

Administrative-territorial Organisation of Georgia in the 20th and 21st Centuries

Givi Tavadze^{1*}

Abstract

The Russian Empire started incorporating Georgia at the beginning of the 19th century. The country was divided according to Imperial Russian patterns. This influenced the territorial changes and the administrative-territorial organisation of the later Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918–1921), the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (1921–1991), and the Republic of Georgia (from 1991). The internal administrative-territorial changes that took place during the last two centuries represent the main topic of research. The most reliable information was discovered in two publications of the Soviet epoch, separated from each other by more than 40 years and published in 1930 and 1978, respectively. They contain different information, though the administrative-territorial organisation of these periods is the primary basis for both. The formation of the ultimate administrative organisation of the territory is a fundamental problem today, as parts of the country are under foreign occupation. It should also be noted that in our survey, several maps were used to state and compare the validity of the obtained information. They contain rich information about Georgia during various periods from 1900 to 2012.

Keywords: uezd, district, region, municipality

Introduction

The military administrative-territorial organisation of feudal Georgia was abolished during the 19th century and changed at least three times in the last two centuries. The Russian Empire and the USSR influenced Georgia's new and newest histories. The Russian Empire formed the basis for the modern administrative-territorial organisation of Georgia.

Georgia within the Russian Empire

Georgia was part of the Caucasian Viceroyalty, the Russian Empire, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. It was divided into various administrative and territorial units. The territorial organisation of the empire had several levels. The state was divided into "Governorates" (provinces) and "Oblasts" (counties), which were subdivided into "Uezds" and "Okrgs." They were further subdivided into smaller parts: police districts and rural village communities, which is another research topic.

The Caucasian Viceroyalty comprised 11 high-level territorial regions by 1903: Tbilisi Governorate (the centre of the Viceroyalty was referred to as Tiflis in the empire and abroad), Kutaisi Governorate, Kars Oblast, Erevan (Erivan) Governorate, Elisavetpol (Ganja) Governorate, Baku Governorate, Dagestan Oblast, Terek Oblast, Kuban Oblast, Black Sea Governorate, and Stavropol Governorate. There were three regions on a lower taxonomical level: Sokhumi, Batumi, and Zaqatala okrugs. Tbilisi and Kutaisi governorates comprised Georgia's modern and historical territories; the Kars Oblast included the historical lands of Georgia and Armenia. Interestingly, Tbilisi city was named "Tiflis" or "Tpilisi" even on Georgian maps till the 1930s. In this article, we refer to the capital as "Tbilisi".

The Tbilisi Governorate comprised 9 uezds by the end of the 19th century: Tbilisi Uezd with its centre Tbilisi, Akhaltsikhe Uezd – Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkalaki Uezd – Akhalkalaki, Borchalo Uezd – Shulaveri, Gori Uezd – Gori, Dusheti Uezd – Dusheti, Tianeti Uezd – Tianeti, Telavi Uezd – Telavi and Signaghi Uezd – Signaghi. The Zaqatala Special Okrug was a separate administrative territory under the rule of the Tbilisi governor. In 1903, Zaqatala was separated from the Tbilisi Governorate. According to the map of 1900, the Kutaisi Governorate comprised ten provinces, among them 7 uezds: Kutaisi Uezd – Kutaisi, Shorapani Uezd – Shorapani, Racha, Oni, Lechkhumi Uezd – Tsageri, Senaki Uezd – Senaki, Zugdidi Uezd – Zugdidi and Ozurgeti Uezd – Ozurgeti. The Sokhumi -Okrug was a separate administrative territory under the rule of the Kutaisi governor. Batumi and Artvin okrugs were separate from the Kutaisi Governorate and united in the Batumi Oblast, which is confirmed by the map of the Caucasus before WW1 [1]. The Kars Oblast comprises four okrugs: Kars, with its capital Kars; Ardagan (Artaani in Georgian)—Ardagan; Olti (Oltisi in Georgian)—Olti; and Kagizman—Kagizman. Artaani and Oltisi okrugs used to be territories of the ancient Kingdom of

¹ Department of Human Geography, Vakhushti Bagrationi Institute of Geography, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia.

