

European and National Context of Georgian Modernist Literature

Abstract: The socio-cultural preconditions of Georgian Modernism single out two chief aspects:

1. Modernism, as a viewpoint and literary discourse, Georgian Modernists, on the one hand connected with the issue of renewal of Georgian Culture, which implied the approachment of Georgian and Western Culture and make Georgian Culture an inseparable part of the western one, on the other hand, saw it as a means of re-establishing Georgian state an orientation towards the West both politically and culturally;
2. The intensive reception and establishment of Modernist viewpoints and Aesthetics is connected with the intensified political life of the 20s – the catastrophe of 1921, the political terror and repressions of the 20s, the suppression of the rebellion of 1924, the anti-religious terror and propaganda of the Bolsheviks. Also, it is connected with the intensified technical-mechanic ideologist progress of the 20s which was executed by the Bolsheviks under the Messianic Pathos.

Key Words: European Modernism, Georgian Modernism, Modernist Literature

'We should overcome the ethnographic borders of Georgian Culture'
Konstantine Gamsakhurdia

In Georgia, as well as in Europe, the establishment of literary modernism, and in general, orientation on the modern outlook and modernist aesthetic, was not an unnatural and unconscious phenomenon, a kind of fashion to follow. The modernist authors were interested in the modernist aesthetic, the modernist themes, in the problems and poetical and ideological principles and it was not driven by a temporary or youth interest ("youth disease", "naive passion"), neither was it a subject of coquette ("a foreign terminal disease"), but the modernist authors linked the modernist aesthetics to Georgian culture; they aimed towards 'straightening the radius' (T. Tabidze) of Georgian Literature to West European literature. Their main aim was to eradicate Russian and Asiatic cultural tyranny and to integrate Georgian Literature with Western Literature. Accordingly, the establishment and development of Georgian literary modernism had its fundamental political and socio-cultural background, aesthetic and conceptual and philosophical-theoretical basis (here one important point should be emphasized: Unlike Georgian Romanticism which had indirect contact with European Romanticism, and that ultimately remained a fragmentary event in Georgian reality, Georgian Modernism had direct contacts with European modernism. This can be explained from the fact that the majority of Georgian modernists – Grigol Robakidze, Konstantine Gamsakhurdia, Erekle Tatishvili, Niko Lortkipanidze, Paolo Iashvili and others were educated in Europe and in the European cultural space got acquainted with the new literary movements and trends, philosophical and aesthetic doctrines (Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Kierkegaard, Wagner, Freud, Spengler, Bergson, etc.), as well as literary and cultural life.

The thing that Georgian Literary Modernism was not a temporary, spontaneous, 'trendy' can be seen from the fact that Georgian modernists not only created modernist texts, and not only did they see themselves as shapers of the aesthetic-cultural development and changes, but as well regarded Georgian Literary modernism as both original and inseparable part of European Literary Modernism. As a proof of this we can use the example of the modernist writers, who intensively published literary and critical articles as well as essays, concerning the current socio-cultural, cultural and political life of European, as well as modernism or other important issues concerning literature (literary and critical articles and essays of K. Gamsakhurdia, Gr. Robakidze, E. Ttishvili, V. Kotetishvili, G. Kikodze, G. Leonidze, the authors

from the Brotherhood of the Blue Horns and others); they also published literary manifestos declaring the foundation of this or that concrete modernist movement (for example “Manifest of Symbolism” by the Brotherhood of the Blue Horns, or the Manifest of Expressionism “**Declaratia pro mea!**” by K. Gamsakhurdia). Georgian Modernists held public lectures (for example famous lectures by Gr. Robakidze, who was the first to preach the ideology of literary modernism and its aesthetic in Georgian reality and highlighted the necessity to renew Georgian Literary modernism according to the principles of the West), Literary meetings (for example the literary evenings held by the “Association of Writers” from which one evening was entirely dedicated to Friedrich Nietzsche and was organized by K. Gamsakhurdia), Literary Groups were being formed (“Association of Writers”, “Brotherhood of the Blue Horns” – which included Georgian symbolists, and Georgian Futurists) and also literary organs (“Blue Horns”, “Dreaming Aurochs”, “Bakhtrioni”, “Journal of Galaktion Tabidze”, “Lomisi”, “Ilioni”, “Georgian Bell tower”, “Barricade”, “Rubicon”, “Georgian Word”, “Caucasia”, “H2SO4”)

