

The date of death of Tamar, the Georgian King of the kings

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In 1966, Silagadze, B. placed the death of Tamar in 1207 based on the data of Ibn al-Athir. In the same year, S. Kakabadze agreed with this date. A 1974 article by T. Natroshvili and G. Japaridze put the death of Tamar in 1210. The work of J. Odisheli followed this, also in 1974, which considered all earlier published research and sources, including numismatic material, and put the date as 1207. In 1975 Sh. Darchiashvili agreed with 1210 based on brief Armenian inscriptions, which were outlined in his research published in 2010. Research by G. Otkhmezuri (1981) was published in 1981 in which the scholar, using a different interpretation of the Gunia-Qala inscription, renders groundless the information of the first chronicler of Tamar as if Tamar granted the titles of Atabeg and Amirspasalar to Ivane Mkhargrdzeli simultaneously. Due to this fact, some researchers consider the year of the death of Zakaria Mkhargrdzeli (1212) or the next year (1213) as the date of the death of Tamar.

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In 1966, Silagadze, B. placed the death of Tamar in 1207 based on the data of Ibn al-Athir (Silagadze, 1966). In the same year, S. Kakabadze agreed with this date (1966. pp. 228-230). A 1974 article by T. Natroshvili and G. Japaridze put the death of Tamar in 1210. The work of J. Odisheli followed this (Natroshvili, Japaridze, 1976), also in 1974, which considered all earlier published research and sources, including numismatic material, and put the date as 1207. In 1975 Sh. Darchiashvili agreed with 1210 (p. 151) based on brief Armenian inscriptions, which were outlined in his research published in 2010 (Darchiashvili, 2010. p. 59). Research by G. Otkhmezuri (1981) was published in 1981 in which the scholar, using a different interpretation of the Gunia-Qala inscription, renders groundless the information of the first chronicler of Tamar as if Tamar granted the titles of Atabeg and Amirspasalar to Ivane Mkhargrdzeli simultaneously. Due to this fact, some researchers consider the year of the death of Zakaria Mkhargrdzeli (1212) or the next year (1213) as the date of the death of Tamar (Brosset, 1886, 298; Ingorokva, 1963, 143, Zhordania, 1892, p. 300; Janashvili, 1917, p. 74; Lolashvili, 1984, p. 116; Metreveli, 1965, Javakhishvili, 290, 385; Sanadze, Beradze, 2015, p. 156). However, 1216 (Kenkebashvili, 2011, p. 42) and 1215 (Kekelidze, 1941, p. 40) are also suggested in scholarly literature. According to G. Otkhmezuri, Vache is named as the "msakhurtukhutsesi" [master of servants] in the list of the inscription instead of Ivane. According to the scholar, this means that in the year of Tamar's death, which he assumes was 1207, Vache was the holder of this title while Ivane was the Atabeg by that time (Otkhmezuri, 1981. pp. 20-32). In the research of the second edition of the Russian translation of the so-called second chronicler of Tamar, Mamisa Berdnishvili agrees with the date of 1207 (Life of the Queen of Queens Tamar..., 1985, p. 62.).

Many of the researchers listed earlier place the death of Tamar in 1207 or 1210; however, the sources remain almost the same in both cases. Different conclusions come from different interpretations of the same sources.

For dating the death of Tamar as happening in 1210, numismatic data is decisive. The "Silver Crisis" existing in the Middle East from the 11th century occurred in Georgia, too, demonstrated by the minting of copper coins. Those copper coins were proclaimed as silver coins. That significant financial reform in Georgia was carried out in the times of David IV. Fair as well as unfair copper coins were minted. The "Silver Crisis" in Georgia lasted until the reform carried out during the reign of Rusudan, when in 1230, silver coins were issued (Kapanadze, 1950, p. 48).

During the reign of Tamar, fair and unfair copper coins were minted. During her co-rule with King Giorgi (1179-1184), a coin on which the date is not indicated was minted. It mentioned "King of the Kings Giorgi" and "the King and Queen Tamar." Identification of the coin in the literature is different (Kapanadze, 1970, pp. 48-49).

