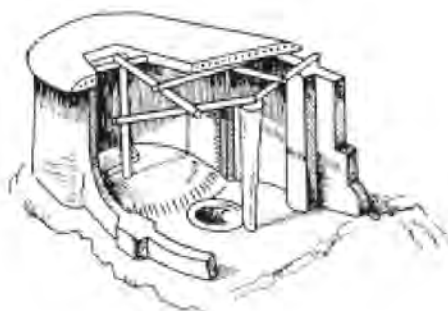


პაატა ბუხრაშვილი

**საცხოვრისის ფენოზენის
აღბილის
ბანსაგლვრისათვის
ქართული ერის
ყოფასა და კულტურაში
კვლელად**



თბილისი - კაიფულბერგი
2003

**1989-1993 წლებში საქართველოსთვის აღსრულებულთა
და დედისა და მეუღლის ნათელ ხსოვნას
გუძღვნი ამ ნაშრომს**

*Paata Bukhrashvili***Dwelling in the life and culture of the ancient Georgians****OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION.**

Relevance of the topic. The material and intellectual culture of the Georgians (and of the Caucasian peoples overall) has been studied for well over a century. A rich scholarly heritage has come down to us, due to the selfless and tireless labor of our predecessors. A particularly important stage in Georgian historiography began in the 1930's, formed in the political and ideological context of the times, from which stemmed a series of stereotypical models, which formed the background for the study of the history and culture of the Georgian people (or of peoples in general). Since the late 1980's, when the Georgians once again took up the task of self-realization and reform, much of the work which had been accepted without question came under new scrutiny.

It is well known that in such conditions creative energy appears with renewed force, as is reflected in the lives of contemporary Georgians. It is precisely these circumstances which inspired us to take up once again the question of ancient dwellings, against the background of the Georgian scholarly heritage.

Goal of the research. Proceeding from what was stated above, the primary object of the present work is to analyze the phenomenon of the dwelling on the basis of ethnographic and archaeological data, and situate it in stadially arranged social formations, according to their level of development; to address the question of the dwelling as reflective of spatial perception, and demonstrate the perspicacity of such an approach; to the extent that it is possible, to highlight the role of the dwelling in everyday life, taking into consideration those geographic and social-economic factors specific to the peoples of the Caucasus, especially those of its central region.

From the perspective of stadial development we will seek to outline the pathway from domestic religious practice ("hearth") to that of the tribal shrine ("sanctuary"), and thus determine the role played by spiritual factors in Georgian traditional life.

In effect, our approach to the concrete cultural phenomenon of the dwelling is based on that worked out by Acad. G. Chitaia in the field of Georgian historical research, drawing upon the intensive and multidisciplinary study of phenomena in their spatial setting — an approach rendered possible by the rich assemblage of materials already gathered.

As for the thematic orientation of our research, we consider appropriate the use of the term paleoethnology. This term might seem more suited to the study of ethnic unities already vanished from the historical scene, but we believe it also appropriate to the investigation of the Kartvelians and other Caucasian peoples, who have occupied their present territories for millennia.

Theoretical and archival basis of the dissertation. The present work is founded above all on the rich scientific literature on dwellings and domestic spaces published by Georgian and foreign authors. These include fundamental works by leading representatives of the Georgian archaeological (B. Kuftin, Al. Javakhishvili, Ot. Japaridze, G. Gobejishvili, K. Pitkhelauri ...) and ethnological (G. Chitaia, V. Bardavelidze, Al. Robakidze, R. Kharadze, M. Chartolani, T. Chikovani ...) schools. Among the foreign authors consulted we mention the names of J. Assman, J. Bergeman, J. Bretschneider, A. Böhnen, J. Mellaart, H. Müller-Karpe, E. Noll and R. Struwe, C. Renfrew, P. Bann, K. Schmidt, I. Motzenbacher, V. P. Alekseev, E. I. Krupnov, K. Kh. Kushnareva, V. M. Masson, and R. M. Munchaev.

Our dissertation's archival materials are primarily drawn from field recordings (audio, video, photographic) and journals collected by us over many years of participation in archaeological, ethnographic and ethnolinguistic expeditions. These include the expeditions to Svaneti organized by the S. Janashia State Museum (June-August 1980, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988); expeditions to Daghestan, Chechnia and Ingushetia organized by the Arn. Chikobava Linguistic Institute (May-June 1985 & 1987, directed by V. Kikilashvili); the Kakheti Archaeological Expedition (1983 to present, directed by Acad. K. Pitkhelauri); ethnographic and ethnolinguistic expeditions in Pshavi, Khevsureti, Svaneti, Racha and Guria organized by the

International Caucasological Research Institute (summers of 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004; winter 2005).

The present work was prepared for the most part in Germany, in active collaboration with German colleagues, due to the generous support of the German Academic Exchange Program (DAAD): Heidelberg University's Department of Prehistoric and Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology (September-December 1995, directed by Prof. Dr. Harald Hauptmann), Halle University's Institute of Oriental Archaeology and Art (September-December 2000, directed by Prof. Dr. Winfried Ortmann), and Heidelberg Academy of Sciences' Department of Karakorum and Central Asian Studies (June-September 2003, directed by Prof. Dr. Harald Hauptmann).

Scientific originality of the dissertation. Before beginning discussion of the subject matter, we wish to point out that both the present work and our candidate dissertation were characterized by an orientation along two directions: First, the work foregrounds those aspects of the dwelling, as a fundamental component of social life, which permit determination of an ethnic group's traditional culture. Second, from the rich and varied corpus of ethnographic and archaeological data are selected those whose interpretation, with regard to the theme of the dissertation, is realistically possible. This stance enabled us to take a panoramic view of the cultural life of the peoples of the region under study, which, to a significant degree, brought to the surface the ethnic processes which have taken place there over the millennia. In the opinion of Acad. A. Javakhishvili, despite the fact that the Georgian traditional dwelling has been studied in depth and in breadth by ethnographers, and also in the light of an enormous quantity of archaeological data, which has been collected and partially analyzed over the decades, until the present no one has attempted to submit the whole to interpretation as primary source materials for research on ethnogenesis.

In the present dissertation we will attempt, in the light of available materials, to demonstrate the role of the dwelling phenomenon and of domestic religious practice in Georgian traditional culture. On this basis, we will attempt, to the extent it is possible, to understand that component of ethnic-religious cognition, by which was enabled,

over the course of centuries, the formation of tribal social units. All of these factors, we believe, contributed to the development of national and state institutions.

In the 1980's and 1990's, both within and outside of Georgia, the multidisciplinary integration of diverse scientific disciplines was underway, as attested by the birth of ethnoarchaeology [174; 376; 369; 355; 356; ...]. Ethnoarchaeology, as a distinct historical and methodological approach, only developed recently, when it evolved as a subdiscipline of archaeology.

Our objective in the context of the present work is the analysis of the distinctive features of the Georgian nation and people, which distinguish them from other ethnic formations. We begin from the principle that each ethnic group, as well as the individuals composing it, is characterized by both a visible, tangible mode of life as well as an invisible, intangible spiritual component. A people can thus be conceived as an individual, which is born, grows, declines and sometimes disappears. The decline commences after the peak of development has been achieved, but between those two moments is the period of a people's greatest glory (Al. von Humboldt).

Practical utility of the present work. The dissertation and the results presented within it may be used in the preparation of a monograph or textbook on the history of the Georgian people. It may also be of use in both general-introductory and specialized university-level courses on the ethnology and archaeology of Georgia. In the dissertation are presented the theoretical and practical materials used by us in courses on paleoethnology taught in the Dept of Assyriology of the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Iv. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. We likewise hope that the present work will be of interest to upper-level students in secondary schools, and in general, to readers interested in the history of the Georgian people.

Approbation of the dissertation. Individual themes addressed in the dissertation have already been presented in the form of papers presented at scholarly conferences and symposia, at academic institutions both in Georgia and abroad. Among them the following can be mentioned:

Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg (1998-99), Fachbereich Kunst und Altertumswissenschaften. Institut für Orientalische Archäologie und Kunst. Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Konferenz der Deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften. Aktenzeichen 960.4-248. Habilitation zum Thema: „Behausungsphänomen im Südkaukasischen Kultursystem in der Epoche des Paläometalls“ (director Prof. W. Ortman); 25-28 May 1991 – 5th Conference on the Cultures of the Caucasus at the University of Chicago; 15-18 May 1993 – 6th Conference on the Cultures of the Caucasus at the University of Chicago; 4-8 April 1996 – International Archaeological Colloquium at Signaghi and Tbilisi; 15-22 April 1997 – International Seminar on „The Future of the Past in Eastern Europe“ at Lodz University (Poland); 4-10 10. 2004 – Conference on “Ethnic and Religious Identity” at the Georgian Technical University.

The dissertation also underwent approbation at the 8 December 2004 session of the Ethnology Department of the Faculty of History of TSU. The evaluation of the work was presented by Prof. S. Chanturishvili.

Dimensions and structure of the dissertation. The dissertation comprises 259 computer-printed pages. It consists in an introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. The main text is followed by a resume in English, a list of the literature cited in the work, index of tables and the tables themselves. The total size of the dissertation is 299 pages in A4 format.

Main content of the dissertation.

Introduction.

As a consequence of long-term organic integration with their homeland, a characteristic lifestyle developed among the Georgians. This is particularly evident in the richly variegated customs, traditions and norms of everyday behavior. To a significant degree they are conditioned by thousands of years of adaptation to the environment, and its associated biocultural and socio-economic forms. From the earliest times these complexes of economic-cultural relations implied the possession of the land by social units – families – on the basis of

juridical norms founded upon blood relationship. Such relations were firmly grounded upon common tribal shrines, through which was acknowledged the tribal territory's chief patron and regulator. It follows that each land-owning family of the tribe, on the basis of vassalage to the shrine, was directly responsible before the shrine, and, accordingly, the moral comportment of each tribal member was marked by deep and honest respect for the deity. There formed, accordingly, such moral and spiritual principles, that to act against the collective's system of values was tantamount to opposition to the divine patron itself. The gravest punishment for insult to the deity and the tribe was expulsion, which meant permanent separation from one's flesh and blood, one's family. From this it follows that the highest goal of each tribal member was service to one's own tribe and village, and therefore to one's homeland, motivated by awe of the divinity. It was precisely this fear of God that grounded the highest form of love, upon which developed the entire diverse spectrum of pan-Georgian or intra-regional customs, traditions and practices, many of which are continued to the present day.

The ethnic group is a specific unity of individuals, which depends not only on common genetic origins and spiritual-cultural unity, but also a shared historical fate.

Each culture fosters among the individuals who grow up within its womb a distinctive "cognitive screen", upon which they project and represent their perceptions of the external world. It is precisely in the nature of these cognitive screens that ancient and contemporary peoples differ from each other, in terms of the content and structure of their perceptions of reality.

There is one other essential difference between the habitual thought of ancient and modern peoples: Ancient peoples inhabited a universe of absolute veracity. They had clear and final responses to all cardinal questions: How the universe, their land and their ethnic group were created, what fate awaits them after death, etc. In ancient social thought, as a rule, there reigned a unity of belief, and individuals had little occasion to doubt general values; they had no need to choose among them. Contemporary people must be content with approximate, temporary and changeable responses to the same

questions, which is clearly a very different situation from that which dominated the everyday lives of the ancients.

Ancient peoples' relation to objects and knowledge was different as well. Now we often hear that contemporary people are excessively materialistic and focussed on things, but it must be pointed out that nonetheless, their relation is fleeting and superficial. Today people discard things as soon as something better or more modern comes along. In ancient times individuals and their possessions – house, land, tools and utensils, even the seemingly most insignificant – were bound by a deep, one might say, personal relation. Each object, created by an ancestor and passed down over generations, had its own fate, force, name; and it was only with great pain that the ancients parted with these artefacts. Anciently, possessors were tied by relations difficult for us to conceive to the land, the homestead, the loss of which was felt as a tragedy. In early societies possession represented one of the chief forms by which individuals “extended” themselves beyond their bodies.