Therefore, it is only natural that in the Georgian sense and cultural history of the Georgian modernism, and in particular, the literary modernism was the spiritual and aesthetic space, where the question was posed to get near to Europe and be orientated on European values. It also revealed a very important fact: namely, that the Georgian literary modernism did not only aim to base Georgian Literature on "European radius" and fully implement the paradigm of European modernist aesthetics but also at the same time developed a postulate of cultural and political orientation of Georgia towards Europe.

Therefore it should be once more highlighted that Georgian Literary Modernism is not a spontaneous, fragmented and episodic display of Georgian mind and Literary History, as it was suggested by the Soviet Marxist Literary critics during the Soviet Times, but Georgian Literary Modernism had its concrete objective political and socio-cultural prerequisite:

- a) Political and Colonial condition of Georgia within the framework of Russian Empire (1801-1918);
- b) The backward condition of Georgian culture and literature, due to the one hundred year of Russian colonialism, which led to breaking Georgia off from the European economic and social modernization processes as well as cultural and literary contexts;
- c) the political and ideological aggression in Georgia in the 1920s from the side of Russian Bolsheviks (occupation, annexation, political terror and repression and in addition ideologized technocracy) (Bregadze 2013: 8).

Hence:

1. Georgian modernists, on the one hand tried to connect Georgian culture and literature with European Modernism, as a world view and literary discourse, suggesting the need of both ‘updating’ Georgian Modernisms as well as making it an integral part of Western Culture and Literature, and on the other hand linked it to the restoration of Georgian statehood and integrating western orientation in the political and cultural life of the country (compare symbolic manifesto of the Brotherhood of Blue Horns "Pirveltkma" (P. Iashvili) and "with blue Horns" (T. Tabidze), or letters and essays on these problems by Gr. Robakidze, G. Kikodze and K. Gamsakhurdia, noteworthy is Gr. Robakidze's famous article "Georgian Renaissance"). Consequently, Paris ("Brotherhood of Blue Horns") and Berlin (K. Gamsakhurdia) were announced as the cultural-political orientation for Georgian Modernists.
2. The intense reception and introduction of the modernist aesthetics and outlook in Georgia is also associated with the political life of the 1920s in Georgia – the disaster of 1921, political terror and repression of the Bolsheviks in the 1920s, the uprising of 1924, the Bolshevik terror and anti-religious propaganda; Also, in the 1920s rather intensified was the ideological technical progress (ideological technocracy), which carried out by the Bolsheviks with messianic spirit. Finally all these processes had a great impact on Georgian known as the "metaphysical shock" (Nietzsche) - God is dead, all the values were reevaluated and Georgian spiritual culture was suppressed by the Bolsheviks and materialistic consciousness and machine-technical civilization started to develop. This caused dehumanization of Georgian way of life, alienation towards the mythic-sacral basis, respectively, dissolution-

decomposition of subjectivity, existential fear and the impossibility of obtaining self-identity. These problems became the main topic of discussion by the Georgian Modernist Writers (K. Gamsakhurdia and his novels "Dionysus Smile", "Stealing of the Moon" and his expressionist novels of the 1910s and 1920s, M. Javakishvili's novels "Jako's Migrants" and "White Collar", Gr. Robakidze's novels "Snake Skin" and "Killed Soul", Gr. Shengelaia's novel "Sanavardo" and short story "Tiflis", etc.).