According to k'horonikon 407 (1187), King Tamar minted her own coin. The coin is unfair. Some coins of this type 430 (1210) are printed without a change their design. The coins have the same mintage

The observations of the famous scholar E. Pakhomov should be taken into consideration concerning this issue. According to his research, noting a new date was usual in Muslim countries, although there was a changing of mintage (Pakhomov, 1970, 85). It is noteworthy that k'oronikon 407 (1187) of King Tamar and the coin's design issued in 430(1210) is unchanged. This rule was evidently reflected on the numismatic monuments of Tamar's epoch: of 1774 of King Giorgi III⁴, of 1187 and later of 1200 of King Tamar, on the coin of "Javachruler" of Lasha Giorgi (The date is not indicated on the coin. Presumably it was minted in 1205-7), later on the coin of 1210, 1227 of King Rusudan and later on the coins minted in 1230. These coins were of different types according to the dates (Kapanadze, 1969, pp. 69-86). The dates on the coins do not indicate the time of the coronation of the king. This event has to be connected to the political-economic changes in the country. The dates mentioned above show the date of the coin type and not minting and issuing date.

During the reign of Giorgi III, a fair coin appeared with the year 1774 is printed on it again for the first time after the 10th century. Parallel samples of such fair and unfair coins are also found during the reign of Tamar and Giorgi Lasha. The majority of researchers believe that coins were minted in the name of Tamar during her reign several times: a biased and dateless coin which together with Tamar bears the name of Giorgi and its identification is different in the literature, a widely-used biased coin which bears the date UZ (407=1187), and precisely the same coins with a different date UL (430=1210); and a fair coin issued in 1200.

The dating of Tamar's coin to the year 1210 was questioned by Sargis Kakabadze, who was the first to place the death of Tamar in the year 1207. Others adhered to this version later. Some time ago, Ts. Ghvaberidze studied these coins. In her opinion, "k'oronikon 430 = 1210 ... is a mechanical error made on the same mintage. In particular, this date 407 arose based on the resemblance of the graphic outline of letters- z z- z and l - l. It is known that in the "Asomtavruli" alphabet the only difference between "ზ" ("Zen") and "ლ" ("Las") is a small vertical line coming down on the left side" (Ghvaberidze, 2009, p. 99) The researcher makes this assumption based on one more argument that the version of the above-mentioned coin type (of Tamar, dated 1210 (3758, 4175) is saved in the depositories of the National Museum of Georgia. On the backside of the coin, 583 AH is written, which corresponds to

⁴ It is the first case in the Georgian numismatique of indicating of the date by the Georgian k'oronikon 394 (1174). This means the time of minting of coin.

k'oronikon 407, i.e. 1187 (Ghvaberidze, 2009, p. 98). Ts. Ghvaberidze supports her assertion by another observation that "the approved coin type was minted with the same date during the entire reign of this or that Georgian king. This happened during the reign of Giorgi III, Tamar, Giorgi Lasha and Rusudan. It seems that this was a rule established by the Royal Household of Georgia. It was undoubtedly in force during the minting of Tamar's coin dated k'oronikon 407 = 1187 as well"(Ghvaberidze, 2009, p. 99).

Attention should be paid to another opinion of Ts. Ghvaberidze regarding the fair coin dated by k'oronikon 420 (= 1200) on which apart from Tamar, her spouse David is mentioned (David is not mentioned by the royal title). "The above coin was minted until the end of Tamar's rule bearing this date," (Ghvaberidze, 2009, p. 99) i.e. 1200. The author discusses the situation in the Near East where the so-called "silver crisis" ended from the 1190s and the issue of high pureness and weight (2.8-2.9 g) dirham began and according to him, "the monetary reform carried out in 1200 CE was a political-economic measure relevant to that period in Georgia ..." (Ghvaberidze, 2009, p. 100). According to Ts. Ghvaberidze, this reform "for certain reasons (unfortunately these "certain reasons" are not specified – G. Alasania) was hindered as a result of emission of coins of the wrong form of Giorgi Lasha (1210) and Jalal Ad-Din (1226), but Queen Rusudan resumed this change by the monetary reform carried out in 1227." According to the researcher, "Queen Tamar could not have resumed the type of coins established in 1187 -- coins of wrong minting -- two decades later without any changes" (Ghvaberidze, 2009, p. 100).

