

1943

Cyril Toumanoff, Medieval Georgian Historiographic Literature (VIIth to XVth Centuries)

Cyril Toumanoff

MEDIEVAL GEORGIAN HISTORICAL LITERATURE

(VIITH-XVTH CENTURIES)

By PRINCE CYRIL TOUMANOFF

Georgia¹ was, at the time of the Russian annexation at the beginning of the last century, the only country in Christendom whose socio-political and cultural development dated uninterruptedly from Classical times. Yet hers are perhaps the only important history and culture that are almost totally unknown to the West. Needless to say, this lack of familiarity extends to the Georgian historical writings as well. However, whereas Georgian history and culture are simply little known, regarding the Georgian historical sources there exist also misunderstanding and misinformation. Nevertheless, the value of these sources and their importance, not only for the history of Caucasia, but generally for that of the Christian East, have now found universal recognition among

¹ *Preliminary Note on the Transcription of the Georgian Alphabet.* The Georgian alphabet is perfectly adapted to the language. Every sound in Georgian is represented by a single letter of that alphabet. However, some Georgian sounds can be rendered into English only by a combination of letters; others can be only hinted at because English possesses no corresponding sounds. Thus two systems have been adopted in this study for rendering Georgian words into English. The one is that of *literal transcription*, the other, that of *phonetic transcription* or *transliteration*. According to the former, every single letter of the Georgian alphabet is made to correspond to a single letter of the English alphabet—often with diacritical marks. Literal transcription is used mainly in the notes. According to the other system, that of phonetic transcription or transliteration, Georgian sounds are—when necessary—expressed, or nearly expressed, by combinations of English letters. This system is used—chiefly for aesthetic reasons—in the English text of the study. Here are the two transcriptions of certain Georgian letters, first the *literal* then the *phonetic*:—

30th letter—c	}	= ts	17th letter—p	}	= p
32d c̣			24th p̣		
29th ċ	}	= ch	27th q	}	= q
33d c̈			28th š		
5th e	}	= e	21st t	}	= t
8th ē			9th t'		
26th ġ		= gh	22d w		= vi
31st j̄		= dz	34th x		= kh
36th j̇		= j	15th y		= y
11th k	}	= k	18th ž	}	= zh
25th k'					

These transcriptions are likewise applied to the corresponding Russian, Armenian, Arabic, and Persian sounds. Except that the Russian equivalent of the 15th letter and the first letter in the transcription of the Russian iotated vowels is rendered by "j"; that the 26th letter of the Russian alphabet is rendered by "y"; and that the Armenian equivalent of the 26th Georgian letter is *literally* transcribed as "t".—As regards the geographical appellations, Graeco-Latin equivalents are preferred to the less familiar autochthonous forms. In default of such equivalents, the names of larger territorial divisions (kingdoms, principalities, etc.) have been latinized, through the substitution of the suffix *-ia* for the corresponding Georgian territorial suffix *-et'i*.

specialists. Therefore, a presentation of a systematic account, based on the latest research, of these monuments of Georgian historical literature, should be of interest to Western scholars. But no such presentation has, to our knowledge, ever been attempted. To do this is the aim of the present study.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

I

It will not be superfluous to preface this study with a brief outline of the historical background reflected in the literature to be examined.

Georgia lies in the cis-Caucasian, northeasternmost corner of the Mediterranean world;² the Caucasus mountains in the North protect it from the hyperborean steppes beyond; from the Black Sea which bounds it in the West, connecting it the more closely with the Mediterranean, it stretches forth towards the Caspian: but only once—at the apogee of Georgia's political power—has it reached its waters; and in the South it borders on Armenia, through which it is accessible from Iran in the Southeast and, still more so, from Asia Minor and Syria in the West and South. And it was from the Mediterranean Southwest that the various tribes whose fusion has produced the Georgian nation had come to settle in Cis-Caucasia, forming, by the fourth century B.C., the Georgian State—destined to survive till the nineteenth century.

Three of these tribes had already at that time a millennial history. The Kashka (Kaška)-Colehians, Mushka (Muška)-Moschians, and Tabal (Tibar)-Tibarenians had made their appearance in history in eastern Asia Minor at the period of its transition from the Hittite to the Assyrian overlordship. Two other important ethnic constituents of the Georgian nation, the Chan (Çan)-Son-Suanians and the Kart(uel)-Carduchians, though traceable to earlier periods, make their definitive appearance in post-Assyrian times.³

² It is important to bear in mind that, from the point of view of the Mediterranean World—geopolitically the correct one—, Georgia lies in "Cis-Caucasia"; the term "Trans-Caucasia" is due to the much later, and far less natural, point of view of the Russian Empire. From the beginning, Cis-Caucasia was Asianic (of Asia Minor) and, therefore, Mediterranean, rather than Iranian, and still less anything else. The archaeological discoveries of 1936-1940 in the Calka region west of Tiflis have brought to light the existence, in about the fifteenth-fourteenth century B.C., of a highly developed Bronze-age civilization of Asianic, Proto-Hattian affinities in what is now central Georgia. Cf. P. Ušakov, "The Hatti Problem:—On the Question of the Genesis and Interrelation of the Indo-European and Kartvelian Languages" (in Russian), *Travaux de l'Université Staline à Tbilissi (Tiflis)*, XVIII (1941), 93, 109, 111-112. Moreover, the Caspians—perhaps heirs to the Calka Culture—whom the Georgian tribes encountered upon their migration to Cis-Caucasia, may have also been near-Proto-Hattian, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 109.

³ The Kaška—of Proto-Hattian and Japhetite affinities and originating from the Marmora coast—first appear in the Hittite records in the mid-fourteenth century B.C., a menace to the Hittite Empire from the Pontic regions. Instrumental in bringing about that empire's downfall in the twelfth century, the Kaška moved southwards and met the Assyrians: a part of them was repulsed and settled in Pontic Caucasia as the Κόλχοι of the Greek records, another part formed a state in Cappadocia, vassal to the Assyrians in the eighth century.—The Muška—representing most probably the pre-Indo-European, Japhe-

With the establishment of the Georgian State in the seventh century B.C., the migration of the Kashka-Colehians, the Moschians, and the Tabal-Tibarenians, which had begun in the thirteenth century B.C., resulted in the formation of the Georgian nation. The political units: Western or Pontic, from the Black Sea to the Caucasus, and the Eastern or Persian, from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf.

tite population of Phrygia, when, after the collapse of the Hittite Empire in Cappadocia, which had been its southerly neighbor, the Hittites had occupied parts of Cilicia and the Taurus. B.C. Both the Tabal-Tibarenians, renowned for metallurgy, and the Mushka-Moschians, they both moved northwards. In the next century, we find the Hittites in the vicinity of other kindred peoples: the Allarodii, Chaldeans, and the Mushka-Moschians (together with the Kaskians) in the Hittite Empire, the Xanthians in the sixth century B.C., and the Kart(uel)-Carduchians in the XIXth Satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire, the Xanthians in the fifth century as the Satraps of the Persian Empire.

This historical introduction is intended to furnish it with the necessary background, and to require, were this study to be complete, superfluous. A few words on Georgian history have been included for reference. Javakishvili, *The History of Georgia*, *idem*, the article on Georgia in *Encyclopaedia of the History of the USSR* (Moscow, 1930), 558 ff. These works are referred to in *On the Quest. of the Georgian Nation*, "Thubal-Tabal, Tibarenians," *d'Histoire et de Culture*, Reference to the Origin of the Georgian Nation (in Georgian), *Bulletin of the Georgian Republic* (in Russian), I (Lenin), the Downfall of the Hittite Empire (1938), 122 ff.; C. F. Thompson (1937), 43-79; M. Tsereteli, "Georgian Paganism", *des Gasgas à l'Orient*, articles in *The Cambridge History of the Near East*, "Assyria", C.A.H. II, Sidney Smith, "The Sasanian Empire", C.A.H. III, 137-138; *The Reign of Darius*, IV

tic account, based on the orical literature, should be itation has, to our knowl- he present study.

S

with a brief outline of the examined.

ost corner of the Mediter- protect it from the hyper- ounds it in the West, con- it stretches forth towards ia's political power—has it- menia, through which it is e so, from Asia Minor and Mediterranean Southwest Georgian nation had come entury B.C., the Georgian Y.

a millennial history. The hians, and Tabal (Tibar)- eastern Asia Minor at the syrian overlordship. Two a nation, the Chan (Çan)- ough traceable to earlier syrian times.³

ow of the Mediterranean World casia"; the term "Trans-Cau- of view of the Russian Empire. inor) and, therefore, Mediter- The archaeological discoveries to light the existence, in about ped Bronze-age civilization of eorgia. Cf. P. Ušakov, "The relation of the Indo-European ersitë Staline à Tbilissi (Tiflis), —perhaps heirs to the Calka eir migration to Cis-Caucasia, 109.

and originating from the Mar- rteenth century B.C., a menace nental in bringing about that d southwards and met the As- : Caucasias as the Kólχoi of the , vassal to the Assyrians in the the pre-Indo-European, Japhe-

With the establishment of the latter tribe in present-day Georgia, in the fourth century B.C., the migration of the Proto-Georgian tribes to Cis-Caucasia, begun by the Kashka-Colchians in the twelfth, was terminated. And by the time of the downfall of the Achaemenid Empire under the blows of Alexander, the Georgian tribes had appeared—after internal migrations and adjustments which resulted in transpositions of tribe- and place-names—forming two main geo-political units: Western and Eastern Georgia.

Western or Pontic Georgia, in the basin of the river Phasis or Rioni, extended from the Black Sea eastwards to the system of mountains which separated it

tite population of Phrygia—first appear in the Assyrian records of the mid-twelfth century, when, after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, they founded a state of first-rate importance in Cappadocia, which was also referred to in the Bible as *Mosoch*.—The Muška's close southerly neighbor was the people-state of Tabal-Tibar, the *Thubal* of the Bible. It occupied parts of Cilicia and Cappadocia and was a vassal of Assyria from the eleventh century B.C. Both the Tabalians and the Mushkians possessed a high degree of civilization and a renown for metallurgy. Dislodged by the Cimmerian invasion of the seventh century, they both moved northeastwards to the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, where, in the next century, we find them as the *Méschoi* and the *Τιβάρηνοι* of the Greeks, settled in the vicinity of other kindred Japhetites (like the Maticeni-Mitannians, Saspeires-Subarians, Allarodii, Chald(ae)i-Urartians, Chalybi, Coeti, Taochi, Phasiani, etc.) and forming (together with the kindred Maerones, Mossynoeci, and Mares), as vassals of the Achaemenid Empire, the XIXth Satrapy of Darius.—The Çan-Son appear in the Greek records of the sixth century as *Σαῖνοι* or as the composite Muška-Son people of *Μουσχοβουκοί* in the XIXth Satrapy.—The K'art'(uel)—of Khaldo-Urartian affinities—appear in the fifth century as the *Καρδοῦχοι* of Xenophon.

This historical introduction does not purport to be anything more than a mere outline, and to furnish it with an adequate *apparatus criticus* (which the above statements would require, were this study dedicated to this and not its present subject) has been judged superfluous. A few works, however, may be cited, especially as what may be termed Proto-Georgian history has not yet been sufficiently treated in the West. These are: Ivane Javakhišvili, *The History of the Georgian People* (in Georgian), I and II (Tiflis, 1913) ff.; *idem*, the article on Georgian History in *The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia* (in Russian), XIX (Moscow, 1930), 558 ff.; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932)—these works are referred to here for the rest of this historical outline. Also:—Ušakov, *On the Quest. of the Genesis and Interr. of the Indo-Europ. and Kartv. Langu.*; Simon Jannašia, "Thubal-Tabal, Tibareni, Iberi" (in Georgian), *Bulletin de l'Institut Marr de Langues, d'Histoire et de Culture matérielle*, I, (1937), 185-245; *idem*, "The Most Ancient National Reference to the Original Habitat of the Georgians, in the Light of Near Eastern History" (in Georgian), *Bulletin de l'Institut Marr*, V-VI, (1940) 633-694; N. Marr, *Selected Works* (in Russian), I (Leningrad, 1933); V. N. Khudadov (Xudadov), "The Xaldo-Urartians after the Downfall of the Vannic Kingdom" (in Russian), *Revue de l'Histoire Ancienne*, II, 3 (1938), 122 ff.; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, "On the Origin of the Georgians", *Georgica*, IV-V (1937), 43-79; M. Tseretheli (Çeret'eli), "The Asianic (Asia Minor) Elements in National Georgian Paganism", *Georgica*, I, 1 (1935), 28-66; E. Cavaignac, "L'extension de la zone des Gasgas à l'Orient", *Revue hittite et asianique*, III (1931), 101-110. Moreover various articles in *The Cambridge Ancient History* may be consulted, e.g., R. Campbell Thompson, "Assyria", *C.A.H.* II, 239, 249; D. G. Hogarth, "The Hittites of Asia Minor"; *ibid.*, p. 271; Sidney Smith, "The Supremacy of Assyria", *op.cit.* III, 55 (for the Kaška-Colchi);—R. C. Thompson, pp. 247, 248, 249; D. G. Hogarth, pp. 272, 274; *idem*, "The Hittites of Syria", *C.A.H.* III, 137-138; *idem*, "Lydia and Ionia", *ibid.*, p. 503; G. B. Gray and M. Cary, "The Reign of Darius", IV, 195 (for the Muška-Moschi);—S. H. Langdon, "The Dynasties of

from its eastern counterpart. To the Hellenistic World it was known as Colchis,⁴ but the Georgians called it Egrisi.^{4a}

Eastern Georgia lay in the basin of the river Cyrus or Kur, between the mountains of Likhi (Lixi), separating it from Colchis, and the Caspian kingdom of Albania.⁵ It was known to the Hellenistic world as Iberia⁶ and was inhabited by two principal peoples, the Meschians⁷ (Meskh, Mushka-Moschians) and the Kartvelians (Kart-Carduchians). The latter was the dominant element which gave its name, first, to the whole of Iberia: *K'art'li* and, then, to the whole of the Georgian lands: *Sak'art'velo*.

