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THE ASOMTAVRULI INSCRIPTION MENTIONING PRINCE LEVAN AND HIS WIFE TINATIN ON THE UNKNOWN ICON OF 17Λε IN CHITAKHEVI CHURCH ("GREEN MONASTERY")

The paper focuses on the icon preserved at Shalva Amiranashvili Museum of Arts. The icon is known in scholarly literature under the name of Christ's Icon of Breti. The icon has an inscription made in 1684 in Asomtavruli alphabet. The inscription mentions Prince Levan and his wife Tinatin. The text has been published several times (Mari Brosset, Tedo Zhordania).

It is widely known that, due to Ottoman raids at the end of the XVI century, the Avalishvili feudal family residing in Borjomi gorge left their lands and moved to the neighbouring region of central Kartli, namely, Breti and Sagholasheni areas. According to Georgian annals, during the opposition of two kings - Giorgi XI and Erekle I Nazaralikhan, Prince Levan, his wife Tinatin and their children found shelter in Sadgeri, Borjomi gorge. It is quite logical to conclude that, when leaving their manors, the feudal families would take old and valuable objects with them. This is how ancient precious objects of Borjomi gorge were brought to central Kartli. From Breti the icon was taken to Shalva Amiranashvili Museum of Arts and has been known up to now under the name of Breti icon.

The research of the inscription of the icon has proved that the icon initially belonged to St. George's church in Chitakhevi. This information is of great value for the history of Chitakhevi church, because until now information regarding the monastery consisted only in stories passed by word of mouth. Besides, based on the comparison of Georgian epigraphic monuments and historical documents, we have identified unknown details regarding the Royal House of Prince Levan.

KEYWORDS: Chitakhevi, Mtsvane Monastery, Epigraphy

Chitakhevi church is located at 10 km distance from Borjomi. The Cchurch, distinguished by its architecture and epigraphic material,

¹ The given paper was read at the first international conference dedicated to the 120th anniversary of Grigol Peradze "Georgia and Christian Civilization". The title of the paper was "Asomtavruli Inscription Mentioning Prince Levan and His Wife Tinatin on the Unknown Icon of 1684 in Chitakhevi Church ("Green Monastery").

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represents a brilliant example of IX century Georgian architecture. From the ancient monuments, only one epigraphic monument of this church has reached us. It is IX century antefix stone inscription in Asomtavruli alphabet. The inscription is carved and it says "Saint George". This proves that St. George was the patron of the church. Until today, it was considered that this was the only inscription that had survived in this church. There is a written document preserved in Ekvtime Takaishvili's (1863-1953) personal archive regarding the elimination of inscriptions in Chitakhevi church during the Romanov reign. Other information has come to us by

word of mouth (Gogoladze, 2014: 161-184; 185-192). In 2018, while working on the corpus of inscriptions of Borjomi gorge (Gogoladze, 2019), we paid attention to an article published by a French Kartvelologist – Mari Brosset (1802-1880) - in which the scholar describes old monuments of a monastery in Breti, Kareli District. Among these monuments, the scholar mentions Asomtavruli inscription on a silver icon dated by 1684. The historian has copied the inscription, preserving the original font. He also provides the translation of the inscription and makes its historical and source-study analysis.

Below are given Mari Brosset's copy of the inscription and its French translation:

