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## **AMLIVI DEITY CHURCH AND THE HISTORICAL DATA OF ITS GRAVESTONES**

According to the inscription preserved at Amlivi Deity Church (we provide the reading which differs from the reading offered by previous scholars), one of the most outstanding representatives of Baratashvili-Gostashabishvili clan, Papuna Gostashabishvili, son of Gostashab, built a royal court chapel in 1684, during the reign of Giorgi XI (1675-1688; 1702-1709). For a long period, this monument remained destroyed. Yet, when we undertook this research, the monument was already restored with the efforts of Georgian Ministry of Culture and Sport. Thus, we were able to perceive the complete monument. The gravestones of the church were revealed during the cleaning, and this enabled us implement the given research. Based on the epitaphs written on the gravestones, we conclude that the graves belong to Papuna Gostashabishvili and his wife Khvaramze. We identified the name Khvaramze based on the epitaph. We were also able to identify the dates of death of Papuna and his wife.

**KEY WORDS:** XVII century, Amlivi Church, Papuna Gostashabishvili.

**A**mlivi (Amlevi) complex is located in Tetrtskaro Municipality of Lower Kartli, in Orbeti community, on the left bank of the Algeti river, at the height of 1090 meters above sea level. We first visited the monument on March 12, 2017. Our second visit was implemented on August 11, 2020.<sup>1</sup> Amlivi itself belonged to the clan of Gostashabishvili (XVII-XIX centuries), one of the branches of Kajipaisdze (Kachibadze)-Baratashvili (Bagrationi, 33; Janashia 1952, 468-473; Gvritishvili 1955, 132). According to Iason Lortkipanidze, the founder of Gostashabishvili family was Gostashab Baratashvili, son of Kavtar. In 1523, Gostashab was mentioned in a document regarding the division of the Baratashvili clan (Lortkipanidze 1938, 356; Korneli Kekelidze National Center of Manuscripts: Ad - 1299). This opinion is shared by Zaza Tchaia (Tchaia 2013, 111). However, Givi Jamburia truly notes that this branch of Baratashvili has been mentioned as Gostashabishvili beginning from the grandchild of Gostashab Kavtar's son Baratashvili – Gostashab Iovane's son Baratashvili, whose descendants

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<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to Zurab Baratashvili, Doctor of Linguistics of Tbilisi State University, and photographer Davit Shalikashvili for their technical assistance in the research.

were: Qaparbeg, Tamaz, Iovane, Papuna and Kaikhosro-Khosita. It should also be noted that sometimes they were also referred to as Baratashvili (Jamburia 1955, 42). Gostashab Iovane's son Baratashvili was still alive, according to a document dated by September 10, 1635 (Korneli Kekelidze National Center of Manuscripts: Qd – 2432). However, quite soon, upon the King's order, he went to Samtskhe where he was killed by Ottomans. This fact must have taken place prior to August 25, 1636, when the deceased father's heritage was granted to Papuna by the King (Takaishvili 1899, 118-119; Annotated Dictionary of Persons 1991, 406, 435-439).<sup>1</sup>

The feudal lands of the Gostashabishvili family were chiefly located in the Algeti gorge (villages: Amlivi, Tbilisi, Birtvisi, Gholovani, Enageti etc.). They also possessed lands in the Ktsia gorge (villages: Andria, Varkhuna etc.), Trialeti (villages: Egani or Edzani and Mariamni), Skvireti or Vere gorge (villages: Akurisi, Betania etc.) and Somkhiti (villages: Haghat, Vank, Tserakvi etc.). The center of their lands was Amlivi, current Amlevi, where, according to one document issued in 1658, they had already built a palace with the King's support (Takaishvili 1899, 424). Based on this document, prof. Roland Topchishvili mistakenly considers that Amlivi monastery (and the palace) was built in 1658 (Topchishvili 2011, 94). The family had an old palace in Tbilisi village, and one more palace in Birtvisi, whereas their cemetery was in Betania (Takaishvili 1899, 362). Currently the gravestones of the Gostashabishvili cannot be found in Betania monastery! - G. L.). In this place we could find only one damaged gravestone.<sup>2</sup>

