

Irakli Paghava
Merab Dzneladze
Irakli Topuridze

THE MONUMENTAL KŪFIC INSCRIPTION DATED SHA‘BĀN AH 147 (3-31 OCTOBER 764) FROM TIFLĪS AND ITS HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Summary

A monumental Kūfic inscription discovered during the archeological excavations in Tbilisi (ancient Tiflīs) in 2012 is re-published and discussed by the authors. The inscription was carved on a lengthy sandstone inserted horizontally into the ancient city wall at the Dighomi gate (107 / 34 cm; the inscription proper being 98.5 / 15.5 per cm). Only three bottom lines of the 6-line (?) inscription are legible. The authors read it almost entirely. The top line mentions his victory, while the bottom one comprises the date, which happens to be sha‘bān [AH] year 147 (3-31 October 764). The archeological context favours the idea that the quadra was of secondary use. Nevertheless, it indicates the Arab presence in Tiflīs already in AH 147, in contrast to al-Ṭabarī’s statement, that the Arabs regained the city only in AH 148, after the Khazar invaders had evacuated it. Moreover, this lapidary inscription refutes the hypothesis that the Arab administration was introduced in Georgia only in the 770s.

Key words: *Tiflis, Tiflis Emirate, Kufic epigraphy, lapidary inscriptions, Khazar-Arab wars*

Introduction

The Arab conquest of Georgia and other lands of Caucasus in the 2nd half of the 7th c. – early 8th c. profoundly affected the subsequent history of the region. The historiography of the period and area abounds with works covering various aspects of relations between the Arabs and local political entities and peoples. However, further research in this area is hampered by the dearth of (already extensively analyzed) data available in the narrative sources of Arab, Byzantine, Syriac, Georgian and Armenian origin. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence (i.e. the lapidary or fresco inscriptions, or coin legends; issuing and circulation of various coins in the area) constitutes the valuable additional primary source, remarkable for its reliability and potential for future discoveries.

One of the recent finds of note of this type has been the so called Arabic inscription of Tiflīs city wall, discovered in 2012, when the rehabilitation works on modern edifices revealed the relatively well preserved fortifications of the ancient Tiflīs.¹ An elongated rectangular sandstone inserted into the wall of one of the towers at the Dighomi Gate bore the lengthy and dated inscription in Kūfic script. We know two pioneer articles devoted to this remarkable epigraphic monument;² however, we read this inscription (particularly the

¹ მერაბ ძნელაძე, თბილისი, პუშკინის ქუჩაზე არსებული შენობა-ნაგებობების რეკონსტრუქციასთან დაკავშირებით ჩატარებული არქეოლოგიური სამეთვალყურეო სამუშაოების ანგარიში. [Merab Dzneladze, A Report on the Archeological Supervising Works Conducted in Relation with Reconstruction of the Edifices and Buildings on the Pushkin Street, Tbilisi. In Georgian], 2013.

<http://contest.procurement.gov.ge/files/5451ea4e36b6d.pdf> (ბოლოს ნანახია 2022 წლის 25 იანვარს); მერაბ ძნელაძე, "თბილისის ისტორიის ახალი ფურცლები უახლესი არქეოლოგიური აღმოჩენების შუქზე" [Dzneladze Merabi. "New Pages of Tbilisi History in View of the Most Recent Archeological Discoveries". In Georgian], *ისტორიული თბილისი – კულტურული ასპექტები* (თბილისი: ხელოვნების საერთაშორისო ცენტრი, 2013), 11-17; ნინო ჯაფარიძე, "ძველი გალავნის ახალი სიცოცხლე" [Nino Japaridze, "New Life of the Old Wall". In Georgian] *ისტორიანი*, 9 (2012), 13-16.

² Shebl Ebaid, Al-Araby Emara, "A Monumental Inscription on the Fences of Tbilisi – an Archeological and Historical Study", *მრავალთავი*, 24 (@2015), 304-310; გიორგი ნარიმანიშვილი, "ქართულ-არაბული ურთიერთობების ისტორიიდან: ჰიჯრის II საუკუნის (VIII-IX სს.) წარწერა თბილისიდან" [Giorgi Narimanishvili, "From the History of Georgian-Arabic Relations: Arabic Inscription of the 2nd Century of Hijra (8th-9th Cc. A.D.) from Tbilisi". In Georgian], *ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო*, X (2017), 338-344; Cf. ერეკლე ასტახიშვილი, ნატა ახმეტელი, გიორგი ნარიმანიშვილი, *ქართველები და გარე სამყარო. IV-X საუკუნეები* [Astakhishvili Erekle, Akhmeteli Nata,

date) differently. Moreover, its new dating provides additional information for historical analysis. **The goal** of the present short article is to review the Arabic Kūfic inscription from Tiflīs, date it and discuss its historical significance.

Archeological Context

Merab Dzneladze supervised the rehabilitation works on modern edifices on Pushkin Street of Tbilisi (ancient Tiflīs) in August-September of 2012; the supervising archeological excavation was conducted simultaneously. The works were supported by the Tbilisi Development Foundation.³ The results were as follows:⁴

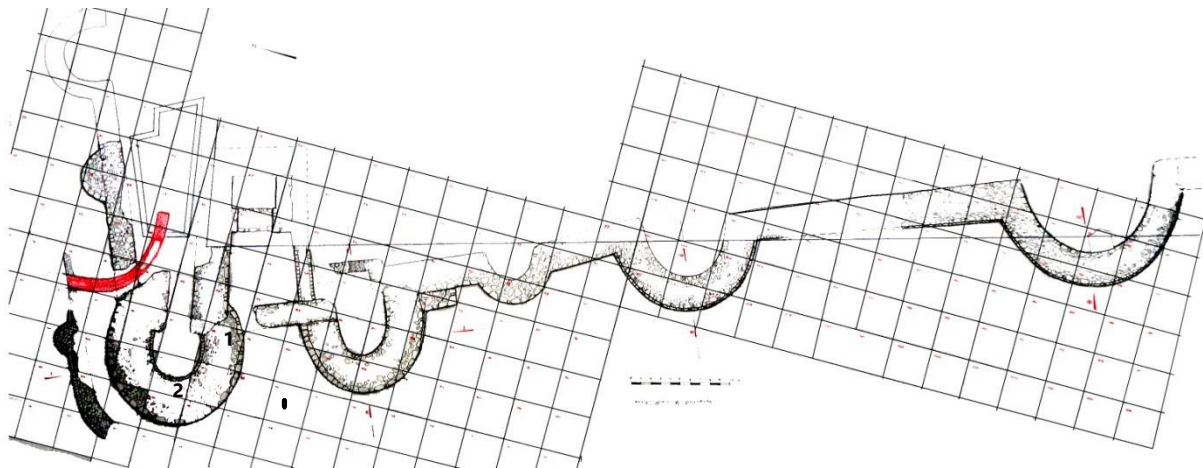


Fig. 1. Archeological plan of the excavation; 1 indicates the inscription; 2 indicates the quadra of secondary use

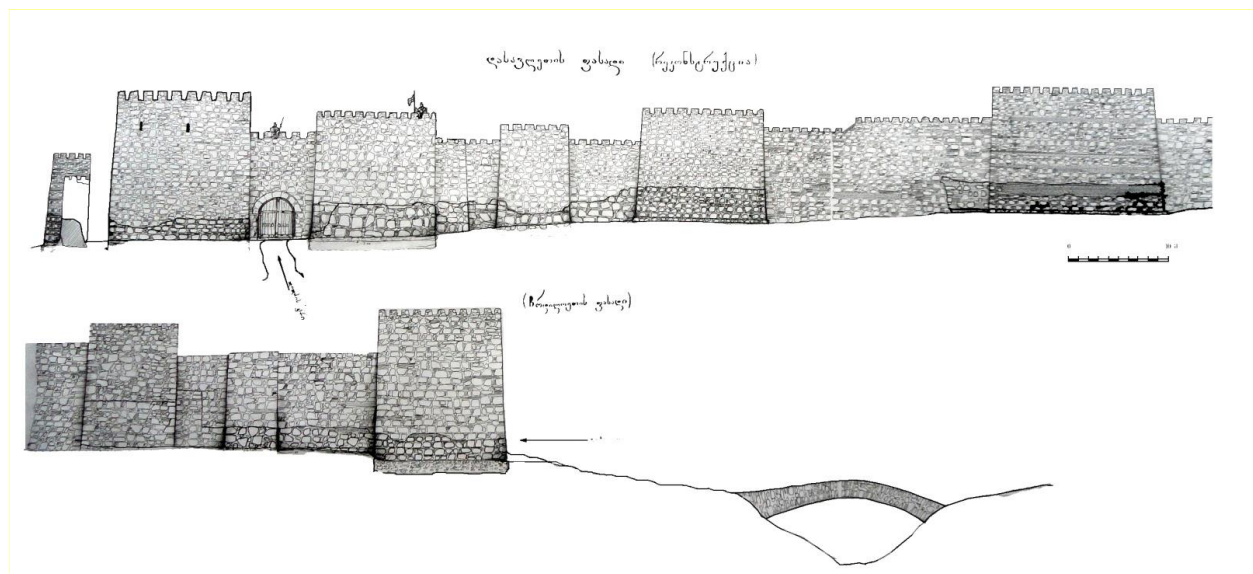


Fig. 2. Modern reconstruction of the city wall; western (above) and northern (below) views; the gate is indicated with an arrow

Narimanishvili Giorgi. *Georgians and the Outer World. The 4th-10th Centuries*. In Georgian] ([თბილისი:]შემოქმედი ანგელოზი, 2019), 319-322.