* Corresponding author: Givitava1991@gmail.com

Georgia, conquered by the Ottoman Empire by the end of the 16th century; Kars and Kagizman okrugs were territories of the ancient Armenian Kingdom that had been under Muslim rule since the 13th century.



Figure 1. Tbilisi Governorate at the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century²

The Tbilisi Governorate comprised parts of modern Eastern and Southern Georgia. The Tbilisi Uezd occupied the eastern part of the modern Kvemo Kartli Region, the southwestern part of the Kakheti Region, and the city of Tbilisi per se. The Borchalo Uezd was situated to the west and south of the latter. Its northern and central parts constitute the land of the modern Kvemo Kartli Region. The southern part of ancient Borchalo Uezd is part of the Republic of Armenia today. Akhalkhalaki and Akhaltsikhe uezds were situated to the west of Borchalo Uezd. Their territory coincided with the modern Samtskhe-Javakheti Region of Georgia (Aspindza, Akhaltsikhe, Adigeni, Akhalkalaki, and Ninotsminda municipalities). The Gori Uezd was situated to the northwest of the Tbilisi Uezd. Mountainous regions of eastern Georgia were within Dusheti Uezd and Tianeti Uezd. The first one comprised the modern Mtskheta, Dusheti, and Kazbegi municipalities. The northernmost part of this Uezd, a part of the Dariali Gorge, belongs to the Russian Federation today. The Tianeti Uezd approximately occupied the modern Tianeti and Akhmeta municipalities. Telavi Uezd was situated to the northeast of the city of Tbilisi. It occupied the modern Telavi and Kvareli municipalities. The Signaghi Uezd was situated to the east of Tbilisi. It comprised the modern Gurjaani, Lagodekhi, Signaghi, and Dedoplistskaro municipalities.

Two uezds of the Kutaisi Governorate, Kutaisi and Shorapani, were parts of the modern Imereti Region. The Shorapani Uezd approximately occupied the territory of the modern Sachkhere, Chiatura, Zestaponi, and Kharagauli municipalities. At the same time, the Kutaisi Uezd roughly occupied the territory of the modern Tkibuli, Terjola, Baghdati, Vani, and Tskaltubo municipalities and the city of Kutaisi. The modern Khoni and Samtredia municipalities' lands, which are parts of the Imereti Region of today, were included in the Senaki Uezd, together with the territories of Martvili and Abasha, the Senaki municipalities, and the city of Poti. The Zugdidi Uezd was another part of the historical Samegrelo. Its territory approximately occupied the lands of the modern Tsalenjikha, Chkhorotsqu, Zugdidi, and Khobi municipalities. The Racha Uezd was situated north of the Kutaisi and Shorapani Uezds. It comprised the territory of the modern Ambrolauri and Oni municipalities. The Lechkhumi Uezd was situated west and northwest of the Racha Uezd. It occupied the historical Lechkhumi (the modern Tsageri municipality) and the Upper and Lower Svaneti (the modern Mestia and Lentekhi municipalities). The Ozurgeti Uezd encompassed the modern Guria Region almost within the same borders. The Batumi Okrug was situated to its south, with the northern and central parts representing the territory of the modern Adjara Autonomous Republic.

In contrast, its southernmost part belongs to the Republic of Turkey. The Artvin Okrug, situated further to the south, is entirely on the territory of Turkey today. The Sokhumi Okrug occupied the territory of the modern Abkhazia Autonomous Republic. Besides, the southeastern part of the Black Sea Governorate became part of the Democratic Republic of Georgia according to its Treaty with the RSFSR of Turkey today. The Sokhumi Okrug occupied the territory of the modern Abkhazia

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiflis_Governorate#/media/File:Tiflis_Governorate_ATD.png

Autonomous Republic. Besides, the south-eastern part of the Black Sea Governorate became part of the Democratic Republic of Georgia according to its Treaty with the RSFSR of May 7, 1920, and was included in Abkhazia as the Gagra District.



Figure 2. *Kutaisi Governorate at the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century*³

The Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918-1921) claimed the northern and south-western parts of the Kars Oblast (Ardagan and Oltisi Uezds) after the Russian Empire fell. However, Oltisi remained beyond Georgian control. This land became a part of Turkey according to the Moscow Treaty between RSFSR and Turkey on 16 March 1921.



Figure 3. *Kars Oblast at the end of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century*⁴

The Democratic Republic of Georgia

The map of the Democratic Republic of Georgia published in 1920 (Fig. 4.) is an interesting artefact to help research the administrative-territorial system of the epoch. It is based mainly on “wishful thinking”, as the southern borders of the independent republic were not demarcated and were contested with the neighbouring countries. The internal territorial organisation was based on the imperial system, with some exceptions. According to the Georgian Constitution of 1921, article 11, the Democratic Republic of Georgia was planning to form three autonomous regions: Sokhumi District or Abkhazia, Batumi District or “the Muslim Georgia Region”, and Zaqatala District. Nevertheless, the Georgian government could not fulfil these laws as the Constitution was adopted three days before the Soviet occupation.

³ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kutaisi_Governorate#/media/File:Kutaisi_Governorate_ATD_\(1905-1917\).png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kutaisi_Governorate#/media/File:Kutaisi_Governorate_ATD_(1905-1917).png)

⁴ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2d/Kars_Oblast_ATD.png



Figure 4. Democratic Republic of Georgia (in Georgian)⁵

“The Lore (Lori) Neutral Territory” was formed after the Georgian-Armenian War in 1918 and had to be under the observation of Entente (the UK and France at that time).

However, this territory became the centre of the Bolshevik plot to attack the independent Georgian Republic in February 1921: they organised a rebellion on this land to make it a *casus belli*.

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic

Soon after the Soviet occupation, in 1922, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan were forced by Moscow to form the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. The Federation existed till 1936 when it was dissolved by a decree issued in Moscow to form three separate Soviet republics of the Soviet Transcaucasia.

According to the map of the South Caucasus of 1928 (Fig. 5), Georgia’s territory shrank compared to 1920 as some areas were annexed to RSFSR, Armenian SSR, Azerbaijanian SSR and Turkey. However, the internal administrative-territorial division was still formed according to the pattern established by the Russian Empire, which remained almost intact in the Democratic Republic of Georgia and the early years of the Georgian SSR.

According to the book published in 1930 [2], which depicts the administrative-territorial organisation of that period, one can see what changes occurred in the 1920s.

First of all, the authors of the book wrote about three autonomous units established in 1921-1922: “SSR Abkhazia allied to SSR Georgia,” which in 1931 has been transformed into “the Abkhazian ASSR,” “Adjara Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic” and “South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.” It ought to be reiterated that according to the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Georgia, it was intended to grant autonomous status to the ethnic Abkhazians in the former Sokhumi Okrug and the ethnic Georgian Muslims in the former Batumi Okrug (Adjara of today). On the other hand, South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast was entirely a Communist creation.

The administrative-territorial organisation of the Georgian SSR was in the process of formation in the 1920s and 1930s. The final law was issued in 1938 [4], according to which the Georgian SSR comprised 51 districts, Adjara ASSR, Abkhazian ASSR, South Ossetian AO, Tbilisi and Poti cities.

The administrative-territorial borders are hardly discernible on the map of Georgia of 1938, though the map contains the list of districts (the modern municipalities) of that period. It allows us to group them in the borders of the modern Regions (Mkhare in Georgian). The following paragraphs analyse the changes that happened in the Georgian administrative-territorial system in the following 40 years, 1938-1978.

⁵ <https://archive.gov.ge/ge/sakartelos-pirveli-demokratiuli-respublika>

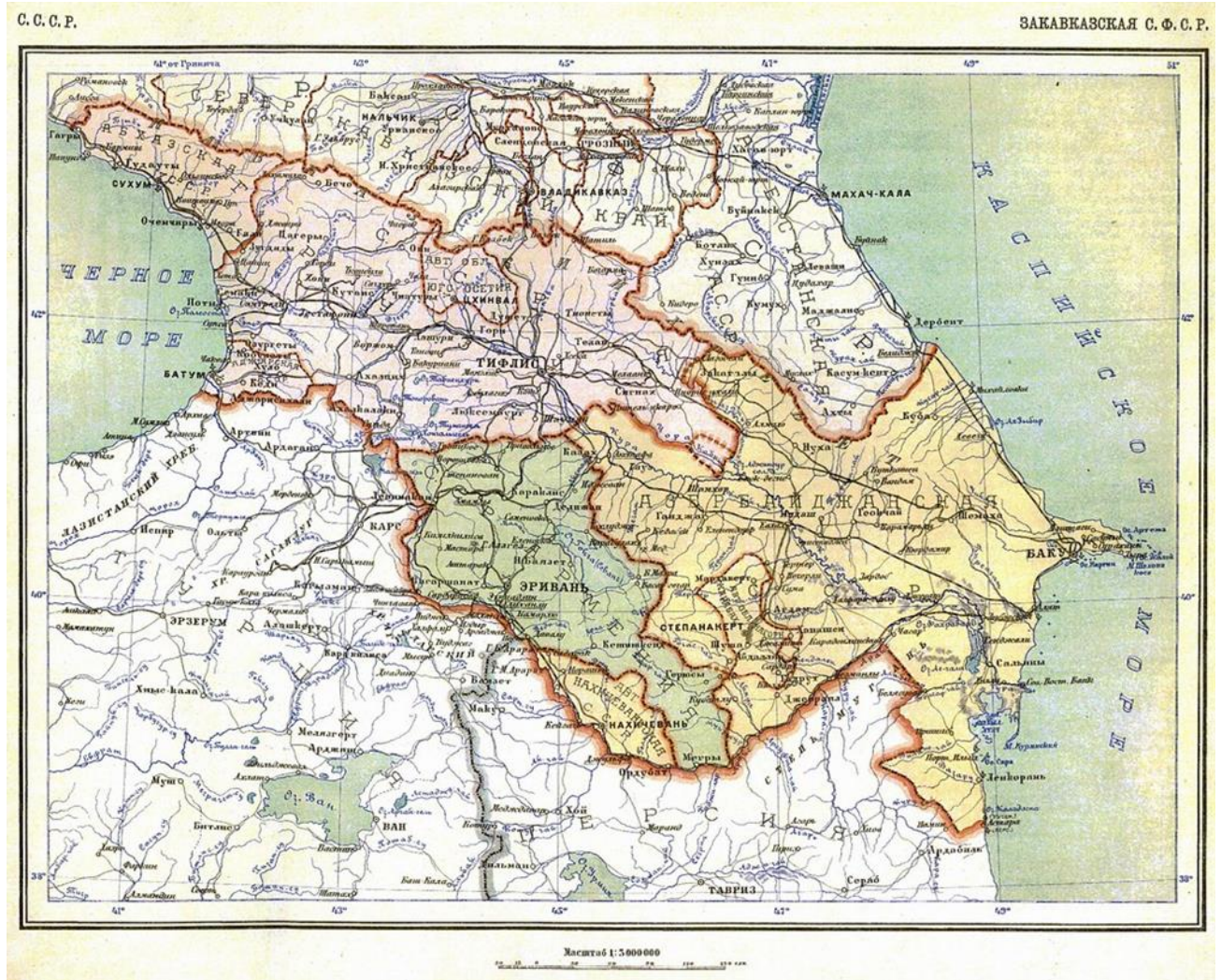


Figure 5. The Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic 1928 (in Russian)⁶

The modern Kakheti Region was divided into Sagarejo, Gurjaani, Telavi, Kvareli, Lagodekhi, Signaghi and Tselitskaro Districts (Raion in Russian and Georgian) in 1938, whereas by 1978, the Akhmeta District had been formed. The latter was part of the Telavi District till 1951 and 1963-1964, and it became a separate administrative unit in 1964. The modern Mtskheta-Mtianeti Region comprised Dusheti, Kazbegi, Tianeti and Leningori Districts in 1938: by 1978, the Mtskheta District had been formed as well, which earlier was a part of the Tbilisi District. The modern Kvemo Kartli Region comprised Karayaz, Borchalo, Aghbulagh, Luxemburg, Tsalka and Bashkichet Districts in 1938. All these districts, except Tsalka, had been renamed and became Gardabani, Marneuli, Tetrtskaro, Bolnisi and Dmanisi Districts, respectively. The modern Shida Kartli Region, except for the “Tskhinvali Region,” comprised Kaspi, Gori and Khashuri districts in 1938, while the Kareli District was formed in 1939 and comprised parts of Gori and Khashuri Districts. No other territorial changes occurred there from 1939-1978. The former South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast in 1938 comprised Staliniri, Znauri, Java and Leningori Districts. There was only one change here by 1978: the historical name of Tskhinvali had been returned to the town of Staliniri in 1961: the last change resulted from a certain “destalinization” under Nikita Khrushchev in the early 1960s. There occurred no changes in the territory of the modern Samtskhe-Javakheti Region during these 40 years. It comprised the Borjomi, Aspindza, Akhaltsikhe, Adigeni, Akhalkalaki and Bogdanovka Districts in 1938 and 1978.

⁶ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/levanrami/4339697868>

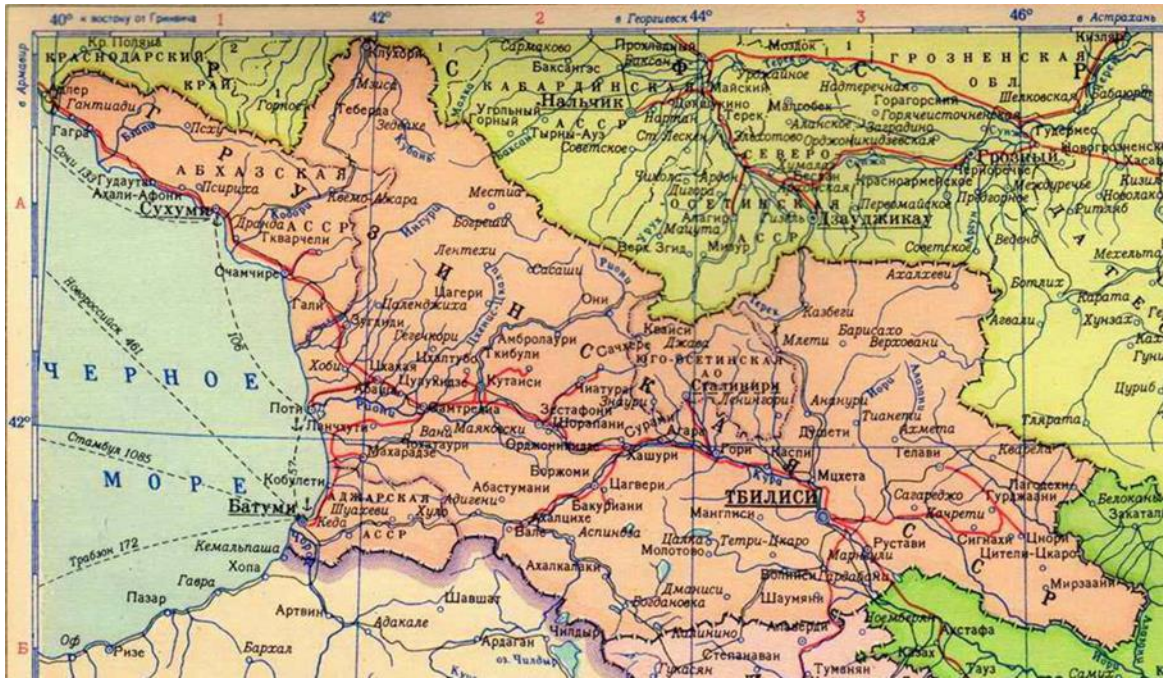


Figure 6. *Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1944-1957 (in Russian)*⁷

