilisi Young ladies I gymnasium director should be named (ჭკუასელი, 1980).

Czech musicians have great merit in the development of music in Georgia. Many of Czech musicians worked in the Tbilisi State Musical School which later was turned to Conservatoire. Czech musician I. Ratil has a great merit in the research and rescue of Georgian folklore. First he was a soloist in the Tbilisi Opera Theatre, then for years he worked as a teacher of music. Right after the arrival in Georgia I. Ratil got interested in Georgian folklore music. He was admired of Georgian polyphony and eagerly started putting in notes the Georgian folklore music, this way many of musical creations survived. I. Ratil made friendship with I. Chavhchavadze, J. Gogebashvili. The contemporary representatives of musical society of that time: M. Balanchivadze, L. Aghniashvili, S. Savaneli, I. Kargareteli, I; Ratil was a chief organizer of Georgian folklore choir were many of Georgian musicians received experience. Among them was a Georgian National Opera founder Z. Paliashvili (ლეკიშვილი, 1961).

In XIX c. Czech literary society got interested with the Georgian theme. The famous Czech writers S. Czech and I. Giunsh published a series of letters about Georgian people, its culture and nature.

At the beginning of XIX- XX cc Czech gymnastics society "Sokol" representatives I. Grumlek, A. Lukesh. V. Kovba and others have great merits towards sports development in Georgia. They played a big role in the development of many of sport types, first of all gymnastics. In 1918 after the declaration of Georgian independence on the base of "Sokol" the first independent Georgian sport society "Shevardeni" was created (გოგრაძე, 1946, pp. 43-55).

In 1914-1918 yy As a result of the I World War, the three great empires collapsed , those were- Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary Empires and the people enslaved by these empires received a long time awaited independence.

In 16 May 1918 Georgia declared its independence. Georgian democratic republic existed less than three years. That's why Georgia couldn't establish diplomatic relations with many Eastern European countries.

Ukraine was one of the first countries in Russian Empire which in January 1918 by the name of "Independent, free, sovereign Ukrainian people" declared the People's Republic of Ukraine. In May 26, 1918 after the declaration of Georgian independence in June 6, 1918, the Georgian Foreign Minister of that times A. Chkhenkeli from the name of Georgian government asked Plenipotentiary ambassador in Germany F. Shteigel for petition with Ukrainian government to recognize the independence of Georgia. "By the name of my government I have the honor to ask Ukraine to recognize the independence of Georgia as soon as possible". F. Shteigell informed Ukrainian Foreign Minister L. Doroshenko about this petition. The Ukrainian ambassador in Germany counted that the "close and friendly relationship" with Georgian people was highly important and asked Ukrainian Supreme Government to put forward and make decision on the question about recognition of the independence of the Republic Georgia and establishment diplomatic relations with it.

The several months' correspondence between diplomatic institutions of Georgia and Ukraine showed its result. In October 1918 in the center of Tbilisi, today Elbakidze Street, the diplomatic mission of People's Republic of Ukraine started working. Soon the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry consulate departments in Sukhumi and Batumi were opened.

Georgian diplomatic mission in Ukraine, Kiev was opened and led by Viktor Tevzaia. After a month this mission was turned to diplomatic representation, V. Tevzaia became the first ambassador of Georgia in Ukraine. Also Georgian consulates in Odessa and Kharkov were opened.

In December 5, 1918 "Agreement between Ukraine and Republic of Georgia" was signed. In the frames of this agreement many spheres of cooperation between these two countries were regulated.

That time the independence of Ukraine lasted less than Georgia's. That's why Georgia had to negotiate with Ukraine concurred by Soviet army about diplomatic relationship. This negotiation between sides began in December 1920 and in January 31, 1921 finished with the signing of the agreement. By this agreement sides recognized each other and showed desire to establish diplomatic, cultural-economic relations. It is not surprising that this agreement had no any real result (ბჰობო, 2008, pp. 20-31).

In fact, Georgian-Polish relations at the state level started after the declaration of independence of Georgia. Though it was legalized only in January 1920, when Republic of Poland recognized Georgia de-jure. In March 24, 1920 Polish foreign minister Stanislav Patek offered the government of Georgia to accredit Georgian official diplomatic representation in Warsaw; and to send Polish military-diplomatic mission in Tbilisi in order to determine the frames of relationship between two countries, first

of all the development of military cooperation. It is obvious that the base of such kind of relationship was a danger coming from Bolshevik Russia, which threatened both countries. The Georgian government consented this offer and the Polish side was informed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Evgeni Gegechkori. At the end of March, 1920 the Polish military-diplomatic mission led by Tatus Filipovich arrived to Tbilisi. As a result of successful negotiations, sides agreed on procedures about establishing plenipotentiary diplomatic relations, the project of military union, actions plan against Bolshevik threat, also the future help from Polish side in equipment of Georgian army.

Ratification and solving the problems of Georgian-Polish military-diplomatic agreement could not be accomplished in time. In February-March, 1922, the Soviet Russia annexed democratic Georgia and the government of Georgia had to leave the country (მაჭერსკი, 2004, pp. 109-118). From this time Georgia was no more the representing the subject of international law. Soon, the republic of Ukraine shared the same fate. Baltic countries experienced the same situation after 20 years when the Soviet army occupied Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

After annexation, many Georgians were seeking shelters in East European countries. One of the most important Diasporas existed in Poland. Poland sheltered part of Georgian militaries, who served in Polish army. There were 6 Generals, 35 high rank officers and 46 cadets among them. Georgian military representatives were serving their new homeland devotedly. They showed best of themselves in 1939 in the fights against Germany and in 1944 during the revolt in Warsaw.

It is worth mentioning that Malkhaz-Jony Shalikashvili is the son of General serving in Poland. He was appointed on the position of head of the USA United Headquarters (გრიშინკაშვილი, 2008, pp. 28-35).

After completion of the II World War, the Soviet Empire established Communism Regime in East Europe and turned them into own satellites. After this period, until destruction of the Soviet Union, December, 1991, Georgia had only cultural relationships and contacts with East Europe.

In this period, many of East European writers' works were translated into Georgian. For one's part, East European readers were given opportunity to be acquainted with several Georgian compositions of modern and classic epochs.

The first anticommunist manifestation was held in Georgia, in March, 1956 after the death of I. Stalin. This was followed by October, 1956 manifestations in Poland and October-November, 1956 revolt in Hungary that was finally suppressed. Georgians were imbued by condole about this anticommunist movements in East Europe. They expressed their condolence towards Czech and Slovak people during the events happened in Czech, in 1968.

At the end of 1980, new wave of emancipation movement was exploded. Georgian national emancipator movement had close connections with Ukrainian and Baltic countries.

On 9th of April, 1991 Georgia declared the restoration of independence. This time, again, Ukraine was one of the first from East European countries that recognized Georgia as an independent country. Ukraine declared its independence at the beginning of December, 1991. Independent Ukraine was one of the biggest East European coun-

tries that recognized Georgia's Independence on 12th of December, 1991. Diplomatic relations between Georgia and Ukraine started on 21st of July, 1992, and on the 13th of July, 1993, and the agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Assistance was signed. On the basis of this agreement, in 1994, the Embassies of Georgia and Ukraine were opened.

From the day of starting relations between Ukraine and Georgia, this relation became very friendly. The result of that was the "Rose Revolution" in Georgia in 2003 and "Orange" revolution in Ukraine in 2004, during the presidency of M. Saakashvili and V. Iushchenko.

After this, Ukraine became the main ally of Georgia in Post Soviet space. Until now, more than 100 documents are signed between Georgia and Ukraine that aims assistance in politics and economics and among them in military sphere too.

Diplomatic relations between Georgia and Belarus started on 6th of January, 1994. The Embassy of Georgia was opened in the capital of Belarus, Minsk, in June, 2007. Today, Georgia and Belarus have friendly relationships. Despite Russia's strong influence Belarus did not recognize Marionette, so called South Ossetia and Abkhazia's independence.

Georgia began diplomatic relations with Lithuania on the 19th of September, 1994. From 2003, Georgian Embassy was opened in Lithuania that presented Georgia in Estonia and Latvia. From 2007 this embassy was defending Georgia's interests only in Lithuania. The first Emergency and plenipotentiary Ambassador of Lithuania was appointed in September, 2005.

Georgia started diplomatic relations with Estonia on the 16th of June, 1992. The Embassy of Georgia in Estonia was opened only in 2006, and Estonia Embassy in Georgia was opened in 2008.

Latvia and Georgia started diplomatic relations on the 11th of March, 1993. In autumn of 2006 the Embassy of Georgia was opened in Latvia. Earlier, in May of the same year, the embassy of Latvia was opened in Georgia. It is worth mentioning that the embassy of Latvia gives visas not only in the direction of Latvia but in the direction of North European countries.

Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are Georgia's Friend countries. They support Georgia in NATO and EU integration. They expressed full support towards Georgia in 8-12 August, 2008, during Russian aggression. To show this support the presidents of Poland, L. Kachinski, and Ukraine, V. Iushchenko, came to Georgia in the emergency situation.

Diplomatic relations between Romania and Georgia started on the 25th of June, 1992. Relation with Romania is not so wide and is bordered only by trading contacts.

More often the governors of these two countries have political consultations. The significant role was played by M. Saakashvili's visit to Romania in June, 2010, that gave good diplomatic results.

Diplomatic relations with Bulgaria started on the 5th of June, 1992. Relations with this country are in the direction of military-techniques, transport, and communication fields. The relation is held in the sector of food. For the relation between the two countries very important step was moved on the 24-25th of April, 2009, the summit

“Natural gas for Europe: Security and Partnership” initiated by the president of Bulgaria, G. Parvanov.

The relations between Georgia and Poland renewed on 28th of April, 1992. The main issues were economic connections between these two. In April, 1992 with the invitation of Foreign Economic Cooperation Ministry, the deputy of the foreign relations ministry, M. Saakashvili and other representatives went to Warsaw. During the visit the document of Georgia-Poland diplomatic cooperation was signed. At the same time, the document of “Cooperation in Trade and Agriculture” was signed. The agreement was the expression of economic and trade relations of two countries.

In 1992, the next visit was held in Poland, by Foreign Affairs minister deputy, Mikheil Saakashvili. Georgian guests gave the foreign affairs minister the agreement project about the cooperation of two countries culturally and invited Polish side for further study of developed situation in Georgia and its Foreign Affairs.

On 11th of October, 1992, parliamentary elections were held in Georgia. As a supervisor, Peter Boravski, representative of Foreign Affairs Ministry in Central Asian and Caucasus Departments, came to Georgia. On 19-21st of April, 1993 Georgia hosted Andjei Ananichi, secretary of Foreign Affairs management. The Vise Minister, A. Ananichi and Georgia’s Foreign Affairs Minister, Aleksandre Cikvaizde, in presence of president, Eduard Shevardnadze, and Prime Minister, Tengiz Sigua, signed documents about “Friendship and assistance of Georgia and Poland” and “International cooperation of Georgia and Poland” on 20th of April, 1993. The same day the Culture Minister, David Maghradze and A. Ananichi signed the document about “Scientific and Cultural Cooperation” (www.mfa.gov.ge). Before the day of the jubilee of Georgia’s Independence Day and the day before Presidency elections in Georgia, the exhibition of Georgia-Poland was held in Warsaw Independence museum. It collected the Georgians living in different countries, which became the reason for the future patriotic affairs.

In 1991-1998, eight numbers of the journal “Pro-Georgia” was published, the founder and editor of the journal were David Kolbaia, and later Anjei Vojniak, from 1994 this position was taken by Viozekh Materski.

Georgia’s and Poland’s relations became very active after “Rose Revolution” 2003 and after Lev Kachinski became the president in 2006. At that time Poland became the strategic ally of Georgia.

For one’s part, Georgia played great role in Poland’s foreign politics. This fact is supported by the decision of Poland to have relations with Georgia as a priority of Poland’s foreign policy. During 2006-2007 the presidents of Georgia and Poland had visits several times. The President of Georgia visited Poland three times. As for the president of Poland, he visited Georgia officially in April, 2007. In May, 2007, during Georgia’s presidents visit to Warsaw, by the initiative of the presidents, the Georgian-Polish Presidency Consultation committee. The above mentioned committee discusses mutual cooperation aspects.

Today Poland supports Georgia in integration into NATO and EU.

Georgia and Poland have the same interests from the view point of energetic security. A good result of cooperation is shown by Krakovo Energetic Summit, on 11-13th of May, 2007.

In the last period the military cooperation of Poland and Georgia is very intensively activated: Georgia and Poland are in alliance for peace and antiterrorist operations. Georgian and Polish militaries participate together in Moscow, Iraq and Afghanistan peaceful missions.

Mutual deepening of economic relations is still one of the priorities. During the last years Poland was lobbying Georgia not only politically but economically.

In 2008 Georgia became the victim of Russia's one more aggression: On the 8th of August, armed forces of Georgia was involved in conflict of separatist Tschinvali and Russian army. About 15 thousand Russian soldier came into Georgia via Roki tunnel and Psou.

At this difficult times Georgia was supported by Poland. Lev Tkachinski's speech was very important about the current events: "Russia's actions in the Independent Georgia passed all the borders, besides which there is no civil society's safety and negotiators' security protected that causes the escalation of robbing of Georgian economy, image and environment's planned destruction, and killing. This is clear evidence of ethnical cleansing."

It is worth mentioning that on the 5th jubilee of "Rose Revolution" when Lekh Kachinski had flight to Georgia on 23rd of November, the pilot was resisting avoiding final flight to Georgia, but president's request to fly to the airport of Georgia was fulfilled. After the flight the Presidents of Georgia and Poland went to see the victims of the 8th of August, 2008. Even though the government cortege was assaulted, Lekh Kachinski admits in the interview that he does not regret visiting Georgia as he himself saw the things happening there.