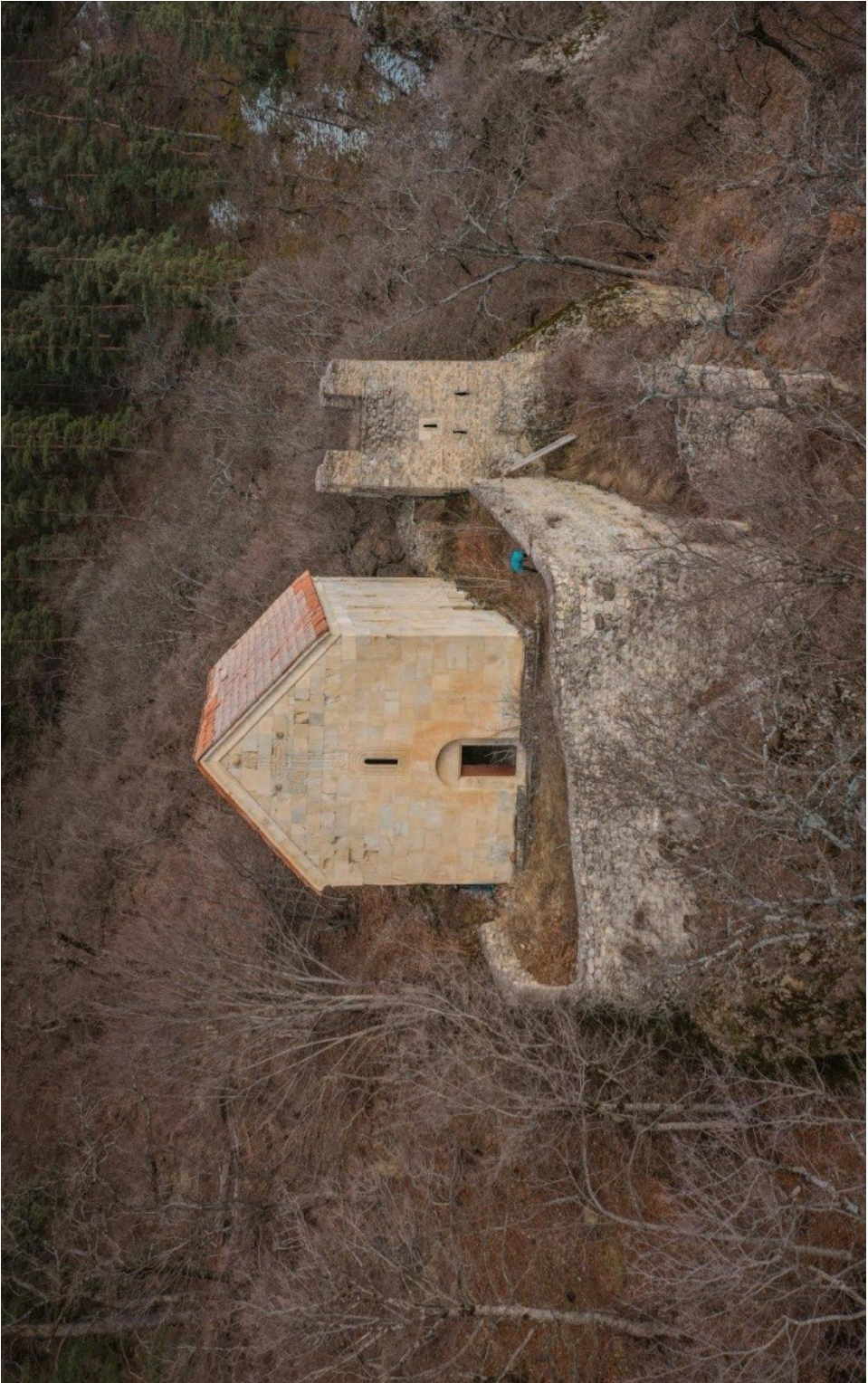
According to the inscription of Amlivi church, one of the most outstanding representatives of Baratashvili-Gostashabishvili clan, Papuna Gostashab's son Gostashabishvili built the royal court chapel in 1684, in the first period of the reign of Giorgi XI (1675-1688; 1702-1709).

Without deciphering the abbreviations, Ekvtime Takaishvili read the inscription as follows:

9. ეპა. ყოვლია. არსისა. მარსო: სმბო ერთარსებო მამაო უმოიბელო ძეო შობილო სულო წმიდაო: მამისაგნ ნათლისა

<sup>1</sup> It seems, Gostashab's elder sons: Qaparbeg, Tamaz and Iovane were adults and died together with their father in the battle of Samtskhe, and Papuna, who was still underage, became the ruler of the house. The youngest brother Kaikhosro-Khosita was subjected to Papuna, and, until Papuna had his own sons, the two brothers were mentioned together in the documents. The subjects of Papuna's house also were: Kaikhosro's son Aslan and grandchildren Iase and Kaikhosro - G. L.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the floor of the main church of Betania monastery has been replaced with new tiles. One gravestone painted in red says: "Here lies Prince Baratashvili. God save Nikoloz [k?]. son ...". We could think that here is mentioned Papuna's son – Nikoloz of Manglisi. However, when reading the name of Nikoloz's father, we have clearly distinguished the letter კ (k). Besides, Nikoloz was bishop of Manglisi, and he would be buried in the yard of Manglisi cathedral. According to the epitaph, this Nikoloz must have lived later than our research period, namely, at the end of the XVIII century and beginning of the XIX century - G. L.





გამოსული ერთი უფლები

10. დერთ მღთებო. შემნე და მფარველ მექმენ დღეს მას მოსლისა ოდეს მოვიდეს ძე შენი განკითხვდ ცხლოთ და მკდროთ აღგმდ
11. მონსა: ყდ უღირირსსა ბართსაშვილმან გოშტშბის: ძემნ პაპუნმნ თან: მემცხედრემა
12. ხზემ. შლმნ ჩვენმნ გშტშბ ძეთა დასულთ ჩემთა: რმნ: აღვშენე: სყდრი







13. ესე დსმრეკლო: საძვლედ ჩვენდ სახელსა: ზედ წმიდის: მლთაების
14. და შევძვე პლტით: დსენაკი მრნი ამინ:.. შეიწირე მცირე: ნმშკევი
15. ესე: ჩემი: შენ სმბო ერთრსებო ინდიკტონს ქკს მეფის
16. გიორგის წყლობითა ტნოა? (Takaishvili 1905, 7-8).