The numismatic data will be reviewed again later. Now, we will remember that in some cases a mistake was made in the inscription of coins. For example, the fair coin minted by Rusudan in 1227 is found with a different dating as well: in k'oronikon the second letter is inverted and in the date instead of "Dvk" (koronikon 447) there is Dvk 1217 – (koronikon 437) when Lasha Giorgi was on the throne (Kapanadze, 1950, p. 53). Another mistake made by craftsmen is known when the legend about Tamar (the same as on Tamar coins of 1187) is inscribed on the reverse of the coin dated by 1210 CE (k'oronikon 430) and the reverse of Lasha Giorgi's coin issued in 1210 is inscribed on the reverse (Kapanadze, 1969, pp. 78, 81) In the opinion of Abdaladze, G. it seems then both coins were minted in the State Mint in 1210 CE and the craftsmen confused with mintages (Abdaladze, 2004, p. 12).

It is essential to set the date of seizure of Kars, the death of David Soslan, and his campaign to Iran too set the date of the death of Tamar more accurately. There is a variety of opinions in literature about this. All Georgian sources do not mention all these facts. Considering all sources, it appears that these facts happened during the life of Tamar. The seizure of Kars is omitted by the so-called first historian of Tamar,

while after the death of David Soslan an attack on the city of Ani under Sultan of Ardabil is described. This was followed by a Georgian attack on Ardabil and afterward on other Iranian cities: "They came to Marand ... city of Tavrezh ... Miana ... Zangan ... city of Khuarasan and Kazmini ... and approached the internal Romgur which is Khuarasan ... and send precious stones to the King herself, sun and sun of the suns ... The King became joyful" (Kartlis tskhovreba, pp. 372-378.). The so-called second historian of Tamar narrates only about the seizure of Kars "on the 23rd or 24th year of her rule" (Kartlis Tskhovreba, 1996, p. 405; Kartlis Tskhovreba, 2008, p. 508).

The chronicler of the period of Lasha-Giorgi also places these facts within the period of Tamar. However, unlike the first historian of Tamar, the story of the seizure of Kars by Georgians is told here. It is followed by information about the death of David Soslan, after which, according to the source, "they destroyed the cities of Persia and ruined Marandi and the country of Eran. They went so far that the names of Georgians were not heard". The same chronicler returns to these facts in the period of Lasha Giorgi, son of Tamar, and wrote: "Their parent (i.e., the parent of Giorgi Lasha – G. Alasania), the Great King of Kings Tamar made them (Zakaria Mkhargrdzeli - G. Alasania) conduct a campaign and seize Kars, then conducted a campaign, went and entered the Great Persia, ruined Ardaveli, destroyed cities and fortresses and filled the kingdom with plunder" (Kartlis tskhovreba, 1996, p. 301; Kartlis tskhovreba, 2008, 356).

The information about the seizure of Kars dated 1199 CE provided by Vakhushti Bagrationi is clearly based on information received from the so-called second historian of Tamar. However, "23rd" is omitted there, and only "24th" is left. Then the death of Soslan, dated 1199, the facts of Ani and Ardaveli are mentioned, which are followed by the campaign of Zakaria into Iran and finally, the death of Tamar in 1201 (Bagrationi, 1973, pp. 189-191). Because all the events listed here are not dated in the sources or are dated differently, attempts to set the dates of all these facts more accurately continue in the scientific literature until now.

During an analysis of the above information of the Georgian sources about the attack on Ardebil and afterward other cities of Iran, Ivane Javakhishvili refers to the Armenian historian Vardan who considers 1210 as the date of these events, the dateless data of the Armenian chronicles Kirakos Gandzakeli and the Arab historian Ibn Halikan who dated these events by 602-603 AH, i.e., 1206-1207 CE. However, because Ibn Halikan "had taken the data about this campaign ... from the narration of the chronicler Ibn Batish who considered the date as 606 AH, i.e. 1209-1210 BC," the research does not exclude that Vardan, Kirakoz and Ibn Halikan had combined

two campaigns: the first, to Ardebil in 1207-8 and the second one, during which the Georgians reached Rom-Guri in 1210 (Javakhishvili, 1908, p. 289).