Therefore Georgian Literary Modernism is based as a self-reflective phenomenon, which on the one hand realizes that modern Georgia lags behind with political, cultural and aesthetic norms and on the other hand realizes its mission and responsibility towards Georgian Culture and Literature, meaning that Georgia should be oriented on western/European paradigms and Georgian culture and literature should have tight connections with western/European paradigms (in this respect in Georgian traditional paradigm we consider "Georgian Universalism" by Shota Rustaveli), which meant the fundamental change and development of Georgian Literature and Culture (The Formula by Tician Tabidze – Mallarme and Rustaveli, his manifest "With Blue Horns").

Therefore, it is only natural that this self-reflection and, at the same time, propaganda of the new patterns of modernist aesthetic values can be seen in the manifestos of literary modernists, cultural, cultural-philosophical, literary-theoretical and literary-critical writings, which they extensively published in their own literary magazines and newspapers (1915-1925) (Bregadze, 2013: 9). This on its own side highlights that Georgian Modernism became a broad front to carry out the political and cultural mission.

Given the fact that Georgian Modernism, as well as Georgian literary modernism, is one of the *discontinued projects* (B. Tsipuria), whose delay occurred, on the one hand, because of the Russian Bolshevik aggression (1921.), whose result was the terrorist and repressive form of Bolshevik Ideology challenging the modernist aesthetics, the modernists and their creativity, and, on the other hand, because of the fact that the only aesthetic ideology of the 1930s Soviet Georgia was declared socialist realism, and also, given Jurgen Habermas and his thesis modernism, as the ideological and socio-cultural phenomenon, is still an unfinished project, which is ongoing and is still in the process of formation (See his culturological and socio-cultural etude "Die Moderne – Ein unvollendetes Projekt. Philosophisch-politische Aufsätze" (Habermas, 1994: 177-192), the study of Georgian modernism from an aesthetic and socio-cultural point of view is still relevant, moreover, that Georgia even nowadays is still facing the serious issue of political and cultural orientation. And, in this regard, the Georgian society will be provided by the correct orientation of the Georgian modernists and their European choice of "Occidental-centrism".

Among the Georgian literary modernism developed, on the one hand, anti-colonial and, on the other hand, occidental-centrist spirit, which can especially be seen in the texts and literary manifestos, which clearly showed Georgian aspiration of breaking from the boundaries of Russian-Asiatic colonial space, and getting nearer to the political and cultural orientation of the West. These texts are:

- a) The symbolism manifest by Tician Tabidze and Paolo Iashvili "With Blue Horns" (1916) and "Pirveltkma" (1916), which as noted by several scholars is more avant-garde-futurist manifests, which is not accidental, because in the 1920s Paolo Iashvili while being in Paris got to know to the Futurist Manifests of Filippo Tommaso Emilio Marinetti (Magarotto, 1982: 56; Tsipuria, 2012: 173-176);
- b) The Expressionist manifest by Konstantine Gamsakhurdia "Declaratia Pro Mea" (1920), as well as his publicist letters and essays „Open Letter to Lenin" (1921), where he clearly shows the Bolshevik oppression on Georgia, Essays "Ilia Chavchavadze" (1922), "Metaphysical Diaries" (1921-1922), Publicist Letter "Anno 1923", etc.

Georgian Literary Modernism with its organized form is became involved in Georgian literary life and formally established itself, by the meeting held by the Brotherhood of the Blue Horns (1915-1916) during the time of the First World War, and from the very beginning the literary manifestos had on the one hand anti-colonial sentiment, and on the other hand, declared Georgian cultural and political orientation of the West. In this respect, Tician Tabidze's (1893-1937) Symbolist Manifesto "Blue Horns" should be outlined:

We have grounds prepared for **Modernism** (This line is mine – K.B) [...] In the future Georgian artist Rustaveli and Mallarme should come together. I see Rustaveli as the father of Georgian literature and Mallarme is the head of European futurist movement. This is the only way out. No matter how the war ends, Europe will enter the Middle Was and we should be equipped with national knowledge, [...] If we do this then it will be time for Renaissance and I drink the toast of National Revival with this “Blue Horn” (Tabidze, 1986: 178, 180).