Based on Takaishvili's reference, Givi Jamburia tried to decipher the text with its abbreviations. He correctly read the name of the church donor's

name “Khvaramze” (Jamburia 1955, 51). Later, Vakhtang Beridze tried to correct Takaishvili’s mistakes. In my opinion, he deciphered the text with certain shortcomings, for instance, he made a mistake in deciphering Papuna’s wife’s name and left it unchanged as “Khzum” (Beridze 1994, 83). Although we were aware of the fact that E. Takaishvili had published the inscription, unfortunately, initially we did not make its paleographic copy. During the second visit to the church, we had some technical restrictions. Thus, our reading of the inscription, with deciphered abbreviations, taking into account the readings of our predecessors, is as follows:

„Creator of every essence, Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, coming from the Light of Father, One Lord and One Deity, Protect me on the day when your Son comes to judge all the living and resurrect the dead. Your unworthy slave, Papuna Gostashab’s son Gostashabishvili and his wife Khvaramze, our son Gostashab, other sons and daughters who have built this church and its bell-tower, in the name of God, and who have adorned it with chamber (9) and cells and wine-cellar. Amen! Take this small sacrifice from me, Holy Trinity, indiction, chronikon, with the mercy from King Giorgi ԹՅ (ta)՝ՄՅ (oa).<sup>2</sup>

As for Amlivi church complex, it is located on an artificial fenced platform, at the bottom of a steep mountain slope, in a place where a dense deciduous forest ends, giving way to a coniferous one. The North-Eastern wall of the church is deeply stuck into a rock. In the Western part of the plateau, there is a fragment of an old church (it must have been a small chapel, either contemporary to the palace or of an earlier period. That is why it was decided to build the family palace beside it- **G. L.**). At the Western façade, there is a narrow tunnel leading to the building attached to the Southern side of the fence. In my opinion, this construction is a remnant of the palace mentioned in the document about the division of the Gostashabishvili family and built separately (after the death of grandfather Papuna, between the years: 1709-1713) by Amilghambar Gostashab’s son Gostashabishvili (Takaishvili 1899, 362). In the Northern corner of the Southern wall of the fence, there is an entrance. Beside it, there is a two-storey bell-tower.

The church has one nave which resembles a hall. In the plan, it represents a protruded rectangle (12,5X7,5 m). The façade of the church is made of well-cut tufa quadrangles. On the Southern and Western sides of the

1 Unlike our predecessors, we could not read the letter ԅ (n) in this place. We found only the letter յ (a), above which there is a line denoting abbreviation. Thus, if we attach numerical meaning, there will be ԹՅ (ta) and ՄՅ (oa) i.e. 301 and 71, which must mean 1312+301+71 which equals 1684. Thus, construction of the church was not finished in 1683, as our predecessors believed, but it ended a year later! - **G. L.**

2 **Symbols:** ( ) – deciphered abbreviations; { } – places omitted by the writer and restored by us; < > - extra words, letters or punctuation marks.





church, there is a stone footing consisting of two stairs. Around the façades, there is a cornice without décor. According to Takaishvili, the roof consisted of stone slabs. Currently, as a result of restoration, the church is covered with tiles (Takaishvili 1905, 5). The décor of the window on the Eastern façade is extended by a long, ornamented cross. The cross is decorated with cones at the side endings. Exactly the same cross is located above the window of the Western facade. At the bottom of the left arm of the lower part of this cross, there are two human figures with raised hands. Between these figures, there is a jug. At the sides, there are hammers or setsquares. These figures represent the builders – Papua and Pogh(o)za (Tsitsishvili 1955, 88).

The church has two entrances, from the South and from the West. Under a false arch of the Western wall, on the tympanum, there is an external inscription. The corners are ornamented at the jambs. On the side of the window-frame, Beridze noticed an inscription written with ink. We failed to notice this inscription during our first visit (Beridze 1994, 83). However, during our second visit to the monument, we observed the inscription, which is quite faded and, probably, starts with the words: "beloved child" – but we cannot be certain. The Southern door has a false arrow-shaped cover. In the middle, there is a single stone tympanum with imitated silhouette of a fresco of Christ's icon not made by human hand.







The floor of the church and the apse is tiled with stone. For unknown reasons, the interior of the building was unfinished in its time, it was neither plastered nor painted. Important construction places (triumph arch, pilasters, support arches, jambs of doors and windows etc.) are well-built, with even quadrangles of reddish-yellowish local stone found in Algeti gorge. The walls and roof plains are made of processed tufa stone and mortar, probably prepared for plastering. The building is covered with a cylindrical vault, supported by three arches. The Western arch is supported by pilasters at the corners. A pair of arches is supported by four pilasters built in linear walls. These pilasters are made on ornamented bases and end in simple capitals. Similar capitals are found at the corner pilasters of the Western wall. The church has five arched windows, the jambs of which are richly ornamented externally. Three of them are in the Southern wall, the other two are in the Western and Eastern apses. To the

North of the latter, in the apse wall, there is a rectangular arrow-shaped niche. Opposite this niche, to the South, there is also arrow-shaped deep niche of irregular form. To the East, there is a semicircular apse covered with a spherical conch. At the sides of the apse, there is a (restored) stone iconostasis, which consists of quadrangle pillars, supporting six arches. The entrance of the altar is located in the middle and Northern part of the iconostasis. The apse has a narrow stone stair. In the altar, there is a quadrangle monolithic stone for the communion. On its front side, a



cross is carved. Immediately in front of the altar, at the Southern wall, there are gravestones of the donor Papuna Gostashabishvili and his wife





### Khvaramze.<sup>1</sup>

I gravestone size: 162 x 48 cm.

Inscription size: 133 x 36 cm.

Font: Mkhedruli.