The territory of the modern Imereti Region comprised Orjonikidze, Zestaponi, Chiatura, Tkibuli, Chkhari, Kutaisi, Baghdati, Vani, Tsulukidze and Samtredia districts in 1938. The Sachkhere District had been separated from Chiatura and the Tskaltubo District – from Kutaisi in 1939. The township of Chkhari lost its importance, and the district centre became the township of Terjola in 1950. Thus, the modern Imereti Region territory comprised eight districts and three city councils in 1978: Orjonikidze, Zestaponi, Terjola, Mayakovski, Vani, Tsulukidze, Samtredia and Sachkhere districts; Tskaltubo, Chiatura and Tkibuli city councils. The territory of the modern Samegrelo-Upper Svaneti Region comprised Abasha, Gegechkori, Tskhakaia, Khobi, Zugdidi, Chkhorotsqu, Tsalenjikha and Upper Svaneti, later renamed as Mestia district, as well as the Poti city council. Poti-city did not have a different status in 1978. The territories of the modern Guria, Racha-Lechkhumi and Lower Svaneti regions did not change during these 40 years. The Lanchkhuti, Makharadze, and Chokhatauri districts were parts of Guria; Ambrolauri, Oni, Tsageri and Lower Svaneti, later renamed as Lentekhi District, were parts of Racha-Lechkhumi and Lower Svaneti.

According to the physical-geographic and historical sources, Tbilisi, the capital, had always been a part of Kvemo Kartli. The Tbilisi District should have been considered a separate administrative unit. Nevertheless, the modern Mtskheta Municipality was part of the Tbilisi District in various years of the 1930s.

Abkhazian ASSR comprised Gali, Ochamchire, Sokhumi, Gudauta and Gagra districts in 1938. The Gulripshi District separated from Sokhumi in 1946, whereas the Gagra city council ruled the area of the modern Gagra district in 1978. Adjara comprised Kobuleti, Batumi, Keda and Khulo districts in 1938. The territory of the Batumi District became Khelvachauri District, whereas the city of Batumi is a self-governing unit today. The Shuakhevi District was separated from Khulo in 1952. As a result, the Adjara Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic comprised Kobuleti, Khelvachauri, Keda, Shuakhevi, Khulo districts and Batumi-city in 1978. The South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast comprised Staliniri, Leningori, Znauri, and Java districts in 1938, but Tskhinvali was separated from its district in 1978.

Significant territorial changes happened in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic from 1944-1957. The Chechen, Ingush, Balkar and Karachai peoples were exiled from their homeland by the decrees issued in Kremlin. These people were accused of collaborating with Nazi forces during the Second World War. Parts of the land of the modern Karachay-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Ingushetia and

⁷ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/50/Gruzinskaja_SSR_%281944-1955%29.jpg

Chechnya were given to the Georgian SSR – they formed Klukhori District in the west and Akhalkhevi District in the east. The latter had joined the Dusheti District at the beginning of the 1950s. These territories were returned to the peoples of the North Caucasus after their amnesty and returning home in the 1950s.

Changes were made not only in the naming of the Georgian districts. The Mtskheta District was separated from Tbilisi in 1930-1934; in 1934, it joined the capital and separated again in 1938. Other changes were made as well, which have already been mentioned above. So, we can see the administrative-territorial organisation of Georgia on the map of 1981, which contains similar information to the publication of 1978 [3]. This administrative-territorial system is the main base for the following organisation of the independent Republic of Georgia.



Figure 7. Administrative-territorial organisation of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1981 (in Georgian)⁸

The Republic of Georgia

The Georgian internal conflicts of the 1990s became the main obstacle to solving the problem of the administrative-territorial organisation when the state restored its independence. According to the Georgian Constitution of 1995, this problem should be decided when the state restores its control over the entire territory. Two autonomous republics remain officially in Georgia: Abkhazia and Adjara. Abkhazia is beyond the control of Tbilisi as it is under Russian occupation. The remaining territory is divided into nine partially official "Regions" under state authority. The primary function of the state representatives ("governors") of the regions is to maintain coordination and consultation between the state and governments of the municipalities within the same region. These regions are Kakheti, Mtskheta-Mtianeti, Shida Kartli, Kvemo Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti, Imereti, Racha-Lechkhumi, Lower Svaneti, Samegrelo-Upper Svaneti, and Guria. Tbilisi, the state's capital, does not belong to any of the regions.

⁸ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/ka/0/00/Saqartvelos_ssr_1981.jpg

The South Ossetia Autonomous Oblast was officially abolished in 1991, though "The South Ossetia Temporary Administration" had been formed in 2007 with its headquarters in the village of Kurta. Nevertheless, due to the Russia-Georgia War of 2008, the Temporary Administration is exiled to Tbilisi.

As for municipalities, Georgia was divided into 72 units in 2020, including five self-governing cities: Tbilisi, Rustavi, Kutaisi, Poti, and Batumi. The latter have the mayors and chairpersons of the city assemblies. Tbilisi is the biggest self-governing city in the country.

The Kakheti Region comprises eight municipalities: Sagarejo, Akhmeta, Telavi, Gurjaani, Kvareli, Lagodekhi, Signaghi, and Dedoplistskaro. Telavi is its administrative centre.

The Mtskheta-Mtianeti Region comprises five municipalities, among which Akhgori remains under Russian occupation. Mtskheta, Tianeti, Dusheti, and Kazbegi are others. Mtskheta is the centre of the region.

The Shida Kartli Region comprises four municipalities: Kaspi, Gori, Kareli, and Khashuri. Some changes have occurred there since 1991. This region was officially divided into five municipalities in 1991–2007 before the South Ossetian Temporary Administration was created. Java was the fifth municipality, whereas territories of the former Tskhinvali and Znauri districts were declared parts of the Gori and Kareli municipalities. Gori is the centre of Shida Kartli.

The Kvemo Kartli Region comprises seven municipalities: Gardabani, Marneuli, Tetrtskaro, Bolnisi, Tsalka, Dmanisi, and the city of Rustavi, which is the centre of this region.

The Samtskhe-Javakheti Region comprises six municipalities: Adigeni, Akhaltsikhe, Aspindza, Akhalkalaki, Ninotsminda, and Borjomi. The city of Akhaltsikhe is the centre of this region.

The Imereti Region comprises 12 municipalities: Sachkhere, Chiatura, Kharagauli, Zestaponi, Terjola, Tkibuli, Baghdati, Vani, Tskaltubo, Khoni, Samtredia, and the city of Kutaisi, which is the centre of this region.

The Racha-Lechkhumi and Lower Svaneti Region comprise four municipalities: Ambrolauri, Oni, Tsageri, and Lentekhi, with Ambrolauri as its centre.

The Samegrelo-Upper Svaneti Region comprises nine municipalities: Abasha, Senaki, Khobi, Zugdidi, Martvili, Chkhorotsqu, Tsalenjikha, Mestia, and Poti-city. The city of Zugdidi is the centre of this region.

The Guria Region comprises three municipalities: Lanchkhuti, Ozurgeti, and Chokhatauri. The city of Ozurgeti is its centre.

The Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia comprises seven municipalities: Gali, Ochamchire, Gulripshi, Sokhumi, Gudauta, Gagra, and Azhara. The territory of the Azhara Municipality was the only one under Georgian control until the war in 2008. It was officially formed in 2006. The term "Upper Abkhazia" had been used as another name. Sokhumi is the capital of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, but its official government is in exile in Tbilisi.

The Autonomous Republic of Adjara comprises six municipalities: Kobuleti, Khelvachauri, Keda, Shuakhevi, Khulo, and the city of Batumi, which is the capital of this autonomous republic.

Significant changes were made in the naming of the municipalities and their centres. The old names had been returned to the cities, towns, and respective districts in the early 1990s. Tsitelitskaro in the Kakheti Region has restored its old name of Dedoplistskaro; Leningori in the Mtskheta-Mtianeti Region is Akhgori. The township of Kazbegi restored its ancient name of Stepantsminda in 2006, though its municipality retained the name of Kazbegi; Znauri became Kornisi in the Shida Kartli Region. Three names had been restored in the Imereti Region: Orjonikidze returned to Kharagauli; Tsulukidze became Khoni; and Mayakovski became Baghdati again. Bogdanovka returned to the old Georgian name of Ninotsminda in the Samtskhe-Javakheti Region. Tskhakaia became Martvili again, and Makharadze became Ozurgeti in Samegrelo and Guria, respectively.

The last crucial administrative-territorial change was made in 2017 when seven self-governing cities—Telavi, Mtskheta, Gori, Akhaltsikhe, Ambrolauri, Zugdidi, and Ozurgeti—which were the centres of the Regions and municipalities at the same time, lost the status of "self-governing" settlements.

Conclusion

The administrative-territorial organisation of modern Georgia was based on Russian imperial laws. From 1801 until the 1870s, the Russian Empire conquered and annexed the historical Georgian lands

from the Persian and Ottoman empires. The territory had been divided according to the historical patterns and Russian Imperial laws that became the basis for the territorial organisation of the later Democratic Republic of Georgia (1918–1921). In contrast, the Soviet Union took much time to replace it almost entirely. The district system, formed in the Soviet epoch, became the second step in forming the two-tier modern territorial organisation of "the Semi-federative" Georgia.

Competing interests

The author(s) declare that they have no competing interests.

References

1. Sanadze M., Beradze T., Thopuria K. *Historical Atlas of Georgia*. Caucasus before the WW1, p. 33. "Saqartvelos Macne". 2012. Tbilisi. Georgia (in Georgian).
2. *Administrative-territorial Organisation of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia*. "Publishion of the Georgian SSR Central Committee". 1930. Tiflis, Georgia (in Georgian).
3. Gvaramadze Sh. O., Baghaturia M. P. *Administrative-territorial Organisation of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia*. "Soviet Georgia." 1977. Tbilisi, Georgia (in Georgian).
4. Territory of Georgia in the Russian Empire in the beginning of the 20th century (in Georgian) - https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/ka/6/6f/Saqartvelo_XIX_saukunis_bolos.jpg
5. Democratic Republic of Georgia (in Georgian) - <https://archive.gov.ge/ge/sakartelos-pirveli-demokratiuli-respublika>
6. South Caucasian Soviet Federate Socialist Republic in 1928 (in Russian) - <https://www.flickr.com/photos/levanrami/4339697868>
7. Districts of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1938-1939 (in Georgian) - https://1.bp.blogspot.com/-kldIQotk_eE/XPwMVwuG8DI/AAAAAABI6I/B-8Hr-NpY1MyHJJdJUPQ14FsTm51HP0NACLcBGAs/s1600/1%25E1%2583%2591.jpg
8. Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1944-1957 (in Russian) - https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/50/Gruzinskaja_SSR_%281944-1955%29.jpg
9. Administrative-territorial organisation of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1981 (in Georgian). https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/ka/0/00/Saqartvelos_ssr_1981.jpg
10. Constitution of Georgia, 1995. Article 7: Bases of the Territorial Organisation (in Georgian). <https://matsne.gov.ge/ka/document/view/30346?publication=36>
11. Abolition of the self-ruled cities. 2017 (in Georgian). <https://droa.ge/?p=124286>