³ ძნელაძე, თბილისი, პუშკინის ქუჩაზე არსებული შენობა-ნაგებობების რეკონსტრუქციასთან დაკავშირებით ჩატარებული არქეოლოგიური სამეთვალყურეო სამუშაოების ანგარიში. [Dzneladze, A Report on the Archeological Supervising Works Conducted in Relation with Reconstruction of the Edifices and Buildings on the Pushkin Street, Tbilisi. In Georgian], 2.

⁴ Idem, 2-5.

The excavation revealed the 111 meter-long fragment of the city wall, including five towers of different dimensions (Figs. 1-2).

The first (leftmost) oval tower has the external dimension of 11.5-14 meters, whereas the internal one is equal to 4.6 meters. The average wall thickness is equal to approximately 4.5 meters. The tower was detected at the depth of 0.6 meters (on the east side) from the surface (modern pavement). The tower was cracked, seemingly having slid down to the rivulet.

The façade fragments of tower wall were constructed with rectangular sandstone blocks of varying size; some massive shingle type stones were also employed, particularly in the foundation. Flat bricks and their fragments were inserted to provide for the horizontality of the rows; on the inner side, some shapeless stones were used. “Georgian bricks” with dimensions of 24 X 24 X 5; 23 X 23 X 4,5; 22,5 X 23 X 4,5; 24 X 24 X 4; 23,5 X 23 X 4,5 cm form much of the tower wall on the inner side (at the upper level); at the lower level the brick dimensions are different: 34 X 34 X 5 cm. The mortar is the lime-stone one.

The tower was filled in with ground, stones, fragments of bricks dating to different epochs, livestock bones, as well as pottery fragments.

This tower connects with the city wall fragment on the northern side (modern Baratashvili Street) (there is a narrow passage). In about 12 meters in southern direction there is yet another tower.

The second tower is also more or less oval, and has the external dimension of approximately 12 meters, whereas the internal one is equal to 4.5 meters. The average wall thickness is equal to approximately 3-4 meters.

It was constructed with rectangular sandstone blocks of different size, as well as some massive shingle type stones and “Georgian bricks”. Space between the façade sides was filled in with stones of varying size. The bricks at upper level have the following dimensions: 23,5 X 23,4 X 4; 23 X 23,5 X 4; 23 X 23 X 23 X 5 cm. The mortar is the lime-stone one.

The tower was filled in with ground, stones, fragments of “Georgian bricks”, as well as pottery fragments, as in the case of the first tower.

The area between these two towers constituted the so called “Dighomi Gate”. The stone with the inscription in Kūfīc script was inserted into the outer wall of the first tower facing the entrance into the city through the gate from the left (Fig. 1). Previously we knew nothing about it; the inscription was revealed first during the excavations.

Inscription

The inscription (Fig. 3) was carved on a lengthy sandstone inserted into the wall horizontally, and having the following dimensions: 107 / 34 cm; the inscription proper is 15.5 per 98.5 cm (the horizontal dimensions of the word *Sha‘ban* is 23.3 cm). Only three bottom lines of the inscription are legible, to be read in the downward direction.



Fig. 3. General view of the inscription (Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)

Considering the contents of the last / bottom line, the inscriptions ends here on this very block. These three lines cover only the lower half of the stone; three more lines would have fit into the space left, and some traces of presumably Arabic graphemes can still be discerned there; we agree with Giorgi Narimanishvili, that

originally the inscription comprised six lines⁵ (the inscription theoretically could start on some other block originally placed above this one; however, this is relatively improbable). Anyway, only three bottom lines, i.e. the end of the inscription have survived. The block with this inscription was not removed from the wall and remained *in situ*. In 2019 it fell a victim to a vandal action; unknown criminal applied tar to it. Professional restorator managed to remove that substance; however, subsequently (perhaps, consequently), the state of preservation of this inscription deteriorated significantly. Currently, the graphemes are mostly still discernible, but the earlier photographs testify also to the ongoing erosion of the sandstone block.

The inscription is certainly Kūfic: horizontally extended rectilinear graphemes of some angularity.⁶ There are no diacritical marks whatsoever, which naturally interferes with reading the text - interpreting some of the words in Kūfic rasm (for instance, the *nasab* indicated in the middle row) becomes quite cumbersome.

The inscription was published for the first time in 2015.⁷ Shebl Ebaid and Al-Araby Emara provided a photograph of the inscription as well as its software edited visual interpretation (white outlining of the graphemes visible on the photograph *as interpreted by the authors*).⁸ They read all three bottom lines as follows:⁹

“ (قصره ؟) و (حصنه ؟) و حاميته و كوره و (حدها؟) ؟
 ... ؟ و كتبه سلام بن (حيان ؟) شهر
 شعبان سنة سبع و سبعين و مائة

*And (his palace?), (his fortress), his garrison, his locality and its borders
 It was written by Salaam bin (Hauan?) month
 Sha‘aban, year one hundred and seventy seven”*

Giorgi Narimanishvili published yet another article devoted to this inscription in 2017.¹⁰ He also provided the photograph of the inscription and general description thereof. Giorgi Narimanishvili read the two bottom lines entirely, except for the beginning of the middle line and the tens number word of the date; his reading of those two lines is somewhat different from the version published in 2015:¹¹

“كتب سلام بن حبان/حيان في؟
 ”شعبان سنة سبع و ..؟.. و مائة”
*wrote Sallam b. Habban/Hayyan in
 Sha ‘ban of the year one hundred ... seven*¹²

We proceed with our reading of the inscription (we have made and publish hereby a set of photographs focused on and thereby illustrating various fragments thereof; cf. Figs. 3-12). Working on site, including taking photographs and analyzing the text employing special illumination in the night time (i.e., relative darkness), and observing the inscription from various angles, made it possible to ascertain the text.

We confirm that the upper part of the inscription (the first three lines?) have been lost forever (a contour of **و** is perhaps visible in the upper right area). However, the last three lines for some reason have survived (we

⁵ ნარიმანიშვილი, "ქართულ-არაბული ურთიერთობების ისტორიიდან: ჰიჯრის II საუკუნის (VIII-IX სს.) წარწერა თბილისიდან" [Narimanishvili, "From the History of Georgian-Arabic Relations: Arabic Inscription of the 2nd Century of Hijra (8th-9th Cc. A.D.) from Tbilisi". In Georgian], 338.

⁶ Вера Крачковская, "Памятники арабского письма в Средней Азии и Закавказье до IX в." [Krachkovskaya Vera. "The Monuments of Arab Writing in Middle Asia and Transcaucasia before the 9th C."]. In Russian, *Эпиграфика Востока*, Т. 6 (1952), 82-83.

⁷ Ebaid, Emara, "A Monumental Inscription on the Fences of Tbilisi – an Archeological and Historical Study", 304-310.

⁸ Idem, 306, 309.

⁹ Idem, 305.

¹⁰ ნარიმანიშვილი, "ქართულ-არაბული ურთიერთობების ისტორიიდან: ჰიჯრის II საუკუნის (VIII-IX სს.) წარწერა თბილისიდან" [Narimanishvili, "From the History of Georgian-Arabic Relations: Arabic Inscription of the 2nd Century of Hijra (8th-9th Cc. A.D.) from Tbilisi". In Georgian], 338-344.

¹¹ Idem, 338-339, 344.

¹² Original text in Georgian (Idem, 339):

დაწერა სალლამ ბნუ ჰაბბანმა/ჰაიიანმა
 ას ... შვიდი/ჩვიდმეტი წლის მა'ბანში"

will refer to them as *the first, the second and the third*). Could the upper (three?) lines be erased on purpose (*damnatio memoriae*)? We would provide our interpretation of the surviving text.