1 Although Vakhtang Beridze has provided a detailed description of Amlivi church from the point of view of art history (like Irakli Tsitsishvili, Beridze calls the monument “Tbisi church”, because the village Tbisi is nearby. In the past, Amlivi was a large village, the center of the district, with numerous adjacent villages, including Tbisi - G. L.), we decided to describe the church from the historical viewpoint, using the language of art. It should be noted that Mr. Beridze and our predecessor scholars visited a destroyed monument, whereas we saw a restored monument (it was restored before 2009, with the effort of Georgian Ministry of Culture and Sport. Thus, we had the opportunity to perceive a complete monument, with cleaned gravestones) - G. L. (Beridze 1994, 78-84; Tsitsishvili 1955, 83).



Number of lines: 18.

Letter size: 8 x 4 cm.

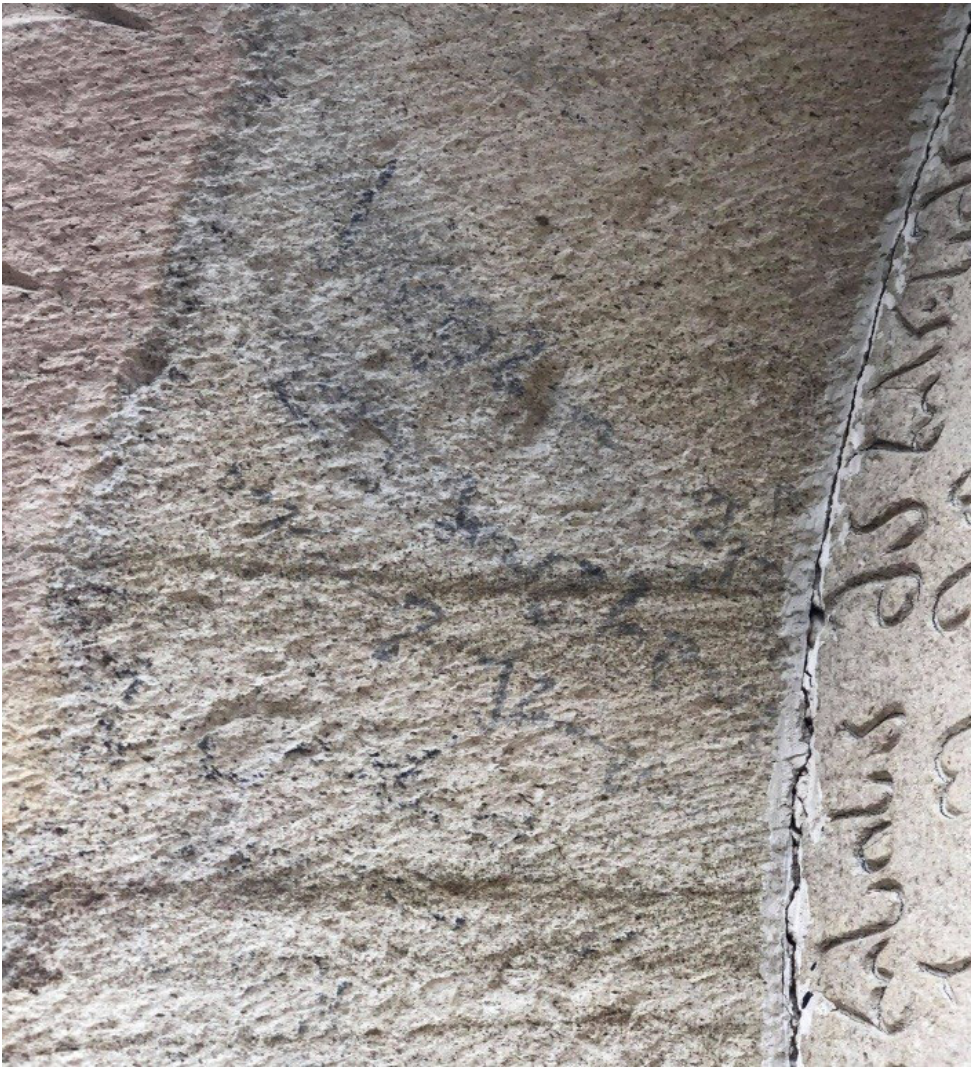
Space between lines: about 3-5 cm.

Detachment markers: three dots, colon, four dots.

Description of the gravestone: there is no significant damage on the gravestone; the calligraphy is not especially beautiful; several letters (o, o, b, y, d.) (a, t, n, u, sh) are sometimes distinguished by individual shape; the text is written in one column; the uppercase letter j (q) has the shape of a cross. It is detached from the main text by means of four dots.

Identity of the deceased: the gravestone belongs to Khvaramze, the





wife of Papuna Gostashab's son Gostashabishvili (Baratashvili).<sup>1</sup> She is also mentioned in the inscription above the main entrance of Amlivi Deity Church (deciphering her name on the gravestone proved that the name "Khzum" read by Vakhtang Beridze was wrong. Therefore, we managed to read the name correctly in the inscription at the entrance - G. L.). Khvaramze is buried together with her son Gostashab (Takaishvili 1905, 7; Beridze 1994, 83).

Date: the gravestone is dated by Byzantine 532-year cycle - ԹՄԴ -

<sup>1</sup> In my opinion, Khvaramze must have been the daughter of Roin Javakhishvili, King Rostom's Superintendent and Chief Secretary (Georgian National Archive: 1450-2/143; Annotated Dictionary of Persons 2015, 456-459).



375+1312=1687.

Symbols: ( ) – open titlos; { } – places accidentally omitted by the writer and restored by us; < > - extra words or letters.