Ancient societies were characterized by an orientation toward the past and the old. Ancient peoples were psychologically turned toward the past. If, for contemporary people, looking toward the past meant looking backward, for the ancients looking toward the past meant looking forward, whereas the future was behind their backs. This spatial metaphor underlies the Georgian word “ts’inap’ari” — literally “forebears” — in which it is clear that for ancient Georgians their flesh and blood, their children, were primary, and, in the perception of the living, those who passed away were not placed behind their backs but rather imagined as preceding the living on their life’s path like a lit candle. For traditional peoples the past is clear, visible; whereas the future is unknown and unseen. The ancestors light the path toward where the living go. Orthodox Christians perceive the space in similar terms, whom the saints (exemplary for their faith, ideas and kindness) lead on the path of earthly existence. We recall Vaxtang Kotetishvili’s words with regard to the mountains: “It is very difficult to go to the mountains. Up there things are experienced differently, there are distinctive ideas and desires. There life takes a different form and death seems if

anything easier. There is sort of pantheon, where the treasure of departed souls is preserved like Tamar's grave". The distinguished scholar understood correctly the need to maximally establish contact with the context in which he conducted his research, and its mode of experience.

It must be pointed out, that at present certain forces are attempting to disrupt the faith, confessional beliefs and theistic perception of traditional societies. They are striving to uproot their orientation toward the past, toward traditions, and it could even be said, toward their ethnic self-conception; and in exchange turn their gaze toward an unknown and uncertain future. In fact this future, although portrayed in dazzling, glittering colors, is no different in essence from the "happy communist future", whose taste post-Soviet society has yet to digest. As we indicated, in order to bring about the reorientation of traditional societies and peoples toward this supra-ethnic happy unity, it is in the first place necessary to make those societies possessing an ethnic self-conception forget their own identities. To this end, these forces do battle with ethnic, national awareness, which they deem to be synonymous with backwardness and ignorance, and designate with such terms as "provincial fascism". In fact, these are those forces, for which love, kindness, enlightenment and ethnic world-view and belief are no more than excess baggage.

In conclusion, we wish to point out, that before beginning discussion of specific questions we deemed it necessary to lay out for our readers our views on social-historical processes, so that they might more clearly understand our thoughts on the problems of ethnic history, since "hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders".

CHAPTER I. ON THE INTERRELATION OF ETHNIC CULTURE AND THE PHENOMENON OF THE DWELLING PLACE.

We interpret the dwelling to be one of the most salient expressions of traditional (hence, ethnic) world-view and culture. Insofar as the dwelling is, in the first place, a purely material phenomenon, and,

secondly, a sort of temple created by early people, it is a capital source of information.

The dwelling, doubtless, is a reflection of its builders' ethnically-conditioned cognition of the world, which evolved as a consequence of their blood- and seed-linked relation to their environment and homeland. It is also without a doubt that this materialization and formation in relation to the home environment, anointed by the blood and bones of the ancestors and crowned by the heavenly spirits, was a lengthy process. Finally, the dynamic interaction with the permanent features of the environment led to the formation of the ethnic group's "cultural visage" (N. Marr), characterized by resistance to change despite the vicissitudes of the passing centuries.

The centuries-long existence of the ethnic group is conditioned by the heritability of language and cultural traditions and practices. The formation of the ethnic society is conditioned by the direct relationships among its members, which is only possible when they reside on the same territory. On that same territory there occurs the consolidation of the associated cultural unity within the ethnic community. It is precisely here, in one specific locality, that it evolves into a complete, durable sociocultural unit, which enables its permanence across time and place, and its capacity to give and receive something of value.

During the study of cultural-historical and ethnic relations, the investigator is confronted by numerous difficulties. Among them is increasingly narrow specialization (the tempo of which has been increasing in recent times) conditions the collection and analysis of factual materials. In itself this tendency is inevitable and progressive, but unfortunately, the actual degree of cooperation among scholars often lags behind. One of the chief obstacles to the successful investigation of ethnic processes, one which in fact hinders mutual comprehension among the relevant disciplines, is the weakness of the theoretical groundwork.

It is probably true that there is no justification for the study of ethnic phenomena from a single disciplinary perspective, without the cooperation of others. Unfortunately, such situations all too frequently occurred among us. Each individual discipline, which took

the ethnic group as its object of study, examined it from its particular point of view. This led to a curious state of affairs: These disciplines did not so much serve to study the ethnic group (as research object), as, on the contrary, ethnic research came to serve their compartmental interests. This sort of stance toward concrete, multifaceted dynamic phenomena created the circumstances within which ethnography, archaeology, cultural history, historiography, linguistics and adjoining disciplines interpret, each in their particular manner, the objective phenomenon of the ethnic unity. Needless to say, such circumstances are incompatible to the extent that the ethnic group (people) is a whole, concretely-existing entity, and therefore it is inadmissible that such a unified phenomenon be studied in fragmentary fashion, carved up according to sectarian academic interests. Otherwise, each discipline in the process of investigation would divide up the object of study according to its particular norms and logic, which is likely to lead to paradoxical results. The study of the ethnic group must be of a multidisciplinary nature. Each discipline, which participates in the investigational process, must take into account the conclusions, methodology and observations which have resulted from the study of the ethnic group as research object. In this collaborative process, the multifaceted object of study is examined by taking into consideration each others' conclusions.

In the investigation of ethnogenetic phenomena, a multidisciplinary stance implies the broad and methodologically correct utilization of ethnogenetic data; and their connection with other types of historical materials and those supplied by adjacent fields of study (such as certain ones concerned with natural phenomena: ethnobotany, ethnozoology, etc.). The multidisciplinary approach, in the first place, takes account of the variegated nature of the relevant facts: their anthropological, archaeological, folkloristic, historical, linguistic, ethnological, onomastic and other characteristics.

Unfortunately, despite certain efforts, the multidisciplinary approach to the study of ethnogenetic questions has not yet become totally accepted, due, probably, to its great difficulty and the various unresolved methodological issues.

In the past, one of the most useful attainments of investigation of this question can be considered the establishment of the temporal parameters of the ethnogenetic process, and of its broadly-comparative methodology.

It is believed that ethnogenesis as a historical process begins with the first form of ethnic unity, with the consolidation of the tribe (272, 27).

It is also acknowledged that physical-anthropological types were consolidated during Neolithic times. Archaeologists associate the Neolithic with the final formation of tribal organizations. On the basis of lexicostatistic methods, it is believed that the principal language families now existing consolidated in the Neolithic. On this basis, it is appropriate to situate the beginning of the ethnogenetic process in the Neolithic. Of course, it is impossible that the chronological study of the ethnogenesis of each of the world's peoples should begin in the same period; but it is clear that such processes are to be situated stadially in prehistoric times.

Experience teaches us that it is methodological feasible to carry out research of ethnogenetic character both within a particular ethnic group, as well as within a defined territory. In the first instance, the field-ethnographic study of the contemporary ethnic community has particular importance, which then enables one on the basis of scientific procedure to work back from the contemporary situation toward the past; in the second instance, we undertake the investigation of the problem from the earliest cultural vestiges found on the territory under study, and then move forward in time toward the present. We believe that it is necessary, in the process of studying any given ethnic formation, that investigation take place in both directions, so that to data from the deepest layers of archaeological investigation are juxtaposed the results obtained from the ethnographic analysis of materials ready-to-hand from living populations. That is to say, it is possible to maximally profit from interdisciplinary research. This is all the more the case, in that such a stance appears to us completely justified with regard to a region such as the Caucasus, where the autochthonicity of the Ibero-Caucasian peoples stands out in clear relief. To that extent, the

seeking of parallels among chronologically-separated cultures of common origin, once the methodological mechanism is worked out, should not be totally unjustified. We will add that the earliest conditioner of cultures of common origin is, in our belief, the durable and long-lasting cultural-agricultural complex developed in the given region as a consequence of adaptation. This complex serves as the primary axis for the evolution of such cultures.

In the sphere of material culture, the indicators of ethnic identity (which are conditioned by adaptation to the sphere of everyday life) are fairly numerous as concerns settlement types, insofar as the latter formed and evolved in accordance with the topography of a given place. As a consequence of their study the specificities of settlement organization can be determined – placement with regard to the central square, the sanctuary, etc.

From the standpoint of ethnic specificity, the dwelling is particularly informative, in that this specificity might manifest itself as basic construction (underground dwelling, half-underground, placement of rooms, roofing ...), orientation with regard to outbuildings, and the like. The deployment of internal space can be considered an ethnic marker: placement of the hearth, form of the hearth, function of rooms and their position, location of sacred corner or shrine, orientation of entrance, position of chimney or ventilation-hole (erdo), etc. An entire series of specificities characterize the domestic furnishings, food, agricultural equipment, etc.

In eastern Georgia, according to ethnographic materials, in the context of a historically-evolved sedentary population, the individual familial homestead represented the basic dwelling type in village settlements. The individual familial homestead, for its part, in its essential structure, is reflective of the cultural-agricultural lifestyle of the population of a given micro-region, as well as being one its constituent components.

In Georgian village settlements of the 1920's, in one form or another, traces of their original social and economic lifestyles were still preserved. It is precisely for this reason, that, in the investigation of social and agricultural forms, the settlement is an important primary source of data. In Georgian villages of all various forms, in the

placement of homesteads within the village, the tradition of settlement according to monogenetic blood-related groups is attested. The monogenetic settlement is a firm and historically enduring tradition. Settlement by monogenetic neighborhoods, as characteristic of ancient lifestyles, was maintained in the morphology of village layout for many centuries. Therefore, in the analysis of the cultural-agricultural nature of a studied settlement as a result of archaeological investigation, the study of the ethnographically-established settlement forms is especially informative. The morphology of the settlement of a historically-evolved sedentary population, in view of its conservative nature, was relatively unaffected by the passage of time. It is thus justified to assume that, in our region, settlement forms retained their earlier forms relatively unchanged.

The village in central Kartli was composed of monogenetic groups distributed by neighborhood (or quarter). Precisely this region was the cradle of the crowned-ventilation-shaft or “darbazi”-style house. Archaeological and ethnological data show that not only was the darbazi-style house preserved for a long period, but also the form of settlement. It is well-known that the topographical relief constrained the placement of settlements. It conditioned its external form, but not its type. The settlement type was based on the cultural-agricultural lifestyle developed within the population.

With respect to the darbazi, as one of the domestic structural types widespread in central Transcaucasia, we believe a few words about its morphology are appropriate.

At the first stage of the evolution of the dwelling, the principal typological features of the darbazi were: a large undivided space (occupied by a 3 or 4-generation family group); darbazi morphology; open hearth and hearth-chain (ojinjali); poor quality of internal lighting (coming through the ventilation-shaft, through which the smoke exited); stamped-earth floor (soxane); porch at ground level (p’armaghi); expansion of the floor-plan depthwise; three-beam roofing system; wide single door with wooden hinges and bolt; low furniture, and correspondingly low horizon of domestic activities; house dug into the ground; wood-working principally done with adzes and axes without use of saws; crowned roofing, slightly sloped roof-

terrace; thick stone walls with niches for storage; oak as primary type of wood material.

We think that the materials presented above make it quite clear that, in the Caucasus — and specifically on the territory of today's eastern Georgia —, traces of continuity of lifestyle can be revealed from the earliest times almost without interruption, as a result of archaeological and ethnological research. The earliest settlements have been detected and investigated, and many forms of dwelling have been examined. Therefore, we think, that it is entirely justified and indeed desirable to trace the evolution and development of the dwelling phenomenon from earliest times to the present on the basis of variegated materials. Its representation in this manner along the vertical axis will portray for us the desired panoramic representation according to ethnogenetic processes taking place on the designated territory. To the extent that the dwelling phenomenon, as a consequence of adaptation of ethnic elements to the inhabited environment, is one of the component elements of ethnic culture, it is likewise a clear reflection of the same element's insertion into the occupied environment as a distinctive "biocene".

At the same time, the examination of the inhabited complex along the vertical axis is clearly justified insofar as it represents a method for the dynamic analysis of the most characteristic elements of ethnic culture. In this circumstance, its presentation along the vertical axis (retrospectively) presents us with a means to establish not only the recent stages in its development, but also a means to see the complex process of the relation between traditional elements and innovation.

When we discuss the dwelling and its phenomenon in any given traditional society, in the first place, perhaps, we must attempt, to the extent it is possible, to reveal the principles of the functional mechanism of the appropriation of the external environment by humans. In other words, those principles must be established, according to which the transformation took place in human cognition from "nature" to "culture", from "unappropriated" to "appropriated". At the same time, the specificities of the traditional model of domestication and appropriation of space, which evolved in concrete

ethnic modes of life, are very interesting and worthy of attention in the research process.

It is clear from all of the above that in the study of the dwelling, as characteristic complex of ethnic culture, a series of puzzles present themselves before the researcher, each of them inseparably connected to the others. Without their analysis in length and breadth it is almost unimaginable how one is to distinguish, in the complex structure of a people's intellectual history, the nucleus without which it is impossible to understand even approximately the nuances of ethnic history.

The dwelling will be the primary theme of the present study; more precisely, we will attempt to lay out what role this phenomenon played in general in ethnic lifestyle and culture; to what degree it reflects the unique unity of a people (ethnic group) as evolved through blood-linked genetic relations; the gentle and yet directed process of their incorporation into a "biocene" with their homeland and divinely-granted territory.

By dwelling, first of all, we intend the primary residential structure within which is situated a specific microsocial unit: the family. In parallel we will discuss its orientation toward other elements of the inhabited complex (such as the yard, auxiliary agricultural structures, cultivated fields, etc.), and we will attempt to delimit its place in the formation and evolution of the family; in the consolidation of the cognition of interior and external space; in the formation and working-out of "genotheism", as the family's ideological foundation.

And finally, we will indicate once again, that in the following chapters of the thesis, we will attempt to analysis the existing archaeological and ethnographic materials available to us concerning the dwelling in the Kartvelian world and especially the central region of its contemporary territory, according to the above-mentioned markers, in the following sequence:

- i) The dwelling and spatial perception;
- ii) The dwelling and building tradition;
- iii) The dwelling and domestic religion — "genotheism";
- iv) The dwelling and clan-tribe social organization.

CHAPTER II. A RETROSPECTIVE OF THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DWELLING-CONSTRUCTION TRADITION IN THE REGION UNDER STUDY.

When we investigate the dwelling and its place in ethnic culture, we believe, the dwelling's construction technique merits particular attention – the building tradition, its evolution and development on the basis of those materials collected in the region under analysis.

By building tradition we mean the combination of building materials (clay, stone, wood, other materials supplied by the environment) and the components of domestic architecture (floor “kvesk’neli” [lit. “lower plane”]; walls and interior “sk’neli”; ceiling and roof “zesk’neli” [lit. “upper plane”]), which, for its part, is directly linked to concrete environmental conditions, and evolved as a consequence of their integration with humans (and the corresponding social-cultural units) as a distinctive “biocene”. We believe that of these two components, the first is provided ready-to-hand to humans, whereas the second, by its nature distinctly human, was worked out on the basis of the first.

The overview of building traditions, and their study, are especially desirable with regard to early stages of the development of human societies, since in this way there emerges the collective's the specific unit's (and perhaps ethnic group's) relation to its specific environment; this, in turn, is conditioned by the individual features of worldview in conjunction with specificities of the inhabited spatial context.

At early stages of historical development, in general, humans manifest their particular consciousness and forms of cognition in their artifacts. We think that by presenting the origin and evolution of domestic building traditions from this point of view, we can proceed to establish the distinctive markers of ethnicity. The building tradition, as such, is to be considered one of the chief components of ethnic culture, through the primary elements of both the material and

intellectual spheres of ethnic culture are collectively integrated and then made visible.

Before we begin direct discussion of questions concerning the relationship between dwelling and sanctuary, it appears to us necessary to pause to consider the rich archaeological material, which has been collected in abundance in the Caucasus and its neighboring territories. From this angle a particularly interesting picture appears of central Transcaucasia and the regions on its southern border, according to archaeological materials from the Early and Middle Bronze Age. For example, it is worth noting that there is a concentration of settlements from those periods in the vicinity of Harbert-Malat and Eliazigh. These are: Flur II, Helenchik-Tepe, Norshun-Tepe, Qoruju-Tepe, at which the configuration of dwellings is rectangular, and the construction of the stone walls the same as at the ancient settlements of Qarazi and Amiranis-Gori. From this group of sites, Flur II stands out: a hill 16 meters high (Eneolithic-Chalcolithic and Early Bronze layer). From its eleven horizons of building remains the cultural dynamics of the resident populations are clearly represented. Rectangular buildings dominate at the lower layers, which then give way to constructions of roundish configuration at succeeding levels. As early as the Eneolithic period, the roots of round-domed architecture in the South Caucasus are to be linked to local conditions, and not to influences from the Near East; furthermore, in this period, Caucasian tradition itself influenced Near Eastern building traditions. Recently, with regard to this question, a large series of newly-discovered sites of distinctive character from the final stage of the Caucasian Eneolithic have become of importance. We have in mind the so-called “Sioni-type” sites. On the whole, it could be said, that a single cultural unity has been revealed, which existed in succession to the classical Eneolithic culture (Shulaver-Shomu-Tepe Culture), and directly before the appearance of markers of the Kura-Araxes Culture. It is worthy of particular attention that almost all sites from the pre-Kura-Araxes are located in the lowlands of the South Caucasus – those areas, where the Kura-Araxes Culture subsequently flourished.

It is acknowledged that the Kura-Araxes Culture, for all of its novelty, bears the imprint of the preceding Eneolithic culture, and maintains a whole series of earlier traditions. Bearers of the Kura-Araxes Culture continued to occupy numerous Eneolithic sites – Baba-Dervish, Shengavit, Kyl-Tepe ... Traditionalism is also reflected in building principles; at a whole series of sites the culture is the same, although the round-shaped dwellings are built with more contemporary technical methods. In general, the Eneolithic tradition is detectable in various regions of the main area of the spread of the Kura-Araxes Culture, which enables us to take an overall look at the cultural development as a whole, as the next stage in the cultural-agricultural progress of the populations of the South Caucasus. At the same time, the revealing of the local roots of the Kura-Araxes Culture does not in any way exclude the infiltration of other ethnocultural groups into its area, which had a distinct influence on the development of its final period. For example, the opinion has been expressed, according to which certain groups from the northwestern Near East infiltrated into the Caucasus during the mid-4th millennium BC (Al. Javakhishvili). Nonetheless it should be pointed out that any such population movement had no effect on the basic character of the culture and agricultural forms of the bearers of the Kura-Araxes Culture, since the basic markers of that culture are already firmly established by the end of the 4th millennium.

In parallel with the Kura-Araxes Culture, in a large area of the South Caucasus — in particular, its western regions – during the Early Bronze Age there developed a culture with different traits, which, unlike the former, is characterized by conservatism as concerns Neolithic traditions. A significant role was played here by ecological factors – in this region of Caucasia subtropical climate contributed to economic stasis. In the domain of food-producing activities, hunting, gathering and fishing continued for a very long time, which in turn is reflected in specificities of the material complex. The frontiers of this West-Caucasian culture reached as far as Sochi. On the east it adjoined the Kura-Araxes Culture, as a result of which a distinctive contact zone developed in the border region. As has been noted, at about the end of the 4th millennium and the

beginning of the 3rd millennium, the Kura-Araxes Culture expanded into the territory of the Rioni-Qvirila basin, which some believe was due to the infiltration of populations in the eastern regions. There appear such sites as Dablagomi and Argveta, and Sachkhere kurgans; a large proportion of specialists attribute the materials from these sites to the developed and final stages of the Kura-Araxes Culture. For example, according to the opinion of G. Pkhakadze, the early Bronze Age culture of the Rioni-Qvirila basin has a distinctly hybrid nature, combining local traditions, key elements of the Kura-Araxes Culture, and also markers from the synchronous culture of the Colchian lowlands and also from the Maikop Culture.

Now we turn to the Middle Bronze Age. During this period settlements were founded on new sites, but unfortunately, these have barely begun to be studied. Thus their character is almost unknown at present. One has the impression that the number of settlements decreased noticeably during this time. For example, statistic analysis of the Karmir-Berd Culture revealed that over its territory (45000 sq. km.), there is an average of four gravesites for each residence. Accordingly, it appears that the mortality of the population increased sharply, which, one surmises, was brought about by increased aggression throughout that territory, and changes in the emotional-psychological characteristics of the population.

During the Middle Bronze Age the burial practices change – kurgan graves dominate everywhere, and cremation is widely practiced. Individual graves appear accompanied by complex constructions within kurgans, and rich burial inventories; in the view of Acad. O. Japaridze, these do not have local roots. The building tradition, ceramic and metallurgical production undergo changes in their character. Cultural markers, especially those of conservative traditions such as burial practices and building traditions, attest to distinct changes in the ethnic composition of the region under investigation.

According to archaeological data, from second half of the 3rd millennium BC a transitional period begins in central Transcaucasia – the piedmont and mountain areas undergo intensive exploitation. What conditioned these changes, which in turn brought about cultural

change, remains unexplained. This period is known as the Early Kurgan Epoch. This culture is divided into two chronological periods according to burial practices and grave inventories: one earlier and one comparatively later. Unfortunately, characterization of the Early Kurgan Epoch is possible only on the basis of materials collected from cemeteries. As concerns the settlements of this period, for the time being, almost no information has come to light. Therefore it is impossible at present to derive any conclusions concerning the building architectural traditions of the central Transcaucasian population during this period, nor the construction and layout of their settlements, nor the type of their dwellings and agricultural buildings. One thing that can be said is that a sophisticated level of building tradition is attested by the burial monuments themselves – enormous kurgans with their burial chambers. In terms of their structure these to a degree can be related to dwellings, since in the conception of their builders they represented the residences of the departed.

It has been estimated (Sh. Dedabrishvili) that the stones used to construct such kurgans (e. g. the kurgan at Tsnori) were hauled from within a radius of 40 km. The building of the mound would require 1500 man-days, to which are added 200 man-days for the excavation of the burial chamber and 7500 man-days for the hauling of the materials. There has also been found at these sites large quantities of bones from sacrificed ovicaprids. All of this, the huge manpower expenditures occasioned by the building of a kurgan, indicates that the agricultural organization and cultural type differed sharply from the preceding Kura-Araxes population.

During the second half of the 2nd millennium and the first half of the 1st millennium, which are customarily designated as Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, Georgia and almost the whole of Caucasia consolidated into a unity in terms of tempo and level of development, even though each valley or province, alongside the common cultural elements shared with other regions, had many of its own distinctive traits. During this period of development, an impression concerning the domestic building tradition on the territory of eastern Georgia can be derived from archaeologically-studied settlements such as

Natsargora (Tskhinvali), Khovlagora, Qatlanikhevi, Treligorebi, Ghrmakhevistavi, among others.

During this period the characteristic dwelling is a half-subterranean house with a flat, terrace-like roof. Judging from the remains of load-bearing posts found in some excavated dwellings, it appears that the ceiling was supported by a central “mother pillar” (dedabodzi). The walls were built from broken rocks or unbroken riverbank stones, held together by clay mortar. The interior of the walls was plastered with clay mortar as well. Dwellings of this type appear to be especially typical of the territory of Shida Kartli. As for Kakheti, an analogous building tradition (in terms of building material and architectural conception) is found there, although one significant difference has been noted – the buildings are mostly of above-ground construction, whereas subterranean or half-subterranean dwellings are almost unattested among the population of this period.

With regard to the architecture of Central Transcaucasia in the Antique Period, earlier conceptions were based entirely on Georgian or foreign written sources, which, naturally, were concerned with urban architecture, cultic buildings and fortresses. A more detailed and concrete representation can be made possible by archaeological research.

A detailed impression of the domestic building tradition of the Early Feudal Period can be derived from the archaeological excavations at Zhinvali, Nadikvrebi, Rustavi, Dmanisi and others. Less can be said about dwellings as such, since in almost all cases these were completely destroyed at the time. It does appear that the roofs were mostly of the terrace type, or, more rarely, of ceramic tiles; the building materials were riverbank stones or broken rocks; sometimes unfired bricks were employed. From the initial period onward the size of ceramic roofing tiles diminishes.

In the High Feudal Period (8th-14th centuries), there has already evolved on the territory of Central Transcaucasia the building tradition in its complete form, which was later attested in ethnographic descriptions. In particular, the darbazi-type house is found. High Feudal Period dwellings from the Aragvi Valley resemble

those attested ethnographically in the modern period in the East Georgian highlands.

CHAPTER III. HOUSE AND SHRINE IN ANCIENT GEORGIA.

1) The role of the dwelling phenomenon in the formative process of opposed spatial concepts – “inside” and “outside”, “domestic” and “wild”.

From the earliest period the dwelling, as a type of artificial micro-environment separated from the natural ambient environment, played a key role in humans’ self-conception, in their appropriation of their own place in Mother Nature. To each one of us it is clear, that the residential building, house, in general, is of capital importance in the evolution of the worldview of the individual and also of the collectivity living under one roof, by one hearth, “under the wings of their guardian angel”. People themselves attributed the most complex function to the dwelling – to be a sort of inspiration that conditions and constrains its own creators’ (humans’) spatial cognition and other forms of habitual thought.

As people built their own homes, they thereby segmented themselves off from the environment. The home became a place of spiritual repose and peace. It is there, within their own homes, that people feel themselves to be lords and masters, since they deem themselves to be the founders and creators of this micro-space. All things contained within this micro-space – created and used by their hands – are products of their intelligence; from this stems their individual and social consciousness. They too breathed a “soul” into these things, brought them to life. As the home was built, its ceiling became the sky, whereas the floor symbolized the earth. The walls thereupon acquired a delimiting function, and the hearth became a sacred place; thereupon the central pillar became the residence of the “angel of the foundation” (pudzis angelozi).

The home separated people from the cosmos, stood between them, and thereby acquired a complex of interrelated traits. On the one hand, the home belongs to people, manifests their material

universe. On the other hand, the home links people to the exterior world, represents, in significant part, that same world reduced to human parameters. Inside it, people coexist with the world. It is precisely thus that, as so often occurs, the codes of human body parts, cosmic elements and components of the dwelling are superimposed (230, 7). It is also worthy of note that the thus-modeled features and markers are attributed to those objects also, to which early humans assigned a function at the center of their world. The understanding of concepts of our ancient ancestors was filled and permeated with such meanings, such as city, temple, sanctuary; to their number we can also add the home. If within the temple the face of the universe was consciously (intentionally) perceived, within the dwelling the world-form was perceived unconsciously. This property is of special significance for understanding this phenomenon from both a material and spiritual point of view. The structure of the home – dwelling — in significant part parallels the structure of the universe in the sense that it has its own center, “periphery”, etc. On the basis of rich archaeological and ethnographic data we can speak of the homogeneity of the structure of the house and the settlement; we can use this point of view especially in the case of circular-shaped settlements, in which the residences are distributed around a distinctly central place.

As we already pointed out, the dwelling plays a major role in the formation and transformation of people’s spatial cognition. The home had a determining influence on the formation of such spatial oppositions as “inside” and “outside”. In human consciousness, the binary division of the environmental surroundings into the categories of “inside” and “outside” entailed the corresponding binary division of the component elements within that space into “internal” (or “domestic”) and “external” (or “savage, wild”). Whatever or whoever came “inside” became “domestic”, whereas those of the “outside” were “wild”.

Thus, the division of the universe into two parts correspondingly evoked two “sub-universes” in human cognition. The “inside” universe, created by humans, necessitated a base or foundation around which spatial conception (and subsequently, social

conception) was formed. This base is the center around which the components of the “interior” are united; it gathered around itself humans’ “inside” universe, and became the anchoring point for this space. This center and cornerstone is the hearth. It is that chief component of the dwelling around which all is centered; one could say that it is itself the symbol of the home, it is its foundation. If the hearth were to be extinguished, the family would die out also; as long as the home flourishes, the hearth is lit. The hearth was that chief point and center, around which the entire “inside” universe turned.

The division of space into “inside” and “outside” universes would have occurred in the earliest times, more exactly, when the social group took possession of its food-producing territory. Therefore we can assert that the formation of “inside” and “outside”, as categories of spatial perception, corresponded to the appearance and formation of early-agricultural cultures among the tribes inhabited central Transcaucasia. It is at this time that people consciously took possession of their territory, their homeland.

II) The dwelling phenomenon as reflective of the culture of a concrete social group, the “family”.

In order to study the consolidation of the social life and culture of ancient peoples, as has already been mentioned, no single academic discipline, no matter how diversified, is sufficient; in all instances, it is necessary to examine and compare data from various kinds of sources (in the first place, settlements, cemeteries, workshops, cultic monuments, etc.). It has been correctly noted that ethnology makes a fundamental contribution to the study of this question; although ethnographic data – which reflects a whole series of innovations up to the present – must be used with caution, by taking into consideration chronological information, geographical and ethnic attributes, traditional and fragmentarily-preserved traits.

The large family unit, which evolved at an early stage of agriculture, was a more or less viable social-economic cell, which fostered the realization of food-production, and was fairly easy to govern. Thus, in the settlements of central Transcaucasia, as in those

of the Near East and Central Asia (Um-Dabaghia, Tell-Soto, Hasun, Jeitun, Namazgha and others), the population everywhere lived in family units. In general, the clan, as a unit, is at one and the same time a food-producing, family-cultural and ideological collective. Members of the collective recognized bonds of kinship; the unit was responsible for the defense of its members; collective agriculture was the foundation of clan life, as preserved in relict form in the Caucasian highlands. It should be mentioned that, as is characteristic of family-based clans in general, the social status of the populations of Caucasian early-agricultural sites was egalitarian, as is clearly attested by archaeological data.

The agricultural clan, as complex economic organism, necessitated the evolution of a system of management, which in the egalitarian societies of early food-producing stages was in the hands of councils of elders and senior family members. These elders, by preference the most respected members of the clan, held the highest authority in the collective. Their selection was based on personal traits, considerations of age and sex, and other factors (e.g. initiative-magical). They had no economic advantages, however. Among the functions of the leaders of family and kingroup units were the assignment of food-producing tasks, overseeing their progress, the directing of seasonal agricultural cycles, the maintenance of irrigation systems, regulation of the internal and external exchange relations of the clan, the taking of appropriate measures in times of danger, the mediating of conflicts, the direction of cultic practices. In general, the responsibilities of these chosen individuals were linked to the well-being of the clan. Ethnological data indicate that at this early stage of social stratification, these individuals enjoyed only social (and not material) advantages. They were the first among equals (*primus inter pares*). The chief reason for this is to be sought in the fact that in such family units, a firmly-held moral code regulated relations among blood-related group members, which excluded the possibility of economic inequality among them.

It is noteworthy that such a moral-social background is still preserved in the traditional societies of the Caucasus (especially in the highland areas). For example, according to materials concerning

the celebrated chief khevisberi Bichur Badrishvili of Pshavi, it is clear that the functions of the khevisberi (lit. “elder of the valley”) corresponded to those of the family-based clan leader in earliest times, including the role of cult celebrant. One can also mention the representation of the functions of the khevisberi by the poet Vazha-Pshavela, who was born in this region and collected much valuable material on Pshav and Khevsur traditions, as summed up in his words: “may he give good counsel to the clan and village, that they not sink into error”. In traditional societies the primary accent was on people’s moral rectitude, their essence as images of God.

The family-based clan, household-based clan or large patriarchal family was the basic unit of patriarchal-clan societies. It consisted of three or four, perhaps as many as seven generations, these being undivided branches descended from one ancestor. They possessed in common one farmstead, with its lands and farm equipment, which were for collective use. Such family clans in ancient times could have had up to a hundred members.

The old Georgian homestead comprised its lands and rivers, its beasts of burden, its buildings and many other components held in common ownership. At the head of this unit was the family elder. A settlement of several united households formed a village (sopeli).

We can surmise that the clan, conceived as organically linked to its geographical surroundings and lands, formed a unified force. We can imagine a specific region and the social units inhabiting it as incorporated together, consolidated into a whole. All the members of a clan or brotherhood are its children, its property and a portion of its shrine deity. This is reflected in the interdependence of the “individual as part”, and the land and resident tribe. A land becomes a land, when it is appropriated by a social group (N. Berdenishvili).

III) The dwelling as “family temple”

The dwelling, as the materialized reflection of the culture of a distinct social organism, namely the family, along with many other functions, fulfilled the very important role of religious center for the unit’s ideological whole, the family. From the distant past, the family’s most holy relics, and various objects fulfilling sacred functions, were

kept in the home; there, in the hearth, burnt the “sacred” flame; there stood the mother pillar, as a symbol of family unity; there were stored various idols.

Traces of domestic cultic practice can be found on the territory of contemporary eastern Georgia; in archaeological sites, it is attested as early as the Eneolithic. From the point of view, the “ritual” hearths excavated at site of “Khramis Didi Gora” are of special interest; within them, besides ashes, were found bones of sacrificed animals (sheep), miniature weapons, clay oval “bread-loaves”, and – a find which is particularly noteworthy –, anthropomorphic statues. These figurines represent for the most part female-gendered divinities, which at this distant time, in the consciousness of our ancestors, seem to us to have depicted goddesses serving as guardian angels of the home. In the Kartvelian world, the female gender of the protective divinities of the home is also attested in mythology. “The angel of the home was female. She was invisible, but she could appear in dreams in the guise of a neighbor’s girl. No one may see the guardian angel in her true form. The guardian angel dwells in the family in the form of a young, spotless virgin. No one may see her, but she can take on the appearance of a neighbor’s daughter” (Georgian Mythology, ed. A. Tsanava [Merani, 1992], p. 143).

Since the family angel appeared as a spotless virgin, it is possible that it is from here that the tradition stems, that when guests, regarded as a blessing come from God came to the family, the family had their virgin daughter serve them, as their most valuable and purest representation of the guardian angel. She would serve the guests and even bathe their feet, bring them food and lay out the bedding. By respecting the purity of their host’s daughter, guests – perceived to be sent from God – brought divine goodness into the household. It may well be that this sort of conception of external persons entering the “interior” space underlay the institution of “anti-marriage” (ts’ats’loba), which in earlier times would not have been restricted to the east Georgian highlands, and would have been of common Georgian (or even Caucasian) distribution [K. Tuite “On the etymology and earliest social significance of ts’ats’loba”, *Amirani* 1 (1999): 13-19].

It can be clearly seen, on the basis of numerous examples from Georgian ethnic culture, that the hearth represented the nucleus of the dwelling, its fundamental component. It is at the place of the hearth that the family's protective deity is displayed, its guardian angel. The hearth is the connective link between the family members and the guardian angel; it is the bridge that permits contact and relation between them. It is precisely at the hearth that patron deities (*ghvtishvilni* "children of God") manifest themselves, and take possession of the space as their shrine. Thus the hearth is the symbol of the family. The fire burning in the hearth is the family's immortality. When the elders would travel far from the village, they would tell the remaining family members: "do not betray the hearth, do not let the hearth-flame die out". An intruding enemy would first attempt to overturn the hearth, as the gravest insult to the family.

Thus the hearth represents the center, the heart of the family, which unites and ties it together, forges a bond among the social unit that is the family bound by common blood and property. The hearth is the visible reflection of family unity; it symbolizes the whole, undivided family unit.

It follows that it appears to us fully justified to point out with the appearance of the hearth, which in its part implies the formation of the dwelling and of the family, there also appeared domestic religion – "genotheism" – as a phenomenon linked to the consolidation of the family as social organization. Therefore, we can assume that the formation of domestic religion ("genotheism") in the Caucasus – and in particular in its southwestern region – dates back to the Neolithic, when there appear the first systematic settlements. This phenomenon achieves its completed form in the Eneolithic period, as we believe is reflected in materials from eastern Transcaucasian sites of the Shulavera-Shomu-Tepe Culture. It can also be assumed domestic deities would have appeared at the same time as objects of family cultic activities, since the dwellings of this period were of monogenetic composition. In later periods, however, the social collective was organized around the deity of fertility.

IV) "Home" and "shrine" in ancient Georgia.

The interrelation of the domestic cult and the tribal cult is of especial interest. The relevant data from Georgian ethnography is, we believe, rich and capable of telling us much. As the same time it should be noted that the ancient Near Eastern world has been well-studied from this angle, which enables us to examine Georgian data from a comparative standpoint.

It is of particular importance to note the materials concerning the Hattic civilization, since some scholars have linked the Hattic language to the Northwest Caucasian family, and the Hattic ethnic group to the peoples of the Caucasus. The Hattic ethnic group would have existed in central Anatolia from the end of the 3rd millennium or the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC. It has been acknowledge that Hittite religion, a quite original and distinctive phenomenon, represented the synthesis of the religions of the Hittites and those peoples with whom they had been in contact. As a consequence, the Hittite pantheon contained not only the gods of the Indo-European tribes (Nesites, Luvians, Palaites) who had appeared relatively recently in central Asia Minor, but also those of the aboriginal peoples of central Anatolia, including the Hattians or Pre-Hittites. As many now acknowledge, the Hittite people resulted from the mixture and consolidation of Hattic and Indo-European tribes in the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC. Hittite religion was polytheistic, showing no traces of monotheism. It was oriented toward assuring, first of all, that people did not lose their relationship with nature, and fostering belief and awe in the face of supernatural powers. Each clan, even if it comprised only a small settlement, had its own divinity. In the temples of larger settlements and regional centers were images of several, sometimes dozens, of gods, which indicates the coexistence of these divinities. These idols "lived" primarily in temples, or else were set up in open-air cultic sites. An entire series of religious festivals was performed in the temples: monthly or annual, New-Year's, autumn or other types of ceremonies. The king and queen participated in these ceremonies, along with their chief retainers and temple officials. Besides local divinities, the Hittites also had "state gods".

A similar hierarchical arrangement of deities (neighborhood, village, clan, entire valley ...) appears in the highland Georgian (and pan-Caucasian) pre-Christian religious system. Each settlement or clan had its patron deity, its own sanctuary, as is confirmed, we believe, by Georgian archaeological and ethnographic data. Sites dating from the 15th-7th centuries BC have been found, which are extremely significant for the study of the spiritual culture of the ancient societies of eastern Georgia. Among them are the sanctuaries found at the settlements of Natsargora, Qatlanikhevi and Khovlagora, and the sanctuaries situated apart from the settlements at Melaani and Meli-Ghele, which have been described in detail by Acad. K. Pitkhelauri in his monographs. In these works the author notes correctly that sanctuaries of similar structure are found in today's eastern Georgian highlands, with an elevated area in the center of which is situated the shrine. It can be said with confidence that despite the passage of three thousand years, the materials referred to above, along with ethnographic data, indicate spiritual and cultural continuity among the populations of this region.

A similar structure can be detected in the western Caucasian highlands. For example, according to ethnographic materials from Svaneti, each cultic building, which now bears the name of a saint introduced during the comparatively recent spread of Christianity to this region, was dedicated to the divine patron of a Svanetian clan composed of one or more lineages. The members of the clan, for their part, referred to themselves as the clan patron's "men" (*maral*).

In this respect the Upper Svanetian festival observed by us in the village Hadish in 1980 and 1984 (Svanetian multidisciplinary expedition, dir. Mikheil Chartolani) is of interest. Of the festivals celebrated in Hadish, that of Lichenish is the most important – for this reason, Svans refer to it typically as "Hadishoba". The festival is in honor of the male children born in the village each year, to assure their health and prosperity, and is expressed through the worship of "Hat-wearing St. George", and the presentation of new vassals into his service. Families without sons also participate in the festival, in order to petition the shrine for the birth of male heirs. On the whole, the phenomenon of the shrine of Lichenish is a clear

example of the syncretism typical of Caucasian cultures in general, since along with the function of assuring fertility (in male children), the divinity is the patron of domestic and wild animals.

As a structural analogy to the Svan clan and its shrine, we can mention the Khevsur clan and its institution of shrine “vassalage” (*jvarisq'moba*). According to ethnographic data, each male Khevsur undergoes the “sac'uleoba” ritual, representing the “adoption” of the newborn male child (up to one year old) by the shrine deity. The naked baby is rolled under the banner (*drosha*) of the shrine three times. Only those who had undergone the “sac'uleoba” ritual could become full-fledged vassals, and possess a homestead on the clan lands under the patronage of the shrine.

We know that in the eastern Georgian highlands, each shrine deity or “child of God” has its own community of vassals (*saq'mo*), by which is meant the society grounded in unbroken tradition which has a common shrine with its divine patron. The vassals have a common legal code and foundation myth (*andrezi*); it follows from this that they have a common vision of their past, united by identical customs and norms of behavior. The community of vassals (*sa-q'm-o < q'ma* “vassal”) has a designation similar to that of a brotherhood (*sa-dzm-o < dzma* “brother”); the morphology parallels their common semantics (G. Mamulia). Thus the shrine represents the symbol of the unity of the brotherhood as social unit founded on mythic and religious concepts.

The terms for “shrine” in the eastern Georgian highlands – *jvari* (lit. “cross”) and *khat'i* (lit. “icon”) – designate the patron deities of a given clan or tribe, as well as their earthly residence. It follows from this that the shrines are centers of local theocratic administration, with developed temple economies, including lands possessed by the shrines in the lowlands.

For example, of the twelve communes in the Aragvi valley which composed the traditional tribe of Pshavi, each has its own clan sanctuary with its complex of buildings and shrine lands, which represented the social and cultic centers of the commune. Besides clan shrines, each village in the commune had one or more local

shrines, one of which was dedicated to the “place mother” (*adgilisdeda*) or “mother of God”.

Alongside the commune sanctuaries there also existed shrines at which all Pshavians worshipped: Lasharis-Jvari at Khmelgora, the shrine to Tamar at Ghele, the K’viria shrine, and the Damast’e shrine by the Matura Valley.

From the examples just mentioned there can be deduced the entire hierarchical architectonics of the shrines of Pshavi. On the lowest, most local level are village-internal shrines, representing the unity of the village. On the next higher level are the communal shrines, and at the crown of the pyramid are the shrines common to the “Pshavian nest” (*bude pshavi*), the traditional homeland of the Pshavians.

We believe it is possible to determine certain homologies between the hierarchical architectonics of the shrines of Svaneti and those of Pshavi. This will allow us to discuss similarities between the theocratic administrative systems of these two regions. It has also been established that family religion (genotheism), in the form of the cult of the “place mother” or the “angel of the foundation” in each family, was the foundation upon which evolved such relations. As for other regions in the eastern Georgian highlands, for example Mtiuleti, it had been demonstrated that here too, the village – as unit of settlement – is mostly composed of families from one lineage. This led to typical patronymic settlements, which evolved as a consequence of the segmentation of earlier family-based clans. Many such patronymic settlements possess a common defense tower, in which the inventory of the family cult was kept, and where common family festivals were celebrated. What is important is that common agricultural and economic interests unit this unit, as expressed through the common ownership of different types of land. Mtiuleti and the valleys adjoining it, from the point of view of settlement structure, present the same sort of picture as do other Georgian regions.

It is worthy of special attention that, as is clarified by the analysis of archaeological and ethnographic materials, the given structure along the whole belt of Abkhazeti-Svaneti-Racha-Pshav-Khevsureti-

Chechnia-Daghestan and a common religious-social structure characterizes this belt. This got its source from the familial cult, from genothéism, which in the common Caucasian region is already established from the Eneolithic-Early Bronze period.

In support of this opinion we wish to discuss the following facts, based on the collections of Caucasian antiquities preserved in the Berlin Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte. Some of these objects were by the famed collector Rudolf Virchow at the turn of the 20th century (1882-1902). The collection was published by Ingo Motzenbäcker, who dated the artifacts to the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Of particular interest in this collection are the various pins and fasteners for clothing, especially the following three types: plate-headed pins (*Platennadel*), spiral-headed pins (*Spiralplatennadel*), and peacock-fan-headed pins (*Pfaufedernadel*). The size of these pins is particularly noteworthy. The artifacts are rather large (from 45 to 65 cm in length), to such an extent that it is difficult to imagine that they were used as clothing accessories. When we had the occasion to inspect them during a visit to Berlin, the thought occurred to us, that perhaps these so-called “pins” were in fact the insignia of ancient “khevisberis”, like the “banners” (*drosha*) which have been observed in abundance in the eastern Georgian highlands. This hypothesis seems all the more reasonable, since it can be assumed on the basis of the collection that a shrine would have existed in the vicinity of the site where the artifacts were found. On the occasion of traditional cultic festivals in the eastern Georgian highlands, the banners serve as material representations of the shrine and its patron deity. We have observed numerous objects of this type and recorded them with photographic and video equipment during field expeditions in Pshav-Khevsureti in the years 1997 to 2001. We have recorded processions led by the khevisberi bearing the banner, the encounter of banners from different shrines at Tsikhegori, the movement of the banner from one spot to another on the territory of the sanctuary.

The question can be asked: How is possible to connect objects observed in contemporary Georgian folk culture to such chronologically and geographically distant artifacts? Do the

anthropological, archaeological, linguistic and historical data permit or disallow such a connection?

In our opinion, the anthropological, archaeological, linguistic-dialectological, and ethnographic data support the proposal of such a link. Therefore, from earliest times in the region where the objects now contained in the Berlin Museum's Kossnierska Collection were found, a specifically pan-Caucasian ethnocultural background can be detected clearly. For its part this circumstance, in our view, allows us to state with confidence that parallels can be drawn between contemporary Pshav-Khevsur cultural practice and the objects held in the above-mentioned collection. It follows that the artifacts classified as "pins" in the Kossnierska Collection were in fact fastened to the tops of the banners of ancient shrines and their patron deities, which bore the insignia of the attendant "khevisberis".

CONCLUSIONS.

Within the designated location, the analysis of archaeological and ethnographic material collected on the territory of the central Transcaucasus (contemporary Eastern Georgia) has given us the possibility of making the following conclusions:

1. We consider it to be sufficient to warrant the supposition that at the dawn of world civilization, in human cognition, the hierarchical disposition of internal (domesticated) and external spaces, correspond to one another and on the basis of the unity of spatial differences of both occurred the sense of a single psychic background. Precisely this psychic background, this perception of these theo-psychic streams must have become subsequently the basis of religious world-view and general cosmology.

As we touch on the phenomenon of habitation and the perception of the spatial universe, we want once again to note, that the dividing of space into 'internal' and 'external' universes must have happened in ancient times, precisely in the period, when a social group took possession of its own agricultural and habitational territory (138, 141). On the territory of the central Transcaucasus this stage must have happened in the period of germination and development of

early agricultural culture. As is it considered that in this period the achieved level of productive forces aided the permanent dwelling in one spot and the increase in population (265, 67).

Following from this we must conclude, that in the consciousness of tribes dwelling on the territory of the central Transcaucasus, the final formation of spatial division of the universe into two main parts, into the notions of 'interior' and 'exterior', chronologically, belongs to the end of the 6th millennium BCE and the beginning of the 5th millennium BCE.

2. In the central Transcaucasus (modern Eastern Georgia) in the development of traditions of the construction of habitations, following from the Eneolithic period developing up to feudalism, according to the archaeological data, we believe, can be divided into the following primary stages:

A) The 'small clay dome' tradition of construction (Shulaveri-Shomu Tepe culture, 6th-4th Millennia BCE), for which is characteristic so-called 'Planoconvexes', smallness of construction, roofing with domes. For construction materials only clay is used.

B) Wooden structured, clay building tradition of construction (Kura-Araxes culture, second half of the 4th millennium BCE to first half of the 3rd Millennium BCE). Characteristic is the rectangular, round-cornered, more or less equal sized structures built on a structure of wood with clay plastering. Roofing is flat, clay, based on a central pillar. Situated in the center of the building is a stationary round hearth. In front of the building a corridor has been built on.

C) The building tradition of log buildings (so-called 'epoch of early burial mounds'—the second half of the 3rd millennium BCE), for which is characteristic the use of massive logs as a building material and cobble stones.

D) Dry stone construction tradition ('the Brilliant mounds of Trialeti culture'—last quarter of the 3rd millennium BCE to the first half of the second millennium BCE), for which is primarily characteristic rectangular structures built with dry stone, fairly thick walls, flat, with roofing supported on a center pole.

E) Half-earthen buildings built with clay and stone building tradition (Late Bronze-Early Iron age monuments), for which is characteristic

in the building process the use of the aforementioned materials, clay floors, a hearth positioned in the center ('middle fire') and a flat roof supported on a main pillar.

In the building traditions represented by habitations of following periods (Classical Antiquity, Early Feudal, Developed and Late Feudal periods), we already cannot find changes of substantial character: the building materials (types of stone), roof type (flat), location (half-earthen) is unchanged. In these recent periods more visually the principal habitation types are divided by regional differentiating signs. According to the archaeological data of developed feudalism, for example, perhaps it is already possible to distinguish the 'darbazi' of the Meskhan variety. Mountaineer habitations are also distinguished by their own specific signs.

We consider that in the given region, from the enumerated stages, between stages A and B the question of genealogy is sufficiently elucidated and is clear (see 265). As far as stages G and D are concerned, the construction tradition of these periods by its own internal logic and by sharp changeability (as by internal character) appears to be uniquely fallen out of the chain of general logical and genealogical development and accordingly, bears the stamp of infiltrated cultural elements.

3. In the habitation the hearth represents the center, heart, of the family, which unites by blood relation and by communal possessions the family as a social unit. The family, is one such totality united by material possessions and kinship relations, but the hearth is a visible, tangible representation of this unity; a united, indivisible symbol of the family.

We consider there to be warrant to suppose that as soon as there appeared the hearth, which in itself means the formation of the habitation and the family, familial religion appeared, genothemism; as a fully formed phenomenon of a social organism (the family). Already from the Neolithic period, when the first systematic settlements appear, in Caucasia we must suppose the formation of familial religion, genothemism. This phenomenon acquires a fully formed appearance in the Eneolithic period, which we think clearly is depicted in materials coming from the studied remains of

settlements in the Eastern Transcaucasus (“Shulaveri-Shomuthepe” Culture).

It is also possible to suppose that familial divinities were the objects of worship of unified cohabitants at the same time, inasmuch as in this period settlements were of monogenic composition (354, 136). In a more recent period however all such social collectives were gathered around divinities of fertility, the proof of which is the fact that for example in Inner Kartli of regular complexes the second half of the 2nd millennium BCE represented icons of fertility divinities in the form of a tree of life iconographically (77, 194-202)

The level of development of productive forces of the Patriarchal-Clan arrangement conditions the size of the family community. The naturally increased community (*temi*) gradually undergoes segmentation, is divided into a series of smaller familial communities, which time and again grow and in their turn again are divided up. The big [i.e. extended] family historically is a universal phenomenon. It is characteristic of almost every people and not only at a low level of development, but also later. Precisely in such a social unity, in the extended family, began from the earliest stage of development the formation of familial religion – *genotheism*; more precisely its development began together with and alongside the development of the extended family, as a social organism and the development of familial religion (*genotheism*) began as the ideological basis of familial unity.

It is especially worthy of note that, as is clarified by the analysis of archaeological and ethnographic materials, the given structure along the whole belt of Abkhazeti-Svaneti-Racha-Pshav-Khevsureti-Chechnia-Daghestan and a common religious-social structure characterizes this belt. This got its source from the Familial cult, from *Genotheism*, which in the common Caucasian region is attested already established from the Eneolithic-Early Bronze period.

4. If we consider the studied structure on the basis of ethnographic data of the family, we can suppose, that already in the period of the spread of the Kura-Araxes culture the extended (*big*) family is in appearance by its dwellings, by its type of agricultural territory and settlement. In the following periods, almost up to today, the big

family is attested in the life of the Caucasian peoples. We are far away from the contention, that the big family of the Kura-Araxes Cultural period is the direct ancestor of the big family studied in ethnographic life, but we think, that this primary social and kinship structure, which thereafter became a foundation for the social entity studied by ethnographer in the central Transcaucasus, in the period of the spread of Kura-Araxes culture already appears to have been worked out and fully developed.

Here, we wish to add in the form of a short outline that today, on the shores of the Mediterranean, which is considered to be a primary region for the birth of world civilization, as it is thought, it is possible to divide three main models of the development of civilization, whose realization every culture known to us factually represents. These models are: Sumerian-Akkadian or Mesopotamian, Egyptian and Aegean-Hellenic (49, 10). In our opinion, nevertheless this conclusion is considered established, that Sumerian-Akkadian, or Mesopotamian civilization, which first of all, belonged to Mesopotamia and Persia, following the widening of areal distribution and as a result of the migration of Semitic peoples appeared on the shores of the Mediterranean. The Mesopotamian model gets its start in Sumerian civilization, which thereafter became more vibrant in Akkadian, Babylonian, Hittite, Assyrian and other cultures of the Near East. The movement towards the formation of despotic forms of state from city-state government in the sphere of political organization of the state is characteristic for this model; when the king already acts as the head of a huge empire and his power becomes supreme. In socio-economic structures — like the existence of state-temple, so too of community-private sectors take on a pagan character (49, 10). The development in the region of Caucasia was different (which is considered to be part of the Mediterranean region). Here perhaps first of all geographical-natural conditions did not give the possibility, that compact monogenetic, homogeneous ‘proto-polis’ settlements form a united despotic universe. In this environment ‘lands’ appeared and developed, the relationship between which, proceeding from the kinship based structure character characteristic for them, were structured on the basis of equipollent opposition. That is, the

beginnings of social relations, here resembled the Mesopotamian model, but arising out of a different characteristic character, could not become despotic states and received instead the appearance of descent based unities, unities of 'land' and 'gorge'. In more recent times, it is true these processes of one-person rule, ended with the formation of a monarchy, but, this monarchy, although resembling an Asiatic despotism by various signs, initially was original; for at the intervening stage of its formation it was represented by deeply individual stage of 'lands', of 'gorges', which in the consciousness of members of the nation strengthened regionalism, senses of belonging to 'gorge' and 'land'. Originally, the basis of such a consciousness was the deeply traditional practice of household agriculture of the land, which has given us later on a very interesting and unique picture of the aboriginal peoples of the Caucasus both in ethnic culture and in history, as in their ethnopsychological world-view.

ტაბულების აღწერილობა

ტაბ. I – 1. ჩათალ ჰუეუქი, კომპუტერული რესტავრაცია. (Abernteuer Wissen. Die große Bertelsmann-Enzyklopädie). 2. ჩათალ ჰუეუქი, საცხოვრებელი სათავსოებისა და სამლოცველოთა სქემატური რესტავრაცია (ჯ. მელლარტის მიხედვით). 3. ჩათალ ჰუეუქი. VI A 10 საკულტო ნაგებობის სქემატური რესტავრაცია (ჯ. მელლარტის მიხედვით). 4. ჩათალ ჰუეუქი. VI A 8 საკულტო ნაგებობის ინტერიერის ჩრდილო და აღმოსავლეთ კედლების სქემატური რესტავრაცია (ჯ. მელლარტის მიხედვით).

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ნამოსახლარის გათხრისას აღმოჩენილი საკურთხეულის ფრაგმენტი (ფოტო საკუთარი არქივიდან).

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Table XV. The Tinch from *Digor* and *Faskau* (Following I. Motzenbäcker's „The Collection of Kossnierska").

დასკვნები

არქეოლოგია, (ქართულად სიტყვა-სიტყვით - **სიძველეთმცოდნეობა**), როგორც წესი, წყაროების მოძიების ერთ-ერთ ხერხად მოიაზრება; წყარო, ამჯერად გათხრითი მეთოდებით მოპოვებული, მეცნიერის, მკვლევარის მიერ ჩაყენებულია კვლევის ძირეული ობიექტის – ხალხის, ერის ისტორიის შესწავლის საქმეში. კონცეპტუალურად სწორედ ამგვარი მიდგომა ახასიათებს დიდი ივანე ჯავახიშვილის კვლევებსაც, სადაც შესწავლის ძირეულ ობიექტს, რომელიმე ცალკე აღებული სოციალური ერთობა ან პოლიტიკურ-კარგოგრაფიული ერთეული (თუნდაც საქართველო - ამ სიტყვის პირდაპირი გაგებით) კი არ წარმოადგენს, არამედ მეცნიერის ყურადღების მთავარი საგანი, ჭერეგითი შეშეცნების სახეობის ობიექტია – **ერი, ჯიში**; რომლის ამქვეყნიური არსებობის სიერისეულ ნაკვალევსაც მის წიაღშივე არსებული სოციალური ფენები, სახელმწიფოებრივ-პოლიტიკური საზღვრები ან კიდევ სხვა ყოფითი მხარეები ნათელჰყოფენ. სწორედ ამისა გამო უწოდა მან თავის სათაო ნაშრომს – „ქართველი ერის ისტორია“ და ამიგომაც ცდილობდა იგი ამ ფორმით დაემკვიდრებინა ეს სახელწოდება საისტორიო საკვალიფიკაციო ტერმინად. დიდი მეცნიერი პირდაპირ გვეუბნება, რომ „ისტორიკოსის ამოცანაა გაარკვიოს იმ ჰიპოთეზათა სისწორე თუ მცდარობა, რაც მიღებული აქვს ისტორიის ფილოსოფიას; შეიგანოს ახალი მონაცემების ანკარა ნაკადი, რათა უფრო მართებულად იყოს ჩამოყალიბებული ამ დისციპლინის ესა თუ ის ძირითადი საკითხები, როგორიცაა დადგენა და განსაზღვრა ეროვნებისა, რასობრივი და ნაციონალური განმასხვავებელი ნიშნებისა, სახელმწიფოსი და სხვა მისთანა“ (189, 392). დიასაც, მას კაცობრიობის ისტორია ერების, ხალხების და საზოგადოლ ჯიშების ისტორიად მიაჩნდა და არა საზღვრებცვლადი პოლიტიკური ერთეულების (რაც ოდენ ერის, ჯიშის გარემოსთან ადაჰკაციის შედეგს წარმოადგენს) ისტორიად. დიდი მეცნიერი საზოგადოების ისტორიას წარმომაველობითი სისხლისმიერი ერთობების, მოდგმათა სიერეული არსობის რაკუსში სჭერეტდა.

ცნობილი ფრანგი სტრუქტურალისტის, კლოდ ლევი სტროსის მიხედვით, კაცობრიობის ისტორიაში წვდომისათვის არ არის საკმარისი ფაქტების, მოვლენებისა თუ ცალკეულ ყოფით ნივთთა თვისობრიობის დაფიქსირება. აუცილებელია ძირეულად ჩავსწვდეთ მათ არსს და მიზეზ-შედეგობრივად გავისიგრძეგანოთ მათი ადგილი საზოგადოებრივ ყოფაში. ამის მიღწევა კი ეთნოლოგიის გარეშე სრულიად წარმოუდგენელია. თუ სოციოლოგია შემოიფარგლება

მხოლოდ აწმყოს გაგებით, მაშინ იგი ვერ მიაღწევს მიზანს, რადგანაც აწმყო წარსულის გარეშე სრულიად წარმოუდგენელია. ყოველივე, რაც აწმყოში ხდება, უკვე ისტორიის კუთვნილებაა. მხოლოდ ისტორია იძლევა უზოგადეს კანონთა და ღირებულებათა შკალის შესაბამისად აწმყოს ელემენტთა დაყოფის შესაძლებლობას. ამდენად, წარმოუდგენელია ისტორიისა და ეთნოლოგიის ურთიერთგათიშვა. შეუძლებელია ისტორიის არსებობა ეთნოლოგიის გარეშე; რამდენადაც, ყველა აღწერითი და დაკვირვებითი ხასიათის კვლევა ეთნოლოგიური პროფილისაა, იმდენად ყოველი ისტორიკოსისათვის, მაშინაც კი როდესაც იგი საზოგადოების ისტორიის შორეულ ეტაპებს ეხება, ეთნოლოგიური მასალა (თუნდაც გათხრითი მეთოდებით მოძიებული-პ.ბ.) ამოსავალი ხდება. რაც შეეხება ეთნოლოგიისა და ისტორიის მიმართებას, მეცნიერი თვლის, რომ მათ შორის არსებითი სხვაობა არც კვლევის ობიექტში, არც კვლევის მიზანში და არც კვლევის მეთოდში არ შეინიშნება. მათ აქვთ ერთი და იგივე კვლევის ობიექტი – სოციალური ცხოვრება; ერთი და იგივე მიზანი – აღაშინის უკეთ შეცნობა და ერთი მეთოდი. განსხვავება მხოლოდ ერთშია: ისტორია ყურადღებას სოციალური ცხოვრების ცნობიერი მოვლენების მიმართ წარმართავს, ხოლო ეთნოლოგია უფრო ამ უკანასკნელის არაცნობიერ ღირებულებათა კუთხით ამახვილებს თავის ყურადღებას[339, 9; 84, 260-260]

ყოველივე შემოთქმულიდან გამომდინარე, ჩვენი ნაშრომის ძირითადი მიზანი ამგვარად წარმოგვედგინა – ეთნოგრაფიული და არქეოლოგიური მასალის საფუძველზე თვალი გაგვედევნებინა საცხოვრისის ფენომენისადმი სტადიალურად, ცალკეულ საზოგადოებრივ ერთეულებში, ამ უკანასკნელთა განვითარების- და მიხედვით; დაგვეხაზა საკითხი საცხოვრისის, როგორც სივრცული აღქმის გამომხატველი ობიექტური რეალობის შესწავლისა და გვეჩვენებინა ამგვარი კვლევის პერსპექტიულობა; შეძლებისდაგვარად წარმოგვეჩინა საცხოვრისის როლი ეთნიკურ ყოფაში იმ გეოგრაფიული და სოციალ-ეკონომიკური თავისებურებების გათვალისწინებით, რომლებიც კავკასიას და კერძოდ მის ცენტრალურ ნაწილს ახასიათებს.

ფაქტიურად, ჩვენი ამგვარი მიდგომა კონკრეტული ყოფითი ფენომენისადმი (ამ შემთხვევაში საცხოვრისისადმი), ქართულ საისტორიო მეცნიერებაში ჯერ კიდევ აკად. გ. ჩიტაიას მიერ შემუშავებული და აწ უკვე კარგად აპრობირებული კომპლექსური-ინტენსიური მეთოდის სივრცულ პერსპექტივაში ერთგვარ გაგრცობას წარმოადგენს; რაც უპირველეს ყოვლისა ჩვენში საისტორიო

მეცნიერების განვითარების და ამის საფუძველზე დიდძალი ფაქტობრივი მასალის დაგროვების შედეგად გახდა შესაძლებელი.

რაც შეეხება ჩვენი ნაშრომის საკვლევადიებო-თემატურ მიმართულებას, მიგვაჩნია, რომ მოცემულ შემთხვევაში, ალბათ, მართებული იქნებოდა გვესმარა გამოთქმა – **პალეოეთნოლოგიური კვლევის ცდა**. პალეოეთნოლოგია რომელიც სიტყვა-სიტყვით ძველ ხალხთმცოდნეობას ნიშნავს და რომელიც, ალბათ, მეტნაკლებად სრულად შეესაბამება ჩვენეულ კვლევის მიმართულებას, გარკვეულწილად შეიძლება მოგვეჩვენოს, რომ უფრო ისტორიის ასპარეზიდან გამქრალ ეთნიკურ ერთობათა შესასწავლად წარმოებულ კვლევას უფრო მიესადაგება; მაგრამ, **ქართველური – იბერიული მოდგმა, რომელიც კავკასიის აბორიგენ მოსახლეობას წარმოადგენს, ათასწლეულთა მიღმა გახედვას არ გაურბის და თამამად უსწორებს თვალს შორეულ წინაპართაგან ჩვენსკენ მომართულ მზერას**.

აღნიშნული კუთხით, ცენტრალური ამიერკავკასიის (ძირითადად დღევანდელ აღმ. საქართველო) ტერიტორიაზე მოძიებული არქეოლოგიური და ეთნოლოგიური მასალის ანალიზმა შესაძლებლობა მოგვცა შემდეგი დასკვნების გაკეთებისა:

1. საეხებით დასაშვებად მიგვაჩნია ვივარაუდოთ ის, რომ სამყაროსეული მსოფლალქმის გარიერაზე, ადამიანის შემეცნებაში, შიდა (დომესტიფიცირებული) და გარე სივრცეების იერარქიული მოწყობა, საეხებით შეესაბამებოდა ერთიმეორეს და ამით, ორივე სივრცის განსხვავებულობათა ერთიანობის საფუძველზე ხდებოდა საერთო სულიერი ფონის შეგრძნება. სწორედ ამ სულიერი ფონის, ამ ღმრთიესულიერი ნაკადების ალქმა უნდა გამხდარიყო შემდგომში რელიგიური მსოფლმხედველობის და საერთოდ ღვთისშემეცნების საფუძველი, რაც თვისთავად განმაპირობებელი იყო კიდევ ადამიანურობის ისტორიის დასაწყისისა.

ვხვებით რა საცხოვრისის ფენომენს და სამყაროს სივრცულ ალქმას, გვინდა კიდევ ერთხელ აღვნიშნოთ, რომ სივრცის „შინა“ და „გარე“ სამყაროებად დაყოფა უძველეს დროში, კერძოდ კი იმ პერიოდში უნდა მომხდარიყო, როდესაც სოციალურმა ჯგუფმა თავისი სამეურნეო და საცხოვრებელი ტერიტორია დაიმკვიდრა (138, 141). ცენტრალური ამიერკავკასიის ტერიტორიაზე ეს ეტაპი ადრესამიწათმოქმედო კულტურების ჩასახვა-განვითარების პერიოდს უნდა ემთხვეოდეს. როგორც მიჩნეულია ამ პერიოდში საწარმოო ძალთა მიღწეული დონე ხელს უწყობდა ერთ ადგილზე მუდმივ ბინადრობასა და მოსახლეობის გამრავლებას (265, 67).

გამომდინარე აქედან უნდა ვიფიქროთ, რომ **ცენტრალური ამიერკავკასიის ტერიტორიაზე მოსახლე ტომების ცნობიერებაში, ორ ძირითად ნაწილად სამყაროს სივრცისეული დაყოფის საბოლოოდ გაფორმება – „შინ“ და „გარე“ ცნებებად, ქრონოლოგიურად, ქრისტემდე VI ათასწლეულის ბოლოსა და V ათასწლეულის დასაწყისს ემთხვევა.**

2. ცენტრალურ ამიერკავკასიაში (თანამედროვე აღმოსავლეთ საქართველო), საცხოვრისის სამშენებლო ტრადიციის განვითარებაში, მოყოლებული ენეოლითის ხანიდან განვითარებული ფეოდალიზმის ჩათვლით, დაფიქსირებული არქეოლოგიური მონაცემების მიხედვით, ვფიქრობთ, შემდეგი ძირითადი ეტაპები გამოიყოფა:

ა) **აღმის წრიულ-გუმბათოვანი სამშენებლო ტრადიცია** („შულავერი-შომუ თეფეს“ კულტურა. ქრისტემდე VI-IV ათასწლეულები), რომლისთვისაც დამახასიათებელია ე.წ. „პლანოკონვენქსები“, ნაგებობათა წრიულობა, გუმბათოვანი გადახურვა. სამშენებლო მასალად მხოლოდ თიხა-აღმის გამოყენება.

ბ) **ხის კარკასოვანი, თიხალესილი ნაგებობების სამშენებლო ტრადიცია** („მტკვარ-არაქსის“ კულტურა. ქრისტემდე IV ათასწლეულის II ნახევარი - III ათასწლეულის I ნახევარი). დამახასიათებელია სწორკუთხა, კუთხეებ-მომრგვალებული, მეტნაკლებად თანაბარი სიდიდის თიხით შელესილ ხის კარკასზე ნაშენი ნაგებობანი. გადახურვა ბანურია, თიხატკეპნილი, დედაბოძზე დაფუძნებული. შენობის ცენტრში გამართულია სტაციონარული მრგვალი კერა. ნაგებობას წინა მხრიდან ღერეფანი აქვს მიშენებული.

გ) **ძელური შენობების სამშენებლო ტრადიცია** (ე.წ. „ადრეული ყორღანების ეპოქა“ – ქრისტემდე III ათასწლეულის II ნახევარი), რომლისთვისაც დამახასიათებელია სამშენებლო მასალად მასიური ძელებისა და რიყის „ხურდა“ ქვის გამოყენება, ნაგებობების ძელურივე გადახურვა როგორც ბანური ასევე ორფერდა ტექნოლოგიით; თავხეების, კოჭების, კეხის, საყრდენი ბოძების გამოყენებით.

დ) **ქვის მშრალი წყობის სამშენებლო ტრადიცია** („თრიალეთის ბრწყინვალე ყორღანების კულტურა“ – ქრისტემდე III ათასწლეულის უკანასკნელი მეოთხედი - II ათასწლეულის I ნახევარი), რომლისთვისაც უპირატესად დამახასიათებელია ქვის მშრალი წყობით ნაგები სწორკუთხა ნაგებობები, საკმაოდ სქელი კედლებით, ბრტყელი, ბოძებზე დაყრდნობილი გადახურვით.

ე) **ფლეთილი ქვითა და თიხის ხსნარით ნაგები ნახევრადმიწერი ნაგებობების სამშენებლო ტრადიცია** (გვიანი

ბრინჯაო - ადრე რკინის ხანის ძეგლების მიხედვით), რომლისთვისაც შენების პროცესში დამახასიათებელია აღნიშნული მასალის გამოყენება, თიხატექნილი იატაკი, ცენტრში გამართული კერა („შუა ცეცხლი“) და დედაბოძზე დაყრდნობილი ბანკური გადახურვა.

მომდევნო პერიოდების (ანტიკური ხანა, ადრეფეოდალური, განვითარებული და გვიანი ფეოდალური პერიოდები) საცხოვრისებით წარმოდგენილი სამშენებლო გრადიციამში, ჩვენ უკვე არსებითი ხასიათის ცვლილებებს ვერ ვხედავთ: უცვლელია საშენი მასალა (ფლეთილი და რიყის ქვა), გადახურვის ფორმა (ბანკური), ნაგებობის განთავსება (ნახევრადმიწური). ამ მოგვიანო პერიოდებში უფრო თვალნათლივ იკვეთება საცხოვრისის ძირითადი ტიპები რეგიონალური განმასხვავებელი ნიშნებით. განვითარებული ფეოდალური ხანის არქეოლოგიური მონაცემების მიხედვით, მაგალითად, ალბათ უკვე შესაძლებელია გარჩევა „დარბაზის“ მესხური ვარიანტისა. განიჩევა მთის მხარის საცხოვრისებიც თავისი სპეციფიური ნიშნებით.

მიგვაჩნია, რომ მოცემულ რეგიონში, ჩამოთვლილი ეტაპებიდან, ა და ბ ეტაპებს შორის შემკვიდრეობითობის საკითხი სავსებით გარკვეული (იხ.265) და ნათელია. რაც შეეხება გ და დ ეტაპებს, ამ პერიოდების სამშენებლო გრადიცია თავისი შინაგანი ლოგიკით და მევეთრი ცვალებადობით (ასევე შინაარსობრივი ხასიათით) ერთგვარად ამოვარდნილი ჩანს საერთო ლოგიკური და შემკვიდრეობითი განვითარების ჯაჭვიდან და შესაბამისად, ინფილტრირებული კულტურული ელემენტის შთაბეჭდილებას გოვებს.

3. საცხოვრისში კერა წარმოადგენს ოჯახის ცენტრს, შუაგულს, რომელიც აერთიანებს, კრავს, ადუღაბებს სისხლისნათესაობით და საერთო ქონებით ერთსულ ოჯახს – სოციალურ ერთეულს. ეს ოჯახი, ქონებრივ-საკუთრებითი და ნათესაობრივ-სისხლისმიერი ურთიერთობებით ისედაც ერთი მთლიანობაა, მაგრამ კერა ამ ერთობის ხილული, ხელშესახები გამოხატულება; ერთიანი, განუყოფელი ოჯახის სიმბოლოა.

სავსებით დასაშვებად მიგვაჩნია იმის აღნიშვნა, რომ **ჩნდება რა კერა, რაც თავისთავად საცხოვრისისა და ოჯახის ფორმირებასაც გულისხმობს, ჩნდება ოჯახური რელიგია – გენოთეიზმი; როგორც სოციალური ორგანიზმის (ოჯახის) ჩამომყალიბებელი ფენომენი. უკვე ნეოლითის ხანიდან, როცა ჩნდება პირველი სისტემური დასახლებები, კავკასიაში უნდა ვივარაუდოთ ოჯახური რელიგიის – გენოთეიზმის ფორმირებაც. ეს მოვლენა საბოლოოდ დასრულებულ სახეს იძენს ენეოლითის**

ეპოქაში, რაც ეფიქრობთ ნათლად აისახა აღმოსავლეთ ამიერკასიაში შესწავლილ ნამოსახლარებიდან („შულავერი-შომუ თეფეს“ კულტურა“) მომდინარე მასალებში. საუბრაუდებელია ისიც, რომ საოჯახო ღვთაება ამავდროულად ერთიანი სამოსახლოს თაყვანცემის ობიექტაც ყოფილიყო, რამდენადაც ამ პერიოდში დასახლებები მონოგენური შემადგენლობის იყო (354,136). უფრო მოგვიანო პერიოდში კი ყოველი ასეთი სოციალური კოლექტივი ნაყოფიერების ღვთაების გარეშემო იყო შეკრებილი, რის დასტურიცაა ის ფაქტიც, რომ მაგ. შიდა ქართლის ქრისტიანულ II ათასწლეულის II ნახევრის საწესო კომპლექსები იკონოგრაფიულად სიცოცხლის ხის სახით ნაყოფიერების ღვთაების ხატებას წარმოადგენდა (77, 194-202).

პატრიარქალურ-გვაროვნული წყობის საწარმოო ძალთა განვითარების დონე განაპირობებს ოჯახური თემის სიდიდეს. ბუნებრივად გამრავლებული თემი თანდათანობით სეგმენტაციას განიცდის, განიყოფა რაც მცირე ოჯახურ თემებად, რომლებიც დრო და დრო იშრდებიან და თავის მხრივ ისევ იშლებიან. დიდი ოჯახი ისტორიულად უნიფერსალური მოვლენაა. იგი ახასიათებდა თითქმის ყველა მოდგმის ხალხს არა მხოლოდ განვითარების დაბალ საფეხურზე, არამედ შემდგომაც. სწორედ ამდაგვარ სოციალურ ერთეულში, დიდ ოჯახში, განვითარების უადრესი სტადიიდან ხდებოდა ოჯახური რელიგიის – გენოთეიზმის ფორმირება; უფრო მუსტად, მათი ფორმირება ერთად, ერთიმეორის გვერდიგვერდ ხდებოდა – დიდი ოჯახისა, როგორც სოციალური ორგანიზმისა და ოჯახური რელიგიისა (გენოთეიზმისა), როგორც ოჯახური ერთობის იდეური საფუძველისა.

საგანგებოდ აღსანიშნავია ისიც, რომ როგორც ეს არქეოლოგიური და ეთნოგრაფიული მასალის ანალიზით ირკვევა, მოცემული სტრუქტურა ვრცელდება აფხაზეთ-სვანეთ-რაჭა-ფშავესურეთის-ჩეჩნეთი-დაღესტანის მთელ ზოლზე და ამ ზოლს საერთო სარწმუნოებრივ-სამოგადოებრივი აგებულება ახასიათებს. იგი სათავეს იღებს ოჯახური კულტმსახურებიდან - გენოთეიზმიდან, რაც საერთოკავკასიურ სივრცეში გამოკვეთილად უკვე ენეოლით-ადრე ბრინჯაოს ხანებიდან დასტურდება.

4. თუკი გავითვალისწინებთ ოჯახის ეთნოგრაფიული მონაცემების საფუძველზე შესწავლილ სტრუქტურას, ჩვენ შეგვიძლია ვივარაუდოთ, რომ მტკვარ-არაქსის კულტურის გავრცელების ხანაში უკვე სახეზეა დიდი ოჯახი თავისი საცხოვრისით, სამეურნეო ტერიტორიითა და დასახლების ტიპით. ის დიდი

ოჯახი, რომელიც მომდევნო პერიოდებში, თითქმის მოაქამყამდის, დასტურდება კავკასიელი ხალხების ყოფაში. ჩვენ შორის ვართ იმის მტკიცებიდან, რომ მტკვარ-არაქსის კულტურისდროინდელი დიდი ოჯახი უშუალო წინაპარია ეთნოგრაფიულ ყოფაში შესწავლილი დიდი ოჯახისა, მაგრამ ვფიქრობთ, რომ ის ძირითადი სოციალური და სისხლისნათესაობითი სტრუქტურა, რომელიც შემდგომში საფუძვლად დაედო ცენტრალურ ამიერკავკასიაში ეთნოგრაფთაგან შესწავლილ ამ სოციალურ ერთეულს, მტკვარ-არაქსის კულტურის გავრცელების ხანაში უკვე შემუშავებული და ჩამოყალიბებული ჩანს.

აქვე, მოკლე მონახაზის სახით გვინდა დავსძინოთ, რომ დღეს, ხმელთაშუა ზღვის აუზში, რომელიც მსოფლიო ცივილიზაციების წარმოშობის ძირითად რეგიონად ითვლება, როგორც მიიჩნევენ, ცივილიზაციის განვითარების სამი უმთავრესი მოდელის გამოყოფა შეიძლება, რომელთა რეალიზაციასაც წარმოადგენს ფაქტობრივად ჩვენთვის ცნობილი ყველა ძველი კულტურა. ეს მოდელებია: შუმერულ-აქადური ანუ მესოპოტამიური, ეგვიპტური და ეგეოსურ-ელინური (49, 10). ჩვენის აზრით, მაინც გამოკვეთილად შეიმჩნევა ის გარემოება, რომ შუმერულ-აქადური, ანუ მესოპოტამიური ცივილიზაცია, რომელიც უპირველეს ყოვლისა, შუამდინარეთს და შესაბამისად სპარსეთის ყურის აუზს განეკუთვნება, გავრცელების არეალის გაფართოების შემდგომ და სემიტური მოდგმის ხალხების მიგრაციის შედეგად აღმოჩნდა ხმელთაშუა ზღვის აუზში. მესოპოტამიური მოდელი დასაბამს ღებულობს შუმერულ ცივილიზაციაში, რომელიც შემდგომში უფრო გაცხოველებული იქნა აქადურ, ბაბილონურ, ხეთურ, ასურულ და წინა აზიის სხვა კულტურებში. ამ მოდელისათვის დამახასიათებელია სახელმწიფოს მართვის ორგანიზაციის სფეროში ქალაქსახელმწიფოების მმართველობიდან სახელმწიფოს დესპოტური ფორმის ჩამოყალიბებამდე მისვლა; როდესაც მეფე უკვე ვეებერთელა იმპერიის სათავეში ექცევა და მისი ძალაუფლება უზენაესი ხდება. სამოგადოებრივ-ეკონომიურ სტრუქტურებში – როგორც სახელმწიფო-საგაძრო, ასევე სათემო-კერძო სექტორების არსებობა (თუკი შუმერში უპირატესობა სახელმწიფო-საგაძრო საკუთრებას ენიჭებოდა, ხეთებთან ამ მხრივ უპირატესი სათემო-კერძო სექტორი იყო) წარმმართველ

ხასიათს ღებულობს(49, 10). განსხვავებული იყო ვითარება კავკასიის რეგიონში (რომელიც მედიტერანული სამყაროს ნაწილადაც მიაჩნიათ – მერპერტი, ჩერნისი, გორდემიანი...), აქ ალბათ უპირველეს ყოვლისა გეოგრაფიულ-ბუნებრივი პირობები არ იძლეოდა იმის შესაძლებლობას, რომ კომპაქტური მონოგენური, ერთგვარად „პროტოპოლისური“ (მაგ. მტკვარ-არაქსის ნამოსახლარები), დასახლებები (გორაები – ნ. ბერძენიშვილი), ერთიან დესპოტურ სამყაროდ ჩამოყალიბებულიყვნენ. ამ გარემოში „ქვეყანა“-ები (ნ. ბერძენიშვილი) ჩნდებოდნენ და ვითარდებოდნენ, რომელთა შორის ურთიერთობაც, გამომდინარე მათთვის დამახასიათებელი სისხლით-ნათესაობითი სტრუქტურის ნიადაგზე, ურთიერთპარიტეტის საფუძველზე იგებოდა. ესე იგი, სოციალურ-სამოგადოებრივი ურთიერთობების საწყისები, აქ მესოპოტამიურ მოდელს ემსგავსებოდა, მაგრამ გამომდინარე თვისობრივად განსხვავებული ხასიათიდან, დესპოტურ სახელმწიფოდ ვერ იქცეოდა. საბოლოოდ იგი „ქვეყანაების“, „ხევების“ ერთობის, საერთო წარმომავლობით* გაპირობებული ერთობლიობის სახეს ღებულობდა. უფრო მოგვიანო ხანებში, მართალია ეს პროცესები ერთპიროვნული მმართველობის, ანუ მონარქიის ჩამოყალიბებით დასრულდა, მაგრამ, ეს მონარქია, თუმცა გარკვეული ნიშნებით აზიური დესპოტიის მსგავსი, ძირეულად თავისთავადი იყო; რადგანაც თავისი ჩამოყალიბების შუალედურ ეტაპზე იგი „ქვეყანაების“, ხევების ღრმადინდივიდუალური სტადიით იყო წარმოდგენილი, რომელიც ერის წევრთა შეგნებაში კუთხურობას, ხევისშვილობას, ქვეყანისშვილობას აძლიერებდა. თავისთავად, ამგვარი შეშეცნების საფუძველი იყო მიწის, სამკვიდროს კომლობრივი ფლობის ღრმადტრადიციული პრაქტიკაც, რამაც შემდგომში ძალზე საინტერესო და ამასთანავე მკვიდრად თავისთავადი სურათი მოგვცა კავკასიის აბორიგენ ხალხთა როგორც ეთნიკურ ყოფასა და ისტორიში, ასევე მათ ეთნოფსიქოლოგიურ მსოფლხატში.

*მაგ. ვახუშტი ბატონიშვილის მიერ აღნიშნული „ნათესავით ქართველის“ შეგნება, რომლის საწყისებიც წინარე ისტორიულ ხანაშია საძიებელი