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CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY KINGS OF IBERIA*

By CYRIL TOUMANOFF

There are several reasons why the problem of early-Georgian, and particularly early-Iberian (East Georgian), chronology has been a vexing one. In the first place, the early-Georgian historical works contain almost no direct chronological indications, i.e., dates, but rather offer quite numerous relative indications, i.e., synchronisms, lengths of reigns and lives, regnal years, the distance between events, etc. Secondly, in these historical works, hard facts of history often lie buried under a superimposition of myth, legend, and epos, or are occasionally fused with the picture of other historical facts, occurring at different epochs, that is projected on them. And, thirdly, the attempts at establishing such a chronology, which have not been wanting, have tended to be somewhat vitiated by misconceptions upon which they were based. Thus, early in this century, the imaginative attempt of S. Gorgadze¹ was ruined by the fact that he preferred the evidence of the king-lists (*Royal List*, I, II, III), which form a later addition to the seventh-century *Conversion of Iberia*,² to that of the more authoritative and older (eighth-century) *History of the Kings of Iberia* by Leontius of Ruisi, which contains a still older historical tradition.³ Gorgadze, accordingly, tended to neglect what chronological in-

* Iberia or K'art'li is East Georgia, the historical nucleus of the Georgian nation. Only after the Union of 1008 between Iberia and Abasgia or Ap'xazet'i (West Georgia, earlier Lazica and still earlier Colchis or, in Georgian, Egrisi) may one speak of Georgia (Sak'art'velo) as a political fact.

¹ S. Gorgaje, 'Carileba Sak'art'velos istoriidan,' *L'Ancienne Géorgie* 1 (1909), 2 (1913).

² See, for this monument, Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington 1963) 23-24, 417-428. It is cited here in ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in *Sbornik Materialov. . . Kavkaza* 41 (1910).

³ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 24-5. It is cited here in ed. S. Qauxč'išvili, *K'art'lis C'xovreba* I (Tiflis 1955). Leontius was Bishop of Ruisi or, to give him his Georgian title, Mroveli. It is difficult to take seriously the objection to the above dating of Leontius — a dating based on internal evidence — on the mere ground that an inscription of a Bishop Leontius of Ruisi of 1066 has recently been discovered: thus e.g. D. M. Lang, *The Georgians* (New York/Washington 1966) 158, and in *Speculum* 12 (1967) 195-6. For the inscription in question and a reply to such an objection see M. Tarchnišvili, 'La découverte d'une inscription géorgienne de l'an 1066,' *Bedi Karthlisa* 26-27 (1957) 86-89. Actually, of course, the eleventh-century Bishop Leontius has long been known to us from manuscript evidence: Tarchnišvili, *op. cit.* 87; *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Studi e Testi 185; Vatican City 1955) 92 n. 2. It is, surely, simplistic to see anything unusual in the commonly recurrent fact of the homonymy of several bishops occupying at different times the same See. It was, precisely, the existence of an eleventh-century Leontius of Ruisi that influenced

dications are found in Leontius.⁴ And in our own days, another such attempt was made by P. Ingoroqva,⁵ which cannot be described as entirely successful.

The lack of success of this later attempt is due to three factors. First, the preference, as in the case of Gorgadze and others,⁶ of the *Royal List* to Leontius; second, misconceptions in connection with the legendary Diarchy of Iberia and with the Vitaxae of Gogarene; and third, a misconception in connection with the origin of the Georgian Era. The last two items require an explanation. Both Leontius⁷ and the *Royal List*,⁸ which in part depends on him, mention the existence in the Iberian Monarchy, from the mid-first to the mid-second century, of a diarchy of simultaneous kings ruling over two halves of the kingdom. At this point, the narrative of Leontius quite obviously deteriorates, owing probably to a different group of sources used by him. These sources can be discerned as (1) some history of the Diarchy itself; (2) an Epos of Sumbat Bivritiani, with details of the events occurring in the second century B.C. projected on it,⁹ and the whole interpolated into the History of the Diarchy; and (3) a story, or at least a memory, of the enmity of the first-century kings Pharasmanes I of Iberia and his brother Mithridates of Armenia projected on the diarchs of the second century.¹⁰ Now the story of the Diarchy, with two lines of kings reigning, respectively, at Mts'khet'a¹¹ and north of the Cyrus, and at neighbouring Armazi¹² and south of that

the old view that the historian Leontius belonged to that century, a view which I myself at first shared: cf. 'Medieval Georgian Historical Literature (virth-xvth Centuries),' *Traditio* 1 (1943) 166. Thus, the discovery of the inscription of 1066 can add nothing new in support of this old view.

⁴ Thus, e.g., Leontius' express statement that King Aderk reigned for 57 years — and this is one of the few such statements in his work — is neglected by Gorgadze, who gives his regnal years as A.D. 1-30: cf. A. Gugushvili, 'The Chronological-Genealogical Table of the Kings of Georgia,' *Georgica* 1.2-3 (1936) 112. For Pharamasnes I/Aderk, see *infra* No. 10.

⁵ P. Ingoroqva, 'Jvel-k'art'uli matiane "Mok'c'eva K'art'li" da antikuri xanis Iberiis mep'et'a sia,' *Bulletin du Musée de Géorgie* 11 B (1941) 259-320.

⁶ Such as the late Professor I. Javaxišvili, see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 418 and n. 4.

⁷ Leontius (hereinafter L) 43-54.

⁸ *Roy. List* (hereinafter RL) I 49-50.

⁹ L 45-49. Sumbat Bivritiani of the Iberian tradition is the Bagratid Smbat son of Biwrat, of the Armenian (Ps. Moses of Chorene 2.37-53). See, for him and the above-mentioned projection of older facts, *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 316.

¹⁰ L 50-54. For the projection see *infra* No. 11.

¹¹ Though a populous settlement already at the end of the third millennium B.C., Mc'xet'a was the younger capital of Iberia, a successor of Armazi: cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 89 n. 121.

¹² Armazi or K'art'li-Armazi was the original capital of Iberia and remained, after the rise of Mc'xet'a, the holy city of Iberian paganism and one of the defences of Mec'xet'a: *ibid.* 88 n. 120, 89 n. 121.

river, is a *livresque* deformation of history.¹³ And it is patently artificial. No contemporary foreign sources know of it, all concurring, on the contrary, in revealing the existence of sole rulers in Iberia. The succession to the two parallel thrones is contrived and naïve, with the diarchs ascending and dying apparently simultaneously. Finally, the clue to the story can be found in the name given to one of the diarchs. It is Armazel, as borne by the Mts'khet'a counterpart of King Azork of Armazi.¹⁴ In reality, it is not at all a *praenomen*, but a territorial epithet, which ought to be applied to Azork, for it is the Georgian for 'of Armazi.' It is difficult to doubt that Azork was so nicknamed because of his choice of the older capital for his residence. Precisely so, at a later date, King Dach'i of Iberia (522-534) was known as Ujarmeli, because the city of Ujarma, and not Mts'khet'a, appears to have been his residence.¹⁵ This polyonymy must have caused the source of Leontius to split one king into two, one indeed at Armazi and the other at the newer, and usual, capital of Iberia, Mts'khet'a. A vague memory of some historical realities must have also contributed to the rise of this story and have endowed it with plausibility and with the extension over several reigns. These historical realities appear to have been, first, the actual but briefer division of Iberia between two kings, one Roman and one Iranian vassal, with the Cyrus as boundary, in the years 370-378,¹⁶ and secondly, the presence in the Iberian Monarchy, precisely from the mid-first to the mid-second century, of the powerful Vitaxae of Gogarene.

Having elsewhere treated in some detail of the Armeno-Iberian margraves, bearing the title of Vitaxae of Gogarene,¹⁷ I will confine myself here to saying that these great dynasts, zig-zagging between the two neighbouring monarchies, found themselves in the Iberian sphere in the first and second centuries and again after 363/387, having, at other times, been in the sphere of Armenia. Since the Vitaxate included, at different epochs, in addition to its Armenian lands, also the Georgian territories of East Javakhet'i, T'riale't'i, Gardabani, and Gach'iani, its rulers extended their sway practically to the gates of the Iberian capital of Mts'khet'a and of the Iberian holy city of Armazi, near which in the first and second centuries they had their sump-

¹³ I. Javaxišvili, *Kart'veli eris istoria* I (3rd ed. Tiflis) 216; but not in 4th ed. (Tiflis 1951) 235-6; L. Melikset-Bekov, 'Armazni: Istoriko-arxeologičeskij očerk,' *Masalebi Sak'art'velos da Kavkasiis istoriidan* (Tiflis 1938) 28-32; cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 264.

¹⁴ L 45, 46, 47, 50, 100 (in some MSS: *Armazael*, *Amazer*, *Amza[h]er*); RL I 50 (*Amazaer*).

¹⁵ Cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 373.

¹⁶ Cf. *infra*, Sauromaces II (No. 23).

¹⁷ For the institution of the Vitaxae: *Stud. Chr. Canc. Hist.* 154-63; for those of Gogarene (the Iberian March) 185-92.

tuous necropolis.¹⁸ It is easy to see how a later memory might represent these powerful vassals as a line of parallel kings.

This has been, quite rightly, recognized by Ingoroqva; only he attempted to prove too much. He actually makes of the Vitaxae of Gogarene of the first-second centuries a branch of the royal Iberian house that was co-sovereign with it. According to him, while the Kings resided at Mts'khet'a, the Vitaxae were co-kings at Armazi; he even styles them 'Vitaxae of Armazi' — all of which is quite unwarranted.¹⁹ And he seeks to discover in the names of the Armazic diarchs, as found in the History of Leontius and in the *Royal List*, the names of the first- and second-century Vitaxae of Gogarene, which have been revealed through the discovery of their necropolis. These attempts are unconvincing and involve, moreover, a not wholly justifiable reshuffling of the historiographical evidence.²⁰ Two fundamental errors lie at the basis

¹⁸ For the territorial analysis of the Vitaxate of Gogarene: *ibid.* 467-75, 499; for the necropolis of Armazi: A. Ap'akije et al., *Mcxeta. Itogi arxeologičeskix issledovanij I: Arxeologičeskie pamjatniki Armazis-xevi po raskopkam 1937-1946 gg.* (Tiflis 1958).

¹⁹ Ingoroqva, moreover, would divide the Vitaxae of Gogarene into two branches: of Armazi and of Artanuži (in Cholarzene), and make the Bagratids descend from them: cf. also his *Giorgi Merc'ule, k'art'veli mcerali meaf'e saukunisa* (Tiflis 1954) 72, 76-80, 442-3, 445-7. See for all this *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 264-6, 334-6.