Reading: ქ. ნებითა და შენ(ე)ვნითა ლ{ვ}თის(აი)თა, აღვ(ა)შ(ე)ნე{თ} ს(ა)ყდ(ა)რი ესე ლ{ვ}თ(ა)ებისა მე, გოშტ(ა)შაბისა შვილმ(ა)ნ პაპ<ა>უნ(ა)მ(ა)ნ დ(ა)სკუნითა. გ(ა)ნს(ა)სუენებელი, ჩვ(ე)ნმ(ა) გუნებ(ა)მ(ა)ნ ამ ს(ა)მ(ა)რხში ინებ(ა) და მდებოე ვ(ა)რთ გუამი ჩუენი, პაპუნ(ა)სი თ(ა)ნა<. >მემცხედრესი, ხვ(ა)რ(ა)მზესი{. ვინცა} ჩვ(ე)ნ<ი> ქირნ(ა)

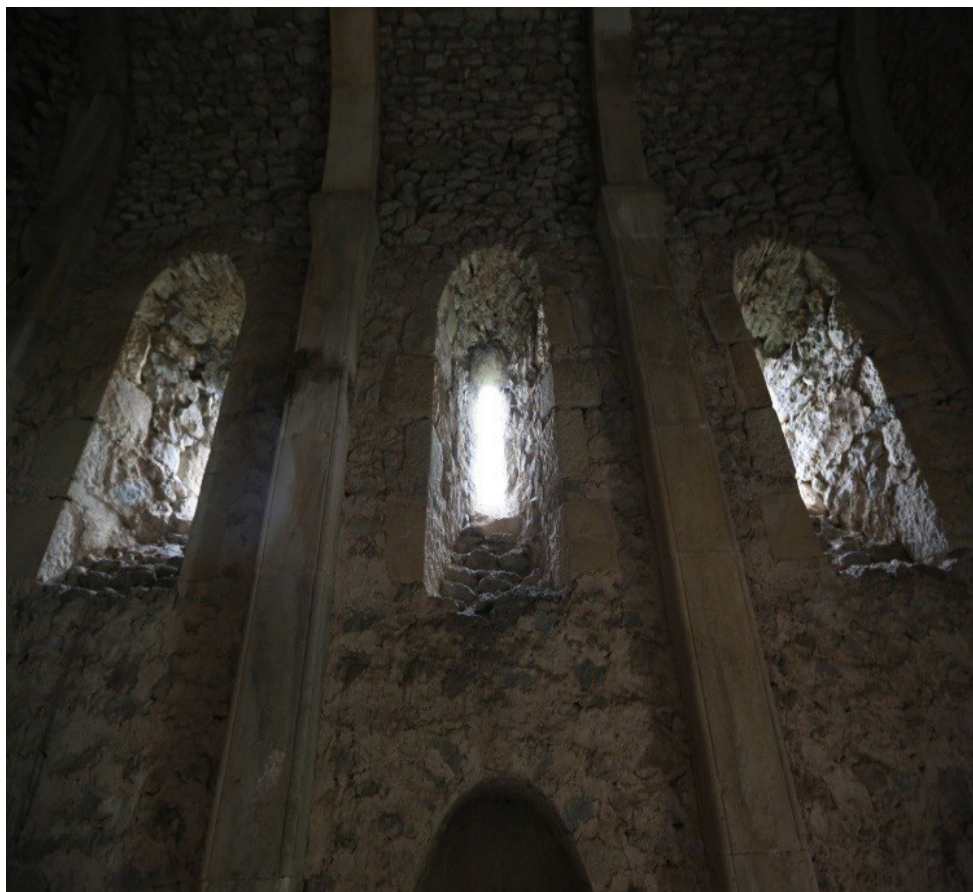




ხუღს ნ(ა)ხ(ა)ვდეთა, შენდ(ო)ბ(ა)სა გვიბ(რ)ძ(ა)ნებდ(ნ)ენ ღ(ვ)თ(ი)ს გუღის(ა)თვისა. ქ(ორო)ნ(იკონ)ს(ა): ტოე.

Translation: With God's will and mercy, we have built this Deity church; I, Papuna, son of Gostashab. We rest in peace in this grave, Papuna and his wife Khvaramze. Whoever sees our efforts, pray for our souls. Byzantine 532-year cycle - ტოე.

II gravestone size: 165 x 44 cm.



Inscription size: 145 x 33 cm.

Font: Mkhedruli.

Number of lines: 18.

Size of letters: 7 x 3 cm; size of letters in the three lines above the last one - 4 x 1 cm; size of letters in the last line - 3 x 0,5 cm.

Space between the lines: 4 cm; space between the three lines above the last one - 2.5 cm; the last line is separated by 1 cm.

Detachment marks: colon and three dots.

Description of the gravestone: there is no significant damage on the gravestone; the calligraphy is not especially beautiful; several letters (ო, ვ და ი, ლ და ი.) (o, v and l, l and i) are carved in a special way; the text is written in one column, the uppercase letter Ⴇ (q) is especially beautiful. The last line must be added later.