The dates defined by Ibn Halikan were questioned by T. Natroshvili and G. Japaridze, who considered Ibn Batish, according to which Marand was seized in 606 (1209-1210), to be more trustworthy (Natroshvili, Japaridze, p. 157). Based on this information, the researchers dated the campaign in Iran in the autumn of 1209 (Natroshvili, Japaridze, p. 157).

It is noteworthy that G. Japaridze did not mention the campaign in Iran in his fundamental research (Japaridze, 1995). When the research of T. Natroshvili and G. Japaridze – "Attempt to Establish One Date" – was published, and the work of R. Kiknadze "Parsadan Gorgijanidze (Kiknadze, 1975) and "The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns" (1975) in which one rather noteworthy observation is presented that the so-called first historian of Tamar had not existed, which changes the situation completely. Despite this, it was undeservingly committed to oblivion. This is about the Muslim attack on Ani during the fast preceding Easter and the counterattack of Georgians on Ardebil. R. Kiknadze provides the days of Easter and "Eid al-Fitr" and the table of the beginning of Ramadan in 1205-1210, and as it appears, the Easter precedes Ramadan only in two cases, in 1205 (601 AH, April 10, April 22) and 1206 (602 AH, April 2, April 11). R. Kiknadze defined the date under question as 1205, which seems logical, i.e., the information of the Arab author Ibn al-Athir about the Georgian invasion of the Islamic country from Azerbaijan in 601 (1204/5) (Ibn al-Asir, 1940, 130) is confirmed. According to a well-substantiated conclusion of R. Kiknadze, "the Sultan of Ardebil destroyed Ani on April 10, 1205, on the day of Easter. Tamar was informed about this fact a week later, on April 17, in Geguti. Five days later, on April 22, the 30-day Muslim Fast, Ramadan, began. After its completion, on May 22 of the same year (on the first day of the month of Shawwal, 601 AH), on the day of "Eid al-Fitr", the Georgian army raided Ardebil" (Kiknadze, 1975, p. 128). As for the following facts, according to the first historian of Tamar, the Mkhargrdzelis – Amirspasalar (Commander-in-Chief) Zakaria and Master of Servants, Ivane proposed that Tamar conduct a campaign into Iraq, to Romgur, which is Khurasan. These persons, in the same way, are also mentioned by the chronicler during the campaign to Ani (1205, 10 April) (Kartlis Tskhovreba, 2008, p. 471, 469) As seen from the inscription of Gunia-Kala, Ivane was granted the title of Atabeg during the life of Tamar, while the title of Amirspasalar (Commander-in Chief) was granted to him after the death of his brother, Zakaria. Before that, he was the Master of Servants and was replaced by Vache in this post (Otkhmezuri, 1981, pp. 20-22).

Sh. Darchiashvili reviews Armenian records from which it is clear that Lasha Giorgi was enthroned in 1210 (inscription of Haghbat of 1210) (Darchiashvili, 1975, p. 151-