Georgia started diplomatic relations with Czech and Slovakia in the 1st of February, 1993. Earlier, on the 14th of 1992, Georgia had diplomatic relations with the Republic of Hungary, and in the same year, on the 25th of June, Georgia initiated diplomatic relations with Moldova.

Unfortunately, the economic relations of Georgia with the East Europe, except Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova, prevents the specific "Velvet Curtain" that appeared after Czech, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Baltic countries entered to the EU. In order to fix this problem there is great need to place Georgia in the EU.

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**წარმოადგენს თუ არა ძლიერი აღმასრულებელი ხელისუფლება
საჯარო პოლიტიკის განხორციელებასთან დაკავშირებულ
პრობლემებზე პასუხს?**

დიდი ბრიტანეთის შემთხვევა

ჭინჭარაული თამუნია
შეერთებული შტატების მშვიდობის კორპუსი საქართველოში

ნაშრომი იხილავს და აანალიზებს ბრიტანეთში საჯარო პოლიტიკის განხორციელებასთან დაკავშირებულ პრობლემებს და იკვლევს ამ პრობლემების გადაჭრის გზებს, რომელსაც გვთავაზობს ცენტრალური აღმასრულებელი. ნაშრომი იხილავს პოლიტიკის განხორციელების პროცესში, გადაწყვეტილების მიღების სისტემის ცენტრალიზირებული ხასიათის შედეგად წამოჭრილ პრობლემებს, ასევე აანალიზებს იმ დილემებს, რომლებიც წარმოიშვა პოლიტიკის განხორციელების პროცესში უკვე დეცენტრალიზირებული გადაწყვეტილებების მიღების სისტემის ჩამოყალიბების შედეგად. ნაშრომში განხილული იქნება ამ პრობლემებთან დაკავშირებით ცენტრალური აღმასრულებლის მიერ გატარებული ღონისძიებები და ასევე მისი როლი ზოგადად საჯარო პოლიტიკის განხორციელების პროცესში.

**Is the Answer to Policy Implementation Problems a Stronger Core
Executive?
Case of United Kingdom**

Chincharauli Tamunia
U.S. Peace Corps Georgia

Policy Implementation Dilemmas

Until 1980 policy making and implementation was traditionally seen as a top-down hierarchical process with prevalent conventional delivery of public services. The main characteristics of the system were: no clear division of power between central and local government, accountability only upwards to ministers and passive administrators rather than active managers (Ling, 2002, p. 618). The whole system of administration was considered to be one in which politicians made decisions and neutral civil service implemented them (Parsons, 1995).

But, in the 1970s, it became apparent that many centrally planned and implemented policies did not prove to be successful in maintaining the social wellbeing of society. Efforts made by the government to address various social problems through interventionist tools were often ineffective (Hupe & Hill, 2002). Moreover, identified problems from the core were not solved and even to some extent were complicated and made worse (Parsons, 1995). The top-down system had deficiencies in the general areas of civil service, local government financing and management and in the particular areas such as urban policy, education, housing and social work (Ling, 2002, p. 618).

The failures of the centre to implement policies encouraged the debate about the “crisis of the state” followed by the insistence of the Conservative party on reforms of the public sector starting from 1979 till 1997, based on New Right thinking and New Public management. The main goal of these reforms was to separate the core executive from policy implementation leaving at the one end core of policy makers designing policies, at the other, agencies and private actors delivering public services (Richards & Smith, 2002, p. 108).

The separation started with the extensive privatisation initiated by Thatcher and continued by the Major administration with the selling of the final British Telecom shares and British Rail (Bochel & Bochel, 2004, p. 204). According to Saward (1997), 16 major privatisations were conducted by the core executive including gas, water and electricity, which greatly effected the basic functions and structure of British government (p. 21).

Another extensive reform of public administration - so called New Public Management- initiated by the government, also weakened the centre and produced gaps between its functions of policy making and delivery leaving it with a fragmented system. As Newman (2001) argues, with NPM reforms state functions were dispersed through the market and quasi-market mechanisms by the establishment of civil service Executive agencies, NHS Trusts, GP fund-holding and the proliferation of quangos. These changes initiated splits between ‘purchasing and providing, between commissioning and service delivery’ (p. 56).

The reforms played an important role in empowering local, street-level professionals in making decisions about service delivery. As Newman (2001) notes, reforms provided discretion for local managers and street level bureaucrats in implementing public policy. New trends focused on the end line of the policy and stressed a bottom-up approach, involving different private actors with specialised knowledge, with more powers, resources and vested interests in policy implementation.

Subsequently, the much criticised control of the centre over the policy formulation and implementation process was brought to an end by fragmentation, separating policy formulation from policy implementation.

After these reforms we were left with the state, which dealt with the provision of services by contract rather than constitutional convention (Smith, 1999, p. 204). As Bevir and Rhodes (2006) argue Britain became a differentiated polity with a hollowed-out state, a core executive helplessly trying to control a huge number of networks the informal authority of which “supplemented and supplanted” the formal authority of government (p. 676).

But gradually, the change of governing system which stimulated public participation in decision making and empowerment of street-level bureaucrats produced negative side effects, complicating the whole political system of governance.

Because of numerous actors being involved in decision making and service delivery the implementation process turned into an unresolved and debated domain of policy. The relationships within and between public agencies, a privatised industry, local authorities, quangos and voluntary groups became highly complex as a result of their own autonomy, different interests and values (John, 1998, p. 27). As Hood and Jackson (as cited in Rhodes, 1997) point out government was divided into separate units that created barriers between them and incentives to distort and conceal information (p. 103).

Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), demonstrated through their case study the problems connected with this complexity, arguing that the emergence of each extra stage and actor in the implementation process reduces the chances of policy being carried out successfully. The more decision points there are, the greater the chance that a policy fails. The urban policy implementation which is very fragmented in Britain, illustrates this problem. In order to implement urban policies, the core executive has to negotiate with numerous regional organisations, private-sector representatives and local authority bodies (John, 1998, p. 28). Similarly, Smith (1999) points out that to deliver any policy, central authorities have to build alliances with a whole range of bodies including agencies, regulatory bodies, voluntary groups, the private sector, and local authorities (p. 28).

Automatically, this fragmentation, empowerment and shared power create risks and can lead to possible policy fiascos. As Schofield and Sausman (2004) argue, there are challenges and risks to policy implementation in such a highly complex system. The differences in the values and interests of various actors can lead to problems with communication which will contribute to the deepening of existing differences in policy comprehension and understanding (p. 242). As Hudson and Lowie (2004) note, the request of bottom-uppers of empowerment and top-downers' insistence on obedience lead to different ways of interpreting the policy process and are difficult to reconcile (p. 219).

These trends of fragmentation loosen the links between the public sector and citizens and complicate implementation as well as blur the lines of accountability (Rhodes, 1997, p. 101). According to Rhodes (as cited in Smith, 1999) the reforms have created a "policy vacuum", with steering mostly being based on "crisis management and blame avoidance", which resulted in a lack of coordination and a confusion of roles (p. 27).

The greatest problem with this complexity in implementation concerns the unpredictability of the policy outcome as a result of bottom-up activism and pressure they exercise on policy process. Grantham (2001) provides a good case study – the privatisation of British Rail between 1992 and 1997 - which illustrates the uncertainty about implementation results where new agencies were involved, both public and private, and where Whitehall actors no longer had a monopoly over resources and the implementation process.

There can be persistent demands coming from different groups while designing and trying to implement policy of more consultation and justification from the government to support their policies. Pressure groups which compete with the government may conceal information from policy-makers about the impact of the programme on the ground, consequently initiating a reduction in policy learning by government itself (Schofield & Sausman, 2004, p. 244).

Therefore, we can see that the new reforms, which intended to loosen state control over policy, produced adverse effects on implementation and complicated the whole system of governance. What could be the answer to these problems? Could it be the reassertion of central control over the policy process?

Revival of The Core Executive?

So, the British government reformed the governing system which resulted in weakened role of the center in determining policy process and outcomes. Increased autonomy gained by different actors reduced the level of political control as empowering local communities meant that those who were formally accountable almost lost the capacity to determine policies. As a result, politicians were faced with public criticism as, in fact, policies were still failing to achieve desired results. Again the crisis or urgent need for improved service delivery pushed the center to reassert control. The last decade has seen attempts by politicians to reestablish state authority, either directly through bringing agencies back within the government or indirectly through regulations thus strengthening the core executive (Richards & Smith, 2006, p 329).

The new course adopted by the centre was followed by the creation of agencies within the core, which reasserted control over the differentiated polity. Different policy units were created in order to improve implementation and delivery systems.

Tony Blair and his government became the initiators of the core executive's revival in policy determination and the implementation process. He started new reform through the introduction of joined up government (JUG) initiative in 1999, which was a response to perceived problems caused by fragmentation, such as failures to achieve important goals of public policy, and the lack of coordination between different government bodies. Although the centre acknowledged the role of localities and public involvement in the policy process, but it also experienced that overactive participation of these actors lead, as Tom Ling (2002) argues, to institutional conservatism - people resisting change - and to organisational as well as functional fragmentation (p. 631). So, JUG became a symbol of an acceptance and response to the challenges brought by governance (Mathew Flinders, 2002, p. 51). It became a panacea, which promised to reassert central strategy over a fragmented system (Richards and Smith 2006, p. 332).

As Ling (2002) notes, "Just as the functional separation of state agencies is a necessary part of managing the complexity and is the characteristic feature of the modern state (Poggi, 1990), so too is the development of strategies to deal with the problems this creates." (p. 617)

So, the centre started active reshaping of the core executive, emerging as a strong coordinator of the governance system as well as a direct provider of services through JUG and its constituting units.

The Joined up working was pushed by Blair through the creation of different specialist bodies such as the Social Exclusion Unit, Women's Unit, Rough Sleepers' Unit, Anti-drugs Coordinator and most importantly the Performance and Innovation Unit, which aimed at improving the capacity of the government to address strategic issues and encourage innovations in the development of policy and in the delivery of the government's objectives (Flinders, 2002, p. 59).

As Kelman (2006) notes, the involvement of the core executive in performance improvement through these organisations reflected a transition from policy making to "delivery" (p. 394). Similarly, Taylor (2000) suggests that the creation of the units represented a "filling in" process – a direct response to the hollowing out of the center's strategic coordinating ability. Moreover as Burch and Holiday (2004) argue, the center is even more powerful now than it was in the past, as it holds many more resources, has direct control of policy and extensive monitoring power (p. 16).

Since 2001 with the development of the Prime Minister's Delivery Unit (PMDU), the core executive obtained a degree of formal control over the implementation of policy and over determining the role of localities in this process. The PMDU has reimposed the power of the centre over the fragmented and separated area of policy delivery and ensured the implementation of the government's central agenda (Richards & Smith, 2006). Lindquist (2006) points out that delivery and implementation units can be seen as another tool for core executives to ensure that key expectations of the center about how policies should be designed and implemented are met. Additionally, the centre started using a regime of Public Service agreements as a new tool of providing control over the policy formulation and implementation process. This project concerns the delivery issues and improvement of public services in health, education, welfare and criminal justice (p. 315).

So we see that the centre began a process of reinvention and this change was brought about by the necessity of coherent government policies and effective implementation in such strategic areas as health, education and social safety. Exworthy and Powell (2004) argue that the centre's active role in policy implementation became one of the most important factors for ensuring effective and coherent implementation of policies. According to these authors, successful implementation is more likely when there is first of all a (traditional) vertical (central-local) dimension which is complemented with horizontal dimensions of both central-central (joined-up government at the centre) and local-local (joined-up governance at the periphery) (p. 264).

They illustrate this argument with the empirical evidence derived from the case study of the UK Labour Government's health inequalities policy implementation which revealed enormous difficulties in establishing a consensus between various local and private agencies about equity objectives. The conflicts arose between various local agencies over policy mechanisms such as joint budgets because of different priorities regarding health inequality issues, which generated accountability problems. This urged the core executive to take the lead and introduce mechanisms to foster policy

implementation. In particular, it has stimulated inter-agency partnership working as the means of achieving consensus.

Sabatier (1986) also notes that the role of the top-down approach is very important in ensuring the effectiveness of implementation when a state wants to tackle a dominant public programme in a certain policy domain (p 36).

However as Levitt (1980) argues in some cases local agencies may have more experience of the problems connected with policy implementation, so they may claim that they know best how to solve them compared to central agencies which may be more concerned with short-term results. So they should be given freedom in determining the implementation process. But, a strong core executive does not deny the role of localities; however it is cautious about the results of the policy because of competition and conflicts over the priorities between the local communities. Accordingly center employs “carrot and stick” strategy, giving more freedom and flexibility to schools, hospitals and local government for improved services thus providing incentives to failing services which in case of necessity will “[R]eceive intervention in proportion to the risk of damaging underperformance” (Office of Public Service Reform 2002, p 17) (Richrads & Smith, 2006, p 337). This role of an arbiter became very important for the center, especially after the fragmentation of policy process.

The need for a strong core was also stimulated by the differences between private and public interests in policy implementation. The principal/agent model, established as a result of NPM which aimed at empowering the private sector in delivering policies created problems with accountability and provision of public interest. This model turned the government into the purchaser and private actors into suppliers of different services. From the time the contract was signed between these actors the government was not supposed to track “how” the implementation or service delivery was executed. But, market and private incentives are very different from public ones. If, for example, the goal of policy is to reduce hospital waiting lists this target could be achieved by refusing treatment to certain groups according to the rules of efficiency for a private system, but this policy could lead to a disaster for public interest. (Richards & Smith, 2006). The problem of probable damage to public good and public interest also urged the recreation of the strong center.