Identity of the deceased: the gravestone belongs to Prince of the second order, Papuna Gostashab's son Gostashabishvili-Baratashvili, who constructed a monastery, a bell-tower, nine chambers, cells and wine-cellar in 1684. This can be proved by the donor inscription (Takaishvili 1905,





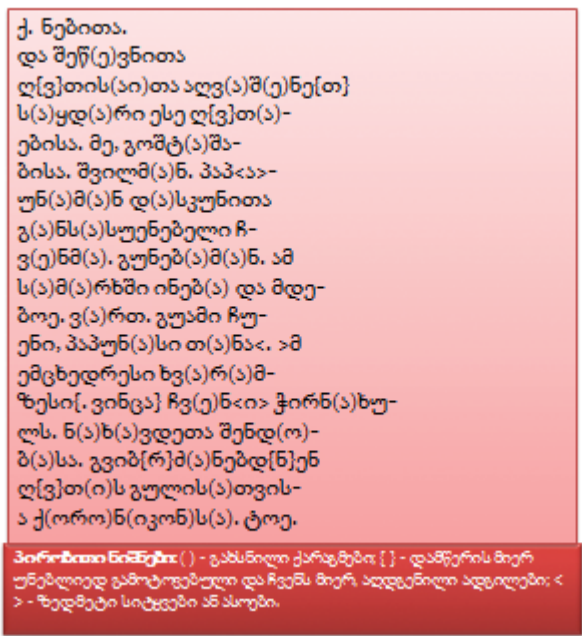
7). He organized his and his wife's graves here, in the Deity church, and, instead of the family cemetery in Betania, was buried in this place.

Date: initially, we failed to read the last part of the inscription correctly and thought that the grave was not dated. However, the epitaph says: „I died on Saturday, February the twenty seventh, in the period of reign of King Giorgi and governance of Vakhtang.“ Based on this information, we calculated that the second period of reign of King Giorgi XI and the governance of Vakhtang comprises the years 1702-1709, and Papuna died in this period.<sup>1</sup> Givi Jamburia concluded this based on the fact that Papuna

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<sup>1</sup> Vakhtang did not become a Governor in 1703. He was appointed to this post in 1702 (Takaishvili 1899, 441); According to the chronicles: "ქვს ღჳ (1702) Prince Vakhtang came from Imereti to Kartli". In a short while, he was temporarily, for one year, replaced by his father Prince Levan: "ქვს ღჳა (1703) instead of King Giorgi, arrived his brother Levan from Ispahan, on July 15" (Chronicles 1967, 5, 7).

was alive when Governor Vakhtang granted him with a charter of mercy on May 7, 1708 (Takaishvili 1899, 442-443). However, Papuna must have been dead when the document on the division of the Gostashabishvili clan was issued in 1713 (Takaishvili 1899, 354-368). Based on these historical documents, historian Givi Jamburia concluded that Papuna had died in the period between 1708-1713 (Jamburia 1955, 48). Comparison of this information with the data of the epitaph has proved that Papuna died in the period from May7, 1708 until April 21, 1709 (when Afgans treacherously killed Kartlian King Giorgi XI - **G. L.**). This means that Papuna died on Saturday, February 27, 1709. At the end of the epitaph, there is a date that we managed to decipher during our second attempt: ქ(ორ)ო(ნი)კ(ო)ნ(სა)ტუზ (397 i.e. 1312+397=1709). This date proved that our arguments had been correct.



ქ. ნებითა.  
და შეწ(ე)ვნითა  
ღ[ვ]თის(ა)თა აღვ(ა)შ(ე)ნე[თ]  
ს(ა)ყდ(ა)რი ესე ღ[ვ]თ(ა)-  
ებისა. მე, გოშტ(ა)შა-  
ბისა, შვილმ(ა)ნ. პაპა<ა>-  
უნ(ა)მ(ა)ნ დ(ა)სკუნითა  
გ(ა)ნს(ა)სუენებელი რ-  
ვ(ე)ნმ(ა). გუნებ(ა)მ(ა)ნ. ამ  
ს(ა)მ(ა)რხში ინებ(ა) და მდე-  
ბოე, ვ(ა)რთ. გუამი ჩუ-  
ენი, პაპუნ(ა)სი თ(ა)ნა<. >მ  
ემცხედრესი ხვ(ა)რ(ა)მ-  
ზესი[. ვინცა] ჩვ(ე)ნ<ი> ჭირნ(ა)ხუ-  
ლს. ნ(ა)ხ(ა)ვდეთა შენდ(ო)-  
ბ(ა)სა. გვიბ[რ]მ(ა)ნებდ[ნ]ენ  
ღ[ვ]თ(ი)ს გულის(ა)თვის-  
ა ქ(ორო)ნ(იკონ)ს(ა). ტოე.

**პირწილი ნიშნები:** ( ) - გახსნილი ქარაგმები; { } - დამწერის მიერ უნებლიედ გამოტოვებული და ჩვენს მიერ აღდგენილი ადგილები; < > - ზედმეტი სიტყვები ან ასოები.

**Symbols:** ( ) – open titlos; { } – places accidentally omitted by the writer and restored by us.

**Reading:**

ქ. პაპა, ეს(ე)რა მდებარე ვიქმენ სამარესა ამას, მე ფრიად ცოდვილი გოსტაშაბისშვილი პაპუნა, მ(ო)ნასტრისა ამის(ა) აღმშენებელი. აღვ(ე)სრულე ფებ(ე)რვლ(ი)ს(ა) ოცდაშვ(ი)დსა, დღესა შაბათსა. მეფობასა გიორგისასა, გამგებელისა ვახტანგისა. ეს ვინცა ნახოთ,





შ(ე)ნდობ(ა) ბრძ(ა)ნეთ: ქ(ორ)ო(ნი)კ(ო)ნ(სა) ტჷბ. ქ. მოგისხენე უფალო მ(ა)ნგლელი ნიკოლოზ.

Translation: Here I lie in this grave, sinful Papuna Gostashabishvili, builder of this church. I died on Saturday, February 27, during the reign of King Giorgi and the governance of Vakhtang. Whoever sees this, pray for my soul. Byzantine cycle 397. God have mercy upon Nikoloz of Manglisi.