The independence of the Georgians from the Achaemenid suzerainty, resulting from the conquests of Alexander, and the establishment of the Kartvelian monarchy in Iberia mark the beginning of both the historical memory and the unbroken and organic socio-political and cultural development of the Georgian nation.

Risen from the debris of the Iranian Empire, Iberia and Colchis fell within the orbit of the Hellenistic world, two of whose important trade routes—connecting it with the East and North—traversed them. Colchis—possessed of great Euxine ports and, successively, a part of Mithridates' State, a Roman

Akkad and Lagash", *C.A.H.* I, 418; Hogarth, "The Hittites of Asia Minor", p. 272; S. Smith, "The Supremacy of Assyria", p. 55; Hogarth, "The Hittites of Syria", p. 137; Gray and Cary, "The Reign of Darius", p. 195 (for the Tabal-Tibareni);—S. H. Langdon, "The Sumerian Revival", *C.A.H.* I, 458-459 (for the Kart-Carduchi); as well as Albrecht Götze, "Kleinasien" in *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* (Munich, 1933), pp. 49, 95, 118, 168, 187 (for the Kaška), 108, 187 (for the Muška), and 185 (for Tabal); H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (London, 1932), pp. 386, 488; and, finally, various articles, treating of the different Caucasian peoples mentioned by the Greek authors, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.—Regarding the K'art'vels-Carduchi connection, and the absence of such connection between the Carduchi of Xenophon and the modern Kurds, see Lehmann-Haupt, *op.cit.*, pp. 43 ff, 60 ff. For the linguistic division of the Georgians into the following three branches: (1) Thubal-Cain or Ibero-Megr-elian and Čano-Lazic, (2) Suanian, and (3) K'art'velian and Mušk-Mesxian, see Marr, *op.cit.*, p. 48 etc. For the Japhetic theory, cf. below, n. 8.

⁴ The name *κόλχης* is derived from the Kaška-Colchi, the first Proto-Georgians to settle in Cis-Caucasia.

^{4a} This name is due to an immigration to Pontic Georgia of the Tabal-Tibareni, cf. n. 6.

⁵ The Caucasian Albanians (Aguans) were a Japhetite people, of possibly Chalybian affinities, culturally Armenianized; cf. Allen, *History*, p. 19 etc.; for an excellent outline of Albanian history and geography, cf. Acad. A. E. Krymskij, "Pages from the History of Northern or Caucasian Azerbaijan (Classical Albania)" (in Russian), *Collection of Articles Dedicated to S. F. Oldenburg* (ed. by the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R.: Leningrad, 1934), pp. 289-305.

⁶ The word *Ἰβηρία* is derived from the root *Tabal-Tibar(en)-Iber*. The presence of the Tabal-Tibareni in Colchis must no doubt have given rise to its Georgian name of Egrisi, through the mutation *Iber-Eger*. Cf. A. Gugushvili, "Ethnographical and Historical Division of Georgia", *Georgica*, I, 2 and 3 (1936), 53-71.

⁷ The name *Μεσχία* appears in the Byzantine chronicles (e.g., Cedrenus, II [Bonn.], p. 572), and, since it seems preferable to replace, wherever possible, the local and less familiar forms by their Classical equivalents, the form *Meschia(n)* will be used throughout instead of *Meskhia(n)*, or *Mesxet'i*, *Mesxia(n)*.

client, a part of bound with the Roman "friend" tion were cour organic and o Asianic (Asia above rival inf

The convers decisive in the at equipoise be

⁸ The term "J been used by him designate differe ment) will be fou I, 1 (1935), 101-11 stages of this the an individualized is, of course, bey school border on however, which a historical and pl ficance. It not World, of a num European, or Ur between these la between some of

Western scien from the Pyrenees rian, which could between various Subarean, Elamit etc.), and their c tested (cf., e.g., *U Languages*; *Geor Mesopotamian Or*

It is this disti is purely arbitra Marr chose it b and Mosoch, wh *Works*, p. 23 n. 3) entity, appears t ranean world, wh *History*, I-II; *ide et la parenté des —The most inter Eastern Georgia (already Appian mity), as well as Iberians of Spain Harispe, *Le Pays**

World it was known as Colchis or Kur, between the mountain and the Caspian kingdom of Iberia⁵ and was inhabited by Mushka-Moschians) and the dominant element which, and, then, to the whole of

Armenid suzerainty, resulting in the loss of the Kartvelian monarchical memory and the undevelopment of the Georgian

Iberia and Colchis fell within the important trade routes—concerning Colchis—possessed of the "Thridates' State, a Roman

of Asia Minor", p. 272; S. Smith, "The Kingdom of Syria", p. 137; Gray and J. H. Langdon, "The Kingdom of the Chalybians"; as well as Albrecht Götze, *ibid.*, 1933, pp. 49, 95, 118, 168, 187 (Abal); H. R. Hall, *The Ancient World*, various articles, treating the same authors, in Pauly-Wissowa-Weltgeschichte.—Regarding the Kartvels—between the Carduchi of Xenophon, 43 ff, 60 ff. For the linguistic names: (1) Thubal-Cain or Ibero-Chalybian and Mušk-Mesxian, see *ibid.*, n. 8.

The first Proto-Georgians to settle

in the Tabal-Tibareni, cf. n. 6. The people, of possibly Chalybian etc.; for an excellent outline of the subject, see "Pages from the History of the Caucasus" (Russian), *Collection of Articles on the Sciences of U.S.S.R.*: Leningrad,

(en)-Iber. The presence of the word in its Georgian name of Egrisi, "Ethnographical and Historical

names (e.g., Cedrenus, II [Bonn.], wherever possible, the local and less common schia(n) will be used throughout

client, a part of the Bosporean Kingdom, and again a client of Rome—was closely bound with the Graeco-Roman world. Iberia, on the other hand—where the Roman "friendship" imposed in 65 B.C. by Pompey, and the Hellenistic civilization were counterbalanced by proximity of Iran and Armenia—developed an organic and original national culture and polity. These, based on the old Asianic (Asia Minor)-Japhetite⁶ foundation, were merely buttressed by the above rival influences.

The conversion of the Georgians to Christianity in the fourth century was decisive in the shaping of their destiny. For, though culturally and politically at equipoise between the Mediterranean and Iran, spiritually, they were to cling

⁵ The term "Japhetite" is due to the late Georgian Professor Nicholas Marr, and has been used by him and his school at different stages of the development of their theory to designate different things. The best English survey of Marr's theory (and its development) will be found in A. Gugushvili, "Nicholas Marr and His Japhetic Theory", *Georgica*, I, 1 (1935), 101-115. It is beyond the scope of this study to pass any judgment on the later stages of this theory's development, which tend to see in the Japhetic languages no longer an individualized group, but an epoch in the development of languages in general. All this is, of course, beyond the possibilities of historical research, and the formulations of Marr's school border on what one may term "Marxian metaphysics". That part of the theory, however, which admits of verification by history and philology and which is based on strict historical and philological research, is beyond all doubt of a very great value and significance. It not only faces the fact of the existence, in the history of the Mediterranean World, of a number of peoples whose languages are outside the Semitic, Hamitic, Indo-European, or Uralo-Altaic complexes, but it also boldly recognizes an intrinsic relationship between these languages (and peoples) and explains whatever affinities have been found between some of them.

Western science has been continually confronted with the problem of a few languages from the Pyrenees to the Caucasus and the Persian Gulf, such as Basque, Georgian, Sumerian, which could not be fitted into any recognized linguistic groups. Moreover, affinities between various Caucasian, Asianic, and Aegean languages (such as Georgian, Mitannian, Subarean, Elamite, Sumerian, Xaldian, Hurrian, Proto-Hattian, Lycian, Lydian, Etruscan, etc.), and their distinctness from any other linguistic group have now been generally attested (cf., e.g., Ušakov, *On the Quest. of the Genesis and Interr. of the Indo-Europ. and Kartv. Languages*; George G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* [Chicago, 1936] chapt. 1; Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* [Philadelphia, 1930] etc.)

It is this distinct element that Marr has termed Japhetic. The name itself, to be sure, is purely arbitrary. As "Japhetic", it used to be synonymous with "Indo-European"; Marr chose it because, according to the Bible, Japheth was the father to Thubal and Mosoch, who symbolize the two leading Proto-Georgian tribes (cf. Marr, *Selected Works*, p. 23 n. 3). This linguistic group, which may represent likewise a cultural and ethnic entity, appears to have been the earliest formative element in the culture of the Mediterranean world, which to this day bears its onomastic traces (cf. Marr, *op.cit.*; Javakhishvili *History*, I-II; *idem*, *Introduction à l'Hist. du peuple géorgien*, II: "La structure originelle et la parenté des langues géorgienne et caucasiennes" [in Georgian] [Tiflis, 1937], 3-91). —The most interesting of these onomastic traces is perhaps the identity of the names of Eastern Georgia and Spain: both *Iberia* (their inhabitants: *Iberians*) to the Classical world (already Appian, *Μισριάτιος*, XV, 101 [Loeb, 1932], 430/431, wondered at that homonymy), as well as the similarity of the names: *Basque* and *Abasgian* [A-Bask < Moos] (the Iberians of Spain and the Basques have been ascribed descent also from Thubal, cf. Pierre Harispe, *Le Pays basque* [Paris, 1929] p. 14 ff.).

to the Christian West and to stand, long after its Byzantine outpost had fallen, as the easternmost bulwark of Christendom.

Among the consequences of the conversion was the tightening of the Byzantine control over Pontic Georgia, which was now called Lazica.⁹ But to Iberia Christianity gave new strength to withstand the coming trials. For during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries—after the Lazic Wars and the "Eternal Treaty" of Justinian and Chosroes—the equipoise of Georgia between the Mediterranean and Iran was upset. Lazica, as has been said, submitted more to the Byzantines, but Iberia—her monarchy temporarily abolished—fell under the political control, first, of the Sassanid Empire and, then, of the Caliphate.¹⁰

The eighth and ninth centuries were marked by a weakening of both the Muslim and the Byzantine Empire and by the consequent re-establishment of the political equipoise between them in the Christian Caucasian countries of Armenia and Georgia. The regeneration of these, which followed, was headed in both cases by one of the most remarkable dynasties of Christendom—the Bagratids.¹¹

The demesnes of the Georgian Bagratids—a branch of the ancient Armenian dynastic line—were situated on the Georgio-Armenian border, in Meschia, which, after the Persian domination of Iberia, had become the leading center of Georgian culture.¹² By the eighth century, the Georgian Bagratids had acquired the title-office of *Erist'avi* or Duke¹³ of Inner Iberia which carried with it the Byzan-

⁹ Western Georgia or Colchis was called *Λαζική* since the third century, when the tribe of *Čan-Trāvo* or *Λάττοι* had obtained a hegemony there. The name *Čan* is derived from the tribe-root *Son-Čan*, cf. Marr, *Selected Works*, p. 225; Allen, *History*, p. 25. As regards the name *Lazi*, the older view is that it represents the Suanian territorial prefix *La* and *Zan*, an equivalent of *Son-Čan*, Allen, p. 54, n. 4; Marr, however, finally came to the conclusion that the root *Laz* is a derivative of the tribe-root *Laš-Roš*, found in the names *Pe-las-gi*, *Et-rus-ci*, *Les-gi*, *U-raš-tu* (Urartu), etc. (cf. *op.cit.*, p. 170, n. 2, as well as pp. 110, 139, 225, 295, etc.)

¹⁰ Three main dynasties had hitherto reigned in Iberia: the Pharnabazids (IVth century B.C. to Ist century A.D.), the Arsacids (a branch of the Armenian line, Ist-IIIrd centuries), and the Chosroids (claiming to be a branch of the Sassanids, IIIrd-VIth centuries), who continued to reign in Iberia even after the official Persano-Byzantine abolition of kingship, in the sixth century, as presiding princes (*Erist'avt'-M'avar-s* or "Arch-Dukes") down to the eighth century; cf. Gugushvili, "The Chronological-Genealogical Table of the Kings of Georgia", *Georgica*, I, 2 and 3 (1936), 109 ff; M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1856), "Tables généalogiques", 619 ff; Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), "Stammbaum der Herrscher von Georgien", p. 404 ff.