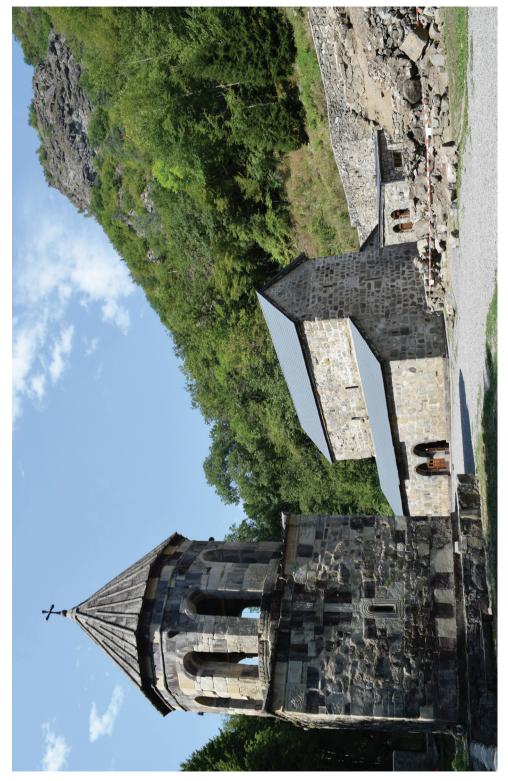
"ሃገቅዩግ ቅገዛሮႥ ቅኣQዒႱሮ ሃገጹႱሮ ጊሮቅጊግዒገኄႱ ႥሮႾႲႠႬጊႱ ዒሮႲႭႬႨႸႥႨኄႱ ሃገጹ ኣሮႰႭ በႥႧႨႱႠႭ ႣႠ ቆገႭ ႫႠႫႨႱႠႭ ႤႥႫႨႬႨႭჀ ႣႠ ႫႾኄႭ ႠႣႠ-ႫႨႱႠႭ ႨႱႭ ႵႤ ႸႨ ႢႥႷႥ ႵႼ (sic) ዒႠႭႨ ႸႥႨ ጌႤႥႠႬ ႣႠ ႧႠႬႠ ႫႨႺႾႤ-ႣႰႤႱႠ ႧႨႬႠႧႨႬႱ ႫኄႧႠ ႫႭႥႠႣႨႬႤႧ ႾႠႲႨ ႤႱႨ ႫႠႺႭႥႰႨႱႠ ႸႨႸႧႠႾ-ႤႥႨႱႠ ႫႤႭႰႤႧ ႣႠႫႼႥႠႰႨ ႣႶႤႧႠ ႹႬႧႠ ႱႠႣႶႤႢႰႫႤኄႭႣ ႣႠ ႫႤႧႠ ႹႬႧႠ. ႵႬႱ. ႲႭႡ჻

Seconrs-moi qui t'ai onré, moi l'administrateur prince-royal Wakhtang. O toi, porte du ciel, fils du Père, Emmanuel, rédempteur d'Adam, Jésus-Christ, assiste-nous, le prince-royal Léwan et mon épouse Thinathin, qui avons fait fabriquer de nouveau cette image du Sauveur, de Chichtha-Khew, brûlée de notre temps, pour notre longévité et pour celle de nos fils. En 372- 1684"

According to Brosset, the inscription says:

"Bestow your mercy upon the ruler Prince Vakhtang! You, Heaven's door and Son of the Father, Emmanuel, Savior of Adam, Jesus Christ, bestow your mercy upon Prince Vakhtang and his wife Tinatin who have ordered to make this icon for the second time after it had been burnt. Bestow longevity on us and our children. Date - 372- 1714" (Brosset, 1851: 110).







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After Mari Brosset, Tedo Zhordania (1854-1916) studied Breti icon inscription. The scholar provides the following information: the date of the inscription, description of the icon, the text written in Asomtavruli alphabet and its historical and source-study analysis. The scholar gives the following version of the inscription:

"You, door of Heaven and Son of Father, Emmanuel and Savior of Adam, Jesus Christ! Bestow your mercy upon Prince Levan and his wife Tinatin, who have ordered to make this icon of Christ of Shishta-Khevi for the second time after its burning, for the longevity of us and our children. Date - 372- 1684".

After providing the text of the inscription, the historian notes that "Brosset had mistakenly read the prince's name as Vakhtang and wondered where the anachronism had come from. In order to prevent the anachronism, he turned the date 1684 into 1714. In reality, the inscription mentions prince Levan (nicknamed Shakh-kulikhan), brother of King Archil and King Giorgi XI, who ruled Kartli for 17 years" (Zhordania, 1897: 500).