²⁰ Thus, e.g., the Vitaxa Bersumas (see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 260), whose name is an obvious derivation from the Aramaic name Bar Šauma (cf. G. Ceret'eli, 'Ėpigrafičeskie naxodki v Mcxeta, dervnej stolicy Gruzii,' *Vestnik drevnej istorii* 1948 2.50), is identified with the 'King of Mc'xet'a' named Bartam by L 43-4, and Bratman by RL I 49. According to Ingoroqva, this king's name ought to be Berc'um/Barc'om/Barac'man. In this connection, he proceeds to interpret the two mysterious signs on the silver dish of the Vitaxae Bersumas (from Grave 3, No. 69: *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 260) as an early form of the Georgian ecclesiastical majuscules B+P and K'. And these letters mean, accordingly, either 'Berc'um, Vitaxa of Iberia' (*B[erc'um] P[atiarxi] K'[art'isa]*) or else 'Berc'um Vitaxa, (son of) K'arjam' (. . .[je]K'[arjmisi]) (*Jvel k'art'. matiane* Nos. 14 and 14a; in *Bulletin de l'Institut Marr* 10 [1941] 411-7; cf. Ap'akije, *Mcxeta* 61-2: it is not certain that these signs are Georgian letters). Now, the latter name, K'arram of RL I 49 (*rectius* K'arjam: N. Marr and M. Brière, *La Langue géorgienne* [Paris 1931] 570) and K'art'am of L 43-4, designates another of the diarchs, whom Ingoroqva makes the father of Berc'um of Mc'xet'a. Yet L is definite in stating that K'art'am was a younger brother of Bartam, while RL without specifying their kinship, and reversing the order in which they are named, shows them to have been contemporaries and co-rulers. These two kings were, according to the History of the Diarchy, succeeded by another pair, P'arsman and Kaos: L 44; RL I 50 (= Marr-Brière 571: Kaoz). The latter is identified by Ingoroqva with the Vitaxa Publicius Agrippa (*Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 260): *Jvel k'art'. matiane* No 15a. The reason for this identification seems to be found in the last four letters of the first of the Vitaxa's two names. In addition to the improbability of these far-fetched identifications, there is the fact, which Ingoroqva appears to have overlooked or ignored, that Bartam and Kaos, whom he would make 'Vitaxae of Armazi' or Armazic co-kings, were according to both L and RL Kings of Mc'xet'a, while K'art'am and P'arsman, whom he would make diarchs of Mc'xet'a, were according to these sources

of this artificial construction — a contrivance no less obvious than the ancient story of the Diarchy. (1) There is the assumption that the Vitaxae exercised sovereign rights at Armazi, whereas all that the available evidence can show is that they were important vassals of the Kings of Iberia, who constructed their burial ground, and possibly also a palace, in the vicinity of the holy city of Iberian paganism, where others too were buried. (2) There is a deliberate avoidance, dictated by the nationalistic parochialism of some Soviet Georgian scholars, of all recognition of the Armenian context of the institution of the Vitaxae in general and of the Armenian connections of the Vitaxae of Gogarene in particular.²¹

Finally, there is Ingoroqva's misconception about the origin of the Georgian Era. This era, which had gained general currency by the first half of the eleventh century, but of which the earliest known use in an original document occurs A.D. 897,²² was computed from the Creation, which was dated as in 5604 B.C.²³ However, the Georgians divided the time after the Creation into a number of paschal cycles of 532 years each, calling each cycle a *k'oronikon* (<χρονικόν),²⁴ and usually, instead of dating with an *annus mundi*, reckoned from the beginning of a given *k'oronikon*.²⁵ The paschal cycle of

actually Kings of Armazi. Finally, RL I 50 has for a later pair quite improbably two P'arsmans, one at each capital, at the same time; and Ingoroqva accepts this: Nos. 18 and 18a.

²¹ Echoing this nationalistic parochialism, D. M. Lang (in *Speculum* 12.195) reproaches the *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* (1) with placing 'virtually all of ancient Iberia' in the Vitaxate of Gogarene, and (2) with not considering 'for some reason never properly explained' the Vitaxae of Gogarene, when Iberian vassals, as distinct from the Vitaxae of Gogarene, when vassals of Armenia — which, in his words, 'makes as much sense as identifying the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court with the Governor of Rhode Island.' This, I submit, is rather unwarrantable: (1) it is the Georgian sources themselves that attest to the inclusion of Iberian lands in the Vitaxate; (2) although the Vitaxae of the first and second centuries are known only from archaeological evidence (chiefly in connection with the discoveries at Armazi), and not from either Georgian or Armenian historical writings (*Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 260-1), their successors, the Vitaxae from the fourth to the seventh century, are well known from both Georgian and Armenian works (*ibid.* 262-4); and while to the latter they are the Iberian margraves, they are the Armenian margraves to the former (*infra* n. 140). To split these marcher-princes — whose territorial aspect is carefully analyzed in the book in question — into two different groups, one Iberian, the other Armenian, would make 'as much sense' as to consider, say, the *Ducs de Lorraine* as entirely distinct from the *Herzöge von Lothringen*. — For parochialism see also *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 184 n. 163.

²² In the Adiši Gospels: T'aqaišvili (Taqaišvili), 'Georgian Chronology and the Beginnings of Bagratid Rule in Georgia,' *Georgica* 1.1 (1935) 26; Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Kings of Abasgia and Other Problems,' *Le Muséon* 69 (1956) 83-84.

²³ At earlier times and then parallel with the Georgian Era, other systems of computing time were used in Iberia and United Georgia: T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.* 9.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 9, 11.

²⁵ The earliest known use in original documents of the dating with a *k'oronikon* occurs in 853: Toumanoff, *Chronology* 84 n. 10; T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.* 26.

532 years (19 lunar years multiplied by 28 solar years) was the universally adopted basis of a perpetual calendar.²⁶ Only two paschal cycles have been in actual use in Georgia: the thirteenth (from the Creation), including the years 781-1312, and the fourteenth, of the years 1313-1844. In the nineteenth century began the reckoning exclusively from the birth of Christ.²⁷ In his day, the late Professor E. T'raqaishvili, struck by the fact that the first of the two historical paschal cycles was computed from the year 780 (781 being the first year of the cycle), argued that the adoption of this system in Iberia must have been occasioned by an historic event of national importance occurring at that date; and so he put the accession of the Bagratids to the Principate of Iberia, in the person of Ashot I the Great, at 780.²⁸ In this he erred, for Ashot I did not come to the Principate until 813.²⁹

Ingoroqva then went further and proposed to consider the national era as coeval with national history. The Iberian kingdom arose on the threshold of the third century B.C., as a result of Alexander's conquest of the Achaemenid empire. And so, by counting two paschal cycles back of the year 780, he arrived proleptically at a date that came close enough to that momentous epoch, 284 B.C. (A.D. 780—1064 [532×2] = 284 B.C.). This date was then taken to be that at which began the reign of the traditional first King of Iberia, Pharnabazus, and the initial point for the Georgian Era. Thus, too, a chronology of Iberian history, from that date to the early fourth century after Christ, was attempted.³⁰

In actual fact, the reason for choosing the year 780 as the beginning of the Georgian system of chronology is quite another. The Georgian Era was an adaptation of the Era of the Romans, exactly as was the Armenian. This short-lived Era was elaborated in the *partes Orientis* in 363/364, but proleptically its beginning was projected back to the year 248/249, which was the beginning of the second millennium after the foundation of Rome.³¹ However, this era, together with the lunar cycle of Constantinople on which it was based, became outmoded within two decades after its invention, when the Court of Constantinople adopted the lunar cycle of Alexandria and the Alexandrian Era based on it. But it passed to Christian Caucasia. Thus the year

²⁶ V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Traité d'études byzantines [Bibliothèque byzantine] 1; Paris 1958) 52-3.

²⁷ T'raqaishvili, *Georg. Chron.* 11.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 16-25.

²⁹ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 353.

³⁰ *Jvel. k'art. matiane* 259ff.

³¹ See *infra* n. 32. This disposes of T'raqaishvili's argument against this origin of the Georgian Era (as already suggested by Brosset) to the effect that in 248 the Georgians were not yet Christians and so could not adopt a system of chronology based on the date of the Creation and the paschal cycle: *Georg. Chron.* 13.

780, so far from having anything to do with Georgian history, is simply the closing year of a paschal cycle as adapted to the Era of the Romans ($248 + 532 = 780$). And it provided the Iberians with the opportunity of having, like their Armenian neighbors, their own national era. On this basis, too, they soon arrived at their own date of the Creation, 5604 B.C., by counting back exactly twelve cycles from A.D. 780 ($532 \times 12 = 6384$; $6384 - 780 = 5604$).³² The speculations of T'qaishvili and Ingoroqva regarding the origin of the Georgian Era are due, once again, to treating things national microcosmically and so out of context with the 'outside.' Whatever chronology of history is based on such speculations must be largely illusory.

Mention must be made here also of the historical chronology of Georgia elaborated in the eighteenth century by the historian and geographer Prince Vaxhusht, natural son of King Vakhtang VI of Georgia. It cannot now be wholly accepted, yet it is very far from being worthless. Vaxhusht had access to archival and other sources since lost, and it appears that it was from those sources that he acquired his knowledge of the length of various reigns, which may in part at least lie at the basis of his chronology. His data were inserted by M. F. Brosset into the text of *The Georgian Annals*, edited and translated by him.³³ Finally, quite recently, A. Gugushvili assembled all the then available chronological data in his useful Chronological-Genealogical Table, without, however, attempting to offer any solution of the various problems.³⁴

The present attempt to establish a chronology of the early Kings of Iberia, from the beginning down to the year 580, is based on several assumptions: (1) the evidence of the works of Leontius and of Juansher (790/800)³⁵ is to be preferred to that of the *Royal List* (which is partly dependent on them); (2) from these sources, despite the maze of embellishment and confusion, the essential framework of history, facts of succession, and the length of reigns — what is usually tenaciously preserved by tradition and stored in archives — can be discovered; (3) however, the History of the Diarchy in Leontius, being hopelessly defective, cannot be relied on — which lacuna is, happily, filled by contemporary foreign sources that happen to be sufficiently ample for precisely that period; (4) in general, the evidence of the Georgian historio-

³² Grumel, *Chronologie* 146-53 and, for the Armenian Era, 140-5.

³³ For convenience' sake, M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, traduite du géorgien I* (St. Petersburg 1849) may be consulted. For *The Georgian Annals* (*K'art'lis C'xovreba*), the official *corpus historicum*, containing, *inter alia*, Leontius and Juanšer (*infra* n. 35), see *Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.* 161-81; *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 20-23.

³⁴ A. Gugushvili, 'The Chronological-Genealogical Table of the Kings of Georgia,' *Georgica* 1.2-3 (1936) 109-53.

³⁵ Juanšer Juanšeriani, *History of King Vaxtang Gorgasal* (hereinafter J), for which see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 24-5.

graphic sources is to be completed for the period anterior to the formation of Georgian historiography, and if need be also corrected, by the evidence of contemporary or near-contemporary foreign sources; (5) synchronistic data are to be carefully analyzed and utilized; (6) when the known sources fail to provide chronological indications, Vakhusht's data regarding the length of various reigns may be — at least provisionally — accepted, in order to fill the gap (Vakhusht's absolute chronology of the Kings of Iberia is incorrect inasmuch as he postulated the wrong initial date: 302 B.C. instead of c. 229 B.C., but, as will be seen, the traditional relative chronology of regnal years, preserved by him, is remarkably exact, with exceptions that are readily explicable); and finally, (7) Iberian history can be properly understood only in the context of the history of neighboring States, that is, Armenia, Iran, and the Roman Empire.

*
* *

The king-list to follow gives Classical variants of the royal names first, local forms second. The former actually make their recorded appearance earlier than the latter, which moreover may have been altered before becoming fixed in local historical literature. The 'traditional' regnal years are the ones preserved by Vakhusht. The dates between parentheses after the kings' names are those proposed in this study.

THE PHARNABAZIDS³⁶

1. Pharnabazus/P'arnavaz I (299-234 B.C.). L 20-26; RL I 49;³⁷ *Primary History of Armenia* 9.³⁸ — K'art'losid nephew of Samar, *mamasaxlisi* of Mts'khet'a.³⁹ Aged 3 when Alexander invaded Iberia, he became first King

³⁶ The Georgian name of the dynasty is P'arnavaziani, which the Armenian historical tradition has preserved as P'arawazean (Faustus 5.15) and P'arazean (*Primary History of Armenia* 14; cf. *infra* n. 39). For Faustus (fifth century) and the *Prim. Hist. Arm.* (probably the early fifth century), see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 16, 18.

³⁷ The *Royal List* (I49) makes Pharnabazus the son of an earlier King of Iberia named Azo. This is a deformation of the data of Leontius concerning Azon, who according to him (18-25) was the ruler of Iberia for Alexander, defeated by Pharnabazus who thereupon became King. Both RL and the *Primary History of Iberia* (which serves as an introduction to the *Conversion of Iberia*; *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 23; *Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.* 150), speak of Azo as 'first King of Iberia' and son of the 'King of Arian-K'art'li,' brought to Iberia by Alexander. For the confusion which produced, and was produced by, this story, see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 89 n. 124.

³⁸ *Apud* Eusebius (Sebēos), *History of Heraclius*, ed. Tiflis (1913) 9; cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 80 n. 101, 306 n. 4.