159; Darchiashvili, 2010, pp. 56,58.) and Tamar was not alive that year or that Lasha was the sole king in 1210/11, but there was not the same respect towards him as had been towards Tamar in the related inscriptions. Sh. Darchiashvili notes that Tamar is mentioned in inscriptions as "great," "goodservant," "blessed by God," "queen of queens." Zakaria Mxargrdzeli" calls her "Lord" while himself calls "slave." In a Bagavan inscription of 1210/11 Amirspasalar Zakaria informs us that: "During the reign of Alasha, in the hope of the Lord, I, Amirspasalar Zakaria, came from Khlat to the sacred brotherhood of Bagavan ...", i.e., after the unsuccessful campaign to Khlat (Darchiashvili, 1975, p. 151-159; Darchiashvili, 2010, p. 152). Above-mentioned the 1210 Haghbat inscription was not considered to be trustworthy by I. Javakhishvili. According to the inscription, it was minted in the year of the coronation of Lasha Giorgi, while Zakaria Mkhargrdzeli mentions the King and not Kings here (Darchiashvili, 2010, p. 56). According to the researcher, the second coronation of Lasha and the beginning of his sole kingdom must be implied here. The 1206 Marmet inscription "During the reign of Lasha" is certified in the work (Darchiashvili, 2010, p. 63), which I. Javakhishvili also did not trust. An analysis of 1221 Haghbat inscription is offered according to Hohanes, appointed as the saint bishop of Haghbat in 1205, as dated by a large part of researchers (dated by 1208 by a small number of researchers), considers Tamar and Lasha Giorgi to be co-Kings. According to well-supported opinion of Sh. Darchiashvili, the above sources question the date of the death of David Soslan established in the scientific literature: 1207. The author continues to discuss the death of David Soslan, remembers the date of the Battle of Basian - 1202/3. For some reason, however, this date is 1202, which is established accurately in scientific literature. According to the so-called first historian of Tamar, David Soslan died soon after the Battle of Basian. The researcher does not consider it correct to date the death of David by 1207. But as I. Javakhishvili dated the Battle of Basian in 1206 and the death of David in 1207, the author exercises particular caution and dates the death of David in 1205/6 instead of 1205, after which, in his opinion, the reign of Lasha Giorgi as the co-king began. It is also noteworthy that according to the material provided in his research, this date must be 1205 or 1208, more likely, the first one.

The date of the death of David Soslan was addressed by B. Bulia in her work "Images of Historic Persons in the Temple of the "Baptist" Monastery." Based on analysis of images of Tamar, David and Lasha Giorgi, based on the observation made by Ekvtime Takaishvili, the researcher considers that the scene of the coronation of Giorgi Lasha at the age of 13 is represented on the fresco which is dated 1205-6 by the researcher. Afterward, the author considers that "David Soslan is depicted as undoubtedly alive in the frescoes of the temple," which, in her opinion, is "an additional for those scholars who have established 1207 as the date of the death of

Soslan." At the same time, the author explains why it became necessary to coronate Lasha during David's life (Bulia, 2005, p. 190).

Interesting data for clarification of the issue are provided from Armenian inscriptions in the research of G. Abdaladze (Darchiashvili, 2010, pp. 212, 216; Abdaladze, 2004, p. 12). R. Kiknadze, based on Parsadan Gorgiojanidze and Vachushti Bagrationi, concludes that David Soslan must have died on April 10 of 1205 (Kiknadze, 1980, p. 147).

According to Ibn al-Athir, Georgians seized Kars in 603 (1206/7), but the fight for Kars continued for many years and when nobody provided assistance to its possessors against Georgians, they surrendered. "The Chronicle of Abkhazs" totally agrees with it according to which "from k'oronikon ukz (427- 1207) FROM CREATION (6811-1207) Kars was seized and the Queen Tamar died. At that time, her son Lasha was twelve years old during the first campaign of the army" (Zhordania, 2004. P. 294). According to the above source, possibly in about 1205 the first campaign to Kars was organized. That year Giorgi Lasha put the king's crown on his head, and Tamar's army approached Kars for the first time. "During that period, her (Tamar's) son was twelve years old" ("The Chronicle of Abkhazs") (Zhordania, 2004. P. 294; Kiknadze, 1978, pp. 32, 43). An anonymous Persian chronicler of the 13th century (Miklouho-Maclay, 1954, p. 208) also tells us about the several-year siege of Kars. According to the second historian of Tamar, in the 23rd or 24th year of her rule, Tamar asked about Kars, "because Sargis Tmogveli, Shalva Toreli, and the Meskhis fought for a long time but could not seize it ... So she decided and sent David with the army. She sent Zakaria and Ivane with him and ordered them to stay there and fight strongly and it lasted for so long that Tamar went to Javakheti and waited for the news there" (Kartlis Tskhovreba, 2008. P. 508). At the end of the battle, it is said that "the remaining people asked David that Tamar came and they trusted her. She came and they put the locks of the fortresses before her son Giorgi and then before Tamar and asked for peace and vow..." (Kartlis Tskhovreba, 1996, p. 405; Kartlis Tskhovreba, 2008, p. 508-509). The chronicler of the period of Lasha Giorgi mentions in the section on Lasha that "his parent, the Great King of Kings, Tamar, conducted a campaign for his fate (on his behalf?) and seized Kars". David is not mentioned here, however, in the section of Tamar, in the list of "the participant of all of these victories and actions" was Tamar's husband David, Kars is also mentioned (Kartlis Tskhovreba, 1996, pp. 301, 299-300; Kartlis Tskhovreba, 2008, p. 354). As it seems, David Soslan participated in the battle for Kars, but it was not seized during his life. According to the comparative study of data of the sources, G. Japaridze concluded that Georgians occupied Kars Fortress in December 1206 or January 1207 (Japaridze, p. 162). According to the information provided by Ibn al-Athir, following the seizure of Kars, the Muslims waited for the further activation of Georgians with fear, but "the Lord

protected the protectors of Islam, sent death to the Queen of Kurjs and afterward confrontation began between them and he stopped their cruelty by the end of the year" (Ibn al-Asir, 1940, p. 131). Even though the Queen and not the King is clearly written in the above information from Ibn al-Athir, several researchers believe that it was David Soslan. As previously mentioned, the surviving sources do not confirm this and [place the death of David in 1205.

Despite the publication of several research studies, the issue of Tamar's death calls for attention again and different dates are specified in the textbooks too. But, unfortunately, all sources which have reached us, must to be dated.

Several assumptions are expressed in the literature regarding the above fresco of the Baptist Monastery: that in this case Lasha's coronation by the Lord is shown. The legitimacy of his future power (Skhirtladze, 1983, p. 96-110; Pataridze, Paghava,) shows Giorgi Lasha prior to this or that coronation and prepares the society for painless transfer of power later (particular importance must have been attached to this fact considering the internal political crises of that period) (Pataridze, Paghava, 1998, p. 137); that Giorgi Lasha's coronation was depicted on the fresco preserved in the Baptist Monastery (according to the records of E. Takaishvili). "Due to the age of Giorgi Lasha, his first coronation is depicted during the life of Tamar and David, in about 1205-1206 (Bulia, 2005, p. 186-188).

All information from all sources certainly begins with doubt, and one may cast doubt on the information of Ibn al-Asir by which Tamar's death is dated by 1207, even though this date is confirmed by a number of other properly reviewed sources which have been mentioned several times. The information from Georgian chroniclers confirms this date. However, in some cases, they are questionable. At the same time what is introduced instead is not convincing either. The chronicler of Lasha Giorgi indicates as a date of death of Tamar k'oronikon four hundred twenty seven (780+427=1207), but notes that Tamar was in reign twenty-three years" (Kartlis tskhovreba, 1996, p. 300; 2008, pp. 355, 507). According to the second chronicler of Tamar, after the seizure of Kars: "twenty third or twenty fourth year of her reign she asked about Kars"(Kartlis tskhovreba, 1996, 2008, p. 507), that coincides with the date of chronicler of Lasha Giorgi. At the same chronicle, seizure of Kars is followed by the other evidence: "And to whom these affairs made by Tamar and her troops within ten seventeen (in Georgian "atchvidmetsa") seem not sufficient" (Kartlis tskhovreba, 1996, 2008). By the assumption of Th. Jordania here joint years of Tamar and her husband David are implied, from 1189 (Chroniques, 2004, p. 296), but if David had been alive in times of the seizure of Kars that is doubtful. It is noteworthy that Jordania, who does not place the death of Tamar in 1207, does not accept the date of Ibn al-Athir, the evidence of the latter put by mistake in 1208-9. Jordania also

reads "atchvidmetsa" as 17. That is wrong. If so, it had to be "atshvidmetsa". Here we have "atchvidmetsa," that is $10+17=27$, which we had to add to 1179, the beginning of Tamar's reign that is 1206, the seizure of Kars.

The first Chronicler of Tamar sums up the years of Tamar's reign: "seized by the Sea Pontos to Gurgen and from Speri to Daruband and all Caucasians Trans-Caucasians and beyond up to Khazaria and Scythia... during her 12 years' reign" (Kartlis tskhovreba, 2008, p. 408) In this context, 12 is mentioned twice. In the manuscripts, 12 is mentioned the most, although there is also 11. I. Javakhishvili in the first case read 11, in the second one, 12 (Javakhishvili, 1977, p. 222).

K Kekelidze decided that 11 as well as 12 was a proof mistake and replaced them by 31 (History and eulogies of the haloed..., 1941, p. 19; Kartlis tskhovreba, 2008, p. 408). In the opinion of Mikheil Bakhtadze, the reign of Tamar started in 1179 and 1184, because if we accept the latter, the seizure of Kars appears to have taken place in 1207 or 1208, which is impossible in his opinion. The main argument of the researcher is that "Overall, David Soslan was not alive during that time" (Bakhtadze, 2011, p. 221) which is presumably correct. M. Bakhtadze refers to N. Shoshiashvili, who also considers Tamar's reign from 1179, and added 31. Perhaps here the most fruitful joint years of Tamar and David are implied from Lasha Giorgi's birth until his first coronation (1193-1205).

All of the information from Armenian written sources contradict the above. They prove only that Tamar was not alive in 1210 and Lasha was enthroned that year. This is clearly confirmed by the Haghbat inscription of 1210. "which was inscribed in the year of the coronation of Tamar's son the King of kings Giorgi" (Darchiashvili, 2010, p. 57).

However, if we assume that Tamar had passed away in 1207 and the second coronation of Lasha Giorgi took place in 1210, what happened in 1207-1210? Maybe we should remember the information of Ibn al-Asir about the unrest in Georgia which followed the death of Tamar and assume that Lasha was not allowed to be enthroned. No particular military activity is seen from Georgians until a certain time, and attacks of Georgians on possessions of Ayubians were resumed only in 605 AH, 16.07.1208 – 5.07. 1209 and campaign was conducted to Archeshi and Khlata. The above events are reviewed by G. Japaridze in detail.

Returning to the numismatic data, which is decisive for clarification of the issue and is mentioned in the literature several times, fair and biased coins were minted in the period of Lasha Giorgi too. There is a controversy in the literature regarding the dating of a fair coin which is comparatively rare and has Georgian and Arabic inscriptions: "Ch. of the King Giorgi, son of Tamar, ruler of Javakhs" (read by N.

Berdzenishvili (Paghava, 2011, p. 297)) and in Arabic "the Supreme King, the beauty of the country and religion, Giorgi, son of Tamar, sword of the Messiah". N. Berdzenishvili did not have a definite answer to this question. The researcher reviewed various opportunities and supports the assumption that at the moment of minting the coin "Lasha was still a co-King" (Berdzenishvili, 1964, p. 145). According to D. Ninidze, mentioning only Giorgi on the coin means that at the time of the minting the coin, only Giorgi Lasha was on the throne. This happened after Tamar's death and that Giorgi's enthronement as the sole king in the southern region of Georgia was especially celebrated in this manner because king of Georgia "was particularly the Lord of the Javakhs here" (Ninidze, 2004, p. 23) Ir. Paghava studied the above-mentioned coin in detail and concluded that it was minted in the years of reign of Giorgi as the co-king (Paghava, 2011, p. 291-344). In his opinion, the likelihood of issuance of this coin after the death of Tamar is lower" (Paghava, 2011, p. 303).

We have many Lasha's biased coins dated by 1210 with (or sometimes without) Georgian and Persian inscriptions, in both cases dated by k'oronikon (430- 1210) without AH. It is assumed that this coin was minted for internal use (Kapanadze, 1950, p. 51).

There is one more unique fair coin minted in the name of Lasha Giorgi with the image of the crowned king, which was addressed by several researchers and recently and rather widely. It was covered by Maia Pataridze and Irakli Paghava (Pataridze, 2013, pp. 214-254.). In the opinion of the researchers, Lasha's coronation is depicted on the coin. The date is specified on the coin by k'oronikon which is read as 430, at the same time the Arabic and Arabian diagram date which is read as 606 AH (6.VII, 1209-24. VI 1210). Based on this date, G. Abdaladze considers that Tamar died in the first half of 1210 and her son, Lasha Giorgi was enthroned. Here one can recall that Giorgi III enthroned in 1156 issued coin in 1774, Tamar enthroned in 1184 just in 1187 minted coin. Thus, a coin minted in 1210 is not a reliable argument for clarifying the coronation date. However, this date is confirmed by the above-mentioned Haghbat inscription.

If Tamar died in 1207, how should we explain the gap until 1210? Do we have some additional arguments why the coin was not minted until 1210? Then, we should either agree with the assumption of Ts. Ghvaberidze that Tamar's coin was not minted in 1210 and the coins of 1187 are dated erroneously, or we should consider the opinion of all other researchers, including J. Odisheli who dates the death of Tamar in 1207 and those who date a part of coins minted in the name of Tamar by 1210. As J. Odisheli mentions in his research, he specially studied the coins of Queen Tamar dated 1210 and saved in the numismatic depositories of S. Janashia State Museum of

Georgia and concluded that the above coins were minted in the name of Tamar and dated by k'ronikon ul, i.e., 1210 (480+780) (Odisheli, 2010, p. 291).

Using the arguments provided, we may assume that Tamar did not mint the 1210 coin. It was minted after her death by others in her name during a confrontation between the two governmental groups to prevent Lasha Giorgi and his supporters from engaging in active governance.

The situation drastically changed very soon. The captivity of Ivane Mkhargrdzeli during the campaign to Khlat (1209-1210) became a heavy burden for the Georgian state (redemption in the amount of 100,000 (80,000 or 200,000) dinars, return of 2,000 or 5,000 captives, and 21 fortresses (Japaridze, 1995, p. 169). A wound received during the battle resulted in the death of Zakaria Mkhargrdzeli, according to the Armenian authors, Vardan, Stepanoz Orbeliani and the data of Armenian inscriptions, in 1212 (Araveltsi, 2002, p. 158, 233), or 1211 (Smbat Sparaspet) arranging the marriage of Ivane's daughter, Tamta to Avhad (the future life of Tamta was very hard) shook the power of the Mkhargrdzeli which was absolutely protected during the reign of Tamar and during the following years. Presumably, this allowed the supporters of Giorgi Lasha to enthrone him as a sole ruler and mint a coin in his name in 1210. However, despite everything, due to unstable conditions, they did not continue Tamar's reform during which a fair coin was minted in 1200 CE, and they continued the tradition of minting a biased coin again. And if this is the case, when must all of this have happened? As established by G. Japaridze, Ivane Mkhargrdzeli was taken captive in the month of 19 Rabi' as-San in 607 AH/10.X.1210; however, he mentions another date specified in Arabic sources – the month of 19 Rabi' as-San in 606, i.e., October 21, 1209, Wednesday (Japaridze), after which Lasha's supporters could freely act (G. Japaridze, pp. 168-169).

In 1975 a conference dedicated to N. Berdzenishvili was held in Javakhishvili Institute where the issue of the death of Tamar was discussed. Some scholars did not accept the date of 1207 supported by L. Tuchashvili, who also supposed that Lasha's coronation was postponed until 1210. This helped to create a myth about the "parental" care of Lasha Giorgi by Mkhargrdzelis and their panegyric (Proceedings, 1975, p. 164).

Thus, based on the reviewed material, it is established that:

- The enthronement of Lasha born in 1192-93 as the co-king began in 1205 after the death of his father, David Soslan;
- The Georgian campaign to Iran and struggle for Kars, which apparently stopped after the death of David, took place the same year;
- Kars was seized at the end of 1206 or at the beginning of 1207;

- Tamar died in 1207. This was followed by internal confrontation among the Georgians, between supporters of Lasha Giorgi and Mkhargrdzelis;
- Because of the unstable position of Lasha Giorgi and opposition of Mkhargrdzelis, the enthroning of Lasha for the second time, as well as the minting of the coin with his name as a sole king and ruler, was not possible till 1210.
- Considering all the evidence mentioned above, the conclusion made by Ts. Ghvaberidze concerning the mistake made on the coin of 1187 issued in 1210 seems the most convincing.

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