As mentioned above, while working on the inscriptions of Borjomi gorge, we paid attention to the text of this icon. In summer 2019, with the kind assistance of Manana Varadashvili, scholar of Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, we found out that the icon of Breti was preserved at Shalva Amiranashvili Museum of Arts. With the kind assistance of the late Elene Kavlelishvili, curator of the collection of smithery icons at the Museum of Arts, we acquired a coloured photograph of the inscription.¹ Based on the photograph, we offer a copy of the inscription with the original font, as well as our version of the text:

- ዓጥጌし.. ጌባጐ ናե.. ႣႠ.. ႧႠႬႠ.. ႫባႺႾႣႰባႱჂ.. Ⴙ ႬႱႠ. ႧႨႬႠႧႨႬႱ.. Ⴐጌ[~] ႧႠ.. ႫႭႥႠჽႤႣႨႬႤႧ.. ႾႲႨ.. ႤႱႤ.. ႫႺႾႰ

¹ We are extremely grateful to art historian Manana Varadashvili and the late Elene Kavlelishvili, Doctor of Art History, for providing us a coloured photograph of the icon.





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According to the text, in 1684, Prince Levan and his wife Tinatin ordered to blacksmith the burnt icon of Shishtakhevi for the second time, for the longevity of them and their children. We completely agree with Tedo Zhordania's opinion that Prince Levan mentioned in the inscription is the son of King Vakhtang V of Kartli (1658-1675). The Prince's name was Levan and he was also called Shakh-kulikhan.

According to Georgian historical documents, Prince Levan is mentioned together with his father, King Vakhtang of Kartli, in 1659-1676. Levan had two wives: Tuta, daughter of Kaikhosro Gurieli, with whom Levan had three sons: Kaikhosro, Vakhtang and Domenti, and one daughter - Khvaramze. According to Georgian sources, in 1678, Tuta Gurieli died, and, in 1680, Prince Levan married Tinatin, daughter of Giorgi Avalishvili. They had three sons: Iese, Svimon and Teimuraz. However, the register compiled in 1724 by the suite of Vakhtang VI, King of Kartli, says that, apart from the above-mentioned children, Prince Levan also had two sons: Konstantine and Adarnase, and one daughter - Khoreshan. He also had an illegal child – Rostom, who occupied important positions at the Royal court of Iran, and who was killed in 1722 (Kavtaria, 1975: 203-204).

As for the political activities of Prince Levan, in 1676, his brother Giorgi (Later, King of Kartli, Giorgi XI (1676-1688; 1703-1709)) made him temporary ruler of Kartli. At the Royal Court of Kartli, Prince Levan occupied an important post of Supreme Judge. In 1676-1688, he granted lands to the feudal lords of Kartli. In 1678, Levan was summoned to Iran, where he was called Shakh-Kuli-Khan and appointed to the post of the ruler of Kirman province. In this period, Levan actively supported the Persians in their battles against Balochs. From the second half of 1703 until the end of September, 1704, Levan was Vice-King of Kartli (Kavtaria, 1960: 509-512).

Apart from political and military activities, Levan was actively involved in the cultural life of Kartli. He supported the compilation of "The Georgian Dictionary", the author of which was his cousin, a famous Georgian lexicographer – Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani. Prince Levan also compiled "Prayers" addressed to John the Baptist, Saint Peter, Saint Paul and other saints. One of the proofs of Levan's cultural activities is the Asomtavruli inscription on Christ's icon.

As we have shown above, previous publishers of the inscription (Mari Brosset, Tedo Zhordania) consider this icon as a property of Breti St. George Church. This is natural, because the first publisher – Mari Brosset – saw the icon in Breti church in the first half of the 18th century. The icon must have been taken from Breti to Shalva Amiranashvili Museum of Arts. The icon still represents a brilliant example of Georgian smithery (exhibit number 1338). According to the inventory register, the icon is considered a property of Breti Church.

Based on Georgian narrative sources (Vakhushti Bagrationi, Sekhnia Chkheidze), we can freely conclude that Prince Levan's wife mentioned in the inscription is Tinatin, daughter of Giorgi Avalishvili.