Therefore according to T. Tabidze being ready for Modernism means the reception of both modernist aesthetic as well as modern European social-political ideas, which was directly proportional to the revival of Georgian country – “then it will be time for Renaissance”. T. Tabidze underlines the fact that Georgia equally needs European Social and Technological development as well as social-cultural innovations. This relation is both-sided. Georgia on its side will incorporate into European values and ideas its own experience that comes from centuries long ago, starting from Shot Rustaveli in the XII century. Tician Tabidze’s formula Rustaveli-Mallarme means the usage of Georgian long culture and experience and transforming it according to the modernist and European values. The incorporation of this idea can be seen in Galaktion Tabidze’s (1891-1959) collection of verses „Artistic Flowers“ (1919) – Generally Georgian Modernist verse is an expression of Symbolism, uniting in itself the past as well as modernity. According to Tician Tabidze and his words “We will do it on our own” Georgian modernists are seen as the only force capable of Georgian cultural-social-political-economic revival and getting near to the European values and orienting on the West.

Similar spirit is revealed in Paolo Iashvili’s (1894-1937) Manifesto "Preface" which is full of futuristic pathos and symbolism, where Paris is declared as the new cultural and artistic center on the contrary to the Russian imperial centers (St. Petersburg, Moscow):

After Georgia our Holy place is Paris. Hey People praise this angry city, where with insane fascination our drunkard brothers were having fun – Verlaine and Baudelaire, Mallarme, Arthur Rimbaud, Drunk with pride, the cursed young man. [...] Adopt: denial of beauty, heroic speed, lit love, grandeur emotion, crashes of mystery. A love mystery, that sets you on fire, things that were praised in the past, smile at the call of death, ignore the feminine gentleness and tenderness [...] Fire, fire everything that causes sadness and fatigue. [...] In our direction came youth singing a song of uniting... We joined and screamed towards our future enemies "chaotic, chaotic, chaotic" dawn has com... Our faces were kissed by happiness dressed in blue colour. We were ready for a ferocious battle (Iashvili, 1986: 291-292).

Here also a special attention is paid, on the one hand on the future and on the other hand on the new generation (“Georgian Youth”). In this new Generation Paolo Iashvili definitely means the modernist artists, who are full of modernist conscious, strive towards modernist aesthetic and is linked with Georgian revival, which means that Georgia will get rid of the colonial environment and will be oriented on European culture and politics: “After Georgia our Holy place is Paris”.¹

Thus, for the Georgian Modernists, in this case, for the symbolists (T. Tabidze, P. Iashvili) orientation on Europe was seen as an indisputable prerequisite of the political renewal and cultural renaissance in Georgia, which is coded using the following formula: Rustaveli - Mallarmé, Georgia - Paris.

Like Georgian symbolists, the expressionist Konstantine Gamsakhurdia (1893-1975) in the publicist letters and literary essays of the 1920s and underlined the need of orienting on the West: For Gamsakhurdia Georgian Political, Social and Cultural development depended on European orientation. In this respect anti-colonial discourse is also evident, namely overcoming Russian Asian-Bokshevik aggression. Such position of K. Gamsakhurdia is clearly shown in his publicist letter “Anno 1923”:

¹ "The modernists do not recognize such dependence on a metropolis culture that is considered valuable in the periphery, those cultural tendencies, texts and figures. [...] Seeing Europe as a cultural centre is to highlight the anticolonial spirit and on the contrary to the Russian cultural and political space show the superiority of European values. This attitude was rather significant at the first stage of the nineteenth century, in the Georgian socio-cultural space" (Tsiपुरia, 2010: 8, 9).

Inner moral change is vital for Georgia. We should be oriented on the future, which means that by old-fashioned wheels we will never be able to catch Pegasus. Time flies like a dream; radio stations have covered and crossed thousands of kilometers. Nations fight and create not only on the ground, but under the ground and above the ground as well. The nation that is able to be on the surface of the ground will never have its place among other nations. [...] Our future is not entirely hopeless, and our star will shine brightly again. Georgia faces many important issues. The great Civilization and Culture of the West is approaching the borders of our country. [...] Our motto is: Occident! (Gamsakhurdia, 1983: 453-455).