³⁹ For the K'art'losids, the theophanic dynasts of pagan Iberia, claiming descent from the eponymous divine primogenitor of the nation, K'art'los, see *ibid.* 87-8 and n. 120, 91, 92 n. 131; for the title of *mamasaxlisi* (Dynast) of pre-royal Iberia: 88, 91 n. 128, 115 n. 185.

of Iberia at the age of 27 and reigned for 65 years. — Alexander's invasion of Iberia, remembered not only by the Iberian historical tradition, but also by Pliny the Elder (4.10.39) and Solinus (9.19), appears to be memory of some Macedonian interference in that country, which must have taken place in connection with the expedition mentioned by Strabo (11.14.9) sent by Alexander in 323 to the confines of Iberia, in search of gold mines.⁴⁰ It may therefore be assumed that Pharnabazus was born c. 326, became King c. 299, and died c. 234. — L 23, 25: he became King of Iberia under the suzerainty and with the assistance of Antiochus 'of Syria' (*asorestanisa*), i.e., the Seleucid. — Actually, 'Antiochus' is used here as the Seleucid royal name *par excellence*, a practice often met with in the early Georgian historical works with regard to foreign monarchs.⁴¹ It will be remembered that the first Seleucid King, Seleucus I, imposed in 301 his overlordship on Orontes III of Armenia.⁴² Now, Seleucid control of Armenia seems to have hinged on holding it within the pincers of the combined pressure, Seleucid from the south and vassal Iberian from the north.⁴³ Accordingly, the imposition of it in 301 may well have necessitated the setting up — within some two years — of the vassal Iberian kingdom.⁴⁴

2. Sauromaces/Saurmag I (234-159). L 26-27; RL I 49. — Son of Pharnabazus I, married to an Albanian princess and credited with a long reign, traditionally of 75 years.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 81-2 n. 104. It is difficult to think that Alexander, who never conquered Armenia in 331 (W. W. Tarn, 'Alexander: Conquest of the Far East,' *The Cambridge Ancient History* VI [1964] 383), should have then bothered with sending an expedition to Iberia. The expedition in connection with a search for gold mines, on the other hand, fits well with the projects with which Alexander occupied himself on his return from the East and shortly before his death in 323: it may be connected with his interest in the Caspian (Hyracanian) Sea, and its possible junction with the Euxine, as part of his exploration of the waterways surrounding his empire: cf. Tarn 421.

⁴¹ As when the name Chosroes (*Xuasro*) was used in the Georgian historical sources to designate any Sassanid monarch: *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 366 n. 35; cf., for the similar Persian and Arabic usage, F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg 1895) 138. Cf. also occasional Byzantine reference to the Caliph as 'Chosroes' (Cedrenus [Bonn] II 433; Psellus, *Chronographia* 1.10, 11).

⁴² *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 289-90.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 449, 81 n. 104.

⁴⁴ *Φαρνάβαζος* was the classical equivalent of the Iranoid name, which in Georgian became P'arnavaz, and which was derived from the OP. *farnah*, Avest. *x^warenah* ('light,' [royal] 'glory'): Justi, *Namenbuch* 92,493. The second King of Iberia of that name (*q.v.*) is so called by Cassius Dio.

⁴⁵ Sauromaces/Saurmag is derived from the Iranoid Sauro-m(ates) + the diminutive suffix *-aka*: Justi, *op. cit.* 292-3, 318, 522. The second King of that name (*q.v.*) is called Sauromaces by Ammianus Marcellinus. — L 27 calls this King's wife an Iranian and daughter of the ruler (*erist'av* = 'duke') of Bardavi, the capital of Albania. This may be an anachronistic reference to the later (from the first century on) Arsacids of Albania.

THE NIMRODIDS
OR
THE SECOND PHARNABAZID DYNASTY⁴⁶

3. Meribanes/Mirvan I (159-109). L 27-8; RL I 49. — Iranian (possibly an Orontid or a Mihranid⁴⁷) son-in-law and adopted son of Sauromaces I and cousin of his wife. Duke of Samshvilde before ascending the throne. He is traditionally assigned a reign of 50 years. During it, 'the kingship of Antiochus passed away in Babylon' (L 28: *miic'uala antiok'isa mep'oba babilons*), which evidently refers to the capture of Mesopotamia from the Seleucids by the Arsacids in 141. Here again (*supra*: Pharnabazus I), the royal name of Antiochus stands for the Seleucid dynasty. In the same way the contemporary King of Armenia is named (L 28) Artaxias (= Arshak),⁴⁸ whereas it seems that the reference is merely to an Artaxiad king. Artaxias I of Armenia reigned from 188 to c. 161, his son Artavasdes I from c. 161 to *post* 123.⁴⁹ Meribanes I married his daughter to Artaxias (Arshak), son of the King of Armenia, who was most likely Artavasdes I.⁵⁰

4. P'arnajom (109-90). L 29-30; RL I 49 (P'arnajob). — Son of Meribanes I, killed in battle against his brother-in-law who succeeded him; reigned, traditionally, for 19 years.⁵¹

⁴⁶ In Georgian Nebrot'iani, which means 'race of Nimrod' and was applied to the Iranians. Since the dynasty of Meribanes I was thus given a name which meant little more than 'Iranian Dynasty,' we may well call it 'Second Pharnabazid': *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 81 n. 103; cf. *infra* n. 56.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 317, cf. 81 n. 103. — This King's name Mirvan was derived from Pehl. Miθrāpān (*Justi, Namenbuch* 208 [erroneously: *Mitnāpān*]), hence, in Latin, Meribanes. Yet in Iberia it became interchangeable with Mirian, derived from Pehl. Mihrān = O. P. *Miθrāna (*Justi* 214-6); thus Meribanes III (*q.v.*), so called by Ammianus Marcellinus, was called Mirian in Georgian. — It is possible, however, that the Mihrāns were not one of the Seven Great Houses of Iran before the Sassanid epoch: W. Henning, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1954) 510.

⁴⁸ For the confusion in Iberian, as in Armenian, historical literature between the Artaxiads and the Arsacids, and the consequent substitution of the name Arsaces (Aršak) for Artaxias (Artašēs), see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 76 n. 85, 81 n. 103, 111. For the name Artaxias, see *ibid.* 285 and n. 27.

⁴⁹ For Artaxias I and Artavasdes I, see H. Manandian, *Tigrane II et Rome* (trans. H. Thorossian, Lisbon 1963) 15-22. Manandian seems to consider the defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia in 190 rather than the Peace of Apamea of 188 (which officially recognized Artaxias as King) as the beginning of his reign.

⁵⁰ The Iberian mention of Artavasdes I's son Artaxias, who became King of Iberia, may be an important addition to Artaxiad genealogy.

⁵¹ There is no Classical variant of his name, since he is not mentioned in any Graeco-Roman sources. It must, like Pharnabazus, be derived from *farnah*. Cf. *Justi, Namenbuch*, 92, 495.

THE ARTAXIADS⁵²

- 5. Artaxias (Arsaces/Arshak) I** (90-78). — L 30; RL I 49 (Arsok). — Brother-in-law of P^rarnajom, son-in-law of Meribanes I and presumably son of Artavasdes I of Armenia: reigned, traditionally, for 12 years.
- 6. Artoces/Artog** (78-63). Florus 1.40.28 (Arthoces); Appian, *Bell. mithr.* 103, 117;⁵³ Cassius Dio 37.1-2; Eutropius 6.14 (Artaces); Festus 16; Orosius 6.4.8; L 30; RL I 49 (Arik). — Son of Artaxias I (L); reigning, traditionally, for 15 years; defeated by Pompey, made to accept Roman suzerainty and to surrender his sons as hostages in the Spring of 65 (Florus *et al.*).
- 7. Pharnabazus II/Bartom** (63-30) Cassius Dio 49.24 (Pharnabazus); L 30-33 (Bartom); RL I 49 (Bratman). — Son of Artoces, husband of an Artaxiad (Arsacid⁵⁴) princess, overthrown by Meribanes II (L) after a reign of, traditionally, 33 years. Earlier, in 36, he was defeated by P. Canidius Crassus for Mark Antony (Dio).⁵⁵

THE NIMRODIDS

- 8. Meribanes/Mirvan II** (30-20). L 31-33; RL I 49 (Mirean). — Son of P^rarnajom, aged 1 at his father's death (L 30), he married the widow of Pharnabazus II/Bartom and reigned, traditionally, for 10 years.
- 9. Artaxias (Arsaces/Arshak) II** (20 B.C.-A.D. 1). L 33-5; RL 49 (Arsuk). — Son of Meribanes II, defeated and slain in single combat by his successor, after a reign of, traditionally, 20 years.

THE THIRD PHARNABAZID DYNASTY⁵⁶

- 10. Pharasmanes I/Aderk** (A.D. 1-58). Bilingual, Graeco-‘Armazic’ inscription and ‘Armazic’ inscription on two stelae from Grave 4 of the Necropolis of the Vitaxae of Gogarene at Armazi;⁵⁷ Mts^rkhet^ra inscription of 75 (see

⁵² In Georgian Aršakuni: *supra* n. 48.

⁵³ Appian, *Bell. mithr.* 103 has the corrupt form Ὀτωκος. Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, 40, 485.

⁵⁴ *Supra* n. 48.

⁵⁵ It is difficult to see any connection between this King's two names, but this kind of polyonymy is not uncommon in Iberian history.

⁵⁶ Though Pharnabazids in the female line only, this dynasty was called P^rarnavaziani: *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 81 n. 103.

⁵⁷ Ap^rakije, *Mcxeta* 69-72, 72-3, Pl. LX, LXI, LIX. — Justi, *Namenbuch* 91, gives no etymology of this King's name; but see † J. Markwart, ‘La province de Parskahayk’, *Revue des études arméniennes*, N.S. 3 (1966) 299-300.

Mithridates I); L 33-43 (Aderk); RL I 49 (Rok); Tacitus, *Ann.* 6.32-5; 11.8; 12.44-51; 13.37; 14.26; Cassius Dio 58.26; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.97. — Son of Pharnabazus II's daughter by K'art'am (son of Souromaces I's daughter by a grandson [*jisculi*, here, obviously, in the sense of 'descendant'] of Pharnabazus I's daughter); born posthumously, his father having been killed at the same time as Pharnabazus II: L 32. He became King of Iberia at 30, having defeated in a single combat Artaxias II (*q.v.*); Our Lord was born in his first regnal year; and he reigned for 57 years: L 35. During his reign, the Iranian Monarchy became consolidated, and the Iberians and the Armenians obeyed it:⁵⁸ L 43. — This, though the wording seems to imply a reference to the rise of the Arsacids, can only refer to the resumption of Iran's aggressive foreign policy in Armenia under Vologases I (51-77). — (As Pharasmanes), having become reconciled with his brother Mithridates, he helped him to become King of Armenia under Roman suzerainty in 35: Tacitus 6.32-6. In 51, being at an advanced age and having long reigned in Iberia, Pharasmanes helped his son (by his earlier wife) Radamistus, whom he feared, to dislodge Mithridates from the Armenian throne and to become King instead: Tac. 12.44-5. But, sometime before 58, he had Radamistus executed: Tac. 13.37. — The last certain mention of Pharasmanes seems to be in 58 (see Mithridates I). So far, then, the traditional regnal years from Pharnabazus I to Pharasmanes I have been vindicated.

11. Mithridates/Mihrdat I (58-106). L 43-54; RL I 49-50. Immediately after the preceding reign, these two sources introduce the story of the Diarchy (schematic in the latter source), which can be resumed as follows: 11th reign (traditionally of 17 years): the sons of the preceding King, K'art'am at Armazi and Bartam⁵⁹ at Mts'khet'a (mentioned in the reverse order) — 12. (trad. 15 years): P'arsman, son of K'art'am, at Armazi and Kaos (RL Kaoz), son of Bartam, at Mts'khet'a; — 13. (trad. 16 years): Azork (RL Arsok), son of P'arsman, at Armazi and Armazel, son of Kaos, at Mts'khet'a; — 14. (trad. 10 years): Amazasp, son of Azork, at Armazi and Derok (RL Deruk), son of Armazel, at Mts'khet'a; — 15. (trad. 16 years): P'arsman the Good (K'veli), son of Amazasp, at Armazi and Mihrdat, son of Derok, at Mts'khet'a (in-

⁵⁸ Obviously the birth of Our Lord — as of the year 1 — could be made a synchronism for this reign only after the Christianizing of Iberia. — The reference to the Iberians as vassals, together with the Armenians, of Iran is erroneous here in view of the pro-Roman policy of Pharasmanes I and his successors, Mithridates I and Pharasmanes III (*q. v.*). The mention of the two peoples in one breath is something like a consecrated formula in early Georgian historical writings, symbolizing the essential unity of the Caucasian *oikumenē*.

⁵⁹ It is essentially the same name as Bartom; for this reason the latter spelling is retained in the case of this diarch in *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 265.

stead of this pair, RL has [a] P'arsman K'veli and P'arsman Avaz, and [b] Rok and Mihrdat. The second P'arsman is a corrupt memory of P'arsman K'veli's High Constable of the same name: L 51ff.). The artificial and spurious character of the story of the Diarchy has already been referred to earlier in this study. There is, however, an interesting synchronistic indication preserved in it. It is the insertion in L 45-9 of the narrative of the campaign in Iberia conducted on behalf of the King of Armenia by the Prince Sumbat Bivritiani, which had been provoked by a raid of Iberians and Alans (Ossetians) in Armenia. This seems an obvious enough reference to the Alan invasion of cis-Caucasia in 72 and of King Tiridates I of Armenia's expedition against the Alans.⁶⁰ And it was in order to forestall such incursions that the Emperor Vespasian had the older capital of Iberia, Armazi/Harmozica, fortified; and this is commemorated in his Greek inscription of 75.⁶¹ This inscription mentions the King of Iberia of the day, Mithridates, son of King Pharasmanes, and his son Amazaspus. King 'Michridates' of Iberia, son of King Pharasmanes, is also mentioned in the 'Armazic' inscription on a stele from Grave 4 from the Necropolis of the Vitaxae of Gogarene.⁶² There is still another inscription, in Greek and found in Rome, which mentions Amazaspus,⁶³ brother of King Mithridates of Iberia, who died and was buried near Nisibis (Antiochia Mygdonia), while accompanying the Emperor Trajan on his Iranian campaign of 114-117.⁶⁴ The genealogy of the Iberian royal house of the time is hopelessly muddled in Cassius Dio 58.26.3-4. Confusing Radamistus (see Pharasmanes I) with his brother Mithridates and, to some extent, his uncle, he asserts that the latter was succeeded in Armenia by another Mithridates, apparently his son and brother of Pharasmanes, who was his successor as King of Iberia.

⁶⁰ Cf. R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris 1947) 109. For Sumbat Bivritiani, see *supra* n. 9.

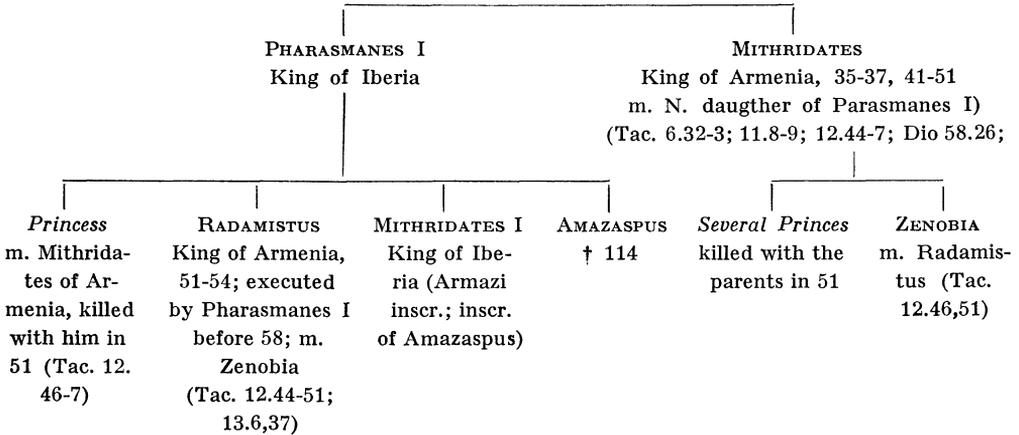
⁶¹ W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* I (Leipzig 1903) 586-8 No. 379. For the corrected reading, see A. Amiranašvili, 'O grečeskoj nadpisi is okrestnostej Mxeta,' *Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj Akademii Istorii Material'noj Kul'tury* 5 (1927) 409-411.

⁶² Ap'akije, *Mxeta* 72-3, PL. LXI, LIX. — Michridates, like *Μιθριδάτης*, renders Mihrdat derived from *Miθradāta, for which see Justi, *Namenbuch* 209-13.

⁶³ Although the original Iranoid form of this name is Hamazasp (Justi, *Namenbuch* 124-125, cf. 486), and the later Hellenized form of it is *Ἀμαζάσπης*, the Georgian form of the name, so far met with, is Amazasp. The Rome inscription (*infra* n. 64) has *Ἀμαζάσπος*. In the Mc'xet'a inscription it is written *ΛΑΜΑΣΠΩ*; the Kaabah of Zoroaster inscription of Sapor I has *AMAZACIHOY*: cf. *infra* n. 76.

⁶⁴ This inscription has been published many times, e.g., *Anthologia Palatina*, ed. Cougny 3 (Paris 1890) 132; also *Fragmenta choliambica* in Loeb Classical Library, *The Characters of Theophrastus*, ed. J. Edmonds, 278. — The death of Amazaspus occurred at the very beginning of Trajan's campaign, for which see, e.g., N. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago 1938) 218-9; for the death of Amazaspus, 222.

On the basis of the above epigraphical data as well as the information of Tacitus (already adduced in part for Pharasmanes I, *q.v.*), the genealogy of the Royal House of Iberia in the first century appears to have been as follows:



We may undoubtedly add the memory of this complicated epoch to the causes already mentioned of the rise of the legend of the Diarchy. Here indeed we see three pairs of severally correlated kings: 1. Pharasmanes I of Iberia and Mithridates of Armenia, brothers, father- and son-in-law, enemies; — 2. Radamistus and Mithridates of Armenia, nephew and uncle, brothers-in-law, son- and father-in-law, enemies, the one supplanting and causing the death of the other; — and 3. Pharasmanes I of Iberia and Radamistus of Armenia, father and son, enemies, too, the one fearing the other and sending him to overthrow Mithridates in Armenia and then, after the loss of the Armenian throne, executing him. And it is, in the event, the first three of the 'diarchical' reigns of the legend that appear to be a deformed memory of the historical reign of Mithridates I of Iberia. The fact that Vespasian fortified in 75 for the King of Iberia the former capital of Armazi, which had remained one of the defence-fortresses of Mts'khet'a, may indicate that it was the King's residence at that time, — that in fact it was Mithridates I who was remembered by the legend as Armazel, i.e., as 'he of Armazi,' figuring in, precisely, the third 'diarchical' pair. We may thus assign to him, provisionally, the sum total of these three reigns, which is 48 years; and, as will be seen, the subsequent chronology fully bears out this.

Inasmuch as Mithridates I succeeded Pharasmanes I in 58, Tacitus' reference (14.26) to the acquisition in 60 of some Armenian border territory by the latter must be interpreted as referring to the former, — an easy enough confusion between father and son, predecessor and successor, especially as Pharasmanes is talked of by Tacitus at great length in the preceding pages,

and Mithridates the son not at all.⁶⁵ Indeed, the 'Armazic' inscription from the unilingual stele from Grave 4 of the Necropolis of the Vitaxae of Gogarene⁶⁶ mentions victories gained in Armenia by the Vitaxa Sharagas for King Mithridates, son of King Pharasmanes, which can only refer to the events of 60.

Finally, the close ties between Iberia and Rome, to which Vespasian's fortifying of Armazi and the titles of *φιλοκαῖσαρ* and *φιλορωμαῖος*, attributed to Mithridates I in the inscription of 75, bear witness, may account for the name $\Phi\Lambda\sim\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{H}\Sigma$ which is borne by a King of Iberia in an inscription on a silver dish from Grave 3 of the Necropolis of the Vitaxae.⁶⁷ This Hellenized name, built round the Roman name Flavius, is very likely an Aramaic epithet meaning 'friend of Flavius,' or else *Φλαουιοδάτης*, an Iranoid formation like Mithridates.⁶⁸ It can have been assumed only under the Flavian Emperors, i.e., in the years 69-96, and so only Mithridates I can have borne it.

12. Amazaspus/Amazasp I (106-116). Inscription of 75; L 50 (Amazasp and Derok, diarchs); RL I 50 (Amazasp and Deruk, diarchs). — Son of Mithridates I (Inscr. of 75; but in L son of Azork). — To this epoch must belong King Xepharnuges, whose Master of the Court, Iodmanges, was brother-in-law of Sharagas, Vitaxa under Mithridates I, as is revealed in the bilingual stele from Grave 4 of the Vitaxae of Gogarene.⁶⁹ This name appears to be a Hellenized Iranoid or Irano-Semitic epithet meaning something like 'Royal Splendor' or 'Might of Saturn'⁷⁰ and was, as we may assume for chron-

⁶⁵ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 101 should be corrected accordingly.

⁶⁶ *Supra* n. 62.

⁶⁷ Ap'akije, *Mcxeta* 60-63, Pl. iv(1).

⁶⁸ There have been purely Iranoid names *Δάδος* and *Dāda*, related to the modern Persian for 'grandfather': Justi, *Namenbuch* 76, 75. But this can hardly be expected here. We may, therefore, rather suppose *Δάδης* to be a Hellenized form of the Semitic *dād* ('friend'). 'Friend of Flavius' expresses the same thing as the two Greek epithets of Mithridates I, as found in the Inscription of 75: 'Friend of Caesar' and 'Friend of the Romans.' That a Semitic vocable should have been used, is but natural in a society which, like that of pre-Christian Iberia and pre-Christian Armenia, used Aramaic as one of its written languages. Cf. also *infra* n. 70.

⁶⁹ Ap'akije, *Mcxeta* 69-72, Pl. LIX, LX. This bilingual, Graeco-Aramaic ('Armazic') inscription commemorates Serapetis, daughter of the co-Vitaxa Zeuaches, and wife of Iodmanges, Master of the Court (*ἐπίτροπος*) of King Xepharnuges of Iberia. The inscriptions also mention that Zeuaches and Iodmanges's father Publicius Agrippa were contemporaries of Pharasmanes I. At the same time the 'Armazic' inscription on another stele from the same Grave 4 mentions Šaragas, son of Zeuaches, as a contemporary of Mithridates I: *ibid.* 72-72, Pl. LXI, LIX. Cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 260 (where through a typographical error a line, 'of King Xepharnuges,' has unfortunately been omitted under the name of 'Iodmanges, Master of the Court').

⁷⁰ This name appears to be a compound of Old Persian *xšaya* and **farnuka/farnuxa* (<*farnah*), found respectively in *Ξέρξης* and *Φαρνοῦχος*: Justi, *Namenbuch* 173-4, 94-5;

ological reasons, applied to Amazaspus I. — He reigned, traditionally (as the 4th ‘diarchical’ pair), for 10 years.

13. Pharasmanes/P[’]arsman II the Good (116-132). Arrian, *Peripl.* 15; Cassius Dio 69.15.1-2; (*Hist. Augusta*) Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani* 13.9; 17.10-12; 21.13; L 50-54 (P[’]arsman K[’]veli and Mihrdat, diarchs); RL I 50 (P[’]arsman K[’]veli and P[’]arsman Avaz, diarchs, and the extra pair: Rok and Mihrdat). — Son of Amazaspus I (L 50), on whose reign L projects the historical enmity of Pharasmanes I and his brother Mithridates of Armenia (see Mithridates I). During his reign, the Armenians and the Romans (*berjenni*) became friends, and the King of Armenia, with Roman aid, fought the Iranians (L 53-4). This must be a reference to the restoration of the Armenian Monarchy in 117, after the momentary annexation of Armenia by Trajan, and to the setting up of Vologases I as King of Armenia. Pharasmanes is said to have married Ghadana, daughter of the King of Armenia (who must have been Vologases I)⁷¹ (L 53, 54). — Pharasmanes refused in 129 to come and pay homage to the Emperor Hadrian then touring the East, and prompted the Alani to invade the civilized world,^{71a} even though the Emperor had sent him greater gifts — including an elephant — than to any other king of the East. In his pique, the Emperor dressed some 300 criminals in the gold-embroidered cloaks which were part of the return gift of Pharasmanes, and sent them into the arena (Dio, Spartianus). Traditionally, he reigned (as the 5th, and last, of the ‘diarchical’ pairs) for 16 years.

14. Radamistus/Adam (132-135). L 54; RL I 50 (Ghadam). — Son of Pharasmanes II, died after 3 years of reign, leaving the regency for his one-year-old son in the hands of his mother, Pharasmanes II’s widow Ghadana (L).⁷²

15. Pharasmanes/P[’]arsman III (135-185). Cassius Dio, *reliqu. libri* 70 (= 69) 15.3; (*Historia Augusta*) Julius Capitolinus, *Vita Pii* 9.6; L 54; RL I

Ap[’]akije, *Mcxeta* 72. Else, the second part of it may have reached Iberia *via* the Semitic *pharnug* = Kēwān-Saturn: Justi 94. For the possibility of Semitic vocables in the Caucasian names of pre-Christian times, see *supra* n. 68.

⁷¹ Or, possibly, of a Prince of Greater Sophene, cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 304.