It is well known that in the period between XV-XIX centuries, the feudal House of the Avalishvilis owned part of the Tori gorge (current Borjomi gorge), the center of which was Sadgeri village. In the 70s and 80s of the XVI century, the Ottomans occupied Atabag's fiefdom Samtskhe, including Borjomi gorge, and local owners were forced to leave their lands and move to other regions of Georgia (Central Kartli, Kakheti, Imereti). It should be noted that a certain portion of the feudal family of the Avalishvilis stayed in the same place, turned into Moslems and were granted the title of Beg (Ottoman title denoting a "ruler") (Kikodze, 1975: 114).

Another part of the Avalishvili family moved to Central Kartli together with other feudal families of Samtskhe (Pavlenishvili, Shalikashvili and others). They hoped that the political situation would change and they would return their lands.

As it is known, in 1555, Iran and the Ottoman empire signed a peace treaty, according to which the Ottoman Empire controlled the kingdoms of Imereti, Guria and Samegrelo as well as Atabag's fiefdom Samtskhe, whereas Iran controlled the kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti. Yet, the kingdom of Safavids, strengthened and led by Shah-Abbas I (1587-1629), did not wish to acknowledge the Ottoman's success and tried to spread its influence over the Eastern portion of Samtskhe, which it had received according to Amasya Peace Treaty. Georgian politicians took advantage of the confrontation between the huge empires and tried to preserve Samtskhe within the Georgian political space (Kartvelishvili, 2020).

Based on historical documents, Georgian historians (Zhizhiashvili, 2017, 35-41; Kartvelishvili, 2020) note that in the years 1618 and 1636, during the reign of Georgian Kings Simon II (1619-1631) and Rostom (1633-1658), upon the order of Safavid Iran, military campaigns were held with the aim of adjoining the Eastern part of Samtskhe. These military expeditions, apart from feudal families loyal to Simon II and Rostom, involved those feudal families which had left Samtskhe and were willing to return their lands.

Georgian narrative sources and historical documents prove that, in the second half of the XVII century, the feudal House of the Avalishvilis owned villages in the Eastern part of Samatskhe (Kortaneti, Kimereti, Sadgeri etc.). To be more precise, in 1688, King of Kartli Giorgi XI bestowed his mercy upon Giorgi Avalishvili – father of Tinatin mentioned in the inscription, and made him Governor of Akhaldaba. XVIII century historian Sekhnia Chkheidze notes that loyal Georgian feudal families invited King Giorgi to Kartli: "The King took Queen Khorashan and his daughter-in-law, wife of Prince Levan, Tinatin, daughter of Giorgi Avalishvili, Levan's sons: Kaikhosro, Vakhtang, Domenti, Iese, Svimon and Teimuraz to Sadgeri, and the King himself arrived in Kartli" (Chkheidze, 1913, 6). This document proves that, prior to occupying the throne of Kartli, Giorgi left his and his brother's families in a safe place – the center of the Avalishvili feudal manor - Sadgeri. This is guite natural, because his brother's wife Tinatin was the daughter of the owner of these lands – Giorgi Avalishvili. At the end of the XVII century and the beginning of the XVIII century, with certain intervals (1692; 1703-1704), Giorgi Avalishvili owned Sadgeri. This ownership is proved by a Decree issued by Vakhtang VI in 1703-1711 concerning Avalishvili's property and ownership (Dolidze, 1972: 239-240). It is obvious that the Kartlian Kings were still interested in adjoining the Eastern part of Samtskhe in the second half of the XVII century. One of the proofs of this policy is Prince

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Levan's marriage to Giorgi Avalishvili's daughter Tinatin in 1680.