Thus, the palace, church, additional buildings, wine-cellar, cells and chambers were constructed in Amlivi by Papuna Gostashab's son Gostashabishvili-Baratashvili (probable dates:<sup>2</sup> 1619-1633?-1709). He was

1 We had been reading the text incorrectly from this place: „[ვცნტ ეიხვამ ახსვექალით?] მ(ო)ნ(ა)გარნი პო[ვო]ს“ – but we were able to read it correctly upon our second visit - G. L.

2 In one undated charter, King Simon II (1619-1630) mentions Gostashab and his sons: Qaparbeg, Tamaz and Iovane. This means that Papuna and Kaikhosro (Khosita) had not been born yet. Ekvtime Takaishvili dates the document based on King Simon's reign. Thus, Papuna must have been born in the period between 1619 and 1630, or in the years 1630-33, because, in 1648, he was already an adult and occupied an important post. He could not

granted the title of the Royal Swordsman (Chief Guard of the King) by King Rostom (1633-1658).<sup>1</sup> Later, Vakhtang V (1658-1675) was to renew this title for Papuna or preserve the titles of Rostom's period unchanged.<sup>2</sup> In the first period of reign of Giorgi XI, Papuna had lost this title, because the new King had changed the policy of his predecessors and appointed statesmen according to his opinion.<sup>3</sup>

From the period of reign of Erekle I (King of Kartli: 1688-1702; King of Kakheti: 1702-1709) Nazarali-Khan, Papuna regained the title of the Royal Swordsman (Chief Guard of the King).<sup>4</sup> It seems, Nazarali-Khan wanted to establish a strong foothold in Kartli by means of granting titles to feudal lords.<sup>5</sup> One more expression of this fact was the granting of the village Haghpat and its adjacency to Papuna-Beg on June 7, 1691 (without Lore's Melik's consent) (Takaishvili 1899, 433-434). However, King Erekle was considered Bagrationi of Kakheti, and, when in 1691 King Giorgi returned from Samtskhe to Kartli, the majority of feudal lords of Kartli supported him. According to Vakhushti and Parsadan, all the Baratashvilis of Somkhiti supported King Giorgi (Bagrationi, 467; Kakabadze 1926, 79). Together with the Persians, Erekle occupied a stronghold in Tbilisi castle, and, from time to time, struggled with Giorgi and his adherents, relying on the Persian military forces. The family of Gostashabishvili also supported King Giorgi. On April 1, 1693, the grateful king granted lands to Papuna and his sons: Gostashab, Tamaz and Qaparbeg, and grandsons: Amilghambar and Bezhan (Takaishvili 1899, 431-432). However, in 1695, King Giorgi, who was exhausted with battles, moved to Imereti with his family, and, a year later, traveled to Persia to reconcile with the Shah. Georgian feudal lords, tired of the internal struggles, went to King Erekle and asked for forgiveness. Thus, Nazarali-Khan regained control over the entire Kartli (Bagrationi, 473-475). In this period, Papuna no longer possessed the title of the Royal Swordsman and was no longer granted charters of mercy. It seems King Erekle was dissatisfied with the Gostashabishvili family. During Vakhtang's governance, Papuna was old and incapable of holding important state

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have been born later than 1633 (1648-15=1633) - G. L. (Takaishvili 1899, 117).

1 Papuna was first mentioned under this title on October 1, 1648, in the document of King Rostom's decision and mercy - G. L.; (Takaishvili 1899, 68).

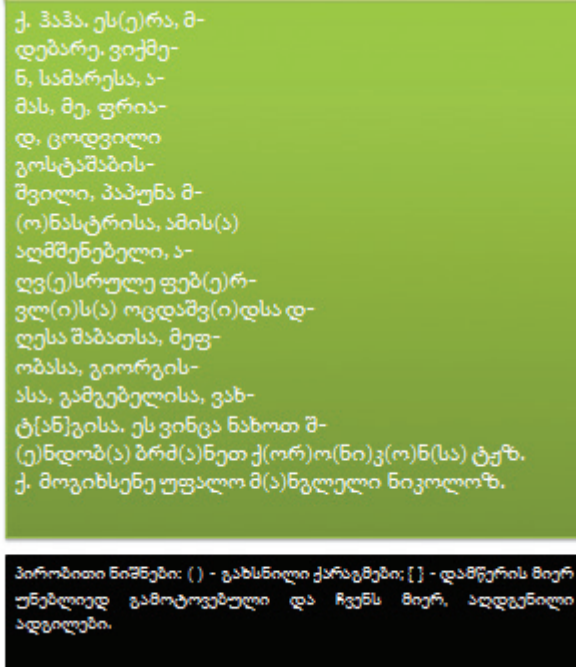
2 In the document of mercy issued by King Shahnavaz on April 28, 1659, Papuna is mentioned under the title of Royal Swordsman - G. L.; (Takaishvili 1899, 413).

3 King Giorgi, in his charter of mercy issued on May 4, 1688, calls Papuna his "faithful and devoted servant". The King does not refer to Papuna as Royal Swordsman in any of the documents - G. L. (Takaishvili 1899, 415-417).

4 In the charter of renewal of lands (in upper Tserakvi), issued in 1689, King Erekle refers to Papuna as Royal Swordsman - G. L. (Takaishvili 1899, 78).