Therefore, for the modernist-expressionist K. Gamsakhurdia the future cultural and political revival of Georgia lies within its integration process with the West Civilization. Only nearing themselves with Western civilization gives Georgia the ability to get to know with the modern social-political ideas as well as the technologies, which will aid in the economic, social, and political development of the country. This is the only way, by which Georgia will overcome the Asian passive nature and the cultural backwardness.

Asia as a marker of cultural and political backwardness is quite often used in the publicist letters and essays of the 1920s by K. Gamsakhurdia. For example in the Essay 'Ilia Chavchavadze' (1922) Gamsakhurdia argues about the 19 century Georgia and its backwardness due to colonialism (he calls it "Tatkaridzeoba" according to one of the characters of Ilia Chavchavadze's work, who is a person who does nothing and is 'dead' in cultural, economic and social terms) and Gamsakhurdia suggests that this can be overcome by the real activities and actions that can only be done by people who are oriented on the West and such a person he sees in Ilia Chavchavadze (1837-1907) who fought for Georgian cultural, political, social and economic revival and was killed due to his strong will to bring Georgia out of the colonial environment and to make it an independent country sharing Western ideas and values:

I think that Georgian Spirit, for a long time will be in need of cleanse from the dirt, that has come into our souls and bodies in the form of eastern passive nature and Asian inactivity. [...] In the renewed Georgian History Ilia Chavchavadze served as the basis of active actions. The new dynamic force came into action by Ilia Chavchavadze. [...] He depicted the grotesque caricatures of Georgian reality. This was Georgia full of Asian inactivity, ignorance and dirt. (Gamsakhurdia, 1983: 390, 392).

In the context of Georgian cultural and political orientation towards the West K. Gamsakhurdia criticizes Oswald Spengler and his anti-European attitude, which can be seen in his famous work "The Decline of the West" (1918) and according to which Europe will step by step decline and end its cultural abilities and in the near future will be revived and replaced by the Russian-Bolshevik-Asian culture. Gamsakhurdia wrote an essay "Diaries of a Meta-physic" (1921-1922), where he opposes Spengler by stating that the West will find enough resources in itself to renew itself and will be in no need of aid from the Russian-Asian part (Gamsakhurdia, 1983: 360-363).

K. Gamsakhurdia sees Germany as an important factor that will hinder the Russian-Mongolian factor and will help Georgia in its anti-colonial fight towards the oppressors: "Germany has been the backbone of Europe" (Gamsakhurdia, 1983: 308) (Noteworthy is here Gamsakhurdia's work "Notes of an apolitical person. New Germany and Future of Europe" (1919); the historical-political work in German "Der Kaukasus im Weltkrieg" ("Caucasia in the World War") (Kaukasielli [Aka K. Gamsakhurdia], 1916). As for the spiritual renewal K. Gamsakhurdia sees in the legacy of Goethe and Nietzsche "Faust" and "As spoke Zarathustra", as well in expressionism (Expressionist Manifest by K. Gamsakhurdia "Declaratio Pro Mea!", also essays "Goethe or Mystic", "The Birth of Tragedy from the Soul of Mystic", "Impressionism and Expressionism", "Mosaic", "Literary Paris").

Georgian Literary Modernism as an organic part of European Literary Modernism shared the philosophical principles that were characteristic to European Literary Modernism: namely, A. Schopenhauer's philosophy of Will, S. Kierkegaard existential philosophy, Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy of life and the Apollonian and Dionysian concept, as well as S. Freud's psychoanalysis, K. Jung's depth psychology, A. Bergson's Intuitionism, O. Spengler Cultural Philosophy and others. Accordingly, Georgian Modernism was based on these philosophical doctrines, but transformed in an original way.