Tony Blair’s government ensured that all new initiatives of the center slowly lead to an increase in monitoring and controlling power of the state, thus creating a strong core of policy makers and implementers in the British executive. As the former Prime minister said at the Liaison Committee:

‘One thing I do say though very strongly is that I make no apology for having a strong centre. I think you need a strong centre, particularly in circumstances where, one, the focus of this Government is on delivering better public services. In other words, the public sector for this Government is not simply a necessary evil we have to negotiate with; it is at the core of what the Government is about. Therefore, delivering public service reform in a coherent way it is, in part, absolutely vital for the centre to play a role. (Liaison Committee 2001/2002, para. 5) (Richards & Smith 2006, p. 331)

Gradually, the fragmentation of the system which transferred the responsibilities of government from ministers to autonomous agencies, as Taylor (2000) argues, suggested the opposite tendency to hollowing out - effectiveness required the concentration of policy action within fewer hands to facilitate the effective delivery of public services (p. 48).

These trends leading towards a strong core were not surprising and were even necessary to the strength of the state. As Saward (as cited in Marsh, 2003) argues, the state, instead of hollowing out is experiencing an external erosion of its capacities, due to the rise of international and supranational organizations. This leads to the development of new forms of intervention and instruments to keep the state one whole.

As Marsh et al (2003) point out, the key policy makers are within rather than outside the core executive (p 315). The core executive relationships with other actors involved in policy making are asymmetric, with most of the power resting with center. As Heffernan (2003) notes, the core executive in Britain can be segmented, but not fragmented (p. 348).

Conclusion

The reforms of 1980 created a hollowed out state, where the core executive was separated from the delivery and policy implementation functions. The reason for new reforms seemed quite rational: the overactive and interventionist role of government resulting in too many failed policies and unsatisfied public interest. But, what did the reforms bring as solutions? Fragmentation, greater complexity, congested state with competing actors and interests creating postponed, prolonged policies with vague goals. So, a strong core is necessary in order to solve the problems of implementation through serving as an arbiter for conflict resolution and providing coherent policies in order to satisfy public interests. The core executive has resources at its disposal, that make the government qualitatively different from any organisation in the policy domain, the increasing complexity of which creates the necessity of a joined-up center in leading the process of policy making and implementation.

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გაჭიანურებული კონფლიქტური სიტუაციები და მათი გავლენა ხანდაზმულ ადამიანებზე

დევისი ჯანეტ
ოქსფორდის უნივერსიტეტი

იძულებით გადაადგილებული პირების მდგომარეობა კარგად არის განსაზღვრული, მაგრამ კვლავაც მიმდინარეობს კამათი, ჩაითვალოს თუ არა ეს პირები ჰუმანიტარული მისიის მატარებელ პირთა სპეციალურ კატეგორიაში. ჰუმანიტარული მისიის კატეგორიაში იძულებით გადაადგილებულ პირთა ფორმალური შეყვანის მიზანს არ წარმოადგენს მათთვის პრივილეგიის მინიჭება, არამედ მათი საჭიროებების დაკმაყოფილება. მე ვფიქრობ, რომ არსებობს საფუძველი შეიქმნას იძულებით გადაადგილებულ ხანდაზმულ ადამიანთა სპეციალური კატეგორიაც. ასაკოვან ადამიანთა შორის წარმოებული კვლევა გვიჩვენებს, რომ მათ სურთ არსებობდეს უფრო დაბალანსებული შეხედულება როგორც მათ მოთხოვნებთან, ასევე მათ შესაძლებლობებთან დაკავშირებით. UNHCR2000-თან (გაერთიანებული ერების უმაღლესი კომისია იძულებით გადაადგილებულ პირთათვის) ერთად ჩატარდა კვლევა დავეხმაროთ ხანდაზმულ ადამიანებს, ასაკოვანი ხალხი კატასტროფებსა და ჰუმანიტარულ კრიზისში: საუკეთესო გამოცდილებების გზამკვლევი, რომელიც გვაჩვენებს, რომ მოხუცები არ ითვლებიან დაუცველ ნაწილად სააგენტოებისა და არასამთავრობო ორგანიზაციების მხრიდან. ეს ხაზგასმით მიანიშნებს, რომ გაჭიანურებული სიტუაციების მოსაგვარებლად მნიშვნელოვანია ჰუმანიტარული ფაქტორების გარდა სხვაგვარი ჩართულობის განხორციელებაც.

Protracted Conflict Situations and Their Impact on Elders

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I am convinced that research can and does have impact on society and individuals. Research impacts both practices and norms, (Adelman 2008). Maybe we can remind ourselves at this conference that we are not therefore just addressing research for research's sake but endeavour to not lose sight of the human thread through all this namely the people themselves.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) plight is well documented but there is still debate as to whether they should be recognised as a special category of persons for humanitarian purposes (UNHCR 2006, p. 155). The late 1990s and early 21st C have seen UNHCR take on even greater responsibility for the protection of IDPs who unlike refugees have not crossed an international border (Loescher et al. 2008, p. 111). These scholars and others are discussing protracted refugee situations (PRS), longstanding and intractable – state of limbo – and sometimes recurring. What is striking is that the people concerned are spending much time in exile usually the result of several impasses as evidenced in Georgia.

The purpose of formally identifying internally displaced persons as a category for humanitarian action is not to confer privileged status on them, but to ensure that their unique needs are addressed. Experience has shown that special attention to particular disadvantaged groups – whether refugees, IDPs, minorities or women – has enhanced their protection. Singling out the internally displaced makes it easier to call upon governments to assume responsibility for them and to press for international action on their behalf (UNHCR, 2006, p. 156). I think there is a case for making IDP elders a special group also.

IDPs have special needs. Displacement breaks up families and severs community ties. It leads to unemployment and limits access to land, education, food and shelter. The displaced are particularly vulnerable to violence (UNHCR, 2006, p.115). Research amongst older people, (Elders), shows they want a more balanced view presented of both their needs and capacities. They question the common image of them as disabled, unproductive and dependent. However, understanding of and sensitivity to the chronic problems of older people contributes to an awareness of how their difficulties become acute in emergencies as the limited support on which they have relied is damaged or destroyed. This undermines their capability to cope from their inner resources. The resilience and agency of older refugees is not always highlighted.

Isolation is significant in the creation of vulnerability. Elders' problems become complex with the destruction of families and communities, which probably includes the loss of support mechanisms that they had previously been dependent upon.

Research carried out by HelpAge International with UNHCR 2000, *Older people in disasters and humanitarian crises: Guidelines for best practice* shows that older people are not often considered among the most vulnerable by relief agencies and NGOs. Agencies priorities, assumptions and delivery systems can limit or impede older people's access to humanitarian assistance. Immediate survival in an emergency often depends on rapid access to relief. Long-term rehabilitation depends on the renewal of coping and support mechanisms.

Some older people report experience of problems in accessing relief aid at times and find themselves excluded from economic and social recovery. 'Even when agencies carry out participatory assessments of need at community level to determine relief priorities, older people's vulnerability and their potential contribution to relief delivery and rehabilitation tend to be ignored' (HelpAge, 2000). Older people have consistently asked to be seen, heard and understood, to have equal access to essential support services, to have their potential and contributions recognised, valued and supported.

Many elders feel that with help in generating an income they could manage most of the practical problems focused on by relief agencies. Experience shows that this requires changes in the way essential services are delivered and the way older people are viewed. Not that special service should be established for older people but integration of older people into mainstream services and ensuring equity of service provision throughout the displaced community.

Chronic problems of health and mobility are not seen as a priority in most emergencies, yet it is these problems that make it difficult for older people to support themselves. Limited mobility can create difficult problems for older displaced persons. Some older people are disabled by the loss of mobility aids, prostheses and spectacles during the emergency period when fleeing. Age specific issues, such as chronic health problems, mobility and psychosocial needs are specific factors that make it difficult for older people to support themselves through a crisis.

Separation from, or loss of, family members leads to isolation, bereavement, and loss of support. It is extremely difficult for them to cope with the trauma of losing homes as also scattering of community and even family ties. Consequently, many elders are leading lives of isolation.

Older people sometimes have to care for younger children or other dependants in the absence of middle-generation adults. The break down of social structures impacts on loss of family and community support and loss of respect for older people as cultural and social values break down. In extreme cases this results in abandonment. The distress and disorientation caused by sudden changes in social status are compounded by trauma and stress resulting from loss of family, home and livelihood. Recognition of the importance of integrating the memory and history of pain, loss and trauma in the process of reconciliation and renewal, and the particular role played by older people in this process.

Older people hold indispensable roles as carers, while their knowledge of traditional survival systems, appropriate technologies, and alternative medicines can be crucial to the implementation of community coping strategies in and after crises. Elder's sense of history can help safeguard communities' cultural and social identity, even in situations such as refugee centres and camps, where negative 'camp culture' can prevail.

Older women contribute in many ways as income generators, caring for children, the sick, or orphaned dependants, teaching younger people, by example of co-operative action in farming, food production and shelter construction. Older people can be aid givers as well as receivers of aid. Therefore their assistance to others means that support of Elders via healthcare or income generation activities, skills training or credit, ultimately supports their families and communities.

Little attention in the research has yet been undertaken as to how older people can be helped to fulfil valuable roles in rebuilding communities. Acknowledgment of their unique contribution should not lead to adding to their responsibilities without increase in support.

Older women are often more numerous in refugee populations, but age and gender are often stumbling blocks and may exclude them from decision-making and re-

sources. They are more likely than older men to be caring for children, with long-term responsibility for bringing children up.

Complex political emergencies are linked to issues of isolation and separation, transport and mobility, destruction of social structures, and erosion of respect and status, as well as loss of identity papers and other personal documents.

Gender and age discrimination combine with mobility limitations and physical strength to hide older people in emergencies. Older people feel they are 'not being seen' and that agencies fail to consult older people on their needs and priorities.

While appreciative of initial relief, older people are dissatisfied at short-term relief that does not address their long-term problems. They feel deeply that such aid risks dependency and does not aid sustainable community-based self-help initiatives that could avoid older people becoming more vulnerable. Despite this, older people identify families, mutual support groups and relief agencies as their most important sources of support during and after an emergency.

If invisibility, exclusion and powerlessness are common themes emerging from the experience of older people, then consultation, inclusion, and empowerment through partnership are the primary indicators for good practice.

Humanitarian literature provides understanding how displaced persons make sense of their losses. Psychological losses are must also be accounted for. Displaced persons experience grief because they have lost a sense of their future, their community, and most importantly, their home. All aspects of loss must be addressed in order for people to regain human security.

Loescher and Milner (2008) argue that in PRS the UN Peace Building Commission could provide a forum for these to be addressed. The establishment of the PBC draws together the full range of actors required to formulate and implement truly comprehensive solutions for protracted refugee situations, and therefore a unique opportunity to articulate a system-wide response. This highlights the importance of engaging more than humanitarian actors in the quest to find solutions for protracted situations. Protracted refugee situations will only be resolved through the sustained engagement of a broad range of actors from all sectors of the international community.

An illustration of the protracted situation of displaced persons in Georgia was given to me in personal discussion with a young woman who described her family situation when they became internally displaced. Parents and grandparents and their only child fled Abkhazia in 1993 and sought a haven in Batumi. They were accommodated in a hotel. The protracted nature of this situation is evident when she relates that the family lived in that accommodation for twelve years. During that time there was no hope of returning home. The grandmother felt the loss of their home and community deeply and died without realizing the hope and desire of return. All that remains of that home are the family photographs. They now live in the capital leading everyday lives. However, their photographs as illustration of their memories are ever-present reminder that they are displaced persons in a protracted situation.

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საბანკო სექტორის განვითარების სტრატეგია არამდგრად გარემოში

ხომერიკი თემურ
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტის

საქართველოს ეკონომიკამ, მიუხედავად გლობალური ფინანსური კრიზისისა და რუსეთის მიერ განხორციელებული აგრესიისა, რამაც სერიოზულად დააზარალა ქვეყანა და ეკონომიკის ცალკეული დარგები, შეძლო ეკონომიკური სტაბილურობის უზრუნველყოფა. არსებული არასტაბილური რეალობა ხელს არ უწყობს მწყობრად შედგენილი სტრატეგიით მოქმედების ბანკინგის პრაქტიკაში დანერგვას და საბანკო სექტორის განვითარების სტრატეგიების ვადიანობა არ აღმატება 2-3 წელს. თანამედროვე მენეჯმენტის პრაქტიკა კი ადასტურებს, რომ ახალი ეკონომიკის პირობებში წარმატებული კომპანიების უმეტესობა ეყრდნობა მმართველობით სტრატეგიებს, ბიზნეს-პროცესების ეფექტიანობას, ორგანიზაციული სტრუქტურის თანამედროვე კონფიგურაციებს (დიზაინს) და მათ ადექვატურ კორპორაციულ კულტურას. ბაზელის კომიტეტის რეკომენდაციებით, ორგანიზაციული სტრუქტურა და შიდა აუდიტის სისტემა უნდა იყოს ბანკის სტრატეგიასთან შესაბამისობაში. ნაშრომში ყურადღება გამახვილებულია საქართველოს საბანკო სისტემის მდგომარეობაზე და თანამედროვე გამოწვევებზე, საქართველოს საბანკო სექტორის განვითარების ტენდენციებსა და ეროვნული ბანკის ახალ როლზე, ასევე კომერციული ბანკების სტრატეგიებზე მოქმედ ფაქტორებზე. ამ მხრივ შეფასებულია ბანკის არამატერიალური აქტივები, რომლებიც ყალიბდება შინაგანი კომპეტენციების (ეფექტიანი ბიზნეს-პროცესები, ოპტიმალური ორგანიზაციული სტრუქტურა, პერსონალის პროფესიული კვალიფიკაცია, ორგანიზაციული კულტურა და ა.შ.), გარეგანი კომპეტენციების (ურთიერთკავშირი აქციონერებთან, ინვესტორებთან, პარტნიორებთან, კლიენტებთან, სახელმწიფო ორგანოებთან და სხვა დაინტერესებულ აუდიტორიასთან) და დინამიკური შესაძლებლობების (მოხილურობა, გადაწყვეტილებების ოპერატიულად მიღება, სწავლების გზით ორგანიზაციული განვითარება, კარგი კომუნიკაციები, წარმატებული გამოცდილების დანერგვა და სხვ.) შეჯერებით ერთიანი სტრატეგიის ფარგლებში. გაკეთებულია დასკვნა, რომ კომერციული ბანკების მართვის სამამულო პრაქტიკაში წარუმატებლობები ხშირად განპირობებულია არა ცუდად შემუშავებული სტრატეგიით, არამედ მისი განხორციელების და იმპლემენტაციის არაეფექტიანი სისტემით.