5 According to Vakhushti Bagrationi, upon his arrival from Iran to Kartli, Erekle Nazarali-Khan started to appoint his supporters to important state and clerical posts - G. L. (Bagrationi 1973, 464-465); According to Parsadan Gorgijanidze, naïve Nazarali-Khan could not distinguish between friends and foes. Therefore, he granted posts and all kinds of benefits to the supporters of King Giorgi - G. L. (Kakabadze 1926, 79).





posts, although he was favoured by the Governor (Takaishvili 1899, 442-443).

Papuna’s and his wife Khvaramze’s children: Papuna’s elder son, Gostashab, is first mentioned in historical documents in the charter of mercy dated by 28 April, 1659 (Takaishvili 1899, 413). He is last mentioned in his lifetime in the charter of freedom dated by 1 April, 1693 (Takaishvili 1899, 431-432). In the charter dated by 1696, as well as later documents issued after Papuna’s death, instead of Gostashab, his elder son Amilghambar is mentioned, because, after his grandfather’s death, he became the Head of the Gostashabishvili clan, although, according to Georgian laws, his uncles were to head to family (Takaishvili 1899, 432-433). Thus, Gostashab must have died in the period between April 1, 1693, and the year 1696. Probably he died in the struggles between the supporters of King Giorgi and the Persians who supported King Erekle. To make the date more precise, Gostashab must have died prior to 1695, when King Giorgi left Kartli. Nikoloz, referred to as the Bishop of Manglisi (National Center of Manuscripts: Hd – 2250), must have become a clerical person in the period between June 21, 1688 and the year 1689. In the book of promise and law dated by 1688, Nikoloz is mentioned together with Papuna’s two sons (Takaishvili 1899, 77). However, in the document regarding the renewal of the land granted by King Erekle in 1689, Nikoloz is no longer mentioned with other sons of Papuna (Takaishvili 1899, 78). An important document regarding Nikoloz is provided by Vakhushti Bagrationi: when Shah Suleyman I died (1666-1694, July 29), his heir Shah Hussein (July 29,



1694 - 1722) sent military support to Erekle Nazarali-Khan. Before reaching Tbilisi, these forces were attacked and completely annihilated by Kartlians under the leadership of King Giorgi. One brave Persian fellow struggled desperately and threw five Georgian horsemen from their horses. However, Nikoloz Gostashabishvili caught and disarmed this fellow. Charmed by his courage, Nikoloz set him free later (Bagrationi, 471). In our opinion, at this time Nikoloz was already a clerical person, but he and his family supported King Giorgi. It is also possible that his elder brother Gostashab was killed in this very battle. Since 1695, Nikoloz is again mentioned in the charters, first as a priest-monk and, later, since 1699, as the Bishop of Manglisi (Takaishvili 1899, 80). The last line, added later to the inscription on Papuna's gravestone, says: "May God have mercy on Nikoloz of Manglisi." This means that the epitaph on his father's grave was written by Nikoloz Gostashabishvili. Yet, Nikoloz's clerical name must have been Ioseb, because, in 1693, Nikoloz Dolenjishvili is mentioned as Nikoloz of Manglisi (Zhordania 1903, 229). In 1713, the Archbishop of Manglisi was Arsen Do-





lenjishvili, Nikoloz's nephew (Zhordania 1903, 228). In the period between these two clerical figures, the uncle and the nephew, only one person – Ioseb Baratashvili – is referred to as the Bishop of Manglisi. We argue that this very person is Nikoloz Gostashabishvili, Papuna's son (Zhordania 1903, 216). As Nikoloz Gostashabishvili made the epitaph on his father's grave in 1709, while in 1713 Arsen Dolenjishvili was the Bishop of Manglisi, Ioseb of Manglisi must have died in the period between 1709 and 1713, because there are no church documents proving that he had changed an eparchy.

- Qaparbeg is first mentioned in historical documents together with his brother Gostashab on April 28, 1659 (Takaishvili 1899, 413). He is last mentioned in the charter of division issued on December 1, 1713 (Takaishvili 1899, 136-137).
- Tamaz is first mentioned in the charter of mercy issued in 1671, together with his father and elder brothers (Takaishvili 1899, 425). He is last mentioned in the charter of division issued on December 1, 1713 (Takaishvili 1899, 136-137).
- Papuna's daughter Mariam was the wife of Durmishkhan Palavankhosroshvili-Baratashvili. Durmishkhan, who had no children, died



before 22 April, 1688 (Takaishvili 1899, 77). Therefore, on May 4, 1688, the King granted Durmishkhan's lands to the family of widow Mariam i.e. Papuna Gostashabishvili (Takaishvili 1899, 415).

- Papuna must have had other daughters, because in the inscription of Amlivi church he mentioned his sons and daughters in the plural form.<sup>1</sup>

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Gostashabishvili clan, strengthened as a result of Papuna's deeds, possessed about three hundred peasants and 10 aristocratic families (Berdznishvili, Areshishvili, Mamistvalishvili, Sadunishvili, Saginashvili, Janiashvili, Dolenjishvili, Pavliashvili, Begiashvili and Kipiani). The heads of their families were considered princes of the second rank, whereas their brothers were considered princes of the third rank. However, in 1713 and 1721-22, they were separated and their manors fell apart (Takaishvili 1899, 354-368). Due to the attacks of Lezghins at the end of the XVIII century, they lost many of their lands and servants, and, in the XIX century, they turned into minor landowners (Lortkipanidze 1938, 335-337).

<sup>1</sup> "...my sons and daughters, who have built this church..."(Takaishvili 1905, 7; Beridze1994, 83).



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