In addition, Georgian literary modernism has aesthetic-poetical principles and ideological sentiment in common with European modernism: for Georgian modernism aesthetics, decadency, dandyism is not something unfamiliar; it is aware of the aesthetics of death, artistic rhetoric stylization, narrative diversity (inner monologue, stream of consciousness, impressionist speech), the installation of a narrative and compositional techniques, and suggested poetic imagery of speech, linguistic skepticism (language, as denoting cosmic events and expressive self-sufficient system), tendency towards neologisms and linguistic experiments.

Georgian literary modernism in terms of genre also renews the Georgian literature, which, first of all, is reflected in the establishment of the novel (modernist) genre. As well as developing new lyrical forms, for example the sonnet, *vers libre*. The Subject to renewal are other literary genres as well - modernist novella was established (Expressionist novellas by K. Gamsakhurdia - "Bells in the storm", "Photographer", "Taboo", etc.), Modernist drama (Drama-mysteries by Gr Robakidze of Expressionist-Mythological nature "Londa", "Lamara", "Malshtrem"; Expressionist drama-mystery by K. Gamsakhurdia "Eternal Shell").

And most importantly, the Georgian literary modernism displayed almost all the literary movements that existed in the European literary modernism: impressionism, symbolism, expressionism, Avant-garde.

Georgian modernism had not only cultural and aesthetic nature, but also a political mission, this is why in the 1920s the Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) was conquered by the Bolshevik Russia; the aggression from the side of the Russian Bolsheviks was of an oppressive nature, which not only attacked church and aristocracy by as well Georgian literary Modernism. As noted above Georgian literary modernism, on the one hand, developed an anticolonial discourse, and on the other hand, tried to establish a new European cultural and aesthetic paradigm including Georgian nationality and identity, as well as Georgian spiritual life, which is why the Russian Bolsheviks saw the Georgian modernism as an anticolonial discourse orienting on Western political and spiritual cultural values.

The Soviet Bolshevik Reaction towards Georgian Modernism and attack on it was first evident on the meeting of the Union of Writers in 1926, where the Modernist Aesthetic was declared as anti-Soviet and social realism was the only acceptable form, and Georgian Modernists were said to be anti-Soviet elements, from which the state needed urgent cleanse. And it was not before the repressions started: K. Gamsakhurdia was exiled, the Brotherhood of Blue Horns dismissed – Galaktion Tabidze from the 1920s started to write mostly such verses that were acceptable by the state, Gr. Robakidze before immigrating to Germany from 1926 to 1931 did not create anything. And in the 1930s Stalinist Repressions touched Georgian Modernists (P. Iashvili, T. Tabidze, N. Mitsishvili, M. Javakhishvili), V. Gaprindashvili, N. Lortkipanidze, E. Tatishvili were imprisoned, Grigol Robakidze saved himself by immigrating to Europe, D. Shengelaia started to write according to social-realist aesthetic, K. Gamsakhurdia, G. Tabidze, G. Leonidze created nationalist texts [Bregadze 2013: 15]. That is why B. Tsipuria underlined that Georgian Modernism is an “unfinished Project” (Tsipuria, 2010: 13).

It can be said that the Georgian literary modernism is a unique phenomenon in the European literature and it is not a simple plug or peripheral area of European modernism. On the contrary, the original Georgian Modernism expands European modernism: Georgian Modernism on the one hand uses original artistic paradigms, mythological archetypes, and mythical narrative, uses purely national communities and tries to make it universal, creating new Mythic-artistic reality, a bringing in new cultural and landscape spaces and communities based on the import of new and unique artistic and literary creation, and on the other hand tries to make European literary modernism more diverse, enrich it and become an integral and organic part of it. It should be noted that this peculiarity of Georgian literary modernism and its connection with European literary modernism was first outlined by Stefan Zweig in the preface of the first German edition of Grigol Robakidze's "Snake Skin" (1928).

I believe that Georgian Literary Modernism is an original and unique part of European Literary modernism, because on the one hand it can fully and deeply understand the anthropological, existential and ontological problems but on the other can have its own, original approach towards it and use rather complex and interesting paradigms (Gr. Robakidze's novel "Snake Skin" or K. Gamsakhurdia and his

novels "Dionysus Smile", or even the modernist/symbolist lyric used in Galaktion Tabidze's "Artistic Flowers").