The beginning of the first line has been lost, so the first word we can read is the connecting particle **و** (*and*). The following word, according to the Arab colleagues,¹³ is **حاميته**, i.e. *his-garrison*; however, the first grapheme rather resembles Kūfīc **ء** or **غ**; (compare with **حيان** in the second line) nevertheless, we have to admit that, **عاميته** or **غاميته** does not make much sense; for the moment we leave the reading **حاميته** but only as a provisory one (Figs. 4-5). Then there is the connecting particle **و** (*and*) again. The following word is clearly **نصره**, i.e. *his-victory* (Figs. 5-6). It is followed by one more connecting particle **و** (*and*). As to the last word, we consider it to be broken and distributed into two lines: the first line ends with **-دفا**, while the second line starts with **عه-**, making **دفاعه**, i.e. *his-protector* (Figs. 6-7).¹⁴

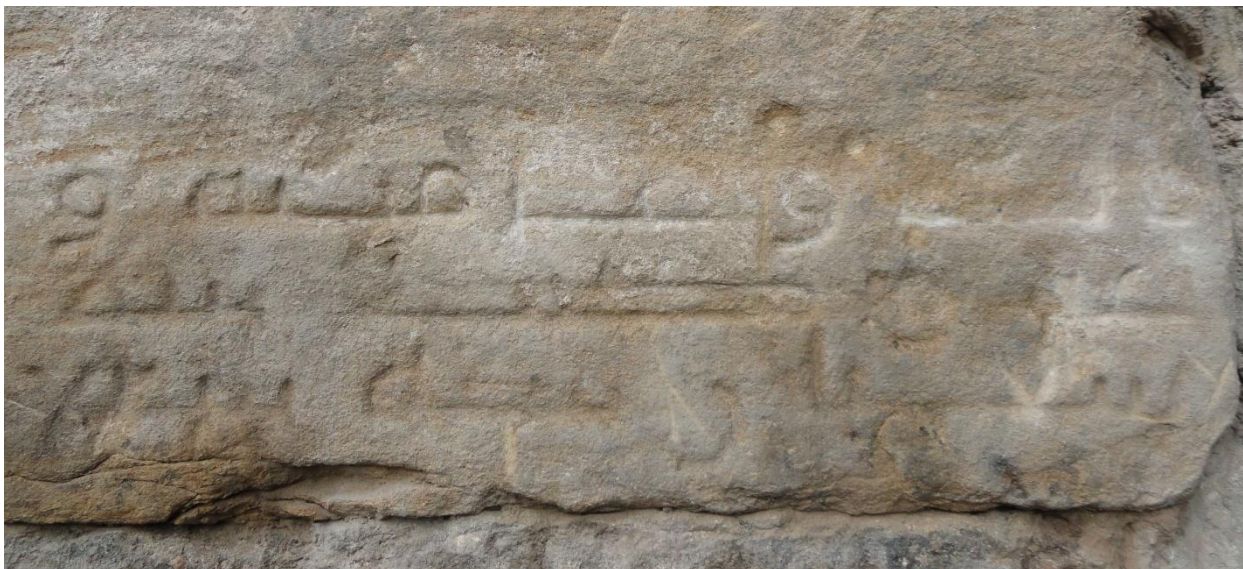


Fig. 4. ... **و (غ/ء/حاميته ۹۹۹)** fragment of the first line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)



Fig. 5. ... **و (غ/ء/حاميته ۹۹۹) و نصره** fragment of the first line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)

¹³ Ebaid, Emara, “A Monumental Inscription on the Fences of Tbilisi – an Archeological and Historical Study”, 306.

¹⁴ Remarkably all three nouns mentioned end with the masculine singular possessive suffix **ე**; *inter alia*, this almost excludes the possibility of the geographical proper name, as their majority is of feminine gender (with only rare exceptions).



Fig. 6. - و نصره و دفا- fragment of the first line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)



Fig. 7. -عه- fragment of the second line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)

The remaining fragment of the second line text is much easier to read. There is the connecting particle *و* (*and*) (after the *عه*-). Then, we agree with Giorgi Narimanishvili, there is clearly *كتب*, i.e. *wrote*, not *كتبه*, i.e. *has written* (Figs. 3-5, 8, 10-11); at least two Kūfīc inscriptions from Armenia, constituting relatively close analogue, have this very word in this form.¹⁵ The *ism* of the person indicated in the inscription is clearly *Salām*, but without diacritical dots, *Salām*'s *nasab* could be either one of three options (some of them already listed by the colleagues (*vide supra*); we add one more option): *Ḥayyān* (حيان), *Ḥabbān* (حبان), or *Ḥabbāb* (حباب) (Figs. 3, 8-10). The final word in the second line, as already indicated by Giorgi Narimanishvili, is certainly *in* (في), not *month* (شهر) (Figs. 6, 9); two inscriptions from Armenia as well as the one from Derbend (albeit with no month indicated) also comprise the date formula with this preposition.¹⁶

¹⁵ Александр Хачатрян, *Корпус арабских надписей Армении. VIII-XVI вв. Выпуск I*. [Khachatryan Aleksandr. *The Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions of Armenia. The 8th-16th Cc. Issue I*. In Russian] (Ереван: Издательство АН Армянской ССР, 1987), #6(1), 47-48, таблица IV; #7(2), 48-49, таблица V.

¹⁶ Ibid.; Муртазали Гаджиев, А. Шихсаидов, “Сведения Дербенд-наме о Харун ар-Рашиде и новооткрытая официальная арабская надпись 176 г. Хиджры”, [Murtazali Gajiyev, A. Shikhsaidov, “The Data of Derbend-Nameh on Harun al-Rashid and the Recently Discovered Arabic Inscription of the 176 year of Hijrah”], *Древности Кавказа и Ближнего Востока. Сборник статей посвященных 70-летию со дня рождения профессора М.Г. Гаджиева* (Махачкала: Эпоха, 2005), 196-202.

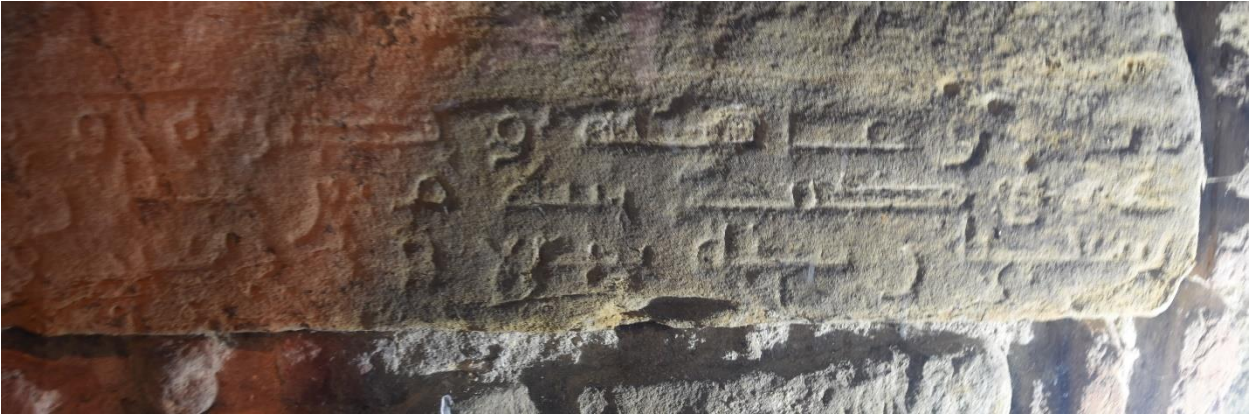


Fig. 8. كتب سلام بن حبان/حيان/حباب fragment of the second line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)