¹¹ On the Bagratids, cf. below, I, No. 4 and notes 25, 28.

¹² Cf. Robert P. Blake, "The Georgian Version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem Ms.", *The Harvard Theological Review*, XIX (1926), 303-304.

¹³ The title *Erist'avi*, a compound of *Eri* [genitive: *Eris*] ("army", "people") and *T'avi* ("head"), is a functional equivalent of the Iranian office of Satrap, on the pattern of which it was purportedly instituted; of the Byzantine *στρατηγός* in which sense it is often rendered by medieval Georgian authors; and a—semantic as well as functional—counterpart of the Germanic feudal term *Herzog*, i.e., "Duke". Cf. Marr, *Selected Works*, p. 328 (for the Xalido-Urartian title *Ir-Ta*—"kinglet", "dynast"); N. Marr and M. Brière, *La Langue géorgienne* (Paris, 1931), p. 629; Allen, *History*, pp. 237-243; J. Karst, *Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici*, I, *Code de Vakhtang VI*, 2; *Commentaire historique-comparatif* (Strasbourg, 1935), 203-204, 216, 218-219, 228-229, 238.

tine dignity of
since the abolit
become the lea
888 Duke and C

Thereafter—
Bagratids beca
Church, the les
rival was the r
alliance and a p
for a Bagratid
the foundation f
that of the Ba

The period of
thirteenth cent
by the formatio
prised all the G
eighty or suzer

¹⁴ The heredita
institutional histo
by DuCange, *Glo*

¹⁵ Pontic Georg
tribe of the Abasg
Empire. Cf. S. M
Monarchy" (in R
Georgian: *Ap'xaz*
Abkhazia (*Ap'xaz*
definite article) *Be*
the Byzantine ter
gians (*Ap'xaz*), w
Ap'xazel'i in Geor
Marquart (Markw

¹⁶ Cf. Z. Avalic
Byzantion, VIII (1

¹⁷ This term, d
due to the Crusad
Syriac *Gurzān* (cf.
derived from the r
—and which at th
Georgian lands.

forthcoming pages
Abasgia will stand
will be used for th

¹⁸ The principal
Kingdom of Iberia
with the great cit
(in Armenian: *Spē*
kingdom of Kaxet
Kāška-Kēlax[ec], cf.
of Tiflis (establis

Byzantine outpost had fallen,

as the tightening of the Byzantine called Lazica.⁹ But to Iberia coming trials. For during the Lazic Wars and the "Eternal poise of Georgia between the has been said, submitted more temporarily abolished—fell under and, then, of the Caliphate.¹⁰ by a weakening of both the consequent re-establishment of Christian Caucasian countries of se, which followed, was headed dynasties of Christendom—the

branch of the ancient Armenian nian border, in Meschia, which, e the leading center of Georgian n Bagratids had acquired the hich carried with it the Byzan-

the third century, when the tribe e. The name Čan is derived from ; Allen, *History*, p. 25. As regards anian territorial prefix *La* and *Zan*, ever, finally came to the conclusion Roš, found in the names Pe-las-gi, 170, n. 2, as well as pp. 110, 139,

a: the Pharnabazids (IVth century Armenian line, Ist-IIIrd centuries), ssanids, IIIrd-VIth centuries), who no-Byzantine abolition of kingship, "avar-s or "Arch-Dukes") down to il-Genealogical Table of the Kings brosselet, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II, 1 Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namen- a Georgien*", p. 404 ff.

, 28.
Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem 304.

ris] ("army", "people") and *T'ani* of Satrap, on the pattern of which γγός in which sense it is often ren- as well as functional—counterpart . Marr, *Selected Works*, p. 328 (for N. Marr and M. Brière, *La Langue* -243; J. Karst, *Corpus Juris Ibero-* historique-comparatif (Strasbourg,

tine dignity of Curopalates,¹⁴ and primacy among the princes who ruled Iberia since the abolition of kingship in the sixth century. The Bagratids had thus become the leading and most powerful of the Georgian princely houses, and in 888 Duke and Curopalates Adarnase III assumed the style of king.

Thereafter—like the Rurikids in Muscovy or the Capetians in France—the Bagratids became the champions of national unification, supported by the Church, the lesser nobility, and the rising merchant class. Their only serious rival was the royal house of Abasgia (former Colchis-Lazica),¹⁵ but a dynastic alliance and a palace revolution opportunely secured in 978 the Pontic throne for a Bagratid of Iberia, and in 1008 the two crowns were united.¹⁶ This laid the foundation for the apogean period of Georgian history, which may be termed that of the Bagratid Empire.

The period of the Bagratid Empire, which lasted from the tenth to the mid-thirteenth century, was marked by a threefold political development. First, by the formation of the United Kingdom of Georgia or *Sak'art'velo*¹⁷ which comprised all the Georgian lands.¹⁸ Secondly, by the extension of Georgian sovereignty or suzerainty over various non-Georgian territories to the South, East,

¹⁴ The hereditary character of the dignity of Curopalates—an unique case in Byzantine institutional history—which was conferred on the Iberian dynasts, has been noticed already by DuCange, *Glossarium graec.*, I (Lyons, 1638), 739.

¹⁵ Pontic Georgia came to be called by this name after an imperial duke of the Georgian tribe of the Abasgi had founded there in the eighth century a kingdom independent of the Empire. Cf. S. N. Jānašia, "The Date and Circumstances of the Rise of the Abasgian Monarchy" (in Russian), *Bulletin de l'Institut Marr*, VIII (1940), 137 ff.—The Abasgi, in Georgian: *Ap'xaz*-ians, originated from the present-day northwesternmost province of Abkhazia (*Ap'xazet'i*) and derive their name from the tribe-root *Mušk-Morχ-(a-* = the definite article) *Bask*, cf. Marr, *Selected Works*, p. 224; Allen, *History*, p. 28. *Αβασγία* is the Byzantine term for the medieval kingdom of Pontic Georgia dominated by the Abasgians (*Ap'xaz*), which is to be distinguished from their province of Abkhazia; both are *Ap'xazet'i* in Georgian, cf. Gugushvili, *Ethnogr. and Hist. Division of Georgia*, p. 54 ff.; J. Marquart (Markwart), *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 174 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. Z. Avalichvili, "La succession du Curopalate David d'Ibérie, Dynaste de Tao", *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), 177-202; Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Geneal. Table*, p. 121 ff.

¹⁷ This term, dating from the eleventh century, is rendered here by *Georgia*, which is due to the Crusaders' corruption of the Persian *Gurjistān*, Arabic (*Jurf*) *Kurjistān*, and Syriac *Gurzān* (cf. the Russian *Gruzija*, the German *Grusien*)—all of which were, in turn, derived from the root *Eger-Iber* (cf., e.g., S. Jānašia, *Thubal-Tabal, Tibareni, Iberi, passim*)—and which at that time was the exact equivalent of *Sak'art'velo*, i.e., the whole of the Georgian lands. Cf. Gugushvili, *Ethnogr. and Hist. Division of Georgia*, p. 68.—On the forthcoming pages, *Georgia* will be used in this broad sense; *Iberia* will render *Ka'rt'li*; *Abasgia* will stand for the mediaeval *Ap'xazian* kingdom of Pontic Georgia and *Abkhazia* will be used for the province of *Ap'xazet'i*, whence the Abasgi-*Ap'xaz* originated.

¹⁸ The principal Georgian lands at that time were: (1) the Kingdom of Abasgia; (2) the Kingdom of Iberia; (3) the Bagratids' own principalities in Meschia, i.e., Tao, Klarjet'i with the great city of Artanuji (Adranutzium), Šavšet'i, Ačara, Artani (Ardahan), Ispiri (in Armenian: *Sper*—the cradle of the Bagratid race), etc.; (4) the easternmost, Albanian kingdom of Kakhet'i and Heret'i (the name *Kax-et'i* may have been derived from the root *Kaška-Kōλχ[os]*, cf. Allen, *History*, p. 63, n. 1.) annexed in 1103; and (5) the Arab Emirate of Tiflis (established since the eighth century), incorporated in 1122.

and North.¹⁹ And, finally, by the consolidation of the royal power and subdual of the unruly feudal nobility (which had grown especially powerful since the abolition of kingship in the sixth century).

Culturally, this period produced the Golden Age of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, marked by a splendid efflorescence of the arts, letters, and of the amenities of civilized existence, and grounded on economic prosperity.²⁰

Yet, before the energy of the Golden Age had been spent, a serious blow was dealt to the empire of the Bagratids by the Mongol invasion of the second quarter of the thirteenth century. With the connivance of the Mongols, the royal power was weakened and split between two rival claimants,²¹ who then (1258) split United Georgia between themselves. One seceded in Abasgia, now called Imeria,²² the other was reduced to Iberia and Kakhia (Kaxet'i), while the recalcitrant feudality grew in power.²³

A reunification of Georgia, however, was effected, in the first half of the fourteenth century, by King George V the Illustrious; and the rulers of Abasgo-Imeria, deprived of kingship, were reduced to vassalage. Georgia again seemed to enter a golden era, when another—and this time fatal—blow was struck by the invasions of Tamerlane at the closing of the century. Moreover, the dynasty which had unified the country was now responsible for its disunion. The

¹⁹ These territories included the former Armenian kingdoms of Ani, Kars, and Lori, and the Armenian principality of Siunia; Muslim Arran (southern part of ancient Albania); and—as vassal states—the Muslim Caspian kingdom of Širwān and the highlanders of Oset'i-Alania. In this connection one may also mention the important rôle of Georgia in the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond, which was given a due appreciation in a recent article by A. A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204-1222)", *Speculum*, XI (1936), 3-37; cf. also C. Toumanoff, "On the Relationship between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Tamar", *Speculum*, XV (1940), 299-312.

²⁰ The reigns of David II (1089-1125) and Queen Tamar (1184-1212), and the achievements of the poet Šot'a Rust'aveli, the philosopher John Petrici, etc., are generally held as an apogee. For an example of the amenities of life, the recently (1936) investigated ruins of the North Armenian Castle of Anberd, of the Pahlavid family, typical of the epoch, with its hot-water tubes leading to the bathroom and heating the floors, may be cited; cf. Joseph Orbeli, in *The Monuments of the Epoch of Rust'aveli* (Leningrad, 1938), pp. 159-170 (in Russian).

²¹ George IV the Resplendent (1212-1223), the son of Queen Tamar and her Bagratid cousin-consort, was succeeded, in the minority of his son David, by his own sister Queen Rusudan (1223-1245) who, instead, had her own son, also David by name, proclaimed as her co-King (as David IV) in 1234. After the Mongol invasion of the same year, the two Davids found themselves in Qaraqorum, where the Great Khan finally decided to recognize both the lawful David V and the usurping David IV as co-Kings of Georgia, in 1250. Cf. Allen, *History*, pp. 109-120; Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Genal. Table*, pp. 123-124.

²² Imeria is a Latinization of Imeret'i (Imeretia is a pleonasm); the name is derived from the term *Lixt'-Imier* or "Trans-Lixia" (the Lixi mountains separate the two Georgias), though some are inclined to derive it from the root *Eger-Iber*, cf. Gugushvili, *Ethnogr. and Hist. Division of Georgia*, p. 69.

²³ Thus, for instance, in 1268 Sargis I Jaqeli, Prince of Meschia, transferred his feudal allegiance from the King of Georgia to the Genghisid Ilkhan of Persia, cf., e.g., Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Genal. Table*, pp. 125-126.

younger br
appanage;
of their do
of these as
non-Georgi
western du
pality.²⁵

The fift
closes, was
solidating t
invasion, it
Georgia wa
teenth cent

It remain
powers, Ge
—or both—

Despite t
Age of the s
by a flower

Furtherm
of the eight
tion. The
Heraclius I
ternal disor
state, conta
primacy am

To streng
cluded in 17
the Russian
for a recogn
jected Geor
Russian hel
state of He
himself con

²⁴ It is to
pretensions o

²⁵ These E
or Samex, ur
or Samegrelo
under that of
under that of
adi ("Prince"
and (in comp
Allen, *Histor*
Juris Ib.-Cau

²⁶ Such as

of the royal power and subdual especially powerful since the

ge of the eleventh, twelfth and scence of the arts, letters, and ded on economic prosperity.²⁰ been spent, a serious blow was ol invasion of the second quar- nce of the Mongols, the royal l claimants,²¹ who then (1258) seceded in Abasgia, now called kakhia (Kaxet'i), while the re-

ed, in the first half of the four- us; and the rulers of Abasgo- salage. Georgia again seemed me fatal—blow was struck by e century. Moreover, the dy- possible for its disunion. The

kingdoms of Ani, Kars, and Lori, (southern part of ancient Albania); of Širwān and the highlanders of n the important rôle of Georgia in given a due appreciation in a recent mpire of Trebizond (1204–1222)", On the Relationship between the n Queen Thamar", *Speculum*, XV

umar (1184–1212), and the achieve- a Petriči, etc., are generally held as e recently (1936) investigated ruins d family, typical of the epoch, with the floors, may be cited; cf. Joseph (Leningrad, 1938), pp. 159–170 (in

f Queen Thamar and her Bagratid on David, by his own sister Queen Iso David by name, proclaimed as invasion of the same year, the two t Khan finally decided to recognize co-Kings of Georgia, in 1250. Cf. *il. Table*, pp. 123–124.

leonasm); the name is derived from tains separate the two Georgias), r-Iber, cf. Gugushvili, *Ethnogr. and*

of Meschia, transferred his feudal chan of Persia, cf., e.g., Gugushvili,

younger branches of the royal house received Abasgo-Imeria and Kakhia in appanage; then, yielding partly to ambition, partly to the separatist tendencies of their domains, they wrested by 1490 from the King of Georgia a recognition of these as independent kingdoms, thus reducing his own to but Iberia.²⁴ The non-Georgian territories had by now been lost to the Crown, and, after 1463, five western duchies seceded from the realm, each forming an independent princi- pality.²⁵

The fifteenth century, with which the present survey of historical literature closes, was decisive in Georgian history. It could have been spent in con- solidating the country to face the future trials, but, opened by the disaster of invasion, it was darkened by that of dissension. Thus, weakened by division, Georgia was unprepared for the resumed onslaught of Islam—led, since the six- teenth century, by Safawid Persia and the Ottoman Empire.