Ultimately in Georgian literary modernism three major characteristics should be outlined, making it fundamentally different from European modernism and that determines its specificity:

1. Strong anti-colonial discourse;
2. Modernism is understood not only as a purely aesthetic phenomenon, which should aid in the renewal of Georgian literature, but also as a precondition to improve Georgian socio-cultural life;
3. The Specifics of the imagery in Georgian Literary Modernism, especially in Prose and Drama, and which can be seen in the extensive usage of mythological and mythical archetypes, which aimed at the de-humanization of the modernist epoch and to overcome the issues of re-sacralization (utopian) based on the "mythic-sacral" literary texts.

According to other approach, by the

- a) Cognition of reality, subjectivity and language crisis (Vietta 2001: 11-15);
- b) Criticism of technical civilization;
- c) The need of re-sacralization of existence

Georgian Literary Modernism is tightly connected with the main paradigms of European Literary Modernism.

References:

- Bregadze 2013:** Bregadze, Konstantine. *Comparative Research of Georgian Modernism* (pp. 5-25); in: K. Bregadze, *Georgian Modernism (Gr. Robakidze, K. Gamsakhurdia, G. Tabidze)*. Tbilisi: Publishing House "Meridiani". **(in Georgian)**
- Gamsakhurdia 1983:** Gamsakhurdia, Konstantine. Works in 10 volumes, Volume VII. Tbilisi: Publishing House "Sov. Georgia". **(in Georgian)**
- Gamsakhurdia 1992:** Gamsakhurdia, Konstantine. Works in 20 volumes, Volume II. Tbilisi: Publishing House "Didostati". **(in Georgian)**
- Habermas 1994:** Habermas, Jürgen. *Die Moderne – ein unvollendetes Projekt* (pp. 177-192); in: W. Welsch (Ed.), *Wege aus der Moderne. Schlüsseltex-te der Postmoderne-Diskussion*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Iashvili 1986:** Iashvili, Paolo. *Pirveltkma* (pp. 200-202); in: M. Khelaia (Ed.), *Georgian Literary Essay. 1920s, Afterwards*. Tbilisi: Publishing House "Merani". **(in Georgian)**
- Kavkasielli [Aka K. Gamsakhurdia] 1916:** Kavkasielli [Aka K. Gamsakhurdia]. *Der Kaukasus im Weltkrieg*. Weimar: Gustav Riepenhauer Verlag,
- Magrotto 1982:** Magrotto, Luigi. *Storia e teoria dell' avanguardia georgiana (1915-1924)* (pp. 45-99); in: *L'avanguardia a Tiflis: Studi, ricerche, cronache, testimonianze, documenti*. Università degli Studi di Venezia.
- Robakidze 2012:** Robakidze, Grigol. Works in 5 volumes, Volume III. Tbilisi: Published by the Museum of Literature. **(in Georgian)**
- Tabidze 1986:** Tabidze, Tizian. *With Blue Horns* (pp. 174-180); in: M. Khelaia (Ed.), *Georgian Literary Essay. 1920s, Afterwards*. Tbilisi: Publishing House "Merani". **(in Georgian)**
- Tsipuria 2010:** Tsipuria, Bella. *Modernist Experience in Georgia* (pp. 5-18); in: I. Ratiani (Ed.), *The Georgian Literature on the verge of Modernism and Realism* Tbilisi: Published by Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature. **(in Georgian)**
- Tsipuria 2012:** Tsipuria, Bella. *"Blue Horns" and Avant-garde* (pp. 172-183); in: I. Ratiani (Ed.), *Verse Studies Vol. 5*. Tbilisi: Published by Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature. **(in Georgian)**
- Vietta 2001:** Vietta, Silvio. *Ästhetik der Moderne. Literatur und Bild*. München: Fink Verlag.