Coming back to the text of the inscription: in 1684, Prince Levan and his wife Tinatin ordered to blacksmith Shishtakhevi Christ's icon for the longevity of their family and children (sons). Special mention should be made of the toponym "Shishtakhevi". A similar toponym is "Chitakhevi", the name of a village in Borjomi gorge. No similar toponyms are found in other provinces of Georgia. However, there is one major controversy:

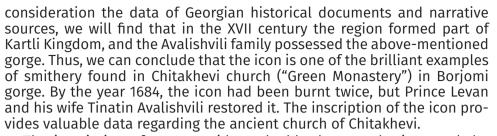
It is well-known that after the occupation of Samtskhe, in 1595, the Ottomans made a register of villages in the region. Chitakhevi is mentioned in this register under the name of "Jirtakhevi". It is noted that the village is abandoned and that it must pay a tribute in the amount of 15000 Akhcha (Ottoman silver coins - T. G.) (Jikia, 1954, 480). Slight alteration of toponyms was quite frequent in registers compiled by the Ottomans who did not speak Georgian and wrote down the names of places based on their aural perception. Thus, at the end of XVI century, the name of the village was Chitakhevi. How did the name Shishtakhevi appear in the inscription denoting the same village?

On the initial stage of research, we considered that Shishtakhevi was an old name of the village, which was later transformed into Chitakhevi. However, as we see in the register of Gurjistan Vilayet, the name of the village is Jirtakhevi, which is closer to Chitakhevi than Shistakhevi. This opinion is based on the fact that in the Ottoman language the grapheme denoting the sound /[/ is totally different from the grapheme denoting sound [t[]. With regard to the toponym Chitakhevi, mention should be made of Vakhushti Bagrationi's information. The scholar describes the occupation of Gori castle by Imeretian King Alexandre (1478-1510) in 1509. Bagrationi notes that the King ceased the military operation because he was informed that "Chikhs had raided Imereti" (Vakhushti Bagrationi, 1973, 392). Besides, in the Armenian Gospel of 1489, the term "Chitakh" is mentioned. Current historiography has found out that at the end of the XV century and the beginning of the XVI century, the term "Chitakh", widespread in Armenian and Georgian languages, denoted the Ottomans. This term is still used to denote the meanings: villain, scoundrel (Abdaladze, 1977: 75).

It can be assumed that the toponym Chitakhevi is derived from the Georgian and Armenian name of Ottomans – "Chitakh". In the XVI century, during military operations of Ottomans aimed at the occupation of Samtskhe, Chitakhevi church was destroyed several times. The name "Chitakhevi" may be related to this fact. The locals still remember the story of slaughter of monks of Chitakhevi church by the Ottomans. It is quite natural that the Ottomans would frequently raid St. George's Church in Chitakhevi. The inscription on the icon, dated by 1684, mentions the toponym Shishtakhevi. The root of this word must be "Shishi" which means "fear". Hence, "Shishtakhevi" means "the gorge of fear".

Another version is that Shishtakhevi was the original name of the village. Later, it was transformed into "Chitakhevi" (as [sh] was replaced by [ch]). One thing is clear: by the second half of the XVII century, more precisely, by the year 1684, the name of the village was Shishtakhevi. Our assumptions regarding the toponym are hypothetical. Yet, if we take into

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The inscription of 1684 provides valuable data on the icon and the church, because the inscription underlines the fact that the icon had been burnt twice before it was restored by the Prince and his wife. There are no data regarding the dates of burning. Yet, we can say for certain that the icon was burnt both times during the raids of Chitakhevi church. This church has been described and studied by Georgian art historians (Rusudan Mepisashvili, 1977: 6-7; Davit Khoshtaria, 1983: 141-156) who prove that originally this church formed part of a large monastic complex. Georgian and foreign historical sources of the XIV - XVII centuries inform us about numerous attacks on Samtskhe, namely, Boriomi gorge, Therefore, it is hard to identify the dates of raids on Chitakhevi church during which the Christ's icon was burnt. How did the icon become an exhibit of the Museum of Arts? In my opinion, the feudal family of Avalishvili left their manor and took the ancient valuable objects with them. In this way, the icon was brought to Breti, Central Kartli, and, from here, it was taken to Shalva Amiranashvili Museum of Arts. This is why the icon had been considered a possession of Breti church. This opinion can be proved by Rostom's charters of mercy to Kaikhosro Avalishvili, issued in 1633, 1634 and 1636. Kaikhosro Avalishvili was the grandfather of Tinatin (Levan's wife mentioned in the inscription) and the father of Giorgi Avalishvili. From these charters we learn that in 1633 Kartlian King Rostom granted the village Breti to the Avalishvili family. Prior to this fact, the village belonged to the Davitashvili family. In 1634 Rostom granted the village Breti to Konstantine Davitashvili, saying that, if Kaikhosro Avalishvili did not reconcile, the village would remain in the possession of the Davitashvili family. Later, in 1636, Rostom granted the village to Kaikhosro Avalishvili again. The above-mentioned charters prove that Giorgi Avalishvili had received the village Breti from the King of Kartli since 1630s (Annotated Dictionary of Persons, 1991: 77). Thus, it is not surprising that the icon of Chitakhevi church was found in the St. George church of Breti.

Thus, based on the analysis of the Asomtavruli inscription of Chitakhevi icon of 1684 and comparison of Georgian and foreign historical sources, we can conclude that, prior to the year 1684, Chitakhevi church and the icon of Christ on its left iconostasis had been burnt twice. However, in 1684, the burnt icon was restored upon the order of Prince Levan, son of Kartlian King Vakhtang V, and his wife Tinatin, daughter of Giorgi Avalishvili.

Unknown Details of Genealogy of the Royal House of Prince Levan

As we have seen above, Prince Levan and his second wife Tinatin, Giorgi Avalishvili's daughter, had three sons: Iese, Svimon and Teimuraz. Mikheil Kavtaria notes that 'narrative sources do not provide information whether they also had a daughter. Yet, as we will see below, they must have had a daughter too" (Kavtaria, 1975: 204).

Indeed, Prince Levan and his wife Tinatin had one more child. This is proved by the text of the epitaph dated by 1702. This epitaph was found in the interior of Holy Virgin Church in Gudarekhi, Lower Kartli.

Below is given archeographic description of the inscription, which has been dated differently by different scholars. We provide the grounds for the identification of the date of the inscription, as well as a coloured photograph of the inscription, its paleographic copy and our interpretation:

The inscription is carved on a light brown gravestone located on the floor of the main naos, beside an uninscribed gravestone, next to the grave of Datuna's wife Tamar. The gravestone is ornamented with flowers on all the four sides and framed with interwoven lines; the ornamented frame is entirely occupied by the inscription; the size of the gravestone is: 54 X 170 cm.; the area of the inscription comprises: 17 X 130 cm.; the inscription consists of three lines and is written in Mkhedruli alphabet; the largest grapheme is: b (s) (III line, XXVII grapheme) _ 5 X 3 cm.; the smallest grapheme is: o (i) (III line II grapheme) _ 0,5 X 1 cm.; detachment marks are: dot, colon, three dots, almost after each word; Titlo marks: straight transverse line.

Damage: the gravestone is broken into two pieces. Due to this, some graphemes are hard to identify. Despite this, the text is entirely comprehensible.

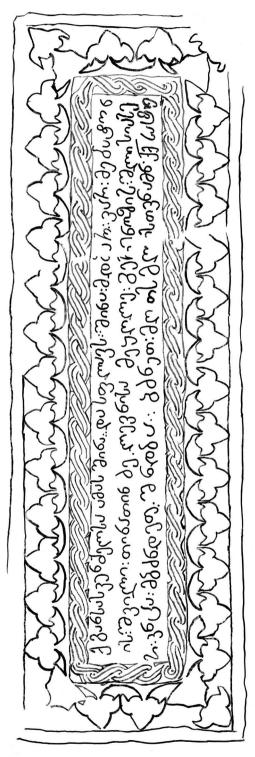
Dates identified by various scholars:

- 1. 1622 (Chitaia 1926: 116; Jamburia, 1955: 57).
- 2. Second half of the XVII century (Mchedlidze, 1986: 61).
- 3. End of the XVII century (Mchedlidze, 2009: 63).

Grounds for dating: the date given in the inscription is - Byzantine 532year cycle: നூ (390), i.e. 1702 A.D. (1312+390=1702).







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 ქ განსასვენბელსა ამას შინა:. და სფლავს:. შინა: მდბ]<არ:. ვარ: მე ბატონ

 ის: შვილი: თინათინ ძე. ლევნისა მეუღლე: გერ<მ>ნოზის: შლის იასე

3. სი: ვნცა: მბძნდეთ: შნდბა:. ბძნეთ: მღთს გლ]<ისთვნ ამნ. ქკ~სა ტჟ

As is clear from the gravestone inscription, in 1702, Levan's daughter Tinatin, wife of lase Germanozishvili, had passed away.

Prior to this research, Georgian scholars offered the following reading of the inscription: 1. Giorgi Chitaia: "Resting in Peace in this grave is Prince Levan's daughter Tinatin, wife of Iase Germanozishvili. Whoever passes by, pray for my soul"; 2. Givi Jamburia, Guliko Mchedlidze: "...Tinatin, Levan's Daughter, wife of Germanozishvili Iase".

Our research has enabled a completely different interpretation of the inscription. The text of the inscription directly points that Tinatin was the daughter of Prince Levan. Based on this, we can conclude that Princess Tinatin was a representative of the royal family of Bagrationi. It is also well known that lase was in close relationship with the Bagrationi royal family. This is proved by a letter of favour written in 1688 by Prince Levan to lase Germanozishvili, according to which Prince Levan appointed lase Governor of Trialeti, Akhalkalaki, Tamalia and Kosha-Ger. If we compare the information given in this document with 1702 Gudarekhi church gravestone inscription, we can conclude that, apart from lase, Svimon and Teimuraz, Prince Levan and his wife Tinatin had a daughter also called Tinatin, who was married to lase Germanozisvhili and who died in 1702. As it seems, Tinatin was named after her mother.

The biographical information regarding Prince Levan's family is enriched by other documents, namely 1688-1703 documents regarding Tinatin's sacrifice to Kvatakhevi church:

"...We, ...Daughter-in-law of King Shahnavaz, Tinatin, and our son Toma sacrifice these gifts to the Holy Virgin church of Kvatakhevi, for blessing our souls and the soul of our master and spouse Prince Levan, and for the longevity of our children. #1, 2020 | www.scientia.ge

When our Royal House ceased to govern Kartli, and King Erekle began to rule over Kartli, Erekle granted us Kavtiskhevi, and we grant one family to the church... (სეა, 1499-1871)."

This document has two oval seals: one of them is Tinatin's, and the other is her son Toma's.

If we recall Tedo Zhordania's information regarding the death of Prince Levan's wife Tinatin Avalishvili in 1700 (Zhordania, 1967: 4), we can make the chronology of the above-mentioned document even narrower. Thus, the possible date of the document, instead of 1688-1703, is narrowed to 1688-1700.

As we see, Tinatin, daughter-in-law of Shahnavaz i.e. King Vakhtang V, and her son Prince Toma grant two peasant families to the church for blessing the soul of Prince Levan and longevity of their sons. Tinatin underlines that in the period when her royal family was no longer ruling Kartli, the current ruler King Erekle (1688-1703) had granted her Kavtiskhevi. In this document, only one of the sons – Toma – is mentioned together with Tinatin. This name is absent in other documents. Thus, we can conclude that, apart from Iase, Svimon and Teimuraz, Prince Levan and his wife Tinatin had another son - Toma. In Tinatin's letter of favour to Kaikhosro Chkheidze, written in 1688, mention is made of princes: Kaikhosro, Vakhtang, Iase and Svimon (bgs, 1450, 25/62).¹ Toma is not mentioned at all. This means that Toma was born after 1688, or he was too young at that time, and, therefore, he was not mentioned in the letter of favour written in 1688.

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