The Strategy for the Development of Banking Sector in Turbulent Environment

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Modern management practices show that in terms of new economic environment majority of successful companies are based on managerial strategies, efficient business processes, new configuration of organizational structure and adequate corporate culture. According to the recommendations by Basel Committee, organizational structure and internal audit system should correspond to the banking strategy. Against the background of global processes, world's entire financial market is being developed, resources are being moved easily and virtual economy is being activated on the basis of internet technologies. Financial globalization results in unification and standardization of financial services as well as business processes and puts national banking systems under one unified international control. As a result of it, the role of intangible assets is constantly increasing and the importance of strategic approach is evident. The above said changes the conjuncture of national as well as world's other markets and high lights the issue of global competitiveness. These processes influence the trends of development in the banking systems:

Consolidation of banking capital is taking place – up to 80% of world's banking capital belongs to 12 largest international banking institutions. Against the background of the crisis in mortgage markets, merging and unification of banks is accelerated;

Traditional banking operations give a way to innovative products: bank clients replace traditional deposits with more profitable and liquid securities, which results in increased demand on portfolio management and financial consulting services. Corporations are increasingly emitting their securities in substitution of bank credits, though the same banks serve clients on capital market, which is the basis for their nontraditional incomes.

Improvement of banking services is more and more related to the use of modern Information and communication technologies.

Organizational configuration is adequate to network, virtual organizations, and e-commerce requires formation of "virtual banks". The attention is increasing towards the growth of banks' market price by improvement of each component within the network of values.

Investment banking business is being developed through integration of investment banking, insurance security and other financial banking businesses. Investment banking includes emission of securities for clients and organization of primary setup, as well as operations on secondary market of securities, which provides banks with profitable business. Banks' strategy is more closely linked to its clients' interests, which is the supreme factor for banks' competitiveness.

Competitiveness of commercial banks greatly depends on the values offered by banks and compatibility of these values to their clients' needs. Physical persons and organizations use different criteria for evaluating banking operations. While corporate clients pay attention to banks' reliability and stability, physical persons' views on banks is mainly based on public opinion. For physical persons, the trust in any bank is enhanced by bank's engagement in social programs, social-political events, development of branch network, implementation of new technologies, etc. Corporations pay specific attention to the quality of delivered service and qualification of employees, and correspondence of declared mission and strategic goals with business interests. In this regards, bank's intangible assets play an important role; that are formulated by internal competences (effective business processes, optimal organizational structure, professional qualification of employees, organizational culture, etc.), external competences (relations with shareholders, investors, partners, clients, state agencies, and other stakeholders) and dynamic opportunities (mobility, quick decision-making, organizational development through trainings, good communications, implementation of best practices, etc), within the scope of unified strategy.

In Georgia, commercial banks' development strategy is greatly influenced by State's monetary and credit policy and the priorities set by the national bank. Despite the global financial crisis and Russian aggression, that inflicted great damage on the country and specific fields of its economy, Georgian economy managed to provide stability. Though, despite certain progress in the field of economy, Georgia still lags behind its neighbor countries and post-soviet states. After the Rose Revolution fiscal order was established in Georgia; the large-scale privatization with participation of foreign capital and direct investments provided large supply of foreign currency, which determined the conjuncture of internal currency market; in particular, foreign citizens have to convert USD into local currency to operate in the country. Up to the recent period, currency appreciation was characteristic for the local currency LARI; though, it is worth mentioning, that natural and artificial methods of appreciation influenced realization of exporting capacity of the country. According to the results of the analysis on the investments made in Georgia, incoming investments were mainly fragmented and thus less stable. During the past years, majority of investments were related to construction of international oil and gas pipelines. Since then investments were mainly directed towards the service industry, and investments received via privatizations are of single nature, if not followed by capital investments. So far the country could not attract capital for high-tech trends. It is a fact, that capital investments made into real estate and infrastructural facilities improves overall situation, but it is less effective in terms of industrial and export growth. In perspective capital investments should be promoted in those sectors of production, which will support the growth of export capacity of Georgia.

The Bank of Georgia must ensure stability of financial system and support economic growth; for this reason current and possible risks must be identified and reduced. Currently, risk factors influencing forecasted dynamics of consumer price are mainly related to fluctuation of global oil and food prices, risks related to geopolitical and geo-economical issues, import of inflation from trade partner countries, etc. Risks

related to inflation finds its resemblance on the formation of credit market and banks' strategies, as instability of the environment is increasing. Inflation negatively influences social-economic state of the country, that is why the government is obliged to fight inflation, elaborate anti-inflation plan and by its implementation enhance financial-economic stability of the country. Two main approaches are identified: first is implementation of adaptive policy, which implies adaptation of economic activities with inflation processes; the second is minimization of inflation via implementation of anti-inflation policy. Adaptive policy involves high risks and it is a temporary measure that does not give desirable results in long-term; Anti-inflation measures were identified as priority for Georgia by the recommendation of international financial organizations. Therefore, monetary and Keynesian approaches that are based on maneuvers of monetary aggregates and exchange rates, gradually give a way to regulation of process i.e. inflation. It is called inflation targeting, which means orientation on specific target meaning of inflation during forecast period.

Regarding the above-mentioned, current strategy of the National Bank of Georgia was defined by the resolution of Georgian Parliament on "basic trends of monetary-credit and currency policy for 2010-2012", which established the main goal – in order to maintain stability of prices in general, as well as purchasing power of the local currency, it was needed to keep average annual rate of inflation not more than 6 %; (though it is admissible to deviate from this rate under unpredictable circumstances). According to the official information, priority of the country's currency policy still is reduction of sharp fluctuations of nominal exchange rate of LARI and "LARIZATION". Correspondingly to the enhancement of local currency rate, the prices on many consumer products went high compared to nominal increase of their prices in GEL. According to the document, monetary policy of the National Bank will not respond to temporary and minor deviations of inflation. Such forecast was born at the crossroads of neoclassic and neo-Keynesian concepts and is based on the following activity of the National bank: forecast of expected level of inflation; comparison of desirable (target) level of inflation with expected (forecasted) figure; correction of monetary policy in order to neutralize difference between the goal and the forecast. The main principle of this regime is independence of the national bank in selecting monetary-credit mechanisms. As it was already mentioned, National Bank of Georgia mainly uses the following tools of monetary policy: refinancing loans; (liquidity delivery); deposit certificates' auctions; (removal of liquidity); state securities operations; currency swap operations; currency interventions, permanent tools; (one-day loans and deposits); minimal reserve requirements, etc. Thus, formation of banks' strategies is influenced by basic monetary tools applied by the National Bank, especially open market operations, that serves as the main and the most effective tool of the national bank.

Usage of open market operations means operations of the national bank with commercial banks via selling-purchasing the securities and /or with further redemption. For this purpose the National Bank of Georgia uses its securities – deposit certificates and state treasury stock. The National Bank withdraws money from turnover and thus limits money supply, but at the moment of acquisition of securities, the National bank increases money supply and establishes mandatory reserve standards. On the basis of

relevant normative act, the National Bank obliges all commercial banks to keep part of their deposits and loans in the National Bank. Change in mandatory reserve standards influences money supply and credit terms and conditions. In particular, by increasing mandatory reserve standards, the National Bank limits credit resources available for commercial banks. Thus, banks can grant small loans; loan limitations result in limitation of money supply. Decrease of mandatory reserve standards has a contrary impact on money supply. One of the most important tools of the National bank is permanent loan means. Commercial banks can receive one-day loans from the national bank with penalty interest rate. If commercial bank does not have sufficient available funds, first of all, it may apply to interbank credit market, and if its requirement is not satisfied – apply to the national bank. While taking a one-day loan from the National Bank, the commercial bank is obliged to pledge either state or national bank securities. The National bank is also involved in currency operations. The National Bank interferes into currency market on a regular basis. While acquiring foreign currency at interbank currency market, the National Bank injects LARIS into economy and thus, increases money supply; when the National Bank sells foreign currency, money supply is decreasing.

Current global crisis and 2008 August events had negative impact on social-economic environment of Georgia. Flow of investments was decreased (portfolio and direct investments decreased up to five times); export-import structure is irrational – import is four times as much as export; besides export products are mainly represented not as final products, but as scrap-iron, copper, hazelnuts and other raw materials; the vast majority of enterprises are not operating; Foreign capital abandons risk zones and liberalization of economy will not be sufficient enough for providing adequate incentives for the owners of cheap money. Apart from serious damages of infrastructure, people's trust towards banks and national currency is decreasing. Stability of Georgian banking sector is greatly determined by the conditions on real estate market. More than 30% of loans, granted by commercial banks, are related to this very sector. Rapid development of real estate sector during "high credit season" was accompanied by rapid increase of prices on real estate, though the problems in the financial sector resulted in decreased prices and demand. As a result of reducing credits by commercial banks, developer and construction companies started to receive limited funds for their project. Problems in real estate sector reflected on the quality of loans granted by commercial banks and by June 2009, 52% of business loans granted to construction sector were classified as inoperative. If we compare the coefficient of adequacy of supervisory capital in Georgia to the same coefficient of eastern European and other neighbor countries, we will see that inadequacy of capital in Georgia is much higher than in many other countries. It is worth mentioning that Georgian Banking legislation reflects Basel I principles, though some specific requirements towards banks are still more conservative. In particular, primary and supervisory capital for Georgian banks must make no less than 8-12 % of risk-assessed assets, while Basel requirement does not exceed 4-8 %. There are other differences in the methodology referring to calculation of capital's adequacy. Namely, loans granted in the foreign currency have risk assessment figure of 75% in Georgia. Basel I does not imply such requirement;

besides, residential houses and apartments' loans encumbered by the mortgages have risk assessment figure of 50%. At the same time, it must be noted that due to high "DOLLARIZATION" of banking sector in Georgia, currency risk plays an important role, as many bank clients, who get loans in foreign currency, have incomes in local currency. In many countries that have joined Basel I, currency risk is limited to open currency position only. Despite this, Basel I requirements envisage risks related to both, interest and investments into securities; these are not assessed in Georgia due to their absence. High demands on capital's adequacy decrease credit resources available for banks and loans issued to economic sector. Therefore, according to currency risk, by the decision of Financial Monitoring Agency of Georgia, assets assessment coefficient was reduced from 100% to 75 % in September 2008.

Flexibility of small economies regarding taxation and economic freedom will not be a counterbalance to the decisions made by the big 20. All the above mentioned will find its resemblance on increasing the level of unemployment, which has already reached its peak during the past five years in Georgia; according to the official sources it reached 16.5% (it is worth mentioning that the developed countries, that reach 11% of the unemployment rate, appeal to special measures). With this index Georgia evens with Kyrgyzstan, Iraq, Morocco, etc. Closest neighbors – Russia, Turkey, Armenia and Azerbaijan have not crossed 5-10% barrier before the crisis. As for Uzbekistan, Belarus and similar countries, unemployment did not exceed 2% of economically active population. Unemployment rate has always been high (40 %) in Turkmenistan, Bosnia Herzegovina, Kosovo, etc. Rise in unemployment level was obvious in Georgia. In particular, during past five years number of economically active population was decreasing and according to official statistics it made 1 900 000 persons by 2008, out of which 1.6 million is considered employed; More than one- half of the employed population is self-employed in agriculture; according to the latest data, number of people employed in business sector does not exceed 311 000 persons, while 315 000 people are officially registered as unemployed; Number of registered businesses / enterprises was increasing during the past five years. It reached 280 000 units during the past two years, when amendments in legislation resulted in simplifying the registration process. Majority of employed people work in large companies and small enterprises; as for the medium business - it lags behind. Business is in condition of financial starvation. Interest rates in banking system increased dramatically; besides the terms became stricter. Last year over 200 million Gel of "bad debt" was written off. Granted loans are three times as much as deposits; it decreases their liquidity. Money transfers from outside are also reduced in number – it made 7 % of GDP and its 63 % was received from Russia. Georgian immigrants find it difficult to maintain their businesses in Russia and other countries, due to political and economic constraints. Foreign debt (GEL 3.7 million) increased significantly during past two years; and soon it will be necessary to accumulate funds to settle this debt. According to donor-provided funds, 2 billion USD out of 4.5 billion USD is US loan; as for the rest, they are grants that must be used to ensure economic stability (budget support 930 million USD and support for banking sector 700 million USD), development of infrastructure (power, communications, etc. 1273 million USD), urban and municipal services (257 million USD), increase of in-

vestment and support to IDPs (1248 million USD is designated for social sector, and 7 million USD will be spent on environment protection).

Georgia will find it more difficult to recover from the crisis, due to the undeveloped financial markets and unbalanced economy: the rate of debt increase exceeds the growth of GDP; employment capacity is decreasing in leading fields: construction, trade, financial sector and service industry. Increase in prices is not yet catastrophic due to the fact that import-oriented Georgian market applied price-lowering policy during global crisis; though in the nearest future, changes in pricing strategy are expected to take place in trade partner countries and aggravation are envisaged.

In spite of the facts, mentioned above, in 2009, after an year from the august events, according to the evaluations provided by rating agency Fitch Ratings, Georgia's rating went from "B+" to higher "BB" and the condition was assessed as stable, thanks to international financial assistance. Country's long-term credit rating went up to "B+", according to rating agency Standard & Poor. It is also worth mentioning that possible increases of other rating indexes are also forecasted. After 4% downfall in 2009, Georgian government predicts 2% economic growth in 2010. Banking sector is also livened up (see table 1).