It remains to add, by way of an epilogue, that, unaided by other Christian powers, Georgia had, from time to time, to concede suzerainty to one or the other —or both—of her foes, her existence ensured by their contention.

Despite the parlous political situation, there arose the Renaissance or Silver Age of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, marked particularly by a flowering of letters (poetry, history, law).

Furthermore, the dynastic union of Georgia-Iberia and Kakhia, in the middle of the eighteenth century, brought about even a political and economic regenera- tion. The energetic kings of the Kakhian line, Teimuraz II (1744–1762) and Heraclius II (1762–1798), strove with no little success—aided by Persia's in- ternal disorders and Turkey's growing impotency—to organize a Pan-Caucasian state, containing various non-Georgian territories and peoples,²⁶ and exercising primacy among the other Georgian states: Imeria and the principalities.

To strengthen his realm against a possible Persian menace, Heraclius II con- cluded in 1783 a treaty of alliance with Catherine the Great of Russia, whereby the Russian Empire guaranteed its protection to the Bagratid State in exchange for a recognition of suzerainty. But when Persia—under a new dynasty—sub- jected Georgia to a terrific "total war", in reprisal for the Russian alliance, no Russian help was obtainable. This dealt a mortal blow to the Pan-Caucasian state of Heraclius. His successor, the weak George XIII (1798–1800), found himself constrained to greater dependence on Russia, and, upon his death,

²⁴ It is to be remarked, however, that the senior, Iberian, line kept the prestige and pretensions of lawful Kings of Georgia, even after the partition.

²⁵ These Erist'avates, which then became Principalities = Mt'avarates, were (1) Meschia or Samexé, under the house of Jaqeli, (2) Guria, under that of Dadian-Gurieli, (3) Mingrelia or Samegrelo (or Odiši), under that of Dadiani and later Čik'ovani-Dadiani, (4) Abkhazia, under that of Šarvašije, and (5) Suania (Svanet'i), first under the house of Gelovani, then under that of Dadešk'eliani. The term *Mt'avari* ("Sovereign Prince") is derived, like *T'av- adi* ("Prince"), from *T'avi* ("head"); it is used to render from Greek both the noun ἀρχων and (in compound words) the prefix ἀρχι-, cf. Marr-Brière, *La Langue géorgienne*, p. 636; Allen, *History*, pp. 239 (his derivation of the term is unacceptable), 240; Karst, *Corpus Juris Ib.-Cauc.*, I, 203–204, 215, 216, 221 ff., 228 ff., 231, 238.

²⁶ Such as Muslim and Armenian cities and principedoms, Caucasian highlanders, etc.

profiting by a dispute over the succession, the Emperor Paul I ordered a military occupation of Georgia. The imperial manifestoes of January 18 and September 12, 1801 proclaimed the annexation of the Kingdom of Georgia by the Russian Empire. Imeria was annexed in 1810, and in 1867 the Prince of Mingrelia—the last Georgian state—abdicated in favor of the Emperor Alexander II. This ended the twenty-one centuries of Georgia's independent political existence.

II

Numerous Georgian writings cover the twenty-one centuries of the history of the Kingdom of Georgia. The history of the Georgian people, however, extends, as has been seen, over a much longer period—antedating the foundation of the State in the fourth century B.C., and surviving the loss of political independence in the last century. But the national historians hardly remember the first millennium of Georgian history, which has to be gleaned from foreign sources, whereas the vast historical literature of the nineteenth and the present centuries—treating of both contemporaneous and preceding events—no longer belongs organically to Georgian culture, but is rather part and parcel of the general Western scientific endeavor.

The extant Georgian historical writings were all compiled during the last eleven, out of the twenty-one, centuries of the Kingdom's existence. The scope of this study, however, is limited to the medieval historical literature only, i.e., to the writings compiled before the fifteenth century. Of these, only the earliest one, compiled by the seventh century, and two others, one completed by the ninth and the other in the eleventh, deal with the preceding ten centuries of history, i.e., from the fourth century B.C. on.

Although we do not know at present what were the Georgian sources of these works, they unquestionably represent an extremely ancient written tradition. This tradition must have been written, for the simple reason that in no other way could the history of a millennium have been preserved, which, when recorded in the works of the seventh and succeeding centuries, received corroboration from foreign sources contemporaneous with the events described. We know, of course, that in general no works of Georgian literature of the pagan period have reached us. *L'ancienne littérature pré-chrétienne ibérienne*, says Karst, *dont l'existence ne saurait être mise en doute, a disparu sans laisser de traces*²⁷. The earliest literary monuments that have come down to us are a translation of the Gospels of the first half of the fifth century²⁸ and the narrative of the martyrdom of St. Shushanik (Šušanik) the Princess, by Jacob the Priest, also of the

²⁷ J. Karst, *Littérature géorgienne chrétienne* [Paris, 1934], p. 12, cf. pp. 11–13. B. T. Rudenko, *A Grammar of the Georgian Language* (in Russian), (ed. by the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R.: Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), p. 11: "We know only the literary monuments of the Christian period... but the literary style and elaborate language of these monuments, as well as some other characteristics, leave hardly any doubt as to the fact that the literary tradition of the Georgian language, in some form or other, had its inception in the still earlier, pre-Christian culture of this people."

²⁸ Cf., e.g., Marr-Brière, *La Langue géorgienne*, p. ix; Karst, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

fifth century
also befallen

This outli
Georgian his
likewise, of
or purely ec
less importa

The sourc
into two gro
(= K'art'li

1. The C
2. The H
3. The L
4. The H
5. The H
6. The C
7. The H
sple
8. The K
9. The M
10. The H
11. The E
12. The E
13. The M
14. The C
15. The H
16. The E
17. The E

I. SOUR

1. THE CC
The compil
assigned by
century; the
the most p

²⁹ Cf. *ibidi*
I (Tiflis, 19
The Aims, S
13–26; Paul
484)", *Anal*
¹ *Georgice*
² *Kekeliſe*
to the Orig. I
pp. 66–67, 10

ror Paul I ordered a military
f January 18 and September
1 of Georgia by the Russian
7 the Prince of Mingrelia—
Imperator Alexander II. This
endent political existence.

one centuries of the history
eorgian people, however, ex-
—antedating the foundation
ing the loss of political inde-
torians hardly remember the
gleaned from foreign sources,
1th and the present centuries
g events—no longer belongs
t and parcel of the general

ll compiled during the last
dom's existence. The scope
al historical literature only,
century. Of these, only the
d two others, one completed
a the preceding ten centuries

the Georgian sources of these
ly ancient written tradition.
nple reason that in no other
preserved, which, when re-
centuries, received corrobora-
events described. We know,
terature of the pagan period
ienne ibérienne, says Karst,
sparu sans laisser de traces²⁷.
own to us are a translation of
d the narrative of the martyr-
Jacob the Priest, also of the

934], p. 12, cf. pp. 11-13. B. T.
ssian), (ed. by the Academy of
l: "We know only the literary
style and elaborate language of
leave hardly any doubt as to the
, in some form or other, had its
us people."

Karst, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

fifth century.²⁹ The fate attributed to the pagan Georgian literature must have also befallen the ancient records which served as sources to the first chroniclers.

This outline is limited to the major works by Georgians, in Georgian, and on Georgian history; it omits the numerous other works, either hagiographical—but, likewise, of great importance for Georgian history—or treating of non-Georgian or purely ecclesiastical history. Nor is it concerned with numerous smaller and less important local paschal chronicles.

The sources to be examined here are seventeen in number. They are divided into two groups: those outside of, and those contained in *The Georgian Annals* (= *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*). Here is the list of them:

I. Sources outside The Georgian Annals:

1. *The Conversion of Iberia*, by Gregory the Deacon,
2. *The History of the Kings, Bishops, and Catholicis of Iberia*,
3. *The Divan of the Kings*, by Bagrat III, King of Georgia,
4. *The History of the Bagratids*, by Sumbat, son of David,
5. *The History of Queen Tamar*, by Basil, Master of the Court,
6. *The Chronicle of the Kings of Abasgia*,
7. *The History of the Kings Demetrius I, George III, Tamar, and George IV the Resplendent*,
8. *The Khwarizmian Invasion of Georgia*, by Abuseridze, Bishop of Tbeti,
9. *The Monument of the Dukes*,
10. *The History of the Invasions of Timur*.

II. Sources contained in The Georgian Annals:

11. *The History of the Kings of Iberia*, by Leontius, Archbishop of Ruisi,
12. *The History of King Vakhtang Gorgasali*, by Juansher Juansheriani,
13. *The Martyrdom of King Archil II*, by Leontius of Ruisi,
14. *The Chronicle of Iberia*,
15. *The History of the King of Kings*,
16. *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns*,
17. *The History of the Mongol Invasions*.

THE SOURCES

I. SOURCES OUTSIDE THE GEORGIAN ANNALS (VIIth-XVth CENTURIES)

1. THE CONVERSION OF IBERIA, BY GREGORY THE DEACON¹ (VIIth century).—The compilation of this work and the *floruit* of Gregory the Deacon have been assigned by different authors to different periods—from the fourth to the ninth century; the seventh century, however, has come to be now generally regarded as the most probable date.² This work was discovered—perhaps in an enlarged

²⁹ Cf. *ibidem*, p. 74 ff.; Prof. K. Kekeliġe, *The History of Georgian Literature* (in Georgian), I (Tiflis, 1923), 119-124; I. Ĵavaxišvili, "The Ancient Georgian Historical Writing", in *The Aims, Sources, and Methods of History, Before and Now* (in Georgian), I (Tiflis, 1921), 13-26; Paul Peeters, S. J., "Sainte Šoušanik martyre en Arméno-Géorgie (+13 déc. 482-484)", *Analecta Bollandiana*, LII (1935), 5-48; 245-307.

¹ *Georgice: Mok'cevay K'art'lisay* by Grigol Diakoni.

² Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, pp. 125-126; Ĵanašia, *The Most Ancient National Reference to the Orig. Habitat of the Georgians*, p. 691, cf. pp. 635-647. Also, Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, pp. 66-67, 101; Tseretheli, *The Asianic Elements in Nat. Georg. Paganism*, pp. 29, 35.

redaction—in two separate and later Ms. collections: (1) *The Shatberdi Collection*, copied in 973 and discovered in 1888³, and (2) *The Chelishi Collection*, dating from the fourteenth-fifteenth century and discovered in 1902-1903⁴. The importance of the latter variant of *The Conversion of Iberia* is due to the fact that, in addition to some variation of detail, it replaces three of the four folios missing in the Shatberdi Variant, and has, moreover, passages not found in the latter. The Chelishi Variant, on the other hand, lacks—owing to the defective state of the Ms.—the initial part of *The Conversion*, with its list of the first twenty-eight kings of Iberia.⁵

The Conversion of Iberia can be divided into four distinct parts representing, presumably, distinct groups of sources. These parts are: (1) an account of the legendary invasion of Iberia by Alexander the Great; of the immigration of the Kartvelians; and of the subsequent establishment of the Iberian monarchy; (2) a brief chronicle of the Kings of Iberia, from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.; (3) the story of the Conversion itself; and (4) another brief chronicle of the kings, from the fourth century on.

The first part represents, in turn, two distinct groups of sources. The story of the invasion of Iberia by Alexander is, of course, based on Pseudo-Callisthenes; the author appears, moreover, to have had in his hands a Georgian version of the Alexander Romance.⁶ On the other hand, the chronicler must have drawn upon ancient local historical sources and traditions when he spoke of the immigration, into present-day Georgia, of the Kartvelians under Azo, the son of the king of their original homeland of Aran(Arian)-K'art'li; of the historical geography of Georgia of that period; and of the rise of the Iberian monarchy.⁷

One can not fail to notice the essential authenticity of the evidence of this text, and to postulate, therefore, the reliability and antiquity of its sources, when

³ E. T'aqaišvili, *Three Historical Chronicles* (in Georgian), (Tiflis, 1890), pp. xviii-xx, xlv-lxxix; *idem*, "Description of the Mss., etc." (in Russian), *Sbornik Materialov* (Collection of Materials) for the Description of the Localities and Peoples of Caucasia, XL (1909), 53-55.—*The Šatberdi Collection* is described on pp. 36-55; M. Janašvili, "K'art'lis-Cxovreba—Life of Georgia" (in Russian), *Sborn. Materialov*, XXXV (1905), 135-136; Kekeliš, *op.cit.*, pp. 97, 571; Karst, *op.cit.*, pp. 58, 64.—The name of the Collection is derived from the Abbey of Šatberdi on the Čoroxi (Chorokhi, classical Acampsis) river, in the ancient province of Šavshia (Šavšet'i), where it was found.