^{71a} The invasion of the Alani in 136 (Debevoise, *Parthia* 242-3) is said by Cassius Dio 69.15 to have been provoked by Pharasmanes. This need not necessarily imply that that king must have been still alive when it actually took place. Moreover, the confusion between a celebrated monarch and his immediate successor or his eventual successor and namesake is something that can easily be expected in foreign sources; cf. *supra* Mithridates I (No. 11), *infra* Pharasmanes III (No. 15).

⁷² The classical form of his name is found in Tacitus (*supra* Mithridates I); the local form may have been Ğadam, rather than Adam: *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 304. Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 257, 107, 494.

50. — Born one year before his father Radamistus's death (i.e., in 134); his mother Ghadana was Regent until he came of age (L). Traditionally, she was Regent for 14 years (therefore he came of age at 15) and he reigned for 36 years thereafter. — Pharasmanes came to Rome as guest of the Emperor Antonius Pius (138-161), together with his wife, son, and noble retinue; he was especially honored, being allowed to sacrifice in the Capitol and to have his equestrian statue in the Temple of Bellona; and the Emperor increased the territory of his kingdom (Dio, Capitolinus). He could not have been younger than 20 at the time of his visit, so it may be dated as c. 154. After Capitolinus, the trip to Rome has been, through an understandable confusion, attributed to Pharasmanes II.⁷³

16. Amazaspus/Amazasp II (185-189). L 55-7; RL I 50. — Son of Pharasmanes III (L 54), he perished in a battle against his nephew and successor (L 57), after a reign of, traditionally, 4 years.

THE ARSACIDS⁷⁴

17. Rev I the Just (189-216). L 58; RL I 50. — Son of the King of Armenia (Vologases II, 180-191) and of the sister of Amazaspus II, wrested the throne from his maternal uncle (L 57) and reigned, traditionally, for 27 years. — With Vologases (Vałarshak) II, the Arsacids became at last firmly established on the Armenian throne: they reigned thereafter, with but slight interruptions, until the end of the Armenian Monarchy in 428. That this consolidation of the Arsacids in Armenia should have been accompanied by the acquisition of the Iberian throne for one of their princes, can hardly be regarded as unexpected. Rev married a Roman lady named Sephelia (L 58).⁷⁵

18. Vach'e (216-234). L 58; RL I 50. — Son of Rev I, reigned, traditionally, for 18 years.

⁷³ 'Pharasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit plusque illi quam Hadriano detulit.' — For modern historiography. see e.g. Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal Table* 146; and my *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 448 n. 40 (to be corrected accordingly).

⁷⁴ In Georgian, Aršakuniani: cf. e.g. L 63.

⁷⁵ His sobriquet is *mar'ali* in Georgian: an obvious translation of *δικαιος*, one of the epithets most frequently used in the *intitulatio* of the Arsacid Great Kings, cf. B. V. Head, *Historia nummorum* (Oxford 1911) 819-22. No classical variants of his name are known. Rev seems to be an abbreviation of the Iranoid Rēwnīz. Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 260, 342-3. Rev's wife is said to have come from 'the Empire' (*saberjnel'it'*); for this Georgian word as used in the sense of 'the Roman Empire' see Toumanoff, 'Christian Caucasia between Byzantium and Iran: New Light from Old Sources,' *Traditio* 10 (1954) 161 n. 222.

19. Bacurius/Bakur I (234-249). L 59; RL I 50. — Son of Vach'e, reigned, traditionally, for 15 years.^{75a}

20. Mithridates/Mihrdat II (249-265). L 59; RL I 50. — Son of Bacurius I, reigned, traditionally, for 16 years.

Save for the names, the filiation, and the length of regnal years, L gives absolutely no information regarding these three successive kings. A similar dearth of material is found in L only in connection with the single reigns of Meribanes II (No. 8) and of the 'diarchs' Amazaspus and Derok (cf. No. 11, Mithridates I). The Iberian historical tradition appears here to have lost or suppressed the memory of the events that occurred under these three kings. And yet those years saw the advent of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Macrinus, and Severus Alexander to Armenia and the triumphs of the Great King Sapor I. In 244, the Emperor Philip ceded to him, upon the defeat and death of Gordian III, the suzerain rights over Armenia, and so, doubtless, also over Iberia and Albania. In 252, Sapor occupied Armenia and began a war on Rome which culminated in 260 in his celebrated victory over Valerian. One of the Sassanian inscriptions on the so-called Kaabah of Zoroaster, at Naqsh-e-Rustam, shows that following that victory the Iranians overran Iberia, Albania, and other Caucasian lands and began implanting in them the Zoroastrian religion which was then becoming the official religion of their empire. In his inscription Sapor I mentions his vassal, Amazaspus/Khamazasp, King of Iberia. We must suppose that either this was another name for Mithridates II or that Amazaspus was an anti-King set up by Sapor in opposition to Mithridates. The latter supposition is the more likely. Indeed, the *Historia Augusta* (Trebellius Pollio, *Valeriani duo* 4) has preserved an information that indicates that after the defeat and capture of Valerian the Kings of Iberia and Albania proved Romanophile and hostile to Iran. It was this that must have provoked the Iranian campaign in these countries, as mentioned in the above inscription; and it seems quite probable that the pro-Roman Mithridates was replaced in 260 by the pro-Iranian Amazaspus. The latter's name suggests that he may have been a scion of the previous, third Pharnabazid Dynasty, who thus may have been pitted by the Sassanid emperor against the Iberian Arsacid. This intrusion the Iberian historical tradition seems to have preferred to pass over in silence. It is perhaps significant that the next Arsacid King of Iberia, Mithridates II's son Aspacures I, came to

^{75a} A fourth-fifth century Iberian dynast Bakur is called Bacurius/*Βακ(κ)ούριος* in the contemporary Roman and Greek sources: cf. *infra* at nn. 132-145. This was a purely Georgian way of Hellenizing the Iranoid name, which in the case of Iranians and Armenians was Hellenized as Pacorus/*Πάκορος*: Justi, *Namenbuch* 238-40.

the throne in 265, the moment, precisely, when Sapor I's imperial activity was definitely coming to an end.⁷⁶ Thus:

20a. Amazaspus/Khamazasp III, anti-King (260-265), can be added to this list.

21. Aspacures/Asp'agur I (265-284). L 59-62; RL I 50. — Son of Mithridates II (L 59).⁷⁷ — Into the story of his reign, as well as into that of his successor's reign, there have been inserted passages based on the Armenian Epos of the Iranian war⁷⁸ and betraying a close dependence on the Agathangelus, 1.19-23 (L 59) and 2.24-36 (L 62).⁷⁹ This Epos, fusing together the reigns of several Kings of Armenia, places the protracted conflict between the Armenian Arsacids and the Iranian Sassanids in the reign of Chosroes II of Armenia († 287) alone and therefore makes this king a contemporary of the First Sassanid Great King Artashir (c. 224 - c. 241).⁸⁰ But there is, in

⁷⁶ For the Sassanian inscriptions on the Kaabah of Zoroaster, i.e., the trilingual (Pahlavi, Middle Persian, and Greek) inscription of Sapor I and the Middle Persian inscription of the Priest Kartir, see M. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran: Sapor and Kartir* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago 1953). The historical context briefly alluded to above is brilliantly dealt with *ibid.* 2-6, 77-111 (one may, however, question the propriety of referring to the Zoroastrian ritual sacrifices as 'high masses'); cf. also K. Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoj Albanii* (Moscow/Leningrad 1959) 131-136. It is from Kartir's inscription (Sprengling, transl. p. 52, line 12) that it is made clear that the Iranian inroads into Iberia and other lands, and the implanting of Zoroastrianism in them, occurred after the defeat of Valerian. For the weakening of the aging Sapor I's imperial policies, see *ibid.* 109. The pro-Iranian King of Iberia is called in Sapor's inscription *xmzasp vjrsn MLK'* in Pahlavi (9, line 25), *amčšpy vl=rvčan MLK'* in Middle Persian (12, lines 30-31), and in Greek *AMAZACIHOY TOY BACIAEQC THC IBHPIAC* (76, line 60 and Plate 12, line 60). — The survival of collateral branches of the III Pharnabazid Dynasty after the accession of the Arsacids to the Iberian throne seems confirmed by the story of St. Nino's miraculous cure of an 'Amazaspian prince' (*sep'ecul Amzaspan*): L 115.

⁷⁷ The second king of this name (No. 24) is called Aspacuras by Ammianus Marcellinus. Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 46.

⁷⁸ For this Epos, see M. Abelyan, *Istorija drevneramjanskoj literatury I* (Erevan 1948) 156-62.

⁷⁹ Cf. also the version of Ps. Moses, 2.71, 73, 74, 78, 82, which is different from the version of both Agathangelus and L. The latter is obviously based on Agathangelus, even occasionally using the same expressions, but briefer. It is curious that the name it gives to Chosroes II, 'Kosaro,' is closer to what the Greek Agathangelus calls that King (*Κοσάρω*), rather than to the form found in the Armenian Agathangelus (*Xosrov*). — For the versions of Agathangelus, and the Gregorian Cycle in general, see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 16; for Ps. Moses of Chorene, *ibid.* 18, 330-334.

⁸⁰ P. Ananian, 'La date e le circostanze della consecrazione di S. Gregorio Illuminatore,' *Le Muséon* 74 (1961) 43-73. — The reference of L 59 of the Iberian participation in the war on Iran may well be part of the borrowing from Agath. 1. 19-23, which makes mention of Iberian and Albanian aid to King Chosroes, rather than an independent memory preserved by the Iberian historical tradition. The Great King whom the Agath. calls, anachronistically, 'Artašir,' Leontius denominates 'K'asre' 'who is known as Ardabir [*rectius* Ardašir]' (59); cf. *supra*, n. 41.

connection with these inserted passages, and in spite of their chronological dislocation, the indication that Aspacures I and Chosroes II were contemporaries (L 59-62). It can be supposed that Leontius — or his source — being aware of this synchronism for the reign of Aspacures, explained it in the light of the Armenian Epos with which he was familiar. Hence the error of placing the rise of the Sassanids in the reign of Aspacures I (L 59). This also explains why the passages based on the Epos have been inserted in this part of Leontius.

In view of this, the traditional 3 years assigned to the reign of Aspacures I cannot be correct. And there is more evidence to bear this out which has a much vaster import. There are three historically certain dates among the regnal years of the Kings of Iberia of the first five centuries of our era, one of them approximate. These dates are: A.D. 1 for the accession of Pharasmanes I (No. 10), A.D. 361 for the death of Meribanes III (No. 22), and c. 446 for the accession of Vakhtang I (No. 32). Adding the traditional lengths of reigns of all the kings from Pharasmanes I to Vakhtang I, the number of 448 years is obtained, separating A.D. 1 from 499. The reason for the date 449 instead of c. 446 will be seen later (Vakhtang I). This, by the way, as well as the fact that the sum total of regnal years between Pharnabazus I and Pharasmanes I is 299 (which places the accession of the former at 299 B.C.), is rather a remarkable vindication of the reliability of the traditional length of reigns preserved by Vakhusht.

Since Meribanes III died in 361 after a reign of, traditionally, 77 years, his accession must have taken place in 284. However, the time actually elapsed between the accession of Pharasmanes I in A.D. 1 and the accession of Meribanes III is 16 years longer than the sum total of the traditional regnal years between these two kings. For, as has been seen, according to tradition, Meribanes III's predecessor, Aspacures I reigned for only 3 years, 365-368. But if this were accepted, and Meribanes' accession consequently put at 368, his death-date would have to be put at 345 (268+77). In other words, the reign of Meribanes III, or rather his accession-date and his death-date, must have been misplaced: 16 years earlier than where historically it should be. Prior to the establishing of his death-date as 361, this misplacement could of course be freely attempted. Since, however, the length of the regnal years of so great a monarch as the First Christian King must have been especially well remembered, and could not be tampered with, it was the length of the regnal years of his relatively obscure predecessor Aspacures I that was correspondingly shortened. The death of Aspacures I was thus put 16 years prior to the real date of the accession of Meribanes, and so also of course that accession itself: $284-16 = 268$. And this left Aspacures I with but 3 years of reign ($268 = 265+3$). As has already been seen, this length of his reign is contradicted by the synchronisms found in his own story.