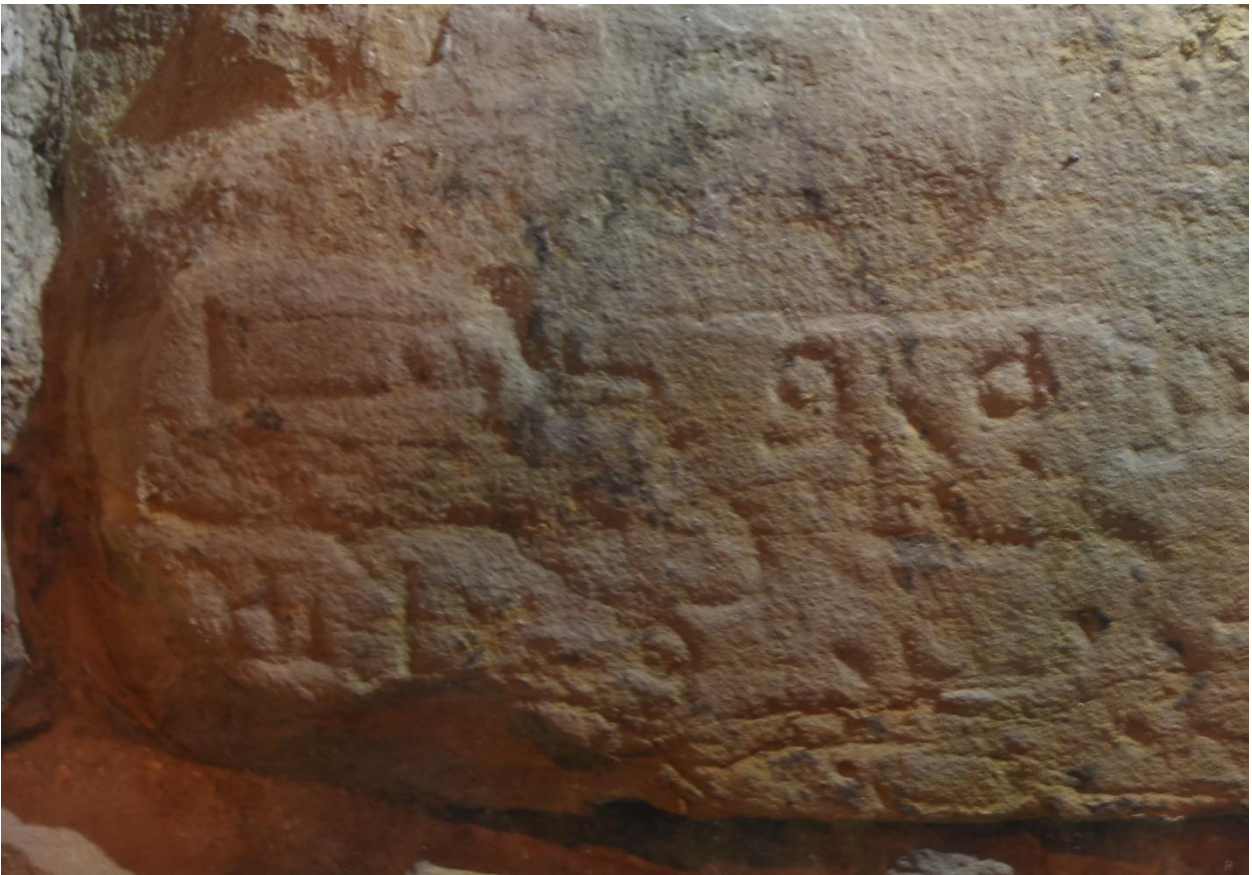


Fig. 9. حبان/حيان/حباب في fragment of the second line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)

The third, bottom line, comprises the date. Along with the final word of the middle line, it constitutes the formula dating the inscription, and clearly reads (Figs. 3-4, 7-12)

..... في
شعبان سنة سبع و ..؟.. و مائة
..... in
Sha 'bān, year seven and ..?.. and one-hundred

i.e. Sha‘bān, AH 1x7); there is clearly some space allocated to the tens number word of the date (i.e. the date verily cannot be 100+7, i.e. 107, as already noted by Giorgi Narimanishvili), but the graphemes are relatively effaced here and this word is harder to read (there is clearly ٧ to the left of the tens number word¹⁷). Shebl Ebaid and Al-Araby Emara read the tens of the date as “seventy”, and therefore dated the inscription as Sha‘bān AH 177 (11.XI-9.XII/793).¹⁸ Giorgi Narimanishvili abstained from reading the tens number word of the date, and considered the following variants possible: Sha‘bān of either one of AH 117 (26.VIII-23.IX/735), 127 (8.V-5.VI/745), 137 (20.I-17.II/755), 147 (3.X-31.X/764), 157 (16.VI-14.VII/774), 167 (28.II-27.III/784), 177 (11.XI-9.XII/793), 187 (25.VII-28.VIII/803), 197 (7.IV-5.V/813).¹⁹ The sign installed at the wall next to inscription reads “Arabic inscription VIII century (II century Hijri calendar)” (which would be wrong if the date were AH 197).



Fig. 10. شعبان سنة سبع و اربعين و مائة, i.e. the third line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)



Fig. 11. شعبان سنة سبع fragment of the third line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)

Having an opportunity to study the inscription *de visu* from a close distance, and employing special illumination, we managed to read the word designating the tens number word of the date.

¹⁷ Which rules out the reading 407; we appreciate Grigol Beradze’s commenting on the possible alternative reading of the date.

¹⁸ The authors attributed the inscription to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when “Tbilisi had witnessed a lot of stability and security. That was a natural outcome of the good treatment of its governors for both Muslim and Christian Tbilisi people. Such stability lasted up till 180 H./796 A.D. and that paved the way for the renewal of Tbilisi fences in 177 H.”. Ebaid, Emara, “A Monumental Inscription on the Fences of Tbilisi – an Archeological and Historical Study”, 305-307.

¹⁹ The author considered the AH 117 (Marwan b. Muḥammad’s activities) and 157 (Arabs re-fortifying Tiflis after the Khazar invasion) versions to be more plausible. ნარიმანიშვილი, "ქართულ-არაბული ურთიერთობების ისტორიიდან: ჰიჯრის II საუკუნის (VIII-IX სს.) წარწერა თბილისიდან" [Narimanishvili, “From the History of Georgian-Arabic Relations: Arabic Inscription of the 2nd Century of Hijra (8th-9th Cc. A.D.) from Tbilisi”. In Georgian], 340-342.



Fig. 12. اربعين و مائة fragment of the third line
(Photograph by Irakli Paghava and Tamaz Gogoladze)

There is the clear *ين*-ending which rules out *عشر*, i.e. *ten* (*twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, and ninety* all are possible). To the right of that standard *ين*-ending there is clearly an ‘*ayn* in its medial form, open from above as typical for the Kūfic writing (Figs. 3, 5-6, 8, 10, 12). Therefore the tens number word should be either one of only three options (the other six, including *ten*, comprise no ‘*ayn*):

- forty = اربعين
- seventy = سبعين
- ninety = تسعين

We noticed that the graphic element to the right of ‘*ayn* protruding upwards terminates right there having no horizontal line rightwards; that clearly ruled out both *سبعين* and *تسعين*. Moreover, careful examination of the stone revealed both *rā’* and ‘*alif* to the right of *بعين* complex of graphemes (*rā’* is to the left from the *nūn* of *بن* protruding downwards from the line above, while ‘*alif* is to the right) (Fig. 3, 5-6, 8, 10, 12). Therefore, the tens number word is certainly *اربعين* (*forty*).²⁰

Thuswise, we have established, that this dated inscription was engraved on this quadra in Sha‘bān of AH 147, i.e. in the time period of 3-31 of October 764.

We read the inscription as follows:

... ..

 ... و (حاميته ؟؟؟) و نصره و دفا-
 -عه و كتب سلام بن حبان/احيان/احباب في
 شعبان سنة سبع و اربعين و مائة
*his [garrison ???] and his victory and his protector
 and wrote Salām ibn Hayyān/Habbān/Habbāb in
 Sha‘bān year seven and forty and one-hundred*

The historical significance of the Kūfic inscription from Tiflīs with ascertained date (Sha‘bān AH 147) is multifold (*vide infra*).

Archeological Implications

It would be appropriate to discuss the archeological context of the inscription. Consequently, we might have an opportunity to clarify some aspects of Muslim construction works and cultural aspirations in the occupied Tiflīs.

²⁰ The Arab colleagues also considered this option, but eventually read the tens number word as *seventy* based on presumption that in the 760s Tiflīs was occupied by Georgians. They referred to a general book on Georgian history published in 2007. However, it is not quite clear, what made them presume Tiflīs was not controlled by Arabs before AH 177. Ebaid, Emara, “A Monumental Inscription on the Fences of Tbilisi – an Archeological and Historical Study”, 307; Valeri Silogava, Kakha Shengelia, *History of Georgia from the Ancient Times through the “Rose Revolution”* (Tbilisi: Caucasus University, 2007), 59-61.

It is of foremost significance, whether this sandstone quadra *with* inscription is of primary, secondary, or tertiary origin: 1) Was this stone *with carved inscription* inserted in the wall and did it remain there *in situ* incessantly thereafter? 2) Was this block *with carved inscription* removed from some other location? 3) Or, was it removed from elsewhere and the inscription was carved into it *after that*?



Fig. 13. Secondary use of a block (Photograph by Irakli Paghava)

We consider this stone could not be of primary use:

- Yet another slab of identical sandstone, but clearly hewn, can be seen on the inner façade of the first tower (Figs. 1, 13). Evidently, this quadra is of secondary use, as understandably there was no point in hewing the blocks intended for the wall;
- Moreover, the layers of “Georgian brick” above the block with inscription, as well as at its sides and even below, have the dimensions of 24 X 24 X 5; 23 X 23 X 4,5; 22,5 X 23 X 4,5; 24 X 24 X 4; 23,5 X 23 X 4,5 cm; only at the lower level the bricks are bigger: 34 X 34 X 5 cm. According to Jamlet Jghamaia’s chronological classification of Georgian construction ceramics, the standard of brick dimensions was modified over the time (Table 1):²¹

Time Period		Brick dimensions
“Early feudal period”		26-40 X 25-34 X 5-7
“Mid-feudal period”		24-31 X 24-29 X 4-5
“Late-feudal Period”:	16 th century	19-24 X 19-24 X 3-4
	17 th century	19-23 X 19-23 X 3-4
	18 th century	21-23 X 21-23 X 3

Table 1. Evolution of Georgian brick dimensions, according to H. Jghamaia

The trend is evident: the earlier, the bigger are the bricks. Taking this into account, it becomes clear, that the block with Kūfic inscription, being surrounded by the bricks dating from the late-feudal period (perhaps the early late-feudal period?) could not be placed there in the 8th century when the inscription was carved (As to the bricks in the foundation of the first tower, they are much bigger, and can be dated to early-feudal period, perhaps even to the epoch of Arab dominance in Tiflis).

Both arguments indicate, that the block with inscription is of secondary origin (naturally it can not be of tertiary origin either: the 8th century inscription could not be carved on a stone *after* it had been placed into a wall much later than that).

²¹ ჯამლეტ ჯღამაია, სამშენებლო კერამიკა ფეოდალური ხანის საქართველოში [Jghamaia Jamlet. *Construction Ceramics in the Feudal Georgia*. In Georgian] (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1980), 66-89, განსაკუთრებით, 88-89.

Evidently, at some point in the (early) late-feudal period the Tiflīs was refortified; blocks from some earlier, presumably decrepit building or its debris were removed and employed to reinforce or rebuild the city wall; including the one *with carved inscription*.

We have no indication where was located the original edifice. Considering the transportation-related expenses, and the presumable accessibility of stone in the area, one could conjecture, that the block with inscription was originally making a wall of some building nearby, perhaps even of some fortification, and not far from where this inscription was discovered in 2012. However, this is just a hypothesis. Theoretically, those sandstone slabs could form and be transported from any nearby or faraway structure.

This conclusion has some significant implications. It is clear, that the inscription can be designated as the *Dighomi Gate* or *Tiflīs City Wall Inscription* only conventionally. Neither *current* location of the inscription, nor its contents are compatible with either of these two terms: *Victory* is truly mentioned, but the glorifying inscription could be carved anywhere, in any public place (but *in Tiflīs*, as it would be too far-fetched to conjecture the transportation of the heavy blocks from afar).

*

It seems to be remarkable, that while re-employing the available quadrae, the one with Kūfic inscription was inserted *hirozontally* (admittedly, more logical way for constructing or fixing the wall), and with the inscription *outwards* as well as *right-side up*, and in a very distinctive location, *right at one of the principal gates of the city*. Instinctively, an idea arises, that this was done *intentionally*.

We would conjecture, that at some point in the late-feudal period, probably in the 16th-17th centuries, when Tiflīs was controlled by Muslim conquerors again, either Ottomans or Qizilbash, they intentionally *re-exhibited* the quadra with revered Kūfic inscription while simultaneously reinforcing the wall. If true, this would be a remarkable case of revitalizing the esteemed cultural vestige of the past in the late medieval / modern age Georgia.

Epigraphy

The AH 147 inscription from Tiflīs constitutes a noteworthy early monument of Arabic epigraphy in the Islamic period, in the North of the Caliphate. It turns out to be even one of the earliest monuments thereof in the region of Caucasus. The earliest Arabic inscription in the region that we are aware of, is the Tiflīs milestone, which dates back to the early 8th century.²² Evidently, the inscription we are reviewing is the second most ancient one. As to the Kūfic inscriptions discovered in Armenia or in Derbend area, they are more or less younger: AH 154 (770/1) inscription from Zvartnots, AH 171 (787/8) inscription from Bagavan; AH 257 (not 159!) inscription also from Zvartnots,²³ AH 176 (792/3) inscription from Derbend.²⁴

As to the so called AH 195 (810/1) inscription from Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) we share Leonid Lavrov's scepticism with regard to reliability of reading a date on an inscription of which we have only an ambiguous drawing (providing an opportunity for alternative interpretation of the date as well; for instance, Yevgeniy Pakhomov read the date as AH 145, i.e. quite differently).²⁵

²² ირაკლი ფაღავა, "სახალიფოს ადმინისტრაციული ერთეულის – "თბილისის საამიროს" დაარსება არანარატიული წყაროების მიხედვით (ადრეულ-არაბული მონეტები და ლაპიდარული წარწერები საქართველოდან)" [Irakli Paghava, "Founding the "Tiflīs Emirate", Administrative Unit of the Caliphate, According to Non-Narrative Sources (Early Arab Coins and Lapidary Inscriptions from Georgia)". In Georgian], *ქრონოსი*, 3 (2022), 120.

²³ Хачатрян, *Корпус арабских надписей Армении. VIII-XVI вв. Выпуск I*. [Khachatryan Aleksandr. *The Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions of Armenia. The 8th-16th Cc. Issue I*. In Russian], #6(1), 47-48, таблица IV; #7(2), 48-49, таблица V; #52(1), 65.

²⁴ Гаджиев, Шихсаидов, "Сведения *Дербенд-наме* о Харун ар-Рашиде и новооткрытая официальная арабская надпись 176 г. Хиджры", [Murtazali Gajiyev, A. Shikhsaidov, "The Data of Derbend-Nameh on Harun al-Rashid and the Recently Discovered Arabic Inscription of the 176 year of Hijrah"], 196-202.

²⁵ Леонид Лавров, (Тексты, переводы, комментарии, введение и приложения Л.И. Лаврова), *Эпиграфические памятники Северного Кавказа на арабском, персидском и турецком языках, часть I, надписи X-XVII вв.* [Lavrov Leonid. *The Epigraphic Monuments of North Caucasus in Arabic, Persian and Turkish Languages, Part 1, the Inscriptions of the 10th-17th Cc.* In Russian] (Москва: Наука, 1966), 66, 268, #22a. Cf. Sheila Blair, *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana* (Brill, 1991), 17-19; Ebaid, Emara, "A Monumental Inscription on the Fences of Tbilisi – an Archeological and Historical Study", 306.

The calligraphic style of the Tiflīs city wall inscription is remarkable. For some reason, the early Arabic inscriptions in Armenia were written in simple, angular Kūfī, with no cursive elements.²⁶ Perhaps this is understandable, considering that despite the more or less “monumental text”, in terms of technique, they constitute mere graffiti. This inscription from Tiflīs, Georgia is different. The peculiarities of the script employed on this new Tiflīs stone are remarkable. Despite being essentially Kūfīc, simultaneously, and interestingly enough, the inscription exhibits some cursive elements as well: the inscription is extended horizontally, the graphemes even within the same word, including ‘alif, are separated by conspicuous spaces;²⁷ presumably, the monumental lettering also in this case was influenced by manuscript cursive writing.²⁸ It is noteworthy that in contrast to “Armenian” inscriptions, at least two of which (from Zvartnots) were scratched on the wall plaster, this “Georgian” one was engraved in the stone. In contrast to embedded Tiflīs inscription, the one from Bāb al-Abwāb was carved in high relief, and is seemingly less cursive.

Identity of Salām ibn Ḥayyān/Ḥabbān/Ḥabbāb

The AH 147 inscription from Tiflīs is also quite valuable as it expands the prosopography of Arabs active in medieval Georgia: it names certain person, *Salām ibn Ḥayyān/Ḥabbān/Ḥabbāb*, who was operating in Tiflīs at least in this year. Who was he? Just an artisan, who engraved the inscription on the stone (and the name of the commissioner of this inscription was in the lost lines)? Or, some local Arab ruler or official, or military commander in charge then and there? Giorgi Narimanishvili considered him to be the craftsman who cut the inscription into the stone.²⁹ Hopefully, the same person would surface in some other source as well.

Political-Military History

This inscription also constitutes a significant primary source of information on the Arab period of history of Georgia and the whole region of Caucasus, particularly due to the established precise date of its creation.

The fact of the matter is that AH 147 is certainly not an ordinary year, but a time period when the military conflict between the ‘Abbasid Caliphate and the Khazar Khaqanate perhaps reached its acme. Irakli Paghava and Severiane Turkia have already reviewed the military and political proceedings in the ‘Abbasid North in the late AH 140s – 150s in another article, devoted to the previously unknown ‘Abbasid mintname *Jurzān*, i.e. Georgia.³⁰ It would not be unreasonable to outline the general chronology of events in this work too, in order to place the Tiflīs inscription of Sh‘abān AH 147 in proper historical context.

The warfare between the Arabs and the Khazars resumed in AH 145 (1/IV/762-20/III/763), as indicated by al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, Michael the Syrian, Agapius of Manbij, Theophanes the Confessor:³¹ Al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr date this event to AH 145; Mihael the Syrian - with year 1074 of the Seleucid era (corresponds to 763)³²; Agapius - with the “year 9 of Abdallah-al-Mansour”, i.e. 762 or 763; Theophanes the Confessor dates it with Annus mundi 6255, i.e. September 1 of 763 – August 31 of 764. We consider al-Ṭabarī to be the most reliable source and date the conflict with AH 145; late spring – autumn of 762 period (but not the first three months of 763) are seemingly the most verisimilar period for the warfare traversing the Greater Caucasus.

²⁶ Хачатрян, *Корпус арабских надписей Армении. VIII-XVI вв. Выпуск I*. [Khachatryan Aleksandr. *The Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions of Armenia. The 8th-16th Cc. Issue I*. In Russian], #6(1), 47-48, таблица IV; #7(2), 48-49, таблица V.

²⁷ Крачковская, “Памятники арабского письма в Средней Азии и Закавказье до IX в.” [Krachkovskaya Vera. “The Monuments of Arab Writing in Middle Asia and Transcaucasia before the 9th C.”. In Russian], 83, 87.

²⁸ Idem, 100.

²⁹ ნარიმანიშვილი, “ქართულ-არაბული ურთიერთობების ისტორიიდან: ჰიჯრის II საუკუნის (VIII-IX სს.) წარწერა თბილისიდან” [Narimanishvili, “From the History of Georgian-Arabic Relations: Arabic Inscription of the 2nd Century of Hijra (8th-9th Cc. A.D.) from Tbilisi”. In Georgian], 340.

³⁰ Irakli Paghava, Severiane Turkia, “New Mintname “Georgia” (“Jurzān”): Researching the History of Georgia and the ‘Abbasid North in the 8th-9th Centuries”, *The Ukrainian Numismatic Annual*, Issue 5 (2021), 228-258.

³¹ Al-Ṭabarī, XXVIII, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated --Translation. Volume XXVIII. ‘Abbasid Authority Affirmed. The Early Years of Al-Manṣūr. A.D. 753-763/A.H. 136-145*. Translated and annotated by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (State University of New York, 1995), 292; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite D’Antioche (1166-1199). Éditée pour la première fois et traduite en français par J.-B. Chabot. Tome II* (Ernest Leroux, 1901), 522, 539; Agapius, *Universal History. Part. 2. Translated by Alexander Vasiliev* (1909); Theophanes the Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes. An English translation of Anni mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813), with introduction and notes, by Harry Turtledove* (University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 122-123.

³² “Les Khazares firent une incursion et s’emparerent de 50 mille hommes des Gourzaye.” *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite D’Antioche (1166-1199). Éditée pour la première fois et traduite en français par J.-B. Chabot. Tome II*, 522, 539. Does the term designate Georgians, the Gurz?

The Caliph resorted to securing his Caucasian dominions by making a piece treaty with the Khazars. Al-Kūfi narrates, that al-Manşūr urged Yazīd b. Usayd, his local governor, to evade the new invasion by establishing a marital alliance with the Khazars; having paid the bride price, Yazīd married the daughter of Khazar khaqan; The marriage was consummated, but reportedly lasted for two years and four months;³³ the Khazar princess gave birth to two sons, but all three of them eventually died (Ал-Куфи, 1981). Al-Balādhurī provides no exact date but confirms the story (however, he mentions just one child).³⁴ We consider that the marriage was initiated right after the AH 145 (1/IV/762-20/III/763) invasion, as the Khazars attacked again in AH 147 (10/III/764-26/II/765) (*vide infra*), and the peace interval secured by marriage lasted for approximately two years (or even less), which more or less corresponds to two years and four months of al-Kūfi, and even better to the time period sufficient to organize the marriage and for the newly wed wife to give birth to *one* child.

According to al-Kūfi, the Khazars resumed the war after the death of their princess; they attacked from Bāb al-Abwāb again; and Yazīd b. Usayd, with an army of 7,000 could not defend the ‘Abbāsīd North; he had to apply for help to al-Manşūr, who dispatched the reinforcements from Syria and Iraq. Nevertheless, eventually, when Yazīd b. Usayd crossed the Kur (Mt’k’vari) river and entered Shirwān, he was defeated by the Khazar army.³⁵ Ghewond narrates the same story of the marriage, the death of the Khazar princess, and of the punitive Khazar attack led by certain Razhu Tarkhan, ravaging various areas in Armenia and Georgia.³⁶ Al-Ya‘qūbī confirms that “The Khazars grew active in the region of Armenia and fell upon Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī. He wrote to Abū Ja‘far to inform him that Rās Ṭarkhān, the king of the Khazars, had marched toward him with a huge force and that his second in command had been defeated.”³⁷ The date for this invasion is indicated by al-Ṭabarī, who lists “the attack by Istarkhān al-Khwārazmī with a body of Turks on the Muslims in the area of Armenia and his taking of many of the Muslims and the ahl al-dhimma prisoner, their entry into Tiflīs”; al-Ṭabarī narrates the story under the year of AH 147 (10/III/764-26/II/765).³⁸ The date is seemingly confirmed by Theophanes the Confessor who (without naming the Khazar military leader) also dates the second Khazar invasion *Annus mundi 6256* (i.e., *September 1, 764 – August 31, 765*).³⁹ We consider it is safe to date the invasion of Rās Ṭarkhān⁴⁰ to the late spring – autumn of 764 period.

The Khazars defeated also the reinforcements dispatched by the Caliph; according to al-Ṭabarī: “When Abū Ja‘far heard about the gathering of the Turks in those areas, he sent Jibra‘īl b. Yaḥyā to fight them, and he wrote to Ḥarb ordering him to go with him. He went with him, and Ḥarb was killed and Jibra‘īl was put to flight, and those Muslims whom I have mentioned were killed”;⁴¹ according to al-Ya‘qūbī: “Abū Ja‘far sent Jibrīl b. Yaḥyā al-Bajālī to him at the head of twenty thousand men from Syria, the Jazīra, and Mosul. He fought the Khazars, but a number of Muslims were killed, and Jibrīl and Yazīd b. Usayd, defeated, retreated to Khirs”.⁴²

We consider that this campaign was conducted mainly in **late spring – autumn of 764**, and military operations terminated before the winter months of 764-765.

³³ Which does not fit the period between late autumn of 762 (the aftermath of the first Khazar invasion) and late spring – autumn of 764 (when the Khazars again invaded the ‘Abbāsīd North).

³⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān. A Translation from the Arabic Accompanied with Annotations, Geographical and Historic Notes* by Philip Khūri Hitti (1916), 329.

³⁵ Ал-Куфи, *Абу Мухаммад Ахмад ибн А‘сам ал-Куфи. Книга завоеваний. Часть II* [Al-Kufi. *Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn A‘sam al-Kufi. The Book of Conquests. Part II*]. Перевод З. Буниятова (Баку, 1981).

³⁶ Гевонд, *История халифов Варданета Гевонда, писателя VIII века* [Ghevond. *The History of the Caliphs by Vardapet Ghevond, Writer of the 8th Century*], Перевод с армянского К. Патканьяна (1862), 92-93.

³⁷ al-Ya‘qūbī, *The Works of Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya‘qūbī. An English Translation. Volume 3*. Edited by Matthew S. Gordon, Chase F. Robinson, Everett K. Rowson, Michael Fishbein (Brill, 2018), 1105-1106.

³⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, XXIX, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation. Volume XXVIII. Al-Manşūr and al-Mahdī. A.D. 763-786/A.H. 146-169*. Translated and annotated by Hugh Kennedy (State University of New York, 1990), 14.

³⁹ Theophanes the Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes. An English translation of Anni mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813), with introduction and notes, by Harry Turtledove*, 124.

⁴⁰ On the identity and name / title of this person cf. ბენიამინ სილაგაძე, *არაბთა ბატონობა საქართველოში (არაბული ცნობების მიხედვით)*. [Silagadze B. *The Arab Sway in Georgia (According to Arab Sources)*. In Georgian] (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1991), 116-123.

⁴¹ Al-Ṭabarī, XXIX, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation. Volume XXVIII. Al-Manşūr and al-Mahdī. A.D. 763-786/A.H. 146-169*. Translated and annotated by Hugh Kennedy, 14-15.

⁴² al-Ya‘qūbī, *The Works of Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya‘qūbī. An English Translation. Volume 3*. Edited by Matthew S. Gordon, Chase F. Robinson, Everett K. Rowson, Michael Fishbein, 1106.

According to the written sources, the campaign of 764 / AH 147 ended in Arab defeat; the Khazars ravaged the northern provinces of the caliphate; *inter alia*, they captured Tiflīs.

The Caliph could not be reconciled with the defeat and loosing the ‘Abbāsīd North, and dispatched a new army led by Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba (who, according to al-Kūfī⁴³ fought in Caucasus already in AH 147); however, the Khazars had already retreated, including from Georgia and Tiflīs, which perhaps indicates they had no intention to *conquer* the region. According to al-Ṭabarī that happened in **AH 148** (27/II/765-15/II/766), i.e., presumably, in **765 (before the winter of 1765/6)**: “In this year [AH 148] Al-Manṣūr sent Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba to Armenia to make war on the Turks who had killed Ḥarb b. ‘Abdallāh and ravaged Tiflīs. Ḥumayd went to Armenia and found that they had gone, so he left without meeting a single one of them.”⁴⁴

Al-Ya‘qūbī provides no exact date, however, the narrative makes it clear he refers to the same period and events; i.e. his story can be dated 765 and the following years; Al-Ya‘qūbī puts an emphasis on the caliphal efforts to create locally a network of defensive fortifications designed to facilitate the defense from future Khazar invasions: “When word reached Abū Ja‘far of what had befallen the Muslims, the success of the Khazars, and their entry into the lands of Islam, he released seven thousand imprisoned men and sent word to gather large forces of men from each province, and he sent them off, along with laborers and masons. He built the towns of ... towns that he intended as bulwarks for the Muslims, and he settled the fighters in the towns. They repelled the enemy; the enemy fighters fought them, but the Muslims gained strength because of those towns, and so he lived in tranquillity.”⁴⁵ Al-Kūfī also reports that al-Manṣūr accepted Yazīd’s plan to reinforce the defences of Bāb al-Abwāb and the latter did fortify Bāb al-Abwāb (the names of the gates / forts coincide to an extent with the toponyms indicated by Al-Ya‘qūbī), and garrisoned it.⁴⁶ *Inter alia*, it was probably Yazīd b. Usayd who founded *al-Yazīdyah* as one more Arab outpost in the area; we know the AH 149 and 150 fulūs from this mint. Irakli Paghava and Severiane Turkia have also discovered the AH 152 fals minted by Arabs in Georgia (bearing *Jurzān* mintname); thereby the authors proved that in 14/I/769-3/I/770 Tiflīs (and presumably its vicinities) were controlled by the Arabs. It is no coincidence, that minting of the ‘Abbāsīd coppers in the region clearly intensified in the decade and a half after Rās Ṭarkhān’s invasion of AH 147 / 764; this phenomenon probably reflects the mass-scale Arab military presence and related economic activities.⁴⁷ Georgian chronicle perhaps also reflected the Arab efforts of creating a fortification system: “When many years had passed the Hagarene *emir*, Khusrau by name, who ruled Armenia, Kartli, and Hereti came. He rebuilt the city of Tbilisi ravaged by the Khazars”; however, unfortunately, this note is not dated.⁴⁸

When did the Arabs reconstitute their rule in Tiflīs and (eastern) Georgia? Certainly, by or before AH 152 (14/I/769-3/I/770), when they issued the *Jurzān* fals there. We are not aware of any Khazar invasions in the AH 148-152 period (presumably, at least the Arab sources would have indicated this; however, this is an argument *ex silencio*). Correspondingly, Irakli Paghava and Severiane Turkia have already conjectured, that the Arabs could recapture and probably recaptured eastern Georgia and Tiflīs, its major urban center, already in AH 148 (27/II/765-15/II/766), when Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba came to this area with new Arab host only to discover no enemy was remaining there. The monumental inscription engraved in Tiflīs in Sha‘bān of AH 147 (3-30/X/1764) indicates unequivocally the Arab (indubitably military) presence in eastern Georgia and in this Georgian city already in October of 764. It is also noteworthy and certainly not fortuitous that the AH 147 inscription of Tiflīs mentions *someone’s victory*.

Mounting of a stone with inscription onto some edifice was intended to glorify the Arab victory (real or presumed one), but could also be a part of fortifying Tiflīs, within the general Arab plan of creating a network of local strongholds, capable of repelling the possible future Khazar attacks.

⁴³ Ал-Куфи, *Абу Мухаммад Ахмад ибн А‘сам ал-Куфи. Книга завоеваний. Часть II* [Al-Kufi. *Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn A‘sam al-Kufi. The Book of Conquests. Part II*]. Перевод З. Бунятова.

⁴⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, XXIX, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation. Volume XXVIII. Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. A.D. 763-786/A.H. 146-169*. Translated and annotated by Hugh Kennedy, 40.

⁴⁵ al-Ya‘qūbī, *The Works of Ibn Wāḍih al-Ya‘qūbī. An English Translation. Volume 3*. Edited by Matthew S. Gordon, Chase F. Robinson, Everett K. Rowson, Michael Fishbein, 1106.

⁴⁶ Ал-Куфи, *Абу Мухаммад Ахмад ибн А‘сам ал-Куфи. Книга завоеваний. Часть II* [Al-Kufi. *Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn A‘sam al-Kufi. The Book of Conquests. Part II*]. Перевод З. Бунятова.

⁴⁷ Paghava, Turkia, “New Mintname “Georgia” (“*Jurzān*”): Researching the History of Georgia and the ‘Abbāsīd North in the 8th-9th Centuries”, 246.

⁴⁸ *Mat’iane Kartlisay (The Chronicle of Kartli)* (translated and with commentary by Arrian Chant’uria). 141-170. *The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba (A History of Georgia), translated and with commentary*, 142.

Was Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba dispatched to the North with a new army already in AH 147, and not in AH 148 (means al-Ṭabarī indicated the wrong year⁴⁹)? Or was Tiflīs re-captured by Arabs *before* Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba's arrival in AH 148? By some Arab military detachment operating in the area and fighting the Khazars, ravaging Georgia? Neither option can be excluded. Remarkably, according to al-Kūfī,⁵⁰ Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba was dispatched to aid Yazīd b. Usayd with 10,000 from Iraq already in AH 147 (i.e., 764). But neither al-Ṭabarī nor al-Ya'qūbī mention Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba in this context.⁵¹ Could al-Ṭabarī confuse the chronology and indicate under AH 148 the event of AH 147, while al-Kūfī belittled the military significance of Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba's expedition? Or perhaps al-Ṭabarī was correct and al-Kūfī made a mistake, and Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba was truly dispatched only in AH 148?

*

Discovery of the Sha'bān AH 147 Arabic inscription from Tiflīs confirms one more time the continuous Arab military and administrative presence in Tiflīs before the 770s. The Arab presence in Tiflīs in October 764 (Sha'bān, AH 147), along with other discoveries demonstrates yet one more time that the Arab administration was established in Georgia earlier than in the 770s.⁵² The emergence of the Arab *administrative institutions* like mint and marking the roads with mile stones (perhaps indicating the functioning of the caliphal postal service), as well as ordering the lapidary inscriptions, demonstrates clearly enough that the Tiflīs Emirate, as an *administrative unit of the Caliphate*, was established already by the early 8th century.⁵³

The Sha'bān of AH 147 inscription stands as one of the rare primary sources, facilitating the research of both the Arab epigraphic heritage, and the Arab period in the history of Georgia and Caucasus.

Acknowledgements: When researching this issue we were extremely fortunate to enjoy the support of Thea Dadunashvili, Tamaz Gogoladze, Jaba Samushia, Gela Gurgidze, Jimsher Chkhvimiani, Giorgi Narimanishvili, Grigol Beradze.

⁴⁹ Whis certainly cannot be excluded, the more so, as we know about the other cases when al-Ṭabarī was mistaken; for instance, when he indicated, that "al-Manṣūr appointed Bakkār b. Muṣlīm al-'Uqaylī governor of Armenia" in AH 153. Al-Ṭabarī, XXIX, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation. Volume XXVIII. Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. A.D. 763-786/A.H. 146-169.* Translated and annotated by Hugh Kennedy, 66.

⁵⁰ Ал-Куфи, *Абу Мухаммад Ахмад ибн А'сам ал-Куфи. Книга завоеваний. Часть II* [Al-Kufī. *Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn A'sam al-Kufī. The Book of Conquests. Part II*]. Перевод З. Буниятова.

⁵¹ Al-Ṭabarī, XXIX, *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation. Volume XXVIII. Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. A.D. 763-786/A.H. 146-169.* Translated and annotated by Hugh Kennedy, 14-15; al-Ya'qūbī, *The Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī. An English Translation. Volume 3.* Edited by Matthew S. Gordon, Chase F. Robinson, Everett K. Rowson, Michael Fishbein, 1106.

⁵² ირაკლი ფაღავა, "საქართველოში არაბთა ბატონობის პერიოდიზაცია (ნუმისმატიკური მონაცემების გათვალისწინებით)" [Paghava Irakli. "Periodization of the Arab Sway in Georgia (Considering the Numismatic Data)". In Georgian], *ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო, VIII (2014), 250-257, 342*; Иракли Пагава, "Периодизация арабского владычества в Грузии (с учетом новых данных)" [Paghava Irakli. "Periodization of the Arab Sway in Georgia (Considering the New Data)". In Russian], *Нумизматические чтения Государственного исторического музея 2016 года. Москва, 22 и 23 ноября 2016 г. Материалы докладов и сообщений* (Москва: РИА Внешторгиздат, 2016), 85-91; ფაღავა, "სახალიფოს ადმინისტრაციული ერთეულის – "თბილისის საამიროს" დაარსება არა-ნარატიული წყაროების მიხედვით (ადრეულ-არაბული მონეტები და ლაპიდარული წარწერები საქართველოდან)" [Paghava Irakli. "Founding the "Tiflīs Emirate", Administrative Unit of the Caliphate, According to Non-Narrative Sources (Early Arab Coins and Lapidary Inscriptions from Georgia)". In Georgian], 86-131. Cf. გიული ალასანია, "თბილისის საამიროს დაარსების თარიღისათვის" [Alasania Giuli. "On the Date of Founding the Tbilisi Emirate". In Georgian], *ალასანია გიული. საისტორიო კრებული* (თბილისი, 2007), 11-12.

⁵³ ფაღავა, "სახალიფოს ადმინისტრაციული ერთეულის – "თბილისის საამიროს" დაარსება არა-ნარატიული წყაროების მიხედვით (ადრეულ-არაბული მონეტები და ლაპიდარული წარწერები საქართველოდან)" [Paghava Irakli. "Founding the "Tiflīs Emirate", Administrative Unit of the Caliphate, According to Non-Narrative Sources (Early Arab Coins and Lapidary Inscriptions from Georgia)". In Georgian].

Bibliography - ბიბლიოგრაფია:

1. Agapius, *Universal History. Part. 2. Translated by Alexander Vasiliev.* 1909.
2. Al-Balādhurī. *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān. A Translation from the Arabic Accompanied with Annotations, Geographic and Historic Notes by Philip Khūri Hitti.* 1916.
3. Blair Sheila. *The Monumental Inscriptions from Early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana.* Brill, 1991.
4. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite D'Antioche (1166-1199). Éditée pour la première fois et traduite en français par J.-B. Chabot. Tome II.* Ernest Leroux, 1901.
5. Ebaid Shebl, Emara Al-Araby. "A Monumental Inscription on the Fences of Tbilisi – an Archeological and Historical Study". *მრავალთავი*, 24 (2015): 304-310.
6. *Mat'iane Kartlisay (The Chronicle of Kartli)* (translated and with commentary by Arrian Chant'uria). 141-170. *The Georgian Chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba (A History of Georgia), translated and with commentary.* Tbilisi: Artanuji, 2014.
7. Paghava Irakli, Turkia Severiane. "New Mintname "Georgia" ("Jurzān"): Researching the History of Georgia and the 'Abbāsīd North in the 8th-9th Centuries". *The Ukrainian Numismatic Annual*, Issue 5 (2021), 228-258.
8. Silogava Valeri, Shengelia Kakha. *History of Georgia from the Ancient Times through the "Rose Revolution"*. Tbilisi: Caucasus University, 2007.
9. Al-Ṭabarī, XXVIII. *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation. Volume XXVIII. 'Abbasid Authority Affirmed. The Early Years of Al-Manṣūr. A.D. 753-763/A.H. 136-145.* Translated and annotated by Jane Dammen McAuliffe. State University of New York, 1995.
10. Al-Ṭabarī, XXIX. *The History of al-Ṭabarī. An Annotated Translation. Volume XXVIII. Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. A.D. 763-786/A.H. 146-169.* Translated and annotated by Hugh Kennedy. State University of New York, 1990.
11. Theophanes the Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes. An English translation of Anni mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813), with introduction and notes, by Harry Turtledove.* University of Pennsylvania, 1982.
12. al-Ya' qūbī. *The Works of Ibn Wādīḥ al-Ya' qūbī. An English Translation. Volume 3.* Edited by Matthew S. Gordon, Chase F. Robinson, Everett K. Rowson, Michael Fishbein. Brill, 2018.
13. ალასანია გიული. "თბილისის საამიროს დაარსების თარიღისათვის". [Alasania Giuli. "On the Date of Founding the Tbilisi Emirate". In Georgian]. 3-14. *ალასანია გიული. საისტორიო კრებული. თბილისი, 2007.*
14. ასტახიშვილი ერეკლე, ახმეტელი ნატა, ნარიმანიშვილი გიორგი. ქართველები და გარე სამყარო. IV-X საუკუნეები. [Astakhishvili Erekle, Akhmeteli Nata, Narimanishvili Giorgi. *Georgians and the Outer World. The 4th-10th Centuries.* In Georgian] [თბილისი:]შემოქმედი ანგელოზი, 2019.
15. ნარიმანიშვილი გიორგი. "ქართულ-არაბული ურთიერთობების ისტორიიდან: ჰიჯრის II საუკუნის (VIII-IX სს.) წარწერა თბილისიდან" [Narimanishvili Giorgi. "From the History of Georgian-Arabic Relations: Arabic Inscription of the 2nd Century of Hijra (8th-9th Cc. A.D.) from Tbilisi". In Georgian]. *ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო*, X (2017): 338-344.
16. სილაგაძე ბენიამინი. არაბთა ბატონობა საქართველოში (არაბული ცნობების მიხედვით). [Silagadze B. *The Arab Sway in Georgia (According to Arab Sources).* In Georgian]. თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1991.
17. ფაღავა ირაკლი. "საქართველოში არაბთა ბატონობის პერიოდიზაცია (ნუმისმატიკური მონაცემების გათვალისწინებით)". [Paghava Irakli. "Periodization of the Arab Sway in Georgia (Considering the Numismatic Data)". In Georgian]. *ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო*, VIII (2014): 250-257, 342.
18. ფაღავა ირაკლი. "სახალიფოს ადმინისტრაციული ერთეულის – "თბილისის საამიროს" დაარსება არა-ნარატიული წყაროების მიხედვით (ადრეულ-არაბული მონეტები და ლაპიდარული წარწერები საქართველოდან)". [Paghava Irakli. "Founding the "Tiflis Emirate", Administrative Unit of the Caliphate, According to Non-Narrative Sources (Early Arab Coins and Lapidary Inscriptions from Georgia)". In Georgian]. *ქრონოსი*, 3 (2022): 86-131.

19. ძნელაძე მერაბი. თბილისი, პუშკინის ქუჩაზე არსებული შენობა-ნაგებობების რეკონსტრუქციასთან დაკავშირებით ჩატარებული არქეოლოგიური სამეთვალყურეო სამუშაოების ანგარიში. [Dzneladze Merabi. *A Report on the Archeological Supervising Works Conducted in Relation with Reconstruction of the Edifices and Buildings on the Pushkin Street, Tbilisi*. In Georgian]. 2013.
<http://contest.procurement.gov.ge/files/5451ea4e36b6d.pdf> (ბოლოს ნანახია 2022 წლის 25 იანვარს).
20. ძნელაძე მერაბი. "თბილისის ისტორიის ახალი ფურცლები უახლესი არქეოლოგიური აღმოჩენების შუქზე". [Dzneladze Merabi. "New Pages of Tbilisi History in View of the Most Recent Archeological Discoveries". In Georgian] 11-17. ისტორიული თბილისი – კულტურული ასპექტები. თბილისი: ხელოვნების საერთაშორისო ცენტრი, 2013.
21. წერეთელი გიორგი. "სემიტური ენები და მათი მნიშვნელობა ქართული კულტურის ისტორიის შესწავლისათვის". [Tsereteli Giorgi. "Semitic Languages and their Significance of Studying the History of Georgian Culture". In Georgian]. *აკადემიკოსი გიორგი წერეთელი. რჩეული შრომები ხუთ ტომად. I. ურარტოლოგია, სემიტოლოგია, ებრაისტიკა. თბილისი: ენა და კულტურა, 2004.*
22. ჯაფარიძე ნინო. "ძველი გალავნის ახალი სიცოცხლე". [Japaridze Nino. "New Life of the Old Wall". In Georgian] *ისტორიანი*, 9 (2012): 13-16.
23. ჯღამაია ჯამლეთ. სამშენებლო კერამიკა ფეოდალური ხანის საქართველოში. [Jghamaia Jamlet. *Construction Ceramics in the Feudal Georgia*. In Georgian]. თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1980.
24. Гаджиев Муртазали, Шихсаидов А. "Сведения Дербенд-наме о Харун ар-Рашиде и новооткрытая официальная арабская надпись 176 г. Хиджры". [Gajiyev Murtazali, Shikhsaidov A. "The Data of Derbend-Nameh on Harun al-Rashid and the Recently Discovered Arabic Inscription of the 176 year of Hijrah"] 196-202. *Древности Кавказа и Ближнего Востока. Сборник статей посвященных 70-летию со дня рождения профессора М.Г. Гаджиева*. Махачкала: Эпоха, 2005.
25. Гевонд. *История халифов Вардапета Гевонда, писателя VIII века* [Ghevond. *The History of the Caliphs by Vardapet Ghevond, Writer of the 8th Century*], Перевод с армянского К. Патканьяна. 1862.
26. Ал-Куфи, Абу Мухаммад Ахмад ибн А'сам ал-Куфи. *Книга завоеваний. Часть II* [Al-Kufi. *Abi Muhammad Ahmad ibn A'sam al-Kufi. The Book of Conquests. Part II*]. Перевод З. Буниятова. Баку, 1981.
27. Крачковская Вера. "Памятники арабского письма в Средней Азии и Закавказье до IX в." [Krachkovskaya Vera. "The Monuments of Arab Writing in Middle Asia and Transcaucasia before the 9th C.". In Russian] *Эпиграфика Востока*, Т. 6 (1952): 46-100.
28. Лавров Леонид. (Тексты, переводы, комментарии, введение и приложения Л.И. Лаврова). *Эпиграфические памятники Северного Кавказа на арабском, персидском и турецком языках, часть I, надписи X-XVII вв.* [Lavrov Leonid. *The Epigraphic Monuments of North Caucasus in Arabic, Persian and Turkish Languages, Part I, the Inscriptions of the 10th-17th Cc.* In Russian] Москва: Наука, 1966.
29. Пагава Иракли. "Периодизация арабского владычества в Грузии (с учетом новых данных)". [Paghava Irakli. "Periodization of the Arab Sway in Georgia (Considering the New Data)". In Russian]. 85-91. *Нумизматические чтения Государственного исторического музея 2016 года. Москва, 22 и 23 ноября 2016 г. Материалы докладов и сообщений*. Москва: РИА Внешторгиздат, 2016.
30. Хачатрян Александр. *Корпус арабских надписей Армении. VIII-XVI вв. Выпуск I*. [Khachatryan Aleksandr. *The Corpus of Arabic Inscriptions of Armenia. The 8th-16th Cc. Issue I*. In Russian]. Ереван: Издательство АН Армянской ССР, 1987.