Georgian banking sector is in a process of permanent reforms. During the transition period new mechanisms for distribution of funds and new financial relations were established; structures that distribute finances on securities and monetary capital market were developed. The role of banking and financial institutions was highlighted as one of the most important ones in these relations. The market of business loans does not correspond with its development to the up to date economic growth. Besides, banking assets increased twice as much during the past three years and made 42.6 % of total GDP (this ratio is lower than those of developed countries). Though, the share of their own capital in commercial banks' assets is still minor and the level of deposits' dollarization is quite high. Despite of the fact that institutions in financial sector have developed, their number per capita is lower than the same indexes in leading countries (in total, 19 banks operate in Georgia; 15 operate with participation of foreign capital; branches of commercial banks make 124 units and 416 service center units; 1390 currency exchange points, 14 insurance companies, 39 micro financing organizations, 18 credit unions, 6 pension funds, 1 stock exchange are registered). Non-banking financial sector makes 5 % of Georgia's financial sector and does not have a systemic meaning. Despite the fact that demand on low-interest credits is quite high among population, people go to banks to pay for utilities. As for micro-financing, its structure is not very different from the structure existing in post soviet space: development of venture investment funds, financial leasing and franchising, mutual support among small structures and self-financing via establishment of credit unions and other self-financed systems (credit unions, funds, mutual insurance, etc.), micro-crediting, state guarantees on loans and other forms. According to experts' evaluation, Georgia's non-banking micro-financing organizations and commercial banks covered 1/3 of potential clients; remaining micro enterprises satisfied their needs for financial resources by means of cash transactions from different sources. Before 2005, interest rate on credits as well as on deposits was decreasing. Since 2005 the process changed its direction and at the

Table 1.
Basic figures of Georgian commercial banks of April 1, 2010

	Bank	As of 01.04.10 (MIO USD)						Provi- sion/ credit portfolio	Change in 2010 I quarter			
		assets	cap- ital	Ac- counts of legal entities	Accounts of physi- cal per- sons	Opera- tion (profit & loss)	Net profit (loss)		assets	credit	deposits of legal entities	de- posits of phys- ical persons
1.	Bank of Georgia	1 662	348	373	326	15,1	14,3	14%	6%	6%	11%	8%
2.	TBC Bank	1 031	182	203	405	9,1	2,5	11,7%	4%	5%	9%	7%
3.	Bank Republic	422	55	87	138	2,0	-4,6	15,6%	-9%	-2%	-27%	1%
4.	Procreditbank	441	53	62	172	3,9	2,4	5,6%	8%	-1%	11%	7%
5.	CARTU Bank	261	68	20	19	3,9	1,2	13,6%	-6%	2%	-17%	-52%
6.	VTB Bank	237	20	80	43	1,4	1,0	11,3%	8%	2%	71%	8%
7.	Liberty Bank	208	21	94	62	1,2	1,1	10,9%	7%	9%	7%	17%
8.	KORSTANDART Bank	174	29	61	51	-0,1	-0,9	6,6%	12%	11%	17%	6%
9.	TAO PRIVATE BANK	101	17	35	18	-0,5	0,0	22,7%	-3%	-4%	-2%	17%
10.	BTA bank	59	14	12	3	-0,3	-8,2	32,3%	-31%	-30%	-55%	-15%
11.	BASIS BANK	67	12	25	20	0,1	0,5	4,9%	-2%	23%	-13%	14%
12.	HSBC bank	66	10	10	5	0,1	-0,5	6,3%	-18%	4%	-55%	-9%
13.	CONSTANTA	41	7	0	0	0,4	0,1	3,2%	8%	8%	2%	15%
14.	International bank of Azerbai- ian	20	6	6	0	0,3	0,2	18,0%	-55%	-4%	-79%	922%
15.	Halik bank	16	15	0,3	0,5	-0,4	-0,4	2,0%	-4%	-47%	6%	42%
16.	Ziraat bank	13	9	2	2	0,0	0,0	24,8%	1%	-8%	0%	7%
17.	Investbank	11	7	4	0	-0,1	0,0	6,2%	34%	5%	694%	-50%
18.	Caucasus devel- opment bank	8	7	0	0	0,0	0,2	33,2%	-3%	3%	-49%	49%
19.	Progressbank	8	6	0	0	0,0	-0,1	4,7%	1%	35%	13%	269%
	banking system in total	4843	886	1 074	1 265	35,0	8,8	12,4%	2%	3%	2%	5%

beginning of the year, interest rate on foreign currency deposits made 10.1 %, on credits – 16.7 %. Interest rates dramatically increased from 2008, as majority of banks suffered from lack of available / free means. These processes were influenced by August events and on the background of banking sector's aggravated liquidity and in order to avoid follow-up problems The National bank of Georgia established refinancing loans and reduced minimum reserve requirement from 13 % to 5 %. Minimum average liquidity was decreased from 30 % to 20 %. After settlement of foreign liabilities with the help of international financial institutions, Georgian banking sector returned to the position of positive liquidity. By the end of August 2008 the highest interest rates were registered during the period of last five years: 23.1 % on credits, 10.7 % on deposits. This tendency was sustained in 2009 and interest rate on credit reached 25%; later the situation was relatively normalized and by the end of last year credit interest rate lowered to 21.2 %, deposit – 9.3 %. Currently, on the background of critical events in banking-financial world, loan interest rate, which was catastrophically increased, is insignificantly going down and it has once again proved superficiality of so called "successful" banking reforms – in reality, Georgian commercial banks support themselves via classic mediations. Thus, action strategies of their majority do not differ from spontaneous activities of a broker.

Thus, existing instable reality does not support the implementation of linear banking strategies, besides the strategies aiming the development of banking sector do not exceed 2-3 years. Failures in management of local commercial banks are mainly caused not by poorly elaborated strategies, rather by ineffective system of execution and implementation of such strategy. Oftentimes, strategic management starts and ends with preparation of the document on strategic development, and competitive positioning with identified advantages is never made. From the best examples of successful business organizations we may assume that, in order to achieve strategic goals and tasks in an instable and dynamic environment, it is necessary to develop different scenarios for development, choose the most adequate one and adapt it to the to specific situation. In terms of globalization, banking industry requires execution of one of the approaches for development of banking business-structure: universal character of banking institutions or in-depth specialization. Obviously, only large banking structures can claim universality, and relatively small financial institutions are happy to find appropriate market niche. In the environment of enhanced competition, caused by the global financial crisis, many banking institutions apply focusing strategy, which forces banks to develop balancing and effective regime. Based on clients' interests, increasing number of banking products appear on local loan market, which indicates use of differentiation strategies together with striving for leadership with low costs. The above-mentioned strategies require non-typical approaches towards requirements of corporate as well as single clients and focusing on different interest-groups. Analysis of strategic alternatives often leads banking institutions towards diversification policy, though this should not damage bank's performance on traditional markets and quick response to regular customers' needs.

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ქართლის (აღმოსავლეთ ქართული სამეფო) პირველი ქრისტიანი მეფე მირიანი და მისი წარმომავლობის საკითხი

სანაძე მანანა
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

ძველი ქართული წერილობითი წყაროები გვაწვდიან, ერთი შეხედვით, ურთიერთგამომრიცხავ ინფორმაციას ქართლის პირველი ქრისტიანი მეფის - მირიანის წარმომავლობის შესახებ:

მირიანის მამა იყო რევი - „მოქცევაჲ ქართლისა“

მირიანის მამა იყო ირანის შაჰი ქასრე არდაშირი, შესაბამისად მირიანი სასანიანთა (ხოსროიანთა) დინასტიას ეკუთვნის - „ქართლის ცხოვრება“.

რადგან მირიანის უფროს ვაჟსაც რევი, ანუ პაპის სახელი ერქვა, ამიტომ ისტორიკოსებმა უპირატესობა მიანიჭეს პირველ ვერსიას და მეორე - „ქართლის ცხოვრების“ ცნობა, მირიანის, როგორც პირველი ქრისტიანი მეფის განდიდების მიზნით შექმნილ ლეგენდად მიიჩნიეს.

ქართლის მეფე ამაზასპის (დაახლოებით ახ. წ. 230-265) და მისი დისწულისა და შემდგომი ქართლის მეფის - რეგ მართალის ეპოქის შესწავლისას, ჩვენი ყურადღება მიიქცია ფაქტმა, რომ რეგ-მართალის შემდეგ, „მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ“ ასახელებს მირიანამდე ხუთ მეფეს მისი მამის რევის ჩათვლით, მაშინ როდესაც „ქართლის ცხოვრება“ ასახელებს ოთხს. ამ მიმართულებით კვლევამ გამოავლინა, რომ მირიანი რეგ მართალის შვილი იყო, ხოლო მათ შორის დასახელებული მეფეები, მირიანის ჩათვლით, მეფეთა ჩმონათვალში ერთმანეთის მიყოლებით ორჯერ მეორდება. შეცდომის მიზეზად ძველი უცნობი მემკვიდრის მიერ მეფეთა რიგის შემცველი ორი ოდნავ განსხვავებული ნუსხის სხვადასხვად მიჩნევის გამო, მათი ქრონოლოგიური თანმიმდევრობით ერთმანეთის მიყოლებით მოთავსება იქცა.

„ქართლის ცხოვრების“ მიხედვით მეფე ამაზასპის შემდგომი ქართლის მეფეები არიან: რევი (რეგ-მართალი), ვაჩე, ბაკური, მირდატი, ასფაგური, მირიანი, ბაკური, მირდატი, ვარაზ-ბაკური. აქედან ასფაგური ბოლო წარმართი მეფეა. მის შემდგომ მოდის მირიანი - პირველი ქრისტიანი მეფე და პირველი სასანიანი, ქასრე არდაშირის ძე. „მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ“ მეფე ამაზასპის შემდეგ ასახელებს მეფეებს: რევი, ვაჩე, ბაკური, მირდატი, ასფაგური, რევი (მამაჲ მირიანისა), მირიანი, ბაკური, მირდატი, ვარაზ-ბაკური.

უნდა გავითვალისწინოთ, რომ დაახლოებით 368 წელს, რომელიც სარდალი და ისტორიკოსი ამიანე მარცელინი ქართლში მეფედ ასახელებს ასფაგურს და არა ვარაზ-ბაკურს. ამან ისტორიკოსებს აიძულა ასფაგური ქართული წყაროების - ვარაზ-ბაკურად ელიარებინათ.

თუ ჩვენ მეფეთა ზემოთ მოცემულ რიგს ორ მწკრივად დავწერთ და ვარაზ-ბაკურს ასფაგურით შევცვლით, რაც ამიანე მარცელინის გათვალისწინებით სრულიად უდაოა, შედეგად ვღებულობთ შემდეგ სურათს:

< რევი (მართალი), ვაჩე, ბაკური, მირდატი, ასფაგური

< რევი (მამა მირინის), მირიანი, ბაკური, მირდატი, ასფაგური (ვარაზ-ბაკური)

მეფეთა ამ ორი მწკრივის იდენტურობა სრულიად აშკარა გახდება, თუ გავითვალისწინებთ, რომ სახელი ვაჩე, რომელიც მირიანის ნაცვლადაა მოცემული ირანულად „ბავშვს“, „ყმაწვილს“ ნიშნავს. ხოლო მირიანი სწორედაც შვიდი წლის იყო, როდესაც მეფედ აკურთხეს.

„ქართლის ცხოვრების“ მიხედვით რევ-მართალი სომხეთის მეფის შვილია და ქართლის მეფე ამაზასპის დისწული. უნდა გავითვალისწინოთ, რომ შაბურ I-ის მიერ სომხეთის მეფის ხოსროს მოკვდინების შემდეგ, რასაც ადგილი ჰქონდა 253 წლისათვის, 253-272 წწ.-ში, შაბურის გარდაცვალებამდე სომხეთის მეფე იყო შაბურ I-ის უფროსი ვაჟი და ირანის ტახტის მემკვიდრე - ჰორმიზდ-არდაშირი. შესაბამისად, ერთადერთი სომხეთის მეფე ვისი შვილიც შეიძლება ყოფილიყო რევ-მართალი, შაბურის ვაჟი ჰორმიზდ-არდაშირი იყო. ვინაიდან რევ მართალი ამაზასპის დის წულია, ჰორმიზდ-არდაშირი დაქორწინებული ყოფილა ამაზასპის დაზე.

არაპირდაპირი მოწმობა ამისა, უნდა იყოს „ზოროასტრი ქაბას“ ცნობილ წარწერაში, ჰორმიზდ-არდაშირის მეუღლის მოუხსენებლობა, რამაც მეცნიერებს ამ ქალის არასასანური წარმოშობა აფიქრებინა.

საბოლოოდ უნდა დავასკვნათ, რომ „ქართლის ცხოვრება“ სწორია, როდესაც ქართლის პირველ ქრისტიან მეფეს, მირიანს, სასანიანად მიიჩნევს, შეცდომა მხოლოდ რიგითობაშია: მირიანი იყო ქართლის ტახტზე სასანური დინასტიის რიგით მეორე წარმომადგენელი, თავისი მამის რევ-მართლის შემდეგ.

Mirian - the First Christian King of Kartli (Eastern Georgian Kingdom) and the Issue of His Descent

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Sources relating to the descent of Mirian contain conflicting, mutually exclusive data:

1. Mirian is the son of the Persian Shah Ardashir – *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* (*The Georgian Chronicles*)
2. Mirian is the son of the King of Kartli Rev – *“Moktsevai Kartlisai”* (*Conversion of Kartli*)

Since the elder son of Mirian was also called Rev, which - similar to the current trend of giving the name of the grandfather to a child - was common in the Middle Ages and the Antiquity, Georgian historians chose to rely more on the information of *“Moktsevai Kartlisai”* and considered the information of *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* about Mirian’s origin - as a deception intended to glorify him.

A special study of the issue has revealed that Mirian was really of Sassanid descent, but he was the son of the King of Kartli Rev, too. The fact of the matter is that Rev himself was the son of the Persian Shah Hormizd-Ardashir, the son of Shapur I.

There is just a minor imprecision in *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”*: the son of the Shah of Persia was Mirian’s father Rev and not Mirian himself; however - through his father’s line - Mirian was naturally of Sassanid descent.

So, the information of the sources, which seems mutually exclusive at first glance, turned out quite compatible and well-matched as a result of the study.

The above-mentioned ancient written sources have preserved information on the number of pagan kings of Kartli, which is 28.

“Moktsevai Kartlisai” refers to Azo as the first king of Kartli. However, *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* – that starts numbering the 28 pagan kings with Parnavaz - seems to contain more precise information on the issue. The chronicle that the historians used were the Parnavaz family chronicles, aimed at registering the reign of the dynasty. The process of the division of Kartli into two kingdoms – Mtsketa and Armazi – lasted for about 80-90 years (approx. 60 BC- 40/50 AD). In that period there reigned the following kings on the two sides:

Bartom//Bratman - Kartam//Kardzam;
Parsman// Parnabazi – Ka-os//ake-os;
Arzok//Arsuk (Arshak,) – Armazel//Amazaer (Qardzam II);
Hamazasp//(Hamazaspuhi) – Deruk (Ardok//Artag//Artok//Aderk III)
Parsman II – Mirdat//Mitridates

We replace Hamazasp - presented as the father of Parsman by mistake (in reality she was his wife and reigned after him together with her little Mirdat//Mitridates) - with Mirdat//Mitridates and thus restore the name and place of Parsman's father on the list, who was well-known from Tacitus. It turns out that his pair was Deruk (Ardok III), the son of Armazel//Kardzam II (known from Movses Khorenatsi as the king of one part of the Kingdom of Kartli) and at the same time a descendant of Ardok II - Aderk of *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"* (90-60 BC). The reign of two kings actually came to an end here. Mirdat//Mitridates, presented as the pair of Parsman II (35/40-68), was actually his brother, and not a pair. Mirdat//Mitridates reigned in Armenia in the same way as Ghadam//Radamist//Adam - the elder son of Parsman. Nonetheless, they have still been entered into the list of kings. And this is not in the least surprising. What really matters is who reigned out of the Parnavazians and how long the reign lasted and not where these people reigned.

After that, there was the reign of the son of Ghadam//Radamist//Adam whom we identify with Flavius Dades; after him reigned Hamazaspuhi - the wife of Parsman II with her son - Mirdat//Mitridates, and then — the son of Mitridates - Parsman III.

Thus, the number of kings is 24. Apart from this, from epigraphic inscription (Armazian Bilingua) we also know Kseparnuk and we can suppose the father of Hamazasp - Parsman IV (according to *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"*), then Hamazasp himself and after him his nephew Rev. We can see how the number of pagan kings goes up to 28. Thus, we get 28 pagan kings, including Rev. The issue is the rest 4 pagan kings: Vache, Bakur, Mirdat and Aspacures. In fact, none of them was pagan. They were all Christian kings. After missing Qseparnuk and Parsman IV, the father of Hamazasp, from the list, the author of *"Moktsevai Kartlisai"* who used the chronicle, got a smaller number. Since the historian got the number of pagan kings, which was smaller than 28, he continued the list and failed to pay attention to the fact that he included some of the kings twice. The kings coming after Hamazasp are: Rev, Vache, Bakur, Mirdat, Aspacures. After the latter, *"Moktsevai Kartlisai"* points out: "Rev, the father of Mirian". After Rev, the author lists: Mirian, Bakur, Mirdat, Varaz-Bakur.

If we compare the two lists of kings, the mistake of the the historian will become evident. It would be enough to note that Amiane Marcelini refers to Aspacures as the King of Kartli for 368. This way in historiography Aspacures is identified with Varaz-Bakur of *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"*. It is considered that Varaz-Bakur is the same Aspacures of Amiane Marcelini. Let us put it the way it is:

Rev, Vache, Bakur, Mirdat, Aspacures

Rev, Mirian, Bakur, Mirdat, Aspacures //(Varaz-Bakur of "Kartlis Tskhovreba" and Moktsevai Kartlisai)

It becomes obvious that the two lists are the same, especially if we realize that Vache, written instead of Mirian, is an Iranian word, which means "a youngster, a child" and Mirian was really a child (7 years old) when he was crowned. Thus, Vache is the same Mirian, and in this way - a Christian King. That is why we get 28 pagan kings, including Rev.

Amiane Marcelini before Aspacures mentions Miriban as the king of Iberia (361/2), whom some historians identify with Mirian. But, he could not have been Mirian and must have been Mirdat, the king who reigned before Aspacures (mentioned as Varaz-Bakur by mistake in *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"* and *Moktsevai Kartlisai*)

In this way, we can get the chronology of the kings of Kartli from the reign of Hamazasp (about 230 AD) to Aspacures (368 AD).

Hamazasp - about 230-265
 Rev (the same Rev the Righteous) - 265-280
 Mirian//Vache - 280-330
 Bakur, his son - about 330s -350s
 Miriban//Mirdat grand son of Mirian about 355-365/367
 Aspacures - from 368

Out of the listed kings, only Rev and Hamazasp were pagan.

Hamazasp is an important figure in the history of pre-Christian Kartli. *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"* gives us a detailed description of his life. In this chronicle, which we call "Mtskheturi" conditionally, there is a clear indication of the trace of blending. The chronicle starts with the description of the life of Hamazasp and the narration continues till Aspacures. A historian of the later period could not understand the chronological bounds of the chronicle. He linked the beginning to Parsman III and unconsciously doubled the last three kings. This happened because the historian seemingly had the list of the chronicle, where Mirian was referred to as "Vache" - a youngster and where Aspacures was replaced with Varaz-Bakur. That is why the historian provides information on Mirian, Bakur and Mirdat (Miriban) and does not tell us anything about the rule of Vache, Bakur and Mirdat, apart from mentioning the fact of their reign: "and after Vache, his son Bakur came to the throne; and after Bakur - Mirdat, the son of Bakur reigned..."

This is comprehensible: indeed, the chronicler placed the three kings on the king list twice and thus doubled the number of kings. But he could not tell us about "the life" of the same king twice!

Let us return to the reign of Hamazasp. Two epigraphic inscriptions lately discovered in Bagineti (1993 and 1996) give us some important notes from the biography of this king of Kartli. Though these two inscriptions were discovered at different times, it is obvious that they belong to the same person - Queen Drakontis, the wife of king Hamazasp. From the inscription it becomes clear that Drakontis was the daughter of the king of Armenia - Vologezes (Valarsh).

Inscription #1: "the kings (the name of the kings are not decipherable) Mamamdzudze and Ezosmodzgvari (tutor and governor) had an underground construction (or: a water-pipe and a bath or a water-pipe for a bath) made at his own expenses and contributed it to the Queen Drakontis".

Inscription #2: (the name of the person in the dative case) to the daughter of the king of Armenia Vologezes and the wife of Hamazasp the King of Iberians, Anagranes, Mamamdzudze and Ezosmodzgvari contributed an underground construction (or: a water-pipe and a bath or a water-pipe for a bath) built with their own hands."

In Armenian historiography the death of Valarsh (Vologezes II) cannot be dated precisely. However it is assumed that he reigned in the period before 198. According to Movses Khorenatsi, Valarsh II was alive before 216 and Khosro, the father of Trdat, was his son and direct heir. Based on the above-mentioned inscription and the Zoroastrian Kaaba, we can conclude that Movses Khorenatsi was right in dating the death of Valarsh II to 216. Hamazasp, who was the King of Kartli in the 260s and was at the age when he could participate in his last fight (about 265 AD) - where he died ("The Life of Hamazasp") - could not have been the husband of a woman whose father died in 198 AD.

The current inscriptions clarify the dates of king Hamazasp's reign. Zoroastrian Kaaba's inscription told us that he was the king of Kartli by 262. The Baginetti inscriptions, discovered in 1990s, make it clear that it was King Hamazasp and not Aspagur that reigned at the time of Armenian king Khosro. And the passage from "Aspagur's Life", which describes the struggle of Georgians and Armenians against Sassanids, tells us about the joint fight of Khosro and Hamazasp and not Khosro and Aspagur. And all this was possible till 256 before Shabur I killed Khosro. As for Hamazasp's nephew (son of sister) Rev, who - after the death of Hamazasp in the battle - as the son of an Armenian king becomes the governor of Kartli - is the first Sassanid on the throne of Kartli; because in the middle of 260s, when the above-mentioned should have happened, the only Armenian king was Shabur's son and his heir Hormisd-Ardashir. Consequently, Rev could have been the son of only Hormisd-Ardashir.

This can explain why Hamazasp occupies such an important place in the Zoroastrian Kaaba Inscription. There is another fact confirming the above statement. In the inscription, apart from the sons of Shabur, there are also their Sassanid wives. Just two of the wives of princes are not mentioned on the inscription, which makes V. Lukonin doubt their non-Sassanian origin. One of the two princes is Hormizd-Ardashir. By the way, the son of Hormize Ardashir - Hormizdak - is mentioned in the inscription of the Zoroastrian Kaaba. However further he disappears. We consider that named Rev, he became the king of Kartli after the death of Hamazasp, approximately in 265.

A few years later Shabur I died (272) and his son Armenian King Hormizd Ardashir became Persian Shakh. Hormizd-Ardashir was not Shah for a long time. Soon he died. After his death the heredity of the Shah throne continues through his brothers and their sons: Varakhan I (274-276), his son Varakhan II (276-293) and later Shabur's brother Nerse (293-302). Afterwards, descendants of Nerse ascended the throne. As for the descendants of Hormizd-Ardashir, they disappeared from the political arena of Iran for ever.

Upon the confrontation of the inscriptions of "*Kartlis Tskhovreba*", *Moktsevai Kartlisai*, Zoroastrian Kaaba and the Inscriptions of Baginetti, we can see that after the killing of Hamazasp, inspired by Iran, the Sassanid branch came to the throne in Kartli. Namely, the son of the King of Armenia - the nephew of Hamazasp, known as Rev in Georgian sources, was actually the son of the Shah of Iran Hormizd-Adashir, probably the same Hormizdak. Presumably, that is why he disappears from the Sassanian Palace after the death of his father. Hormizdak//Rev was removed from the Iranian throne because of the non-Sassanian origin of his mother and to him was given "a northern

province” of the Sassanid Iran. In *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”*, information on the size of the territory where he ruled is presented accurately (though the chronicle mixes facts from the lives of Rev and his son Mirian). There is the following list there: Kartli, Armenia, Ran, Movakan, Hereti. Facts from the life of Mirian are presented in a different way. In the biography of Mirian, there is a confluence of his life with that of his father Rev.

Based on *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* the King following Hamazasp in Kartli was Rev. At the same time from one of the segments of the old Iranian text describes the voyage of the disciple of Mana – Mar Amo - we can learn that the King of the Varuchan country (Iberia//Kartli) by 272 is HBZA, whom M. Tsotselia wrongly identifies with Hamazasp. The thing is that the Mana Teaching is one of the early-Christian sects. It is closely associated with other Judaic Christian Gnostic sects. We can see from the inscription of Mar Amo that the king of Kartli became one of the followers of the sect in question. Georgian sources have no similar information about Hamazasp. Though, they contain the following statement on king Rev. *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* relates the following about him: “However king Rev was pagan, he was merciful and gracious to all those in need, since he had listened to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and he had love for Christ. During the reign of Rev there was no killing of youngsters in the Kingdom of Kartli for sacrificing to idols, as before. And while he reigned no one ever killed youngster for idols. Instead, the King suggested to people to offer sheep and cows in sacrifice. For this the king was called Rev the Righteous”.

Based on the above given information we should have no doubts regarding to which of the kings of Kartli came to Mar Amo and to whom he preached his doctrine. While considering the name “Rev” M. Andronikashvili states that it should be an abbreviated form of the composite “Rev Niz”, which is translated into Georgian as the defearer of falsehood (Rev is an Iranian name which means “false, perfidious”). The scholar also remarks that the Georgian “Martali” (Righteous) should be the translation of this “Revniz”. Thus, name Rev(niz) and the Georgian equivalent “Martali” is the nickname of the king, the same way as the name “Vache” is the nickname of Mirian. The real official name of the king should have been Hormizdak, as we have stated. Most probably that is what the inscription HBZA means, where “baza” is the second constituent word of the religious name of the Kings of the Parnavazian Dynasty in Kartli (Parna-baza). As for “H” - we consider that this must be the first letter of the name “hormizdak”.

One thing is evident. By the time Mar Amo came to Kartli in 272, it was ruled by the nephew of the King of Kartli Hamazasp – the son of the “Armenian King” Shah of Iran Hormizd-Ardashir – possibly Hormizdak. Hormizdak, is known in Georgian sources as Rev(niz), that is “Righteous” because of his tolerance of the Mana Doctrine, soft-heartedness and justice to his subordinates. Hence, at the end of the 260s the Sassanid Branch set in Georgia

According to *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”*, the first Sasanid was Mirian and not Rev. This unintentional mistake proceeds from the big mistake of the chronicler, when he failed to identify the sameness of two parallel chronicles and doubled three kings. The chronicler was informed on the settlement of the “Sassanids (Khosroians) and the “Sassanid origin” of King Mirian. Nonetheless, since he missed the direct link between Mirian

and his father Rev, he presented Mirian as the first Sassanid. This is how the information on “the Life of Rev” and “the Life of Mirian” interflowed and got mixed.

Hence, since Rev the Righteous was already the king of Kartli when Mar Amo arrived, he was presumably crowned no later than 266. We have come to this conclusion based on the following judgement: True, Hamazasp agreed to the situation in South Caucasus and recognized the rule of Shabur at that time (this connection of Iran and Iberia, as we have stated above, was also strengthened by marital ties: the sister of Hamazasp married the son of Shabur Hormizd-Ardashir) in reality he stayed an adherent of Rome. Such a dual position (from the point of view of Iranians) of Hamazasp came to the surface when Shabur arrested the emperor of Rome Valerian. According to the biographer of Valerian, Shabur I sent letters regarding the event to the rulers of various countries. Iberians showed a refractory position regarding the Iranian ruler. “and Iberians, Baktrielians, Albanians and Tauro-Scythian did not get the letters of Shapor. Instead they wrote letters to Roman military leaders and promised to send to them additional troops to release Valerian from captivity”.

The captivity of Emperor Valerian was directly preceded by the inscription of the Zoroastrian Kaaba. Therefore, in spite of the privileged place that Hamazasp occupies on this inscription (as he was the brother of the wife of the heir of Iranian throne), Shabur did not forgive his treachery. Shabur’s elder son and the heir of his throne, the King of Armenia of those times Hormizd -Ardashir - invaded Kartli on the command of his father, killed the king of Kartli in the fight and raised his son Rev (Hormizdak) to the throne.

“*Kartlis Tskhovreba*” considers that Hamazasp was defeated by Rome and its allies because of Hamazasp’s friendship with Persians. As we have seen, Hamazasp’s friendship with Shabur was conditional and the outlook of the former was clearly pro-Roman. Hamazasp was not a victim of Rome and its allies; rather, he was the victim of a joint military operation of Iran and its subordinates at that time (Egrisi – Western Georgian Kingdom - and Armenia). The fact that Hamazasp was confronted by Iran and its adherents (or the subordinates) becomes obvious if we consider the participation of Ovs (Alans) in the coalition. In this period, Alans were a pro-Iranian force. Iran should have been the inspirer the first attack of Alans on Kartli, which Hamazasp beat off nearly by 245/50 with the help of the Armenian King Khosro and King of Egrisi.

Right here, we would like to draw attention to “the Life of Mirian”, which contains a reference to the argument of Mirian with his step-brother over the inheritance of the throne after the death of the Shah of Iran. Actually, this was an argument of Rev, the same Hormizdak, with his uncles after the death of Hormizd-Ardashir in 274/75. Hormizdak, determined as the king of Kartli, who was the son of a mother of a non-Sassanid descent, was refused to ascend the throne of the Sassanids. Kartli and the nearby countries were given to him and his descendants to rule over. It is evident that Rev (Hormizdak) must have died at a rather early age since his son Vache, the same Mirian, ascended the throne at the age of 7.

Hence, Mirian could participate in the battle near Nissibin (in 298 he would be at least 18). The Shah of Iran – Nerse was his close relative and Mirian was perceived as the ruler of one of the northern provinces of the Unified Iranian State.

Based on the above-mentioned, we can have a different perspective of the note of “*Kartlis Tskhovreba*” that Mirian got a portion of the divided Sassanian wealth: Jazirat (the North part of Mesopotamia), a half of Shami (Syria) and Adarbadagan. It is not surprising at all that Rev and his heirs, after dethroned in Iran and after the separation of Kartli and the nearby countries as principedoms, they were given a part of the general Sassanian income in Mesopotamia, Syria and Adarbadagan, as a form of compensation.

In the end, we can conclude that the new historical sources presented in the current report, and based on them the re-consideration of information of old historical sources, open up a completely different, new perspective on the reconstruction of historical developments of third century Kartli, Egrisi and Armenia and the whole South Caucasus.

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მესიჯი და საბაზრო ტენდენციები

ბიბილაშვილი ლელი
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

კომპანიათა უმეტესობა საკუთარი პროდუქტისა თუ მომსახურების პოპულარიზებას და მის შესახებ ინფორმაციის გავრცელებას კომუნიკაციის საშუალებით ახორციელებს. კომუნიკაცია კი უმეტეს შემთხვევებში რეკლამის სახით გვევლინება. იმისათვის, რომ რეკლამამ წარმატება მოუტანოს კომპანიას უამრავი თანხები იხარჯება, ბიუჯეტის უმეტესი ნაწილი სწორედ რეკლამისთვის არის გათვალისწინებული. სწორედ ამ მიზეზის გამო ჩემს სტატიაში წარმოდგენილი საკითხი იმ საშუალებებს ეხება და განიხილავს, რაც ეფექტიანი გზავნილის და, შესაბამისად, რეკლამის ჩამოყალიბებისთვისაა აუცილებელი და მნიშვნელოვანი. სტატიაში განსაკუთრებულად ხაზგასმულია საბაზრო ტენდენციების, სამიზნე სეგმენტისა და აუდიტორიის ძირითადი და არსებითი მისწრაფებების, დამოკიდებულებების, განწყობების გამოვლენის, მისი მუდმივი კვლევისა და ანალიზის როლი ეფექტური რეკლამისა და გზავნილის შემუშავებისთვის. ამ მიზნით განხორციელდა პირველ ეტაპზე, კონკრეტულად სამოსის სამომხმარებლო ბაზრის კვლევა, ხოლო მეორე ეტაპზე მოხდა კვლევის შედეგებზე დაყრდნობით, როგორც მთავარი გზავნილის განსაზღვრა, ისე რეკლამის შემუშავება და მისი სამიზნე აუდიტორიაზე გავლენის განსაზღვრა რაოდენობრივ კვლევის საშუალებით.

Message and Market Trends

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Efficiency of advertisement is a critical issue for every organization, while successful advertising influences customer quantity, organization's awareness and positive image.

Measuring efficiency of advertisement is possible by observing its components and elements, but the most important part what drives a customer to react on advertisement is mostly message of the advertisement. Intention to behave according the message is determined by such factors as adequate reception, interpretation and internalization of the message. Construction of appealing message itself depends on our audience's deep research and knowledge of major market tendencies.

Message construction is the most important part of the whole marketing and PR campaigns and advertisements. Most significant is to decide on the adoption process of the message, during the message construction process it's essential to take into account that message will be adopted in case if the message can track audience's attention and make them aware of the product, then it should appeal interest in the target segment, then it should raise desire of trial and at last message should drive the audience to act on the message and react relevantly to the message.

In general audiences come to messages for very different reasons. People use mass media for several reasons, for screening and monitoring the environment, for entertainment, for reinforcement of their beliefs and opinions, and for making decisions about buying a product.

One of the most important facets is also appeal to self-interest, what I have used in my advertisement. Publics become involved in issues that appeal to their psychological or economic needs. Different emphasis may be done in the message, sometimes according to the need, sometimes emphasis is made on basic needs, like saving money, time, improving health, escaping pain, being secure or on satisfaction of more upper level needs, like comfort, popularity, enjoyment, difference, style and fashion, self-expression. Messages for passive and active audiences are, of course different. Passive audiences need messages that have style and creativity; passive audience should be lured by photos, illustrations and catchy slogans, while active audience seeks for information by himself and look for more sophisticated supplemental information. My advertisement is targeted on passive audience based on personal appeal and destined to catch their attention and arouse their interest.

Research of clothes' market presented in the article is destined exactly to reveal what the most effective message for the advertisement could be for retail.

According to my hypothesis, presented in the article, if message of an advertisement will be designed according to customer's aspirations, attitudes, and after that message will be verbally and visually perfected, than message will influence on customer's behavioral intention to try the product.

Market Research for Clothes Market to reveal main Communication Message

Main goal of the research is to reveal major trends of local clothes' market, in order to determine what the most effective message for advertising will be.

Research objectives:

1. Georgian customers' preferences during the clothing selection process;
2. Identification of Georgian customers' wearing and fashion style;
3. Identification of factors influencing buying behavior;
4. Identification of buying behavior characteristics in Georgian population;

Quantitative research conducted to reveal all the above mentioned tendencies. Tool used during the quantitative research was questionnaire. Research encompassed Tbilisi population. Number of surveyed respondents is 500. Data analysis was done by statistical software SPSS. Research report includes descriptive and conclusive data

analysis, namely calculation of frequencies and interconnection and correlation of variables through cross tabulation.

Sampling was done proportionally.

Research Analysis

First I want to discuss demographic characteristics of people surveyed. In total 500 people were surveyed from which 327 were women and 121 were men.

Age of the persons surveyed varies from 18 to 60. Interrelation of sex and age is as follows:

Sex	18-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-45	46-50	51-55	56-60
Female	30	33	28	44	75	49	37	31
Male	28	38	21	20	20	18	11	17
Total	58	71	49	64	95	67	48	48

It's also noteworthy to mention that income of the most of the respondents varies from 2001000 GEL

Income	Frecuency	%
Less than 200 GEL	90	18
200-500 GEL	201	40.2
500-1000 GEL	110	22
1000-1500 GEL	41	8.2
1500-2000 GEL	18	3.6
2000-2500 GEL	5	1
2500-3000 GEL	1	0.2
4500 GEL and more	1	0.2
Avoid to answer	33	6.6
Total	500	100

There was not observed serious differences between weights of respondents.

KG	Frequency	%
45	10	2
51-55	50	10
56-60	90	18
61-65	78	15.6
66-70	76	15.2
71-75	54	10.8
76-80	57	11.4
81-85	34	6.8
86 and more	49	9.8

*Major Tendencies**Preferences of Selecting clothes and brands*

In general, as the research showed Georgian customers prefer buying clothes rather than sewing. Buying process – shopping in Tbilisi is perceived as a comfortable process, this trend emphasizes the fact that Tbilisi's market hasn't lack of choices and alternatives. Sewing is associated with negative aspects, such as waiting, unexpectedness, like clothes may not meet one's expectations and it may not fit well the customer. So to avoid such surprises 85% of Georgian customers prefer to buy clothes.

Clothing style

During the research respondents were given a list of alternatives of clothing style and they were to choose which style they prefer most, this list comprised:

1. Sports style
2. Classic style
3. Extravagant
4. Combination of Classical and Sports Style
5. Retro Style

As research data has shown most of the respondents, namely 40% prefer combination of sports and classical clothing style, 34% prefer classical and 25% sports style.

Psycho type of Georgian customers

Georgian customer's psycho type is a very important factor for successful positioning and targeting. What are their psychological attitudes, what meaning they put in word fashion determines the whole brand strategy and construction of message.

After the research data analysis, wearing clothes of high quality or brand is a means of self-expression, much more it makes more self-confident Georgian customers, raises their self-esteem and encourages the feeling of being different in their community and social environment. Most of the respondent, 70% of them, think that wearing a brand means being in the center of attention.

Research results give us opportunity to conclude, that wearing brand is perceived from Georgian customers as a means of security.

Factors influencing Buying Behavior

The other major facet for determining how to design effective message requires defining factors that influence buying behavior and decision making process. Options were:

1. Imitation of celebrities;
2. Consultant's advice;
3. Price of clothes;
4. Quality;
5. Liking
6. Dressing according to status;
7. Discount.

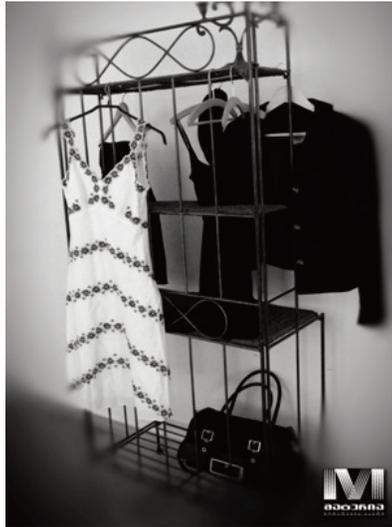
As research results revealed, Georgian customers pay great attention to quality, also if they liked the clothing while wandering in the shops.

According to market research and analysis, one of the major driving factors to buy this or that brand is having the feeling of difference in the social community where they interact, consequently the main appealing message should be constructed on the sense of being different.

To retest this tendency, I conducted the second stage of the research. I designed a poster-type advertisement, and decided to put the message of being different indirectly, for this reason effect of contrast was used in the advertisement. Namely, background is presented by black clothes and on the front side white dress is hanging.

On the advertisement logo of Georgian Clothes shop “Materia” is presented and there’s not written any slogan type information, because respondents should recognize the main idea and message themselves.

Advertisement looks that way:



Advertisement Message Monitoring

After developing advertisement, objectives of the second phase of research were:

1. To reveal if the target group perceives adequately the main idea of the advertisement
2. To assess the extent of influence on customer’s intention to buy the given brand

Methodology

Quantitative research method, namely questionnaire was used to monitor message efficiency. Taking into account advertisement content just women were surveyed, in total 100 respondents were surveyed throughout Tbilisi. Age of respondents varies from 18-45.

Age	%
18-20	10%
21-25	30%
26-30	33.30%
31-35	20%
36-45	6.70%

To reveal how adequately they perceived advertisement's main idea, respondents were to choose among given options and state how they thought what the main message of the advertisement was:

1. Demonstration of diversity of choice in the shop;
2. Just clothes advertisement;
3. Emphasize on difference and demonstration of different offers;
4. Idea is vague and hard to understand.

While it was impossible to measure the direct effect of an advertisement on buying behavior, because it is the issue of longitudinal and for this reason influence of message on intention was examined by following questions:

1. After viewing the advertisement would they enter the shop more recently and buy the product;
2. After viewing the advertisement they lost interest to enter the shop and try the products presented on the market.

Results

After the advertisement exposure 60% of respondents said that the main message of an advertisement is emphasis on difference, 30 % of them said that they perceive the advertisement just as an ordinary presentation of alternatives and options presented on the market.

Above mentioned result allows us to conclude that interpretation of message was done correctly and adequately.

Regarding their perceived influence of advertisement on buying behavior intention, here research has shown positive results. Most of them, namely 60% of respondents stated that they will enter the shop and try the products of the company presented in the advertisement. Just 40% of them refused to enter the shop and buy clothed there.

Conclusion

Based on research data, it should be concluded, that an advertisement, in general, was effective. Adequate perception of the message and intention and desire to visit the shop and try the advertised products gives me basis for making such assumptions.

Results emphasized once more how important is to study the audience and major market trends before developing a message. Messages should not be devised spontaneously, just on one or two persons' subjective opinion; advertisement should be designed only after audience's appeals thorough research especially in the modern society, where companies' most budget is spent on advertisements and communication.

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საწყალოსნო არქეოლოგია საზღვრებს მიღმა პროექტის აღწერა

სოდერლინდი ულრიკა
სტოკჰოლმის უნივერსიტეტი

სტატია ეძღვნება საქართველოსა და შვედეთს შორის ახლად-წამოწყებულ პროექტს საწყალოსნო არქეოლოგიასთან დაკავშირებით. პროექტს აფინანსებს შვედეთის ინსტიტუტი (სტოკჰოლმი, შვედეთი).

2009 წელს ილიას სახელმწიფო უნივერსიტეტსა (საქართველო) და სტოკჰოლმის უნივერსიტეტს (შვედეთი) შორის დაიწყო ერთობლივი პროექტი საწყალოსნო არქეოლოგიაში. პროექტის ფარგლებში ჩამოყალიბდა ჯგუფი რომელსაც საქართველოს მხრიდან წარმოადგენს სამი სტუდენტი არქეოლოგიის დარგში და შვედეთის მხრიდან ერთი დოქტორი და ერთი სტუდენტი.

სტატია აღწერს ჯგუფის პირველ საქმიანობებს 2009 წელში და პროექტისთვის 2010 წელში დაგეგმილ სამომავლო მიზნებს. პროექტის ერთ-ერთ სამომავლო მიზანს წარმოადგენს არქეოლოგიის სტუდენტთათვის სასწავლო ცენტრის შექმნა თბილისისში, რაც ასევე გულსხმობს ყვინთვის კურსებს.

Maritime Archaeology over the Borders- A Project Description

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Introduction

This article is about a recently started project between Sweden and Georgia in the field of maritime archaeology. The project is funded by the Swedish Institute (SI) in Stockholm, Sweden. The two universities involved in the project is Stockholm University, Stockholm from the Swedish side and Ilia State University, Tbilisi from the Georgian side.

The Beginning

The project started in 2009 when a group of students from Ilia State University came to Sweden with their assistant professor, the counter part in Sweden is PhD Söderlind, Ulrica.

The Georgian participants arrived in early May and the main goal for the Georgian students was to take diving courses in Sweden in the PADI-system. For the future of the project it was important for the students to learn to dive in cold and dark waters in dry suite. If one can do that, one can dive everywhere in the world. If one learns to dive in warm, clear waters with very good visibility and in wet suit, one can not manage to dive in cold, dark waters. It is much harder and more difficult to dive in a dry suit then in a wet suite and a lot more difficult to dive in dark, cold water with very limited visibility then in warm clear waters with a visibility up to 20-30 meters in all directions.

The diving courses took place at the dive centre DYKHUSET in Stockholm with Roger Hovind as the instructor. The Georgian students were in for a chock since the water outdoors was only +3 degrees Celsius. Learning to dive under such circumstances is not easy. Within a time period of two weeks the students managed to pass the first two courses in the PADI-system and got certified as Open water diver (OWD) and Advanced open water diver (AOWD). On an OWD certificate the diver is allowed to dive to the maximum depth of 18 meters and on an AOWD certificate the diver is allowed to deep dive below 18 meters.

The students also took part in excursions arranged by the Professor in maritime archaeology Rönby, Johan, Södertörns University College, Stockholm. One of the excursions was to a place called Landsort that is situated far out in the Stockholm archipelago. The island is very remote and has a lot of archaeological remains from different time periods. Professor Rönby, Johan took the group along with his students of maritime archaeology for a round tour of the island. The group spent a whole day on Landsort since the ferry communications is very scares in that time of the year.

The group also spent a day in the company of Professor Rönby, Johan and his students on Birka where the students were mapping out the underwater bed. Today Birka carries remains from what use to be an important trading town during the Viking era. The town was established around 700 A.D and was abandon around 900 A.D. The town lost its importance during the 10th century when the city Sigtuna was founded and rose up to be the new important city for trade etc. Sigtuna is also considered to be the first Christian city in Sweden. Birka belongs to what in Sweden is called the Viking age and the location has been excavated on land several times since the 19th century. However most of the excavations have been carried out on land, and mainly by the department of Archaeology at Stockholm University. Very little has been done under the water surface so a lot of questions still remain to be answered. Birka was received the status of world heritage in 1993 (http://www.raa.se/cms/extern/se_och_besoka/birka/birka.html).

Apart from these activities the group also visited the Vasa museum in Stockholm and was given a private tour of the museum and its magazines by the head of research

PhD Hocker, Fred. Vasa is a naval vessel from the 17th century and she sank on her maiden voyage in 1628. The reason why she sank is until this day very unclear. Vasa were refound by Mr Franzén, Anders in 1956 but Vasa did not break the water surface until the 24th of April 1961. The discovery and salvage of the ship makes her the only remaining intact 17th century warship in the world, that we know of today. Since Vasa sank on her maiden voyage in Stockholm Ström the ship was not fully provided and approximately 150 persons were aboard. The major part of the provision was going to be loaded aboard the vessel at Älvsnabben, where the remaining part of the soldiers and men also was going to come aboard. Even if Vasa did not make it even to her first destination the ship is today very important for maritime archaeologist all over the world (Söderlind, 2006).

Since the preservation conditions for organic material is very good in the cold, dark waters in the Baltic Area, Vasa is very well preserved both as a whole ship but also the personal belongings the 150 persons had taken aboard before they set sail. The group got a very good insight in the different kind of organic materials that has been preserved and is both on display in the exhibition but also stored in the magazines of the museum. Among other things the group was given the opportunity to smell Rum from the 17th century. The head of research also talked about the difficulties and challenges the researchers and staff at the museum is facing in order to preserve the ship and other organic materials for the future.

Later the same year, in September 2009 the Swedish part of the group arrived in Georgia and to Ilia State Universities base camp in Grigoleti, Black Sea, along with the Georgian participants. The main task for the stay was for the students to learn scientific archaeological methods to work below the water surface and to get more skilled in diving. Here it is important to stress that diving for a maritime archaeologist is a tool for getting the work done. Basically the methods used for underwater documentation of a site is the same that one land, however, if the site is a shipwreck for example the methods has to be adjusted to the nature of the site. To work scientific under water also requires a lot more of the archaeologist than working on land. The archaeologist needs to be in control of her/his buoyancy, know where the diving buddy is, where the rest of the group is, keep control of the air supply and the bottom time. In addition to that, there is also equipment to keep an eye on, so they do not get lost. All this takes a lot of experience and the best way to get it is to be given the chances to practice, practice and practice some more.

The students was given tasks on land in order to in a later phase take it under water and do the same., for example to draw profiles and plans in different kind of scales on millimetre paper. The plans was divided into different sections and they were put together when every item was drawn. The drawings were then transferred on to transparent millimetre paper. One thing that the students found difficult was not to talk to each other during the work on land, since it is not possible to talk to each other underwater during the time the work is carried out.

The Present

The group was very lucky since they received an invitation from Mr Delgado, James that is the current president for The Institute of Nautical Archaeology to visit the laboratory in Bodrum, Turkey. The laboratory in Bodrum is considered to be one of the world leading laboratory in conservation of water soaked artefacts and material. Part of the group spent three weeks at the laboratory in the beginning of year 2010.

Under the supervision of the head of conservation Mrs Rash, Kimberly the group members was taught the basic methods for conservation of wood, iron, marble and ceramics. To conserve water soaked material is very different from conservation of artefacts that has been in the soil in the ground. Conservation of iron caught the main interest of the group, even if working on ceramics also was highly appreciated. The group was given the opportunity to work on material from the Greece Bronze Age, via the Roman Period into the Byzantic time era. Visiting the maritime museum and have a chance to see the exhibitions on display along with the work on material from different time periods gave the students an insight in one of the most significant features of maritime archaeology. Namely the fact that maritime archaeology is not locked into one certain time period or geographical area. The sites (in this case sunken ships) decide for you what time period one is going to work on for the time being. This fact also requires a lot from the scientist/researcher since he/she needs to be very open minded in the work and let the material lead one where it wants to go. To work in this manner also means that the scientist/researcher usually needs to read a lot about different time periods. A very good opportunity to do so is to study at the library located at the laboratory, the library contains for the moment of approximately 7 500 volumes.

The Near Future

In May-June 2010 the Georgian students will be coming back to Sweden in order to take part in an excavation in co-operation with professor Rönby, Johan at Södertörn University College, Stockholm. The site has not been decided yet, but most likely it is going to be an inn in the Stockholm archipelago. These small inns are located within 20 km from each other and can be dated to the Middle Ages – 19th century in Sweden. This inns was very important to the passengers travelling along the coast, they provided travellers with a place to rest and sleep, food and of course schnaps to drink. Very little research has been done in Sweden regarding this inns or small taverns even if they possess a great deal of research potential (Söderlind, 2008). It is also planned that the Georgian students will give a series of lecture about archaeology in Georgia and the Caucasus at Södertörn University College.

A part from the activities in co-operation with Södertörn University College it is also planned that the group will take part in creating an under-water park at Axmar Bruk, Gävleborgs parish, Sweden in co-operation with Länsmuseum, Gävleborg. It is very important for the students to take part in this work since it is important for them to see that maritime archaeologist do not only excavate under water but also work with preserving the cultural heritage under water for the interested divers that are

not archaeologists. The park will consist of several signs that inform the diver what she/he sees under water. At Axmar Bruk there is remains from a wreck that is dated to the 16th century and remains from the production of iron from different time periods (personal communication, archaeologist Mr, Ulfhielm, Bo, Länsmuseet Gävleborg, 2009-12-28). A visit to the Åland Island is also planned in order to work in magazines and archives in Mariehamn.

It is also planned that the Swedish part in the project will return to Georgia some-time around September - October 2010. The idea is to set up a base at Tsikhisdziri Petra tshke. The site is a fort that dates to approximately 600 A.D and some excavation and investigations has been carried out in the fort; however the fort is not totally excavated. The Byzantic emperor Justinian founded a city at the location due to its military strategic location. The place was also an important place for trade, merchants travelled both on the waterways and by land. The route that combined the western part of Georgia with the other Byzantic provinces, Iran and Armenia. That made the location highly interesting from an economical point of view.

Just outside the fort is the shore line of the Black Sea, no surveys or excavations has been done under the water surface. After talking to local fishermen's we have indications of that it might be a foundation under water since the nets get caught in it. The fishermen's has also found loose findings of coins and amphora's. All this indicates that the sea floor bed is highly interesting from a maritime archaeological point of view. It is going to be very interesting to see what our investigation/excavation will bring to light from the underwater site.

Long Time Goals

The project has several long time goals; one is the intention to start up courses in maritime archaeology in Georgia as a part of the education system in archaeology with the assistant from Sweden. One step in that direction is for the Swedish part in the project to write an introduction book in maritime archaeology for Georgia. Another goal is that it will be possible to start an introduction course in archaeology of Georgia and the Caucasus in Stockholm. One step in that direction would be the book that it is planned that the Georgian participants will write for Sweden.

Yet another long time goal is to create a Centre for Maritime Archaeology at a university in Tbilisi, Georgia. It is important that a centre will be create in the field sine Maritime archaeology creates lots of interest in Georgia. And that is not just because of the Black Sea, maritime archaeologist also works with lakes, streams, creeks and wet lands. In order to become a maritime archaeologist, first one becomes an archaeologist and then a maritime archaeologist since it is not possible to work as a maritime archaeologist if one first is not an archaeologist. When the centre is created it would be very good for the students if it is possible to arrange for a PADI-Instructor to come to Georgia in order to learn the new students of maritime archaeology how to dive. It would be very good to see the ones that are now the Georgian students working at this centre in the future with a new generation of students. We are not there yet, but we hope that this project will build the first solid foundation stones for a long lasting and

flourishing co- operation between Sweden and Georgia in the field of archaeology and maritime archaeology.



Fig. 1

Two of the Georgian students of archaeology during their diving courses in Sweden in early May 2009. © Jaramillo, Rubi.



Fig. 2

2. Assistant Professor Tskvitinidze, Zurab (to the left) and professor Rönby, Johan (to the right) during a discussion on Landsort regarding the meaning of some foundations. © Söderlind, Ulrica.



Fig. 3

A student of maritime archaeology working on filling in the map of the findings after working under water at Birka. © Söderlind, Ulrica.



Fig. 4

The student group working on archaeological methods on land in Grigoleti, Georgia before taking it under water. © Tskvitinidze, Zurab.



Fig. 5

Two of the students working on drawing a profile on land before taking it under the water surface. © Tskvitinidze, Zurab.



Fig. 6

The group was taught the basic methods of conservation for example iron at the Institute of Nautical Archaeology in Bodrum, Turkey. The group members took great interest in the work.

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Fig. 7

Another material the group worked on was ceramics, from the first step to clean the edges of the shards to reconstruction of the full item. © Published with the courtesy of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology (INA), Bodrum, Turkey.



Fig. 8

The group outside the INA in Bodrum. Top row, left to right, Donadze, Paata (Georgia), Söderlind, Ulrica (Sweden), Beritashvili, Ioseb (Georgia). Bottom row, left to right Jaramillo, Rubi (Sweden), Mshvildadze, Madona (Georgia). Published with the courtesy of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology (INA), Bodrum, Turkey.



Fig. 9
View from the fortress at Petra facing the Black Sea. © Söderlind, Ulrica



Fig. 10
Some of the artefact of ceramic that was found aboard the Vasa ship when the ship was undergoing archaeological excavation. © Söderlind, Ulrica

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