There is, it seems to me, one possibility of explaining this misplacement. Meribanes III had two sons. The elder, Rev II (No. 22a) died before his father and in the same year as he; but he had been at an unspecified date co-opted by him. Rev II's son Sauromaces II (No. 23) then succeeded Meribanes in 361, but in 363 was overthrown by his uncle Aspacures II, Meribanes III's younger son; and his reign was consigned to oblivion by the Iberian historical tradition. We may suppose that Rev II was co-opted 16 years prior to his death, i.e., in 345 (when Meribanes III was 68); and that later some source or sources of L, in transmitting the essential chronological data, mistook Rev II's co-optation by his father for his succession to him. Thus the moment of his co-optation was made to coincide with the death of Meribanes III; and this must be the reason for misplacing the latter's reign 16 years back. Next, the Iberian historical tradition, anxious to disguise the fact of the usurpation of Aspacures II, made him the immediate successor of Meribanes III, counting from the latter's erroneous death-date 345. Aspacures II's reign lasted, traditionally, for 22 years, which would make it cover the years 345-367. However, these 22 years must have been made to include the 2 years of the ignored reign of Sauromaces II. Thus, originally, Aspacures II must have been credited with only 20 years of reign, i.e., 345-365. The date of the end of his reign was remembered rightly, as subsequent chronology will show, but its beginning was projected much further back, in order to reach 345, the supposed death-date of Meribanes III. In actual fact, Aspacures II usurped his nephew's throne only in 363, and so reigned for only 2 years. As the reign of Aspacures I was shortened by 16 years, because of the misplacement of Meribanes III's reign, so also the reign of Aspacures II was lengthened: the date of his accession 363 was pushed back 2 years (= reign of Sauromaces II) to 361 and then 16 years (= co-regnancy of Rev II) to 345.

THE CHOSROIDS⁸¹

22. Meribanes/Mirian III (284-361). Ammianus Marcellinus 21.6.8 (Meribanes); *Conversion of Iberia*⁸² 50-59; L 63-130; RL I 50 (Mirean); Ps. Moses of Chorene 2.86 (Mihran); *Life of St. Nino*.⁸³ — Son of the Great King of Iran⁸⁴ by a concubine (L 64), succeeded Aspacures I on the throne of Iberia and married the latter's daughter, the Princess Abeshura, last of her dynasty,

⁸¹ In Georgian, Xosro(i)ani or Xosro(v)ani: *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 83 n. 105. The implied meaning was 'Sassanid'; cf. *supra*, n. 41.

⁸² Ed T'aqaišvili (*supra* n. 2).

⁸³ Ninth-century addition to the *Conversion of Iberia*: *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 23.

⁸⁴ Named by the dynastic name of Chosroes (K'asre) but also Artašir: cf. *supra*, Pharnabazus I (No. 1) and nn. 41, 80.

on the invitation of the Iberian princes, being then aged 7 (L 62-64). — This story, elaborately told, disguises a somewhat different historical reality. The defeat of Iran by the Emperor Carus in 283 proved fruitless. The Emperor's death in that year was followed by a period of internal difficulties for the Roman Empire. The Sassanids appear to have profited by that to gain an important diplomatic victory. Having had to contend with the constant hostility of the Armenian Arsacids, they now must have seized the opportunity presented by the extinction of the Iberian Arsacids so as to replace them with a purely Iranian house. It has been shown that the Chosroids of Iberia (as the dynasty founded by Meribanes III has been called) were a branch of the Mihranids, one of the Seven Great Houses of Iran. Other Mihranid branches soon were placed on other Caucasian thrones: in Gogarene and in the Armeno-Albanian principality of Gardman.⁸⁵ The assertion that Meribanes was not a legitimate son of the Great King is a way of admitting that his origin was in reality not imperial Sassanid but rather princely Mihranid. Indeed, to act as the boy-King's Protector, the Great King sent one of his grandees named Mirvanoz⁸⁶ (L 64-65), i.e., another Mihranid. The sending of a mere boy to the country he was destined to rule, in order to acclimatize him to it, has its precedent in Armenian history, in the case of the Polemonid Zeno-Artaxias III (18-34) (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.56).

There is inserted into the story of Meribanes III another passage based on the Armenian Epos of the Iranian War and corresponding to Agathangelus 4.39-47 (L 68). It narrates the beginnings of Tiridates the Great, son of Chosroes II of Armenia, who was brought up in the Roman Empire and then restored on the Armenian throne by the Emperor.⁸⁷ We are told, next, of Meribanes' war, together with the Great King, against the Empire; and then of the peace established between the Emperor, Tiridates of Armenia, and Meribanes of Iberia (L 69-70). This seems an obvious enough reference to the Roman war of the Great King Nerses, in 297, in which Iberia must, as an Iranian vassal, have taken part; and to the Peace of Nisibis of 298, following the defeat of Iran, in which the Empire acquired suzerain rights over Armenia and Iberia.⁸⁸ In fact, there is in the narrative (L 67) a confused mention of a conference held near Nisibis.

The rest of the narrative (L 72-130) is given to the story of the Conversion of Iberia to Christianity. On the basis of various chronological indications, found in L and in other sources, it has been established that through the preaching of St. Nino, Illuminatrix of Iberia, Meribanes III turned to Chris-

⁸⁵ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 83 and n. 105; 187-90, 253, 473, 478-81.

⁸⁶ See *supra* n. 47.

⁸⁷ Including the detail of the combat of Tiridates and a Gothic king.

⁸⁸ See *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 149-50.

tianity, in 334; that he was baptized together with his family, and the whole kingdom officially adopted Christianity, in 337; and that he died in 361.⁸⁹

A statement in Juansher (159) has it that from Meribanes III to Vakhtang I, 157 years elapsed.⁹⁰ The traditional, but erroneous, death-dates of Meribanes and of Vakhtang are 345 and 502 (*supra* Aspacures I; *infra* Vakhtang I [No. 32]); and the difference between them is indeed 157 years. At the age of 15, i.e., in 292, Meribanes lost his first wife, Queen Abeshura, who died without issue; he subsequently married his second Queen, Nana from Pontus.⁹¹ Meribanes of Iberia was being cajoled by Constantius II in 360⁹² to remain

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 374-7.

⁹⁰ This is the kind of chronological notices that must lie at the basis of the traditional chronology of the Iberian kings. The difficulty in *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 377 n. 99 is thus at last solved.

⁹¹ After Queen Abešura's death, 'the kingship and queenship of the Pharnabazid kings came to an end in Iberia' (*dadesrula k'art'ls šina mep'oba da dedop'loba p'arnavaziant'a mep'et'a*): L 66. A little later, mention is made of King Meribanes, his second Queen, and their children: L 116, 119. The second wife of Meribanes was 'from the Empire, from Pontus, daughter of Oligotos/Uhlatos/Uliotor, Nana by name' (*saberjnel'it', pontoit', asuli oligotosisi/uhlatosisi/uliotorisi, saxelit' nana*): L 66. That the Queen's father was a neighbouring dynast or a high Roman official (for *saberjnel'i* in the sense of 'the Empire' see *supra* n. 75), seems safe to assume. 'Pontus' may refer here to the Kingdom of Bosphorus, a remnant of the Ponto-Bosporan Monarchy and a vassal-state of Rome, still existing in the first half of the fourth century. One is tempted, moreover, to see in the name of Nana's father — which, as found in the MSS in the above three variants, is an obvious corruption — a rendering of 'Olympius' or 'Olympus' (cf. *ulpia/ulumpia*, a Georgian rendering of the name Olympias: Toumanoff, 'The Fifteenth-Century Bagratids and the Institution of Collegial Sovereignty in Georgia, *Traditio* 7 [1949-1951] 175); and to connect it with the Bosporan (dynast of official?) Olympus, whose son Aurelius Velerius Sogus Olympianus was, first, in the Roman service and, then, Bosporan viceroy of Theodosia. The latter is known from a Greek inscription of A.D. 306 dedicated to 'the Most High God' on the occasion of the building of the Jewish 'prayer house' (*προσευχή*, i.e., synagogue) at Panticapaeum: B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae*, further ed. by *idem* and V. Shkorpil, in *Izvestija Arxeologičeskoj Komissii* 10.26-9; cf. V. Gajdukevič, *Bosporskoe Carstvo* (Moscow/Leningrad 1949) 457-8. Under the influence of the Jewish settlers (from the first half of the first century; *ibid.* 347, 377) and, subsequently, of Christianity (from the first half of the fourth century: *ibid.* 465), there developed in the Kingdom of Bosphorus, in the second-third century, a syncretistic monotheism, professed by religious societies (*θίασοι*) worshipping 'the Most High God' (*θεός ὑψιστος*), as invoked by Aurelius Valerius Sogus Olympianus (*ibid.* 363-4, 433-5, 465-6). If true, the above conjectural identification of Queen Nana's father with Olympus might throw new light on the religious influences at work in connection with the Conversion of Iberia.

⁹² The date is determined by the context of Ammianus. Shortly before (21.6.4) the third marriage of Constantius II is mentioned, which took place in the Winter of 360 (E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* I [tr. J. R. Palanque, Paris 1959] 157); and, immediately after (21.6.9), the accession of Helpidius to the post of Praetorian Prefect of the East, which took place on 4 February 360 (Grumel, *Chronologie* 367).

on the side of the Empire, in the war then being waged on Iran (Ammianus Marcellinus).⁹³

22a. Rev II (co-King 345-361). L 70, 71, 104, 119, 123, 126, 129, 130; RL II 59. — Son of Meribanes III (L), co-King with his father (with appanage in Kakhetia and residence at Ujarma: L 71, 126), died before him and in the same year (L 129). Married Salome, daughter of Tiridates the Great, King of Armenia (L 70, 71, 76, 121, 126, 127, 129, 131). For his dates, see *supra* Aspacures I.⁹⁴

23. Sauromaces II (361-363, diarch 370-378). Ammianus Marcellinus, 27.12; 30.2 — Ignored by the Iberian historical tradition. According to Ammianus, this King, vassal of Rome, was expelled by the Iranians after the Treaty of 363 and replaced by his cousin Aspacures (27.12.1,4; *consobrini*: 27.12.16); but (in 370)⁹⁵ the Emperor Valens restored him, though only in the south-western half of Iberia, with the Cyrus separating his realm, which was under Roman suzerainty, from the north-eastern realm where Aspacures continued to reign as an Iranian vassal (27.12.16-17). Despite the Iranian failure to remove Sauromaces by diplomatic means (30.2.2-3), the Roman defeat at Adrianople in 378 brought about the passing of the whole of Iberia under Iranian control (30.2.7-8).⁹⁶ Peranius, son of Sauromaces, was a hostage in Iran (27.12.16).⁹⁷

In order to place this important information of Ammianus Marcellinus into the context of the Iberian historical tradition, from which it seems to have been excluded, the genealogy of the immediate descendants of Meribanes III, as revealed by that tradition, must be examined. Most of the source-references in the table to follow will be found in connection with the individual kings.

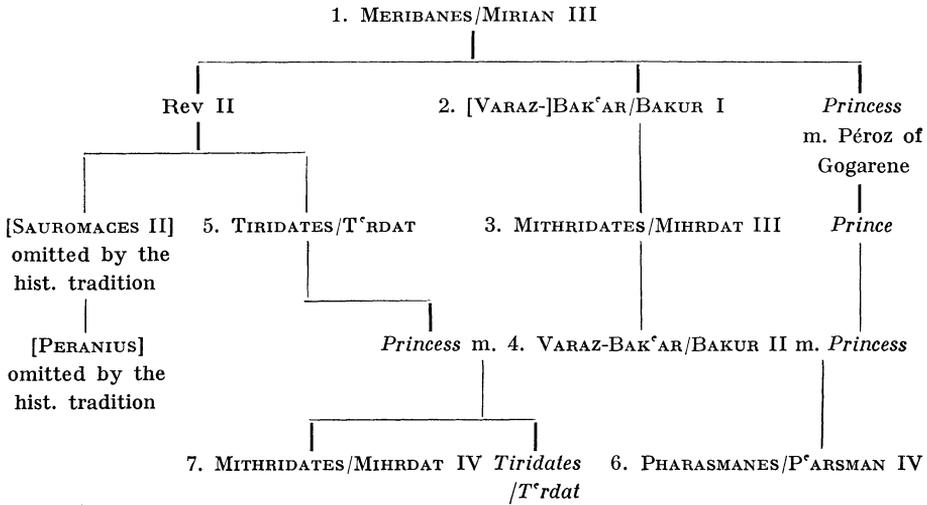
⁹³ RL L 50 concludes, after Aspacures I, with 'Lev, father of Mirian,' which is quite spurious. With the facility of the *r-l* mutation in Georgian, one may wonder whether this imaginary kingship of Lev were not a memory of the co-kingship of Meribanes III's son Rev II.

⁹⁴ RL II 60 makes Rev die in the reign of Aspacures II/Bakur (No. 26), and also makes the former the father of the latter. Cf. *infra*, Sauromaces II.

⁹⁵ For this date: Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* I 187.

⁹⁶ Cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 460-2. It was this historical Diarchy that was projected by the Iberian historical tradition back to the first century; cf. *supra*: Mithridates I, Amazaspus I, Pharasmanes II (Nos. 11, 12, 13).

⁹⁷ Called Ultra by Ammianus, which name, as Fr. Peeters has shown, stands for Peranius, an Iranoid name (Pirān used in Caucasia; the historian mistook it for the Greek *πέγαν*: P. Peeters, 'Les débuts du christianisme en Géorgie d'après les sources hagiographiques,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 50 (1932) 39 n. 3; cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 246, 252.



According to the Iberian tradition, as found in L, Meribanes III was succeeded by his son Bak'ar I, called Bakur in RL II 59. L lays much stress on the fact that Meribanes appointed Bak'ar/Bakur to succeed him and crowned him, after Rev's death and just before his own (L 129-30). Yet he records that Bak'ar/Bakur, on becoming King, took care to deprive his nephews, sons of Rev, of their rights to the throne (L 131). This is an admission of their better rights, as indeed is true. For Rev II was the elder son of Meribanes III, as is clear from precisely this as well as from the fact that it was he who was co-opted by his father. This statement of L reveals something else, namely, that Rev had more than one son.⁹⁸ Subsequently, however, L mentions only one son, Tiridates — so named obviously in honor of his maternal grandfather Tiridates the Great of Armenia — who finally, late in life, reached the throne.

The protestations of L about Bak'ar/Bakur's appointment and coronation by his father and his silence about the brother (or brothers) of Tiridates, son of Rev II, are a clue. Official Iberian historiography quite clearly attempted to conceal an unpleasantness that would, if revealed, have clashed with the general atmosphere of sanctity with which tradition endowed the immediate family of the First Christian King. But this unpleasantness has in fact been made known — by Ammianus Marcellinus. Unmistakably Sauro-maces II, the elder son of the co-King Rev II and the immediate successor of Meribanes III, in 361, was expelled in 363 with the aid of infidel Iran, by

⁹⁸ L 123 reports a miraculous cure, in 337, of Rev's then sole child. His other son (or sons) must have been born later.

his uncle, Meribanes' younger son Bak'ar/Bakur. For the sake of decorum, then, the latter was made the immediate successor of his father, and Sauromaces II's brief reign was expunged from the historical memory. Yet RL II 59 has preserved, in its usually confused way, the memory of the fact that Meribanes III was succeeded by a King who was his grandson and son of Rev II, when it calls Bakur 'son of Rev.'

We must then conjecture that Bak'ar/Bakur was the Aspacures of Ammianus Marcellinus. The Georgian name appears to be a shortened form of the name, which in its full form is Varaz-Bak'ar/Bakur, as used of that King's grandson. It is difficult to escape the impression that Varaz-Bakur is a corrupt version of Asp'agur/Aspacures.⁹⁹ Now, exactly as Rev named his second son after the latter's maternal grandfather Tiridates, so Meribanes may be supposed to have named his second son after the latter's maternal grandfather, Aspacures. It is true that Ammianus says Sauromaces and Aspacures were *consobrini*, cousins, not nephew and uncle. But he must have been confused by two sets of relationships: (1) as in 363: Sauromaces and Aspacures, nephew and uncle, enemies; and (2) as in 370: Sauromaces and Mithridates III (who had meanwhile succeeded his father), indeed *consobrini*, also enemies. Thus, Mithridates was, obviously, confused with his father, because of the similarity of their political relationship to Sauromaces; and to that composite person, the usurping cousin of Sauromaces, the name of Mithridates' father, and son, was applied.

The motivation for the addition of Rev II's and Sauromaces II's¹⁰⁰ regnal years to those of Aspacures II seems clear. It was imperative to obliterate the memory of the usurpation that occurred in the immediate family of the First Christian King. For this, the memory of the reigns of the rightful line, wronged by that usurpation, was also to be expunged. The chronological tradition was indeed successful in this task, but other sources of L had, nevertheless, kept the memory of Rev II's co-regnancy with his father.

24. Aspacures II ([Varaz]-Bakur I) (363-365). Ammianus Marcellinus 27.12 (Aspacures); L 70, 128, 129-31 (Bak'ar); RL II 59-60 (Bakur). — Son of Meribanes III (L),¹⁰¹ reigned, traditionally, for 22 years; but see *supra* the notices on Aspacures I and on Sauromaces II, whom he expelled with the aid of Iran (Ammianus).

⁹⁹ Here, as in the case of this king's grandfather, RL gives, for a change, a more correct form of the royal name than L.

¹⁰⁰ No such need existed in connection with Sauromaces II's second reign, in 370-378, because it occurred simultaneously with that of Mithridates III.

¹⁰¹ For the error of RL, see *supra* n. 94.

25. Mithridates/Mihrdat III (365-380, diarch 370-378). Ammianus Marcellinus 27.12; 30.2 (Aspacures); L 131-132 (Mihrdat). — Son of Aspacures II, reigned, traditionally, 15 years (*supra*, Sauromaces II).

26. Aspacures III (Varaz-Bakur II) (380-394). L 132-37 (Varaz-Bak'ar); RL II 60 (Varaz-Bakur). — Son of Mithridates III (L 132). During his reign of, traditionally, 14 years, the Iranians penetrated into and ravaged Armenia, and Iberia became tributary to them (L 136), which is an obvious reference to the Partition of Armenia in the Treaty of Acilisene of 387.¹⁰² Being irreligious,¹⁰³ he had two wives at the same time: the daughter of Tiridates, son of Rev II (doubtless in order to strengthen his position from the point of view of dynastic legitimism) and the granddaughter of the first Mihranid Vitaxa of Gogarene P'eroz and of his wife, a daughter of Meribanes III (L 132, 135, 137).¹⁰⁴

27. Tiridates/T'rdat (394-406). L 137; RL II 60.¹⁰⁵ — Son of Rev II (L), whose reign, of, traditionally, 12 years represented a reaction against the younger line of the Royal Family.¹⁰⁶

28. Pharasmanes/P'arsman IV (406-409). L 138; RL II 61.¹⁰⁷ — Son of Aspacures III by the Princess of Gogarene (L 135, 138), reigned briefly (L 138), traditionally for 3 years.

29. Mithridates/Mihrdat IV (409-411). L 138; J 139; RL II 61. — Son of Aspacures III by the Princess of Iberia (L 135, 138), deposed after a reign of, traditionally, 2 years by the Iranians and deported.

30. Arch'il (411-435). Koriun, *Life of St. Mashtots'* 15.2 (Artsiul);¹⁰⁸ J 139-42; RL II 61; Ps. Moses of Chorene 3.60 (Artsil). — Son of Mithridates IV, he married Maria, said to be of the family of the Emperor Jovian; during his reign of, traditionally, 24 years, he waged war against Iran (J 139-41). This must be a memory of the Roman-Iranian war of 420-422, in which Iran was defeated; and this must have facilitated Iberia's relations with the Empire.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 151-2 and n. 6.

¹⁰³ In Georgian *uremuno*, which in the fifth-sixth centuries implied also a pro-Iranian political orientation: *ibid.* 461.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 262, 473-5.

¹⁰⁵ RL makes Tiridates a brother of Aspacures II/Bakur and predecessor of Aspacures III/Varaz-Bakur. *Τιριδάτης* = Iranoid Tirdāt, Arm. Trdat (Justi, *Namenbuch* 326-7); it is odd that the Georgian (very rare) name should begin with an aspirate *t'*.

¹⁰⁶ L calls him 'old man'; if born after 337 (*supra* n. 98), he was no more than 58.

¹⁰⁷ RL calls him 'sister's son' of Tiridates and makes him succeed a spurious King Bakur son of Tiridates (60).

¹⁰⁸ For this source, written in 443-451, see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 17.

¹⁰⁹ No Classical equivalent of the name Arch'il is known, though it is derived ultimately from Artaxšathrā/Artaxerxes: Justi, *Namenbuch* 35.

31. Mithridates/Mihrdat V (435-447). J 140, 141-2, 143. — Son of Arch'il, reigning, traditionally, for 12 years, he married Sagdukht, daughter of Barzabod, Mihranid Prince of Gardman.¹¹⁰

32. Vakhtang I Gorgasal/Gurgenes (447-522). Lazarus of P'arpi 66-87 (Vakht'ang);¹¹¹ Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 1.12 (Gurgenes); J 144-204;¹¹² RL II 61-2. — Son of Mithridates V (J 143). His regnal years have so far been established as c. 446-522.¹¹³ Now we are in the position to introduce more precision by putting his accession at 447. As has been seen (No. 21 *supra*, Aspacures I), the sum total of all the traditional regnal years resulted in making Vakhtang's accession occur in 449. In the last analysis, the date is obtained by adding the sum total of the traditional regnal years of the kings after Meribanes III, which is 104, to the erroneous death-date of that monarch, 345. But, as we have been able to see, the number 104 must be diminished. Instead of the 22 traditional regnal years of Aspacures II (No. 24), there should be only 2 of his reign and 2 of the reign of Sauromaces II (No. 23) between the death of Meribanes III and that of Aspacures II. The remainder of 18 (22—2—2) years must thus be subtracted from 104, leaving 86, which when added to the real death-date of Meribanes III, gives 447 (361+86) for the date of Vakhtang's accession. Traditionally he is assigned a reign of 53 years. Since his traditional accession-date is 449, his death accordingly is to be put at 502 (443+53). Now this date is 20 years earlier than the real date of his death; this error of computation is doubtless in connection with the lengthening by the same 20 years of the 2-year reign of Aspacures II.

The events of the reign of Vakhtang I have been treated elsewhere in some detail with all their synchronistic possibilities;¹¹⁴ only bare essentials of his chronology, but with greater precision, need thus be mentioned here. He was born in 440, became King — like Meribanes III — at 7 in the year 447, married (1) in 459 Balendukht, daughter of the Great King Hormizd III, and (2) after 484 Helena, a relative of the Emperor Zeno. In 482, he revolted against his suzerain, the Great King and effected a *rapprochement* with the Emperor; then sought Imperial aid against Iranian pressure, but was defeated and fled to the Imperial territories in 522, the year of his death. His sobriquet of Gorgasal was rendered as Gurgenes by Procopius.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ For the House of Gardman, see *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 475-481. For the epigraphic evidence for Queen Sagdukht, *ibid.* 480 n. 186.

¹¹¹ For the fifth-century Lazarus, see *ibid.* 17.

¹¹² The opening part of J, dealing with Vaxtang I and his three predecessors, appears to belong to an anonymous chronicler from Ujarma being merely incorporated in J: *ibid.* 258.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 362-70.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Γουργένης* is derived from the King's sobriquet of Gorgasal ('Wolf's head'): *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 368-9 and n. 48. The name Vaxtang has no Classical equivalent. This

The reigns of this King's five successors have also already been dealt with,¹¹⁶ in regard to their chronology and synchronisms and to the reliability of their chief source. Therefore, in their case, too, only the essentials of chronology and genealogy will be shown.

33. Dach'i (522-534). J 204-5; RL II 62 (Dach'i Ujarmeli). — Son of Vakh-tang I (J 204), reigned for 12 years (J 205).¹¹⁷

34. Bacurius/Bakur II (534-547). J 206; RL II 62. — Son of Dach'i, reigned for 13 years (J).

35. Pharasmanes/P'arsman V (547-561). J 206-7; RL II 63. — Son of Bacurius II (J 206), reigned for 14 years (J 207).

36. Pharasmanes/P'arsman VI (561-?). J 207-15; RL II 63. — Nephew (brother's son) of Pharasmanes V (J 207).

37. Bacurius/Bakur III (?-580). J 215-7; RL II 63. — Son of Pharasmanes VI (J 215). After his death the Iberian Monarchy was abolished by Iran, on the demand of the Iberian princes.¹¹⁸

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The flight of Vakhtang I Gorgasal to the Empire was followed by a war between it and Iran, which lasted from 526 to 532.¹¹⁹ The peace that closed this first Persian War of Justinian I in 532 was, so far as Iberia was concerned, a diplomatic victory for Iran. For in that treaty, the suzerain rights over Iberia, which Vakhtang had thrown off in 482, passing under the Imperial protection,¹²⁰ now tacitly reverted to Iran.¹²¹ One result of this was the curbing of the powers of the Iberian Kings, successors of Vakhtang, not only by the Iranian overlord but also by the pro-Iranian aristocracy of Iberia.¹²²

King was its first bearer, for it was for him that a combination of three Pehl. words *Vārān-Xusraw-thang* (for which see Justi, *Namenbuch* 343-4, 514, 139, 346) was contracted as one name: J 143, 158.

¹¹⁶ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 373-8.

¹¹⁷ This name has no known Classical equivalent. Cf. Justi, *Namenbuch* 80.

¹¹⁸ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 378-82.

¹¹⁹ For this war: Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Empire* II (Paris/Brussels/Amsterdam 1949) 267-73, 287-93; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* II (London 1923) 79-89; cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 371.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 364-8, cf. 368-70.

¹²¹ This retrocession is nowhere specifically mentioned: Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 1.22. Yet the clause (1.22.16) allowing the Iberian refugees in the Empire to return to their homeland, signifies that Iberia was now in the Iranian sphere; cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Empire* II 294.

¹²² *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 371.

Already in 517/518, during one of Vakhtang's conflicts with Iran, the Iranians succeeded in installing an Iranian viceroy in the King's capital of Tiflis, while the King was relegated to but a section of his realm.¹²³ From a contemporary hagiographical source we learn that in 540/541 there was still, in Tiflis, an Iranian viceroy, but no king.¹²⁴ And Procopius actually states that, after the flight of Vakhtang I Gorgasal to the Empire, the Iranians abolished the Iberian Monarchy.¹²⁵ And yet, the trustworthy Juansher gives the list of Vakhtang's five successors to 580, which has already been examined. The disrepute in which the Georgian Royal Annals (*K'art'lis C'xovreba*, of which J is a part) were once mistakenly held,¹²⁶ the silence of the above-mentioned hagiographical text, and the assertion of Procopius caused some earlier historians and their Soviet continuators¹²⁷ to accept as proved the abolition of the Iberian Monarchy sometime shortly after 523. Thus the clear witness of J was rejected and the fact overlooked that the hagiographical source in question treats but incidentally of the political situation in Iberia, and that Procopius, when speaking of things Caucasian, is not always immune from distortion.¹²⁸

In showing the continuation of the Iberian Monarchy after Vakhtang I, J also shows that the Royal Family were relegated to their demesne of Kakhetia, with its chief stronghold of Ujarma.¹²⁹ It is this that explains why in 540/541 an Iranian viceroy was found in Tiflis, where he ruled with the assistance of the local aristocracy. After all, there was an earlier Iranian viceroy at Tiflis, in 517/518, but nobody has argued the abolition of the monarchy, as of that date, from this fact. This relegation of the Royal Family to Kakhetia was, doubtless, the fruit of the Iranian and aristocratic victory over

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ The source is the *Martyrdom of St. Eustace of Mc'xel'a*; cf. *ibid.*

¹²⁵ Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 2.28.20-21.

¹²⁶ Cf. *Med. Georg. Hist. Lit.* 179-80; *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 20-23.

¹²⁷ Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Empire* II 294; A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge 1950) 271; Javakishvili, *K'art'v. eris istoria* I 246-7; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London 1932) 376-7; Gugushvili, *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 115 — all connect the abolition with the peace of 532, although there is absolutely nothing in what Procopius has to say about that peace to justify this assumption. Dr. Lang (in *Speculum* 12.195) invokes 'the best Soviet Georgian authorities' for the abolition of the Iberian Monarchy between 523 and 531 and thinks that the evidence of the *Martyrdom of St. Eustace* militates against 'the vague tradition' of J. Actually, of course, there is no conflict between the two Georgian sources, as is clear from my remarks in the text above and from what has already been said in *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* and the narrative of J is at this point anything but vague; in these circumstances Dr. Lang's 'argument from authority' appears to be somewhat less than compelling.

¹²⁸ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 369 n. 47.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 372-3.

the pro-Roman Crown; and it implied most certainly a curbing of its powers and in the first place, as in 517/518, a reduction of the territory under its control. Tiflis and Inner Iberia indeed seem to have become a direct dependency of Iran. It was this that Procopius mistook for the abolition, towards which it was in effect an important step.¹³⁰ One might even call this a virtual abolition, if one so wished; nevertheless, no historian is dispensed from respecting juridical facts, and the real, juridical, abolition of the — albeit reduced — Iberian Monarchy occurred, as in no uncertain or vague terms J makes it clear, in 580.¹³¹

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There remains the question of the identity of Rufinus' informant about the Conversion of Iberia to Christianity — *fidelissimus vir Bacurius, gentis ipsius rex et apud nos domesticorum comes . . . Palaestini . . . limitis dux*,¹³² Gelasius of Caesarea's *ὁ πιστότατος Βακκούριος . . . τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους*.¹³³ The late Fr. Peeters was right in identifying Bacurius with Bakur whom, according to Koriun, St. Mashtots', the inventor of the Armenian alphabet, visited in Iberia shortly after 416. Koriun speaks of King Bakur and of the Bishop of that country, Moses.¹³⁴ Fr. Peeters is again right in saying that Bacurius must have ascended his throne after having served in the Roman army, i.e., after 394, when he is last heard of in that service.¹³⁵ The *terminus ad quem* of his reign in Iberia must, according to Fr. Peeters, be the year 421/422, when St. Mashtots' saw Arch'il reigning in Iberia.¹³⁶ There is, however, the difficulty that there was no Bacurius/Bakur on the Iberian throne between 394 and 422: this we have seen. Nor was there, between the Conversion and the reign of Vakhtang I, a Bishop of Iberia, i.e., chief prelate of Iberia, named Moses, or thereafter a Katholikos of Iberia of that name.¹³⁷ However, the name is a clue. Though there never was a chief prelate of Iberia, Moses, the name does appear among the Bishops of the neighbouring vassal-

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 371, 373.

¹³¹ Or 579/581, to be exact: *ibid.* 380-82.

¹³² *Hist. eccl.* 10.11.

¹³³ *Apud* Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. eccl.* ed. G. Loeschke and M. Heinemann (Leipzig 1918) 154. He is also mentioned by Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.20; 5.25, and Zosimus 4.57-58.

¹³⁴ Koriun 13.1-2; cf. Ps. Moses 3.54.

¹³⁵ Peeters, *Les débuts du christianisme* 33-8. He also shows, 34, 35-6, that this Bacurius was a different person from *Bacurius Hiberus quidam* of Ammianus Marcellinus 31.12.16, and from another Bacurius, a correspondent of Libanius.

¹³⁶ Koriun 15.1-2; cf. Ps. Moses 3.60.

¹³⁷ For the Bishops of Iberia before they became Katholikoi, under Vakhtang I, see Tarchnišvili, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der kirchlichen Autokephalie Georgiens' (reprinted from *Kyrios* 5; 1940-1941) *Le Muséon* 73 (1960) 111-2.

state of Iberia, the Vitaxate of Gogarene. The list of the 'Bishops of the House of the Vitaxa,' as the Bishops of Ts'urtavi in Gogarene were entitled,¹³⁸ has not been established; but we do know that less than two centuries later, Moses, Bishop of Ts'urtavi played an important role in the break between the Iberian and Armenian Churches which occurred in the years 607-609.¹³⁹ It can be assumed that he had homonymous predecessors in his See.

What strengthens this supposition is the fact that Gogarene has often been confused with Iberia. This Armeno-Iberian march, to which reference has already been made here, was frequently called 'Armenia' by the Iberians and 'Iberia' by the Armenians.¹⁴⁰ At the time in which we are interested, the Vitaxae were vassals of the Iberian Crown; their subjects were a mixed Armeno-Georgian population, and their bishops, occasionally Armenian and occasionally Georgian; but the liturgy, at least in the chief shrine, the *martyrium* of St. Susan, Princess of Gogarene, was in Armenian; and Georgian was to be introduced as a parallel liturgical language only on the threshold of the seventh century.¹⁴¹ Accordingly, even though (as Fr. Peeters says) 'Koriun, Géorgien lui-même, devait connaître ces deux noms,' Bacurius and Moses,¹⁴² it is nevertheless difficult to escape the conclusion that Koriun, when speaking here of the King of Iberia and his bishop, must have had in mind the Vitaxa of Gogarene and his bishop. It so happens that in the list of the Vitaxae, there is one whose name we do not know. He is the son of the first Mihranid Vitaxa, P'eroz, and of Meribanes III's daughter, whose daughter was the second wife of Aspacures III of Iberia. After him came the Vitaxa Arshusha I, who showed protection to St. Mashtots' c. 430, and Arshusha's successor Bacurius, son-in-law of Mithridates V of Iberia.¹⁴³ It can thus be conjectured that the Bacurius of Rufinus, Gelasius, and Koriun was the son of P'eroz, grandson on his mother's side of the First Christian King of Iberia, and father-in-law of Aspacures III of Iberia, and so excellently equipped for telling the story of Iberia's conversion to Rufinus. His name, it thus appears, was borne again by his second successor in the Vitaxate. It is to be noted, too, that Gelasius of Caesarea does not call him king,

¹³⁸ Cf. Toumanoff, *Christian Caucasia* 177; and for the 'dynasticization' of the Church in Caucasia, see *ibid.* 129 n. 68; *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 138-9.

¹³⁹ For this break, see *Christ. Caucasia* 174-84.

¹⁴⁰ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 474-475; the Vitaxae themselves were variously styled: 'V. of Gogarene,' 'V. of Iberia,' and 'Prince of Iberia,' in the Armenian sources, and 'V. of Armenia,' 'V. of Iberia,' and simply 'Vitaxa' in the Georgian: *ibid.* 184, as well as ἄρχων τῶν Ἰβήρων by a Byzantine source: *ibid.* 263. For the ecclesiastical implications of this ambiguity, see *Chr. Caucasia* 179 n. 309.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 183. — This cannot fail to show the unreality of the attempt to dissociate the Vitaxae, when vassals of Iberia, from their Armenian context; cf. *supra* n. 21.

¹⁴² *Les débuts du christianisme* 38.

¹⁴³ *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 262.

but merely says that he was 'of the royal house' and that, at a later date, Zosimus¹⁴⁴ remembers him as an Armenian, which fits perfectly the ethnic ambiguity of the Vitaxae. As for the genealogical information, involving Bacurius and Arch'il, as found in the hagiographical romance known as *Life of St. Peter the Iberian*, it has been shown by Fr. Peeters — in his amusing and devastating way — to be utterly worthless.¹⁴⁵

APPENDIX

TRADITIONAL LIST OF THE EARLY KINGS OF IBERIA

The total number of the early Kings of Iberia, from Pharnabazus I to Bacurius III, appears to have been remembered by the Iberian historical tradition, along with the length of the regnal years of each king, despite some errors in connection with individual sovereigns, the origin of which can be explained and which have — it is hoped — been rectified in the present study. This number is exactly the same as that resulting from this study, i.e., 37 Kings + 1 anti-King (No. 20a).

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|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. P'arnavaz I | 20. Vach'e |
| 2. Saurmag | 21. Bakur I |
| 3. Mirvan I | 22. Mirdat II |
| 4. P'arnajom | 23. Asp'agur |
| 5. Arshak I | 24. Mirian |
| 6. Artag | 25. Bak'ar I |
| 7. Bartom I | 26. Mirdat III |
| 8. Mirvan II | 27. Varaz-Bak'ar II |
| 9. Arshak II | 28. T'rdat |
| 10. Aderk | 29. P'arsman V |
| 11. Bartom II and K'art'am | 30. Mirdat IV |
| 12. P'arsman I and Kaos | 31. Arch'il I |
| 13. Azork and Armazel | 32. Mirdat V |
| 14. Amazasp I and Derok | 33. Vakhtang I |
| 15. P'arsman II and Mirdat I | 34. Dach'i |
| 16. Adam | 35. Bakur II |
| 17. P'arsman III | 36. P'arsman V |
| 18. Amazasp II | 37. P'arsman VI |
| 19. Rev | 38. Bakur III |

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¹⁴⁴ 4.57: ἔλκων μὲν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὸ γένος.

¹⁴⁵ *Les débuts du christianisme* 54-58; cf. *Stud. Chr. Cauc. Hist.* 261.