⁴ T'aqaišvili, *op.cit.*, *Sborn. Mat.*, XLI (1910), 44-47; Archimandrite Ambrose (Xelain), "The Čeliši Variant of *The Conversion of Iberia*" (in Georgian), *L'Ancienne Géorgie*, I (1909), 1-29.—The name of the Collection derives from the Abbey of Čeliši, in the former Duchy of Rača, where it was discovered.

⁵ T'aqaišvili, *Sborn. Mat.*, XL, 47; XLII (1912), 57-59.

⁶ Kekeliš, "The Literary Sources of Leonti Mroveli" (in Georgian), *Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis*, III (1923), 23-27; Sargis Kakabaš, *Historical Researches* (in Georgian), (Tiflis, 1924), pp. 67-85; L. M. Melikset-Bekov, "The Scythian Problem in Connection with the Question of the Sakians, Kaspian, and Berians" (in Russian), *Masalebi* (Materials) for the History of Georgia and Caucasia (ed. by the Georgian branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences), 1937, vii, 523-525; Javaxišvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, pp. 88-89.

⁷ Melikset-Bekov, *op.cit.*, p. 524; Javaxišvili, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-89, 89-90; *idem*, *History*, p. 68.

one considers of the Achaemenes and the establishment of the information it was probably Corduene (Georgians to migrate the legend of the original subsequent tradition.

Parts two after the Conversion by the insertion 3). They mention of sources, where of kings are visible in the context from the fourth A.D., some sources Ammianus Marcellinus *Life of St. Fyodor* the ancient treaty of friendship with Vespasian.¹⁰

The third a much amplified and after it. of Rufinus' more over, the

The whole be taken to

⁸ Cf. Gugus

⁹ Cf. Lehmann

¹⁰ Cf. Prince

Armenia" (in Philology, VII Moambe (Bulletin) (1911-1913), ii Georgian), Bulletin 146-148, 112-1 Vicinity of Moscow V (1927), 409-Georgian Museum

¹¹ *Historia* century).

¹² Cf. T'aqaišvili, 66-67.

ms: (1) *The Shatberdi Collec-*
 (2) *The Chelishi Collection*,
 and discovered in 1902-1903.
version of Iberia is due to the
 it replaces three of the four
 moreover, passages not found
 or hand, lacks—owing to the
the Conversion, with its list of

ir distinct parts representing,
 rts are: (1) an account of the
 at; of the immigration of the
 it of the Iberian monarchy;
 he fourth century B.C. to the
 rsion itself; and (4) another
 ry on.

groups of sources. The story
 rse, based on Pseudo-Callis-
 iad in his hands a Georgian
 er hand, the chronicler must
 and traditions when he spoke
 the Kartvelians under Azo,
 Aran(Arian)-K'art'li; of the
 nd of the rise of the Iberian

ticity of the evidence of this
 antiquity of its sources, when

gian), (Tiflis, 1890), pp. xviii-xx,
 sian), *Sbornik Materialov* (Collec-
 d Peoples of Caucasus, XL (1909),
 5; M. Janašvili, "K'art'lis-Cxov-
 XXXV (1905), 135-136; Kekelišvili,
 of the Collection is derived from
 al Acampsis) river, in the ancient

Archimandrite Ambrose (Xelaina),
 Georgian), *L'Ancienne Géorgie*, I
 he Abbey of Çelishi, in the former

59.
 (in Georgian), *Bulletin de l'Uni-*
historical Researches (in Georgian),
 Scythian Problem in Connection
 s" (in Russian), *Masalebi* (Mate-
 3 Georgian branch of the U.S.S.R.
nc. Georg. Hist. Writ., pp. 88-89.
 pp. 86-89, 89-90; *idem*, *History*,

one considers the actual connection between Alexander's conquests—especially of the Achaemenid Empire—and the subsequent independence of the Georgians and the establishment of the monarchy⁸. Still another proof of the validity of the information contained in this work presents itself when one realizes that it was probably the formation of the Macedonian (Mygdonian) settlement in Corduene (Gordylene), after those conquests, that forced the Kartvel-Carduchians to migrate to Georgia.⁹ This fact, moreover, may explain the origin of the legend of Alexander's invasion of the latter country, for a confusion between the original homeland of the Kartvelians (Corduene-Arian-Kartli) and their subsequent country (Iberia-Kartli) would only have been natural in later tradition.

Parts two and four—the two brief chronicles of the Iberian kings before and after the Conversion—must be regarded as really one chronicle broken in two by the insertion, in its chronological place, of the story of the Conversion (part 3). They must, furthermore, be regarded as based on one and the same group of sources, which must have been some ancient archival material. These lists of kings are very brief and chronologically defective, but their data find support in the contemporaneous foreign sources. Thus, e.g., of the thirty-seven kings from the fourth century B.C. to Valhtang I Gorgasali (Gurgenes) in the sixth A.D., some sixteen are known to such sources as Tacitus, Appian, Dio Cassius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Aelius Spartianus, Procopius, the fifth-century Syriac *Life of St. Peter the Iberian*, and the Greek inscription of 75 A.D., found near the ancient Iberian capital of Mtskheta (Mxet'a) and commemorating the treaty of friendship between King Mithridates II of Iberia and the Emperor Vespasian¹⁰.

The third part of the compilation is the narrative of the Conversion itself, a much ampler and more detailed work than the two brief chronicles before and after it. It appears to be substantially a variation of the story at the basis of Rufinus' *De conversione gentis Iberorum per captivam facta*¹¹ and resembles, moreover, that found in Moses of Khorene (Xorenaci).¹²

The whole of *The Conversion of Iberia* is saturated with Grecisms which may be taken to indicate that the composition of this work, at least in its original

⁸ Cf. Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Genal. Table*, pp. 109-110.

⁹ Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *On the Origin of the Georgians*, p. 43 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. Prince I. Džavaxov (Javanišvili), "The Polity of Ancient Georgia and Ancient Armenia" (in Russian), *Teksty i Razyskanija* (Texts and Researches) in Armeno-Georgian Philology, VIII, i (1905), 17-18; S. R. Gorgaĭe, "Essays on Georgian History" (in Georgian), *Moambe* (Bulletin), 1905, Nos. ix, x, xi-xii and *L'Ancienne Géorgie*, I (1909), ii, 43-68, II (1911-1913), ii, 1-84; S. Kakabaĭe, "Problems of the Genesis of the Georgian State" (in Georgian), *Bulletin historique*, I (1921), 11 ff.; Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Genal. Table*, pp. 146-148, 112-113; Allen, *History*, p. 376; Amiranašvili, "The Greek Inscription from the Vicinity of Mxet'a", *Izvestija* (Bulletin) of the State Academy of Material Culture History, V (1927), 409-411; *idem*, "Greek Inscriptions of the Georgian Museum", *Bulletin of the Georgian Museum*, IV (1928), 191-196 (both works in Russian).

¹¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, x, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXI, 480-482 (end of the fourth century).

¹² Cf. T'aqaišvili, *Sborn. Mat.*, XXVIII (1900), 104 n. 3; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, pp. 66-67.

stages, can possibly be ascribed to a period anterior to the fifth century and the rise of a fully developed national feudal-ecclesiastical literature¹³.

The Conversion of Iberia is followed by a brief continuation of the last part (i.e., of the second chronicle of the kings), bringing it down to the ninth century, and, after it, by *The Life of St. Nino*—the Illuminatrix of Georgia—which is considered as an appendix to, or a second part of, *The Conversion*.

The first appendix is thus another brief chronicle of the Kings and Catholici of Iberia. It differs little in character from those lists of kings that precede it (parts 2 and 4). Like them, it must have been based—one may assume—on some archival material.

The second appendix, *The Life of St. Nino* the Illuminatrix of Georgia, is, like the story of the Conversion, substantially in accord with Rufinus and Moses of Khorene¹⁴. The latter may have—as appears quite probable—used one of the earlier redactions of this Life, along with some other Georgian sources, for his *History of Armenia*¹⁵. The final redaction of *The Life of St. Nino* belongs to the ninth century, though it purports to contain passages written by the Saint's companions in the fourth¹⁶.

The Conversion of Iberia has been edited by the following:

(1) E. S. Taqaishvili (T'aqaišvili), in *Three Historical Chronicles* (Tiflis, 1890), and as *A New Variant of the Life of St. Nino, or the Second Part of The Conversion of Iberia* (Tiflis, 1891);

(2) T. D. Zhordania (Žordania)—independently of, and more successfully than Taqaishvili—in *Chronicles and Other Materials for Georgian History*, I (Tiflis, 1892), p. 11 ff.;

(3) Taqaishvili—in its final form based on the readings established by Zhordania, and with parallel Shatberdi and Chelishi texts—in "Description of the Mss., etc.", *Sbornik Materialov*, XLI (1910), 48–96 and XLII (1912), 1–57;

(4) I. Kipshidze (Kip'šije)—in its small initial part—in *The Chrestomathy of Ancient Georgian Literature* (Tiflis, 1918), p. 22 ff.; and

(5) N. Marr and N. Brière—in part—in *La Langue géorgienne* (Paris, 1931), p. 569 ff.

This chronicle was published, moreover, in a complete Russian translation—based on the readings established by Zhordania—by Taqaishvili in "The Sources

¹³ S. Kakabaje, *Historical Researches*, p. 85; *idem* in his Report of July 13, 1923 to the Historico-Ethnograph. Society, cf. Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, p. 126, n. 1; Melikset-Bekov, *The Scythian Problem*, pp. 522, 524–525, 547.—Kekeliġe's argument (*op.cit.*, pp. 125–126) that Gregory the Deacon cannot have lived earlier than the seventh century—because his works show borrowings from Moses Xorenaci, who lived, according to Kekeliġe, in the seventh century—cannot stand. In the first place, the *floruit* of Moses is still a matter of dispute, and, secondly, it is Moses who seems to have borrowed from Georgian sources, not *vice versa*, N. Jānašia, "On the Criticism of Moses of Xorene" (in Russian), *Masalebi*, 1937, vi, 492.

¹⁴ T'aqaišvili, *Sborn. Mat.*, XXVIII, 93 n. 1, 104 n. 3, 60 n. 2.—An episode absent from this ninth-century version of the Life, but inserted in it about the twelfth century, must have been borrowed directly from Rufinus, *ibid.*, p. 80 n. 3.

¹⁵ Jānašia, *On the Criticism of Moses of Xorene*, p. 492.

¹⁶ Karst, *Lit. géorg. chrét.*, p. 67 ff.; Jānašia, *op.cit.*, pp. 480, 492.

of the Geor
Life of St. Nino
in *Studia* b

2. THE HIS
tury).—This
from the fo
period, ther
It was disc
in 973. Wi
tradition as
been publish

3. THE DY
This is a ge
of the Anch
the Bagrati
succeeded to
crown.²⁰

As *The La*
century *Ch*
and served
for his 'Ior
Dositheus h
and must ha
covered by
in a copy do
found it in th

¹⁷ The title
Delegate"—w
(before the s
century. Cf.
M. Tamarati
Dictionnaire

¹⁸ Jānašvili
¹⁹ *Georgice*
as the English
meaning: at

²⁰ Avalichv
tory, II (Tifl
pp. 121–123; M
bles généalog

²¹ Jānašvili
tions et éclair
"De l'état rel
V (1830); D.
Petersburg, 1
275.

of the Georgian Annals", *Sbornik Materialov*, XXVIII (1900), 1 ff.; and *The Life of St. Nino* was also published in an English translation by O. Wardrop in *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica* (Oxford, 1900), V, 1.

2. THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS, BISHOPS, AND CATHOLICI OF IBERIA¹⁷ (IXth century).—This is a short anonymous chronicle covering the history of Iberia from the fourth century B.C. to the ninth century of our era. The latter period, therefore, must be considered as the *terminus a quo* of its composition. It was discovered as part of the above-mentioned *Shalberdi Collection* copied in 973. With the exception of a few details, it represents the same historical tradition as that embodied in the preceding work. It has not, to our knowledge, been published¹⁸.

3. THE DIVAN OF THE KINGS,¹⁹ BY BAGRAT III, KING OF GEORGIA (d. 1014).—This is a genealogical treatise on the sovereigns of Abasgia, from the founder of the Anchabad (Anč'abaĵe) dynasty in about the fifth century, to the author, the Bagratid who—through his mother Gurandukht of Abasgia—had in 978 succeeded to the Abasgian throne and in 1008 united the Abasgian to the Iberian crown.²⁰

As *The Life* (i.e., *History*) of Abasgia, this work was mentioned in the eleventh-century *Chronicle of Iberia* (a part of *The Georgian Annals*, No. 14), and served as a source to the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, for his *Ἱστορία περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πατριαρχεουσάντων* (Bucharest, 1715). Dositheus had twice visited Georgia, at the end of the seventeenth century, and must have seen the work there²¹. *The Divan of the Kings* was finally discovered by Professor Taqaishvili in an eighteenth-century collection of Mss., in a copy done by order of King Constantine I of Georgia (1405-1412) who had found it in the Royal Archives at Kutais. Taqaishvili published it in *L'Ancienne*

¹⁷ The title of Catholicus (*Kat'olikosi*)—an abbreviation of the Greek for "Universal Delegate"—was taken by the Primates of Iberia, while they were under the jurisdiction (before the acquisition of autocephaly) of the Patriarchs of Antioch, in the fourth-fifth century. Cf. R. Janin, "Géorgie" in *Dictionnaire de Théol. Cath.*, VI (1924), 1251-1253; M. Tamarati, *L'Eglise géorgienne* (Rome, 1910); cf. Dom H. Leclercq, "Katholikos" in *Dictionnaire d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Liturgie*, VIII (1928), 686-689.

¹⁸ Jānašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 119, 135-136; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 101.

¹⁹ *Georgice: Divani Mep'et'a*.—The Persian loan-word (*dīwān*) to the Georgian as well as the English vocabulary is retained in the title of this work with all its original equivocal meaning: at once an "assembly", an "account", and a "book".

²⁰ Avalichvili, *La Succession du euralate David d'Ibérie*, pp. 117-202; Jāvaxišvili, *History*, II (Tiflis, 1914), 412; Allen, *History*, pp. 83-84; Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Geneal. Table*, pp. 121-123; M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II, 1 (St. Petersburg, 1856), Add. ix "Tables généalogiques", i.

²¹ Jānašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, p. 121; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 102; Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1851), ix, 173-174; *idem*, "De l'état religieux et politique de la Géorgie jusqu'au XVIIe siècle", *Bulletin scientifique*, V (1839); D. Bak'raĵe, *Articles on the History and Antiquities of Georgia* (in Russian), (St. Petersburg, 1887), i, 4-5; *idem*, *The History of Georgia* (in Georgian), (Tiflis, 1889), pp. 273-275.

the fifth century and the literature¹³.

tinuation of the last part own to the ninth century, trix of Georgia—which is e *Conversion*.

f the Kings and Catholici sts of kings that precede ased—one may assume—

luminatrix of Georgia, is, d with Rufinus and Moses te probable—used one of her Georgian sources, for *Life of St. Nino* belongs passages written by the

ollowing:
torical *Chronicles* (Tiflis, or the *Second Part of The*

and more successfully than eorgian *History*, I (Tiflis,

lings established by Zhor-s—in "Description of the and XLII (1912), 1-57; —in *The Chrestomathy of* and

géorgienne (Paris, 1931),

ete Russian translation— aqaishvili in "The Sources

report of July 13, 1923 to the p. 126, n. 1; Melikset-Bekov, gument (*op.cit.*, pp. 125-126) seventh century—because his according to Kekeliĵe, in the t of Moses is still a matter of d from Georgian sources, not ne" (in Russian), *Masalebi*,

.. 2.—An episode absent from ut the twelfth century, must

Georgie, II (1911-1913), iii, 28-54 ("What was the so-called *History of Abasgia* of King Bagrat, etc."), and in a French translation in *Journal Asiatique*, CCX (1927), 357-368 ("Les sources des notices du patriarche de Jérusalem Dosithée sur les rois d'Aphkhalie").

Taqaišvili believes that this document is a manifesto issued on the accession of Bagrat III to the Abasgian throne, and that his legitimate descent from the old dynasty is thereby affirmed²². But Bagrat's accession took place in 978, whereas the date of the compilation of *The Divan* must lie somewhere between the years 1008 and 1014, i.e., between the death of Bagrat's father—the co-King Gurgun, who is referred to in this work as "the late" (*sulkurt'xeuli*)—and the year of his own death²³.

4. THE HISTORY OF THE BAGRATIDS,²⁴ BY SUMBAT, SON OF DAVID (c. 1030).—This History was written in the first half of the eleventh century by a man who may himself have belonged to the Georgian royal house of the Bagratids²⁵. It shares one of its sources with one of the chronicles composing *The Georgian Annals*, namely *The Chronicle of Iberia*; and it was itself discovered as a separate source, in 1885, constituting a part of the so-called Queen Mary Ms. of the Annals. It was published by Taqaišvili in *Three Historical Chronicles* (Tiflis, 1890), and in his edition of the Queen Mary Variant: *K'art'lis Cxovreba, the Queen Mariam Variant* (Tiflis, 1906), pp. 336-361; as well as in a Russian translation, by the same, in "The Sources of the Georgian Annals", *Sbornik Materialov*, XXVIII, 117-182.

Our historian has two principal aims before him: to proclaim the illustrious,

²² *L'Ancienne Géorgie*, II, 48.

²³ Jannašia, *The Date and Circumstances of the Rise of the Abasgian Monarchy*, pp. 138-139.

²⁴ *Georgice. Cxovreba da Ugeba Bagratoniant'a, Čven K'art'velt'a Mep'et'asa: T'u Sadat' Moičivnes Amas K'ueqanasa Igini, Anu Romlit' Žamit'gan Upqries Mat' Mep'oba K'art'liša, romeli aqčera Sumbat jeman Davit'isman* (The History of, and Information regarding the Bagratidae, Our Georgian Kings: As to Whence They Came to This Land and Since What Time They Hold the Kingship of Iberia, which is written by Sumbat, the son of David).

²⁵ T'aqaišvili, *Three Historical Chronicles*, p. cix; Avalichvili, *La succession du curopalate David d'Ibérie*, p. 180; T'aqaišvili, "Georgian Chronology and the Beginnings of Bagratid Rule in Georgia", *Georgica*, I, 1 (1935), 17; D. Koričaišvili, "Who was the Author of the Chronicle of Sumbat?" (in Georgian), *L'Ancienne Géorgie*, I (1909), ii, 36-42: he conjectures that Sumbat was a son of David the Little, son of the Curopalates Adarnase (d. 983), who was a brother of King Bagrat the Sot of Iberia (937-994) and a son of the Curopalates Sumbat (954-958); if this were true, our Sumbat would thus be a second cousin of Bagrat III, cf. Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Geneal. Table*, p. 119. For the whole problem of the Bagratid dynasty (Armenice: Bagratuni; Georgice: Bagratuniani, Bagratovani, then Bagrationi), cf., e.g., Brosset, *Additions*, ix "Histoire des Bagratides géorgiens, d'après les auteurs arméniens et grecs, jusqu'au commencement du XI^e siècle"; J. Marquart (Markwart), *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Exkurs iv "Der Ursprung der iberischen Bagratiden", pp. 391-465; *idem*, "Die Genealogie der Bagratiden und das Zeitalter des Mar Abas und Ps. Moses Xorenac'i", *Caucasica*, VI, 2 (1930), 11 ff.; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* (Paris, 1919), pp. 83-88; Toumanoff, *The Founder of Trebizond and Queen Thamar*, p. 299 n. 4.

if wholly leg
the history o
his *History* b
King-Prophe
century only
eighth centu
in order to s
of the Bagra
local Iberian
Armenian or

In its deli
which had j
spirit of the

For the hi
based on the
appanage lar
largely the w
of Sumbat
he has in co
V and St. M
sher's *Histor*
12).³¹ The
valuable chr

²⁶ Javanišvili

²⁷ T'aqaišvili

²⁸ According

short-lived ho
Iberia (575-60
Historically, l
Bagratids can
eighth century
Prince-Patriar
Armenian line
Iberian Chosr
in Georgia, a
Cf. Allen, *Hi
cienne Géorgi
Streifzüge*, "I

²⁹ It may b
claim of the l
For, contemp
—on the Dav
8) of John Ca
strando imper
Iberian Curoj

³⁰ Javanišvili

³¹ T'aqaišvili
(p. 118), 120

so-called *History of Abasgia* in *Journal Asiatique*, CCXII, 1878, pp. 138-139.

esto issued on the accession legitimate descent from the ccession took place in 978, must lie somewhere between agrat's father—the co-King e" (*sulkurt'xeuli*)—and the

SON OF DAVID (c. 1030).—enth century by a man who l house of the Bagratids²⁵. les composing *The Georgian* self discovered as a separate d Queen Mary Ms. of the *Historical Chronicles* (Tiflis, *K'art'lis Cxovreba*, the *Queen* as in a Russian translation, *anal's*", *Sbornik Materialov*,

to proclaim the illustrious,

Abasgian Monarchy, pp. 138-139. *rt'vell'a Mep'et'asa: T'u Sadat' Ipqries Mat' Mep'oba K'art'liasa*, and Information regarding the e to This Land and Since What by Sumbat, the son of David). vili, *La succession du curopalate* and the Beginnings of Bagratid , "Who was the Author of the (1909), ii, 36-42: he conjectures opalates Adarnase (d. 983), who a son of the Curopalates Sum- a second cousin of Bagrat III, whole problem of the Bagratid Bagratovani, then Bagrationi), géorgiens, d'après les auteurs le"; J. Marquart (Markwart), 'Der Ursprung der iberischen tiden und das Zeitalter des Mar ff.; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Founder of Trebizond and Queen*

if wholly legendary, Davidic origin of the Bagratid dynasty, and then to narrate the history of the Bagratids as Kings of Iberia²⁶. And thus, though he begins his *History* by tracing the genealogy of the Bagratids from Adam, through the King-Prophet David, Sumbat covers the history of Georgia itself from the sixth century only, to the year 1030. He is quite trustworthy from the end of the eighth century onwards²⁷. For then, there is no longer any need to invent facts in order to suit his deliberate purpose, namely that of creating a national epic of the Bagratids, by tracing them from the King-Prophet through a preceding, local Iberian dynasty²⁸ and by concealing the historical fact of their non-Georgian, Armenian origin; thereafter he begins to write simply good history.

In its deliberate avoidance to mention the foreign extraction of the dynasty which had just unified Georgia, this work manifests the nascent nationalist spirit of the newly-risen Georgian empire of the Bagratids.²⁹

For the history from the eighth century till Bagrat III, our author is largely based on the now lost family chronicle of the collateral Bagratids who held in appanage lands in Meschia (Tao-Klarjeti); and from George I to the end, it is largely the work of a contemporary witness³⁰. Other sources hitherto ascertained of Sumbat are—besides the above-mentioned lost work and another source he has in common with *The Chronicle of Iberia*—: the Bible, especially *Genesis* V and *St. Matthew* I; *The Conversion of Iberia*; and, most probably, also Juan-sher's *History of King Vakhtang Gorgasali* (part of *The Georgian Annals*, No. 12).³¹ *The History of the Bagratids*, in its reliable, historical part, offers much valuable chronological information and is fully corroborated by the epigraphic

²⁶ Javakishvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, p. 195.

²⁷ T'aqaišvili, *Georgian Chronology*, p. 23.

²⁸ According to Sumbat, the Iberian Bagratids descended in direct male line from the short-lived house of the Dukes of Klarjeti, founded by Guaram I, one-time Curopalates of Iberia (575-600). Sumbat makes this Guaram a Bagratid and of the house of David. Historically, however, the origins of the family of Guaram are quite unknown, and the Bagratids came to Iberia from Armenia, the country of their origin, not earlier than in the eighth century. Of the sons of Ašot II the Blind Bagratuni (Prince of Sper and Daruink', Prince-Patrician of Armenia [732-748, d. 761]), the elder, Smbat VII, continued the Armenian line; and the younger, Vasak, Prince of Taraun (c. 750-772), married to an Iberian Chosroid princess, founded the Iberian line. Vasak's son acquired great domains in Georgia, and his grandson, Ašot the Great, became Duke and Curopalates of Iberia. Cf. Allen, *History*, pp. 377-378; T'aqaišvili, "Historical Materials" (in Georgian), *L'Antienne Géorgie*, II (1911-1913), iii, 57; *idem*, *Georgian Chronology*, pp. 17-23; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, "Der Ursprung der iberischen Bagratiden".

²⁹ It may be noted, in this context, that the peculiarly Georgian version of the Davidic claim of the Bagratids, found in Sumbat, appears to be as old really as the claim itself. For, contemporaneously with the casual remark—the first in Armenian historical literature—on the Davidic descent of the Armenian Bagratids, found in *The Hist. of Armenia* (cap. 8) of John Catholicus, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus expressed, in *De administrando imperio* (cap. 45), the Georgian, extra-Armenian version of the Davidic claim of the Iberian Curopalatae.

³⁰ Javakishvili, *op.cit.*, p. 196.

³¹ T'aqaišvili, *Georgian Chronology*, p. 17; *idem*, *Sborn. Mat.*, XXVIII, 42 n. 1, 117 n. 1 (p. 118), 120 n. 3, 124 n. 3, 134 n. 5.

and diplomatic data of the period, as well as by the contemporaneous Byzantine, Armenian, and Muslim sources³².

5. THE HISTORY OF QUEEN THAMAR³³, BY BASIL, THE MASTER OF THE COURT (c. 1210-1213).—This work was discovered by Professor I. Javakhishvili in 1923, as part of the so-called Eradzhev Ms. of *The Georgian Annals*³⁴, and is being at present edited by him. In the meantime, however, it has been translated into Russian by V. Dondua and published by him in *The Monuments of the Epoch of Rustaveli*³⁵ as "Basili, the Historian of Queen Thamar", pp. 33-76; the text, pp. 39-76.

This work begins, by way of introduction, with the reign of Thamar's father George III (1156-1184) and then proceeds to describe her own reign (1184-1212). Javakhishvili has established that the date of the composition of this History was 1210-1213 and that its author was most probably Basil, Master of the Court (*Ezos-Mojguari*) and Cross-Bearer (*Juaris-Mama*) of Thamar³⁶. He is known as the "Second Historian of Queen Thamar", the first one being the anonymous author of *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns* (a part of *The Georgian Annals*, No. 16). The widely different character of Basil's History makes it a valuable supplement to the ampler work of the Anonymus.

However, only the first part of this work (down to 1204-1206) has reached us, in a sixteenth-seventeenth-century Ms. The now lost second part has been replaced—in a Ms. copied c. 1731—by the corresponding part of *The Histories and Eulogies*, in the later, King Vakhtang VI Redaction of the Annals³⁷. It is, nevertheless, believed that, in revising the text—especially the latter part—of *The Histories and Eulogies* (as found in the earlier Queen Mary Recension), the compilers of the King Vakhtang Redaction interpolated into it, in turn, passages from the now lost second part of Basil³⁸.

³² Javakhishvili, *op.cit.*, pp. 196-197; cf. also Janašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 120-121; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 102.

³³ *Georgice: Cxovreba Mep'et'-Mep'isa T'amarisi* (The Life or History of the Queen of Queens Thamar) by Basili, Ezos-Mojguari. The Georgian royal title "King of Kings" or "Queen of Queens": *mep'et'-mep'e*, adopted in 994 (cf. Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Geneal. Table*, p. 122), is rendered here simply as "King" or "Queen". For the absence of genders in Georgian titles, cf. below, n. 44.

³⁴ I. Javakhishvili, "The Newly-Discovered *K'art'lis-Cxovreba* and the Work of the Hitherto Unknown Second Historian of Queen Thamar" (in Georgian), *Bulletin de l'Université de Tiflis*, III (1923), 186-216.

³⁵ Leningrad: The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, 1938.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 206-207.—Cf. Basil (ed. Dondua, *The Monuments of the Epoch of Rustaveli*), p. 64; *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns* (French transl. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, 1 [St. Petersburg, 1849]), p. 459. A. G. Šanije, "The Evidence of the Bilingual, Graeco-Pehlevi Inscription from Armazi for the History of the Term *Ezoysmojguari* in Ancient Georgia" (in Russian), *Mitteilungen d. Akademie d. Wiss. d. Georgischen S.S.R.*, Bd. II, Nr. 1-2 (1941), 181-187.

³⁷ Javakhishvili, *loc.cit.*; Dondua, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-36.—For the redactions of *The Georgian Annals*, cf. below, II A.

³⁸ Javakhishvili, *op.cit.*, pp. 204-205.

On the c
the First
that of a
King Vakh
with the c
his Gram
this Histor
porary, the
Third Hist
to Rustave
now lost s
was not at
ecclesiastic
lieved to h

6. THE C
anonymous
Abasgia to
ever, in a
and is brow
and another
Nevertheless
chronologic

7. THE H
IV THE RES
an anonym
the son of
nevertheless
The connect
Invasions (
and *Eulogi*

³⁹ I. Abula
Recueil Rous
has not yet b

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*,

⁴¹ *Georgice*

⁴² Ms. No

⁴³ T. Žord
(Tiflis, 1892)

⁴⁴ The Geo
whether man
form irrespec
or duke (Er
(p. 60), 46 (p
her full title
Thamar was

contemporaneous Byzantine,

THE MASTER OF THE COURT
Professor I. Javakhishvili in
the *Georgian Annals*³⁴, and is
however, it has been trans-
- him in *The Monuments of*
Queen Thamar", pp. 33-76;

the reign of Thamar's father
tribute her own reign (1184-
of the composition of this
most probably Basil, Master
(*kuaris-Mama*) of Thamar³⁵.
Thamar", the first one being
of the *Sovereigns* (a part
different character of Basil's
other work of the Anonymus.
to 1204-1206) has reached
now lost second part has
corresponding part of *The*
*Redaction of the Annals*³⁷.
—especially the latter part—
er Queen Mary Recension),
interpolated into it, in turn,

K'art'lis-Cxovreba, pp. 120-121;

life or History of the Queen of
in royal title "King of Kings"
Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Geneal.*
n". For the absence of genders

eba and the Work of the Hitherto
jan), *Bulletin de l'Université de*

3.
ments of the Epoch of Rustaveli),
(French transl. Brosset, *Hist.*
ije, "The Evidence of the Bilin-
tory of the Term *Ezoysmojguari*
ie d. Wiss. d. Georgischen S.S.R.,

the redactions of *The Georgian*

On the other hand, the source used by that redaction for the amplification of the First Historian of Thamar may have been yet another work altogether—that of a "Third Historian" of the great Queen. Now, a passage found in the King Vakhtang Redaction of *The Histories and Eulogies* happens to be identical with the citation which Anthony I, Catholicus of Iberia (1744-1788), gives in his Grammar (first edition: 1753), as coming from a History of Thamar. And this History, states the Catholicus, was written by the Queen's great contemporary, the poet Shota Rustaveli,³⁹ who thus may well have been the hypothetical Third Historian. Still, it is quite possible that the work and citation ascribed to Rustaveli are nothing other than the History of Basil and a passage from its now lost second part; but it may also very well be that the Second Historian was not at all Basil but Shota⁴⁰. And yet one is tempted to ask whether the ecclesiastic Basil was not, after all, identical with Shota of Rustavi who is believed to have become a monk.

6. THE CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ABASGIA⁴¹ (XIIIth century).—This is an anonymous paschal chronicle which covers the history from the early Kings of Abasgia to the thirteenth century, when it was completed. It was found, however, in a fifteenth-century Ms. appended to a fifteenth-century *euchologion*⁴², and is brought down to the latter period. It lacks one folio at the beginning, and another one—dealing with the end of the tenth century—in the middle. Nevertheless, this source offers some valuable information and important chronological data. It has not yet been published.⁴³

7. THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS DEMETRIUS I, GEORGE III, THAMAR, AND GEORGE IV THE RESPLENDENT⁴⁴ (XIIIth century).—This historical work was written by an anonymous contemporary of King George IV the Resplendent (1212-1223), the son of Queen Thamar, and has to deal chiefly with his reign. It covers, nevertheless, by way of introduction, the reigns of his predecessors (1125-1212). The connection of this work with the initial part of *The History of the Mongol Invasions* (the last part of *The Georgian Annals*, No. 17) and with *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns*, which deal, respectively, with the history of

³⁹ I. AbulaJe, "On the Question of the Historical Work of Šot'a Rustaveli" (in Russian), *Recueil Rousthavéli* (Tiflis, 1938), pp. 161-169.—The first redaction of Anthony I's Grammar has not yet been published, *ibidem*, p. 163 n. 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 166-169.

⁴¹ *Georgice: Ap'xazt' Mep'et'a K'ronika*.

⁴² Ms. No. 85 of the former Ecclesiastical Museum of Tiflis.

⁴³ T. Žordania, *Chronicles and Other Materials for Georgian History* (in Georgian), I (Tiflis, 1892), iv ff.

⁴⁴ The Georgian equivalent of "King", *Mep'e* denotes a reigning monarch of royal rank, whether man or woman. Like all the Georgian nouns, and adjectives, *Mep'e* has but one form irrespective of genders; the wife of a king—as well as of a sovereign prince (*Mt'avari*) or duke (*Erist'avi*)—is *Dedop'ali*; cf. Marr et Brière, *La Langue géorgienne*, Nos. 72, 73 (p. 60), 46 (p. 43), 306 (p. 266), and pp. 685, 626.—Thamar was Queen-regnant, i.e., *Mep'e*; her full title was *Mep'et'-Mep'e*, i.e., "Queen of Queens"; and it is not correct to say that Thamar was proclaimed King, after her father (cf., e.g., Allen, *History*, p. 103).

George IV and with that of his mother and his grandfather, is yet to be elucidated. It was discovered and published by Professor Javakhishvili in 1927⁴⁵.

8. THE KHWARIZMIAN INVASION OF GEORGIA, BY ABUSERIDZE, BISHOP OF TBETI⁴⁶ (XIIIth century).—The author, Abuseridze, Bishop of Tbeti (= Tbeli), of the ducal house of Khikha-Achara (Xixa-Açara), lived in the thirteenth century⁴⁷. This—his only historical—work is a part of a large compilation entitled *The Miracles of the Holy Arch-Martyr (mt'avarmoçamisa) George*, the rest of which is devoted to purely ecclesiastical matters.

It treats of the invasion of Georgia by the Khwarizm-Shah Jalaladdin in the years 1225–1231, during the reign of George IV's sister Rusudan (1223–1245). The whole compilation was found in a thirteenth-century Ms. collection⁴⁸ and was published by Zhordania in his *Chronicles*.⁴⁹

9. THE MONUMENT OF THE DUKES⁵⁰ (XVth century).—This work is a family chronicle of the Dukes of Ksani⁵¹, covering the history of their house from the sixth century, but more particularly from about 1220, to about 1400. This fifteenth-century compilation is based on various local paschal chronicles and other documents, especially on the Cartulary of the family abbey of Largvisi.⁵²

It was discovered in the first half of the last century by the Georgian anti-quarian Meghvinet-Khutsesis-Shvili in a parchment *synaxarion* and copied by him, but after his death the original was lost. The copy was published by Zhordania in his *Chronicles*, and in a French translation by Brosset in his *Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie*⁵³.

Inexact in reporting some matters, especially those outside the immediate

⁴⁵ *The Contemporary Chronicler of George Laša* [= the Resplendent] (in Georgian), (Tiflis, 1927).

⁴⁶ *Georgice: Xvarazmelt'a Šemoseva Sak'art'veloši da K'vegnis Aoxeba* (The Invasion of Georgia and Devastation of the Land by the Khwarizmians) by Abuseriġe T'beli.—Georgian Bishops, as a general rule, were referred to—like the feudal lords they were—by the territorial epithets derived from their sees. Thus the Archbishop of Tiflis (T'bilisi) was called the T'bileli, that of Ruisi—the *Mroveli* (the prefix *m-* indicates the agent, cf. Marr et Brière, *La Langue géorgienne*, p. 46), that of Çqondidi—the *Çqondideli*, the Bishop of T'bet'i—the T'beli. Cf. the pre-revolutionary French custom of referring to Bishops as, e.g., *Monsieur de Noyon, de Meaux* etc.

⁴⁷ For the genealogy of Abuseriġe T'beli's family, cf. Brosset, "Traité géorgien du comput ecclésiastique, composé et écrit en... 1233, etc.", *Mélanges Asiatiques*, V, 4 (1866), 423.

⁴⁸ Ms. No. 85 of the former Ecclesiastical Museum of Tiflis.

⁴⁹ II, 118 ff.; cf. Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, pp. 347–349; Janašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, p. 143.

⁵⁰ *Georgice: Jęgli Erist'avt'a*.

⁵¹ This house, after the Russian annexation of Georgia, assumed the title of Princes Eristov-Ksanskij, cf., e.g., Prince Peter Dolgorukov, *The Book of Russian Genealogy* (in Russian), III (St. Petersburg, 1856), 464 ff.

⁵² This fact led Brosset, at one time, to assume that the work itself was, or but included, a history of the Abbey, *Additions*, xxi, 372 n. 1, 376 n. 1.

⁵³ *Chronicles*, II, 1–40; *Additions*, xxi "De l'origine des eristhaws du Ksan", 372–385.

scope of far
its details
have been
campaigns
and with S

10. THE
in question
Georgian A
study, but
Continuatio
the King V
down the of
at which po

The First
Cxovreba, th
Georgian H
xx, 468–371
650–687⁵⁷.

The comp
and, on a cl
distinct part
George VII

⁵⁴ Cf. Janaš

⁵⁵ T'aqnišvi

⁵⁶ With the

⁵⁷ Fuller bi

⁵⁸ These par

by Brosset in
(1360–1395–140
the History of
character of th
counted for; t
toriography an
was aware of
VII) separatel
opening, Hist.
based on an "u
Mat., XXXVI,
Annals", and n
which he recog
preface to the
(of the mid-eig
the opening pa
Bagrat V and h
Mat., XXXVI,
ness of the abo
the *Contin. I.*

dfather, is yet to be elucidated. vakhishvili in 1927⁴⁵.

ABUSERIDZE, BISHOP OF TBETI⁴⁶
top of Tbeti (= Tbeli), of the
ed in the thirteenth century⁴⁷.
arge compilation entitled *The*
sa) *George*, the rest of which is

warizm-Shah Jalaladdin in the
's sister Rusudan (1223-1245).
enth-century Ms. collection⁴⁸
,⁴⁹

tury).—This work is a family
istory of their house from the
it 1220, to about 1400. This
is local paschal chronicles and
the family abbey of Largvisi.⁵²
century by the Georgian anti-
ient *synaxarion* and copied by

The copy was published by
slation by Brosset in his *Addi-*
⁵³.

those outside the immediate
Resplendent] (in Georgian), (Tiflis,

K'veqnis Aoxeba (The Invasion of
nians) by Abuserije T'beli.—Geor-
the feudal lords they were—by the
Archbishop of Tiflis (T'bilisi) was
ix m- indicates the agent, cr. Marr
lidi—the *Çqondideli*, the Bishop of
custom of referring to Bishops as,

Brosset, "Traité géorgien du com-
, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, V, 4 (1866),

Tiflis.
-349; Jānašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*,

orgia, assumed the title of Princes
The Book of Russian Genealogy (in

he work itself was, or but included,
1.
des eristhaws du Ksan", 372-385.

scope of family history, it is quite trustworthy in recording others, and some of its details often find corroboration in whatever diplomatic and epigraphic data have been published pertaining to the same matters. Its account of Timur's campaigns in Georgia is, upon the whole, in harmony with the following work and with Sharafaddin's *Zafar-Nāme*.⁵⁴

10. THE HISTORY OF THE INVASIONS OF TIMUR (c. 1424-1450?).—The source in question has to be extricated from the first of the two Continuations of *The Georgian Annals*. These Continuations are beyond the scope of the present study, but the first one, containing this source, must be examined here. The Continuations were compiled in the second half of the eighteenth century for the King Vakhtang VI Redaction of the Annals, with the purpose of bringing down the official history of Georgia from the beginning of the fourteenth century, at which point the Annals stop⁵⁵.

The First Continuation was published by Taqaishvili in Annex II to *K'art'lis-Cxovreba, the Queen Mariam Variant*, pp. 850-891, and by Brosset, both in the Georgian *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 2, 451-476⁵⁶, and, in French, in *Additions*, xx, 468-371 (the opening part) and in the French *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 2, 650-687⁵⁷.

The composite character of the First Continuation is patent at first glance, and, on a closer analysis, it will be found to consist of four loosely connected and distinct parts⁵⁸. Of these, only the second part, *The History of Bagrat V and George VII* (1360-1405), or of the *Invasions of Timur* appears to be one of the

⁵⁴ Cf. Jānašvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 104.

⁵⁵ T'aqaišvili, "Description of the Mss.", *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI (1906), 109, 112-113, 91.

⁵⁶ With the omission of the opening part = T'aqaišvili ed., pp. 850-855.

⁵⁷ Fuller bibliographical data will be found below, II A.

⁵⁸ These parts are: (1) the History of David VII (1346-1360)—the opening part omitted by Brosset in the Georgian *Hist. de la Géorgie*; (2) that of Bagrat V and his son George VII (1360-1395-1405), or of the Invasions of Timur; (3) a short intermediary chronicle; and (4) the History of Alexander I and his successors (1412-1442-1453). Though the composite character of this compilation has been noticed, its four distinct parts have not been accounted for; this, the present author endeavors to do in an article on *The Georgian Historiography and the Fifteenth-Century Bagratids*, which he hopes to publish soon. Brosset was aware of only two parts, since he published the opening one (on the reign of David VII) separately. T'aqaišvili, also, divides the *Contin. I* into two main parts: (1) the opening, Hist. of David VII, and (2) the part containing a History of Timur's invasions, based on an "unknown source"; the rest being based on various original documents (*Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 90-91). Jānašvili considers only the *Contin. II* as a "Continuation of the Annals", and mentions of the *Contin. I* only part 2, as *The History of the Invasions of Timur*, which he recognizes as an original source (*K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 125-128). Moreover, the preface to the Continuations, found in the so-called Jānašvili Ms. of *The Georgian Annals* (of the mid-eighteenth century), shows the following division of the *Contin. I*: (1) it omits the opening part (absent also from the text of the Ms.) and mentions (2) the History of Bagrat V and his successor and (3) that of Alexander and his successors (T'aqaišvili, *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 114-132). The combined evidence of these, added to the patent distinctness of the above-mentioned short intermediary chronicle, completes the above division of the *Contin. I*.

original primary sources merely preserved in the First Continuation. It has definite indications of having been written by a contemporary who, also, quotes from Persian sources.⁵⁹ Thus this History appears to be a connecting link between the sources of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century and the Silver Age productions⁶⁰. All this, apart from being accepted by Janashvili and Karst⁶¹, is in perfect harmony with Professor Taqaishvili's inference that "still more unknown sources are hidden in the two Continuations";⁶² with the assertion of the eighteenth-century Georgian historian, Prince Vakhushht, that history had been written from the days of George the Illustrious (with whose reign the Annals stop) to the epoch of the Partition (1490)⁶³; with the statement of the Preface to the Continuations found in the Janashvili Ms. (eighteenth century), that the History of Bagrat V and his successor was taken from "old books"⁶⁴; and finally with the announcement, made by the Commission in charge of the King Vakhtang Redaction itself, that for the rectification and amplification of the Annals various writings had been consulted.⁶⁵

Janashvili attempted to identify the "Persian sources"—referred to by the anonymous author of this work in connection with the bravery of the Georgians in withstanding Timur—with the late fourteenth-century encyclopaedic work of Shihabaddin al-Qalqashandi. But, as Janashvili himself recognizes, Al-Qalqashandi was not a Persian, but an Arab author; and, what is more important, there is nothing in the passage from that author he cites⁶⁶ to bear on the wars of Timur in Georgia or the valor of the Georgians: it is merely an elaborate and florid formula of ceremonial address employed by various Muslim sovereigns towards the Kings of Georgia⁶⁷.

In the opinion of the present writer, the Persian source which the author of this History has in mind must be the *Zafar-Nāme* of Ali Yazdi Sharafaddin, which does deal extensively with Timur's campaigns in Georgia, and with which this Georgian work displays a striking similarity⁶⁸. The *Zafar-Nāme* was composed in 1424-1425 and was based on the unpublished work of the same name written

⁵⁹ Janashvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-128; Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁶⁰ I.e., between *The Hist. of the Mongol Invasions* (the last part of the Annals), *The Monument of the Dukes*, and *The Chron. of the Meschian Psalter* and the works that come after it.

⁶¹ Janashvili, *loc. cit.*; Karst, *loc. cit.*

⁶² Taqaishvili, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 114-132.

⁶⁵ Cf. below, II A, at n. 19.

⁶⁶ Janashvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128, after W. von Tiesenhhausen, in *Zapiski* (Bulletin) of the Eastern Division of the Imp. Russ. Archaeol. Society, I, 208-216; cf. Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 104.—For Al-Qalqashandi, cf. C. Brockelmann in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II (1927), 699-700; his work was composed after 1387.

⁶⁷ One of the titles thus accorded to the Kings of Georgia is "Supporter of the Pope"—an interesting remnant of the pre-Cerularian days.

⁶⁸ For the similarity between this History and the *Zafar-Nāme*, cf. the text in *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, 2, 650 ff., with the outline of the latter work in V. Minorsky's article "Tiflis" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV (1934), 757 ff., and also Brosset, *Additions*, xxii, "Expéditions de Timour en Géorgie".

by Nizama
that *The H*
events desc
and that, m
tion must d

II. SOURCES

A. H

In the el
compiled hi
this was ad
came into e
first, of K'
Cxovreba, w
body of chu
historicum o
time went c
ferred to in

By the m
body of *The*
Armenian a
known as *T*
reached us in
The Georgian
historians: n
Mkhitar of A
—in the tw

⁶⁹ Cf. Cl. H

¹ The first
The Martyrdom
first two word
the Kings of Il
Regum, which
Historia. The
icle of Iberia
K'art'lisay, i.e.
the name of
pp. 201-203.—
and *Sak'art've*

² Published
French transl

³ *Ibidem*, p.
XXXVI, 40.

⁴ Cf. Karst,
d'Ani, II (St.
author to men
which is direct
(in Russian),

First Continuation. It has atemporary who, also, quotes s to be a connecting link between the century and the Silver accepted by Janashvili and aishvili's inference that "still tinuations";⁶² with the asser-Prince Vakhusht, that history strious (with whose reign the ⁶³; with the statement of the ili Ms. (eighteenth century), taken from "old books"⁶⁴; and mission in charge of the King ion and amplification of the

sources"—referred to by the the bravery of the Georgians entury encyclopaedic work of himself recognizes, Al-Qal-and, what is more important, ie cites⁶⁵ to bear on the wars ns: it is merely an elaborate by various Muslim sovereigns

n source which the author of Ali Yazdi Sharafaddin, which Georgia, and with which this ie *Zafar-Nāme* was composed ork of the same name written

he last part of the Annals), *The Psalter* and the works that come

hausen, in *Zapiski* (Bulletin) of y, I, 208-216; cf. Karst, *op. cit.*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II (1927),

gia is "Supporter of the Pope"—

far-Nāme, cf. the text in *Hist. de* r work in V. Minorsky's article and also Brosset, *Additions*, xxii,

by Nizamaddin Shami, at the command of Timur, in 1401-1403⁶⁶. If it be true that *The History of the Invasions of Timur* was written by a contemporary of the events described, which took place in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and that, moreover, its author had access to the *Zafar-Nāme*, then its composition must date from not earlier than 1424, and not later than, say, 1450.

II. SOURCES CONTAINED IN THE GEORGIAN ANNALS (XITH-XIVTH CENTURIES)

A. History, Redactions, and Editions of The Georgian Annals

In the eleventh century Leontius, Archbishop of Ruisi (Leonti Mroveli) compiled his *History of the Kings of Iberia* and *Martyrdom of King Archil*; to this was added Juansher's *History of King Vakhtang Gorgasali*; and thus there came into existence the corpus of historical writings known under the name, first, of *K'art'uell'a-Cxovreba*, and then, about a century later, of *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, which means "Life", i.e., History of the Iberians, or of Iberia¹. This body of chronographical material constitutes, as it were, the official *corpus historicum* of Georgia, or Georgian Royal Annals, and has been augmented, as time went on, by the incorporation of new historical material. It will be referred to in this study as *The Georgian Annals*.

By the middle of the twelfth century, two more works were added to the body of *The Georgian Annals*. To this, or the next century belongs also the Armenian adaptation of the then extant five parts of the Annals, which is known as *The Armenian Chronicle* or *Chronique arménienne*² and which has reached us in a copy made between the years 1279 and 1311³. At the same time, *The Georgian Annals* appear to have been drawn upon by various Armenian historians: notably, by Mkhitar the Priest (in Vardan's *Universal History*) and Mkhitar of Ayrvank (Ayrvaneci)—both probably *via* the *Chronique arménienne*—in the twelfth and the thirteenth century respectively⁴; and by Stephen

⁶⁶ Cf. Cl. Huart in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, 318.

¹ The first name, *K'art'uell'a-Cxovreba*, first appears in the text of the Annals, after *The Martyrdom of King Artil*, and is derived, according to Professor Javakishvili, from the first two words in the title of the initial work in the Annals. That is Leontius' *History of the Kings of Iberia* = *Georgice: Cxovreba K'art'uell'a Mep'et'a* = *Latine: Historia Iberorum Regum*, which gave its name to the whole of the corpus: *K'art'uell'a Cxovreba* = *Iberorum Historia*. The second name is probably due to the fourth work in the Annals—*The Chronicle of Iberia* (*Matianē K'art'lisay*)—whose original name seems to have been *Cxovreba K'art'lisay*, i.e., *Historia Iberiae*, and which must have given rise to the present form of the name of the Annals: *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*. Cf. Javakishvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, pp. 201-203.—As has been noted above, *K'art'li* is rendered throughout this work as *Iberia*, and *Sak'art'velo* as *Georgia*.

² Published in Armenian as *The Abridged History of Georgia* (Venice, 1884) and, in a French translation, by Brosset, *Additions*, pp. 1-61.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 61, n. 2; Žordania, *Chronicles*, I, xx ff., xxix. T'aqaišvili, *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 40.

⁴ Cf. Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 106; Bak'raje, *Articles*, ii, 16-17; Brosset, *Les Ruines d'Ani*, II (St. Petersburg, 1861), 160.—Mxit'ar Ayrvaneci, e.g., is the only Armenian author to mention the existence of a diarchy in Iberia, in the first and second centuries, which is directly due to his using the Georgian sources, cf. L. Melikest-Bekov, "Armazi" (in Russian), *Masalebi*, 1938, ii, 30.

Orbelian (d. 1304), whose acquaintance with their Georgian name (i.e., "The Life of Iberia") and use of names, titles, and expressions indicate his dependence on the Annals in the original Georgian⁵. Finally two more works were incorporated in the Annals, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, thus completing the present composition of this corpus.

A document of 1546 mentions a copy of *The Georgian Annals* among the books in the Library of the Cathedral of Mtskheta. Another document—a register of books presented to the church at Bichvinta by the Catholicus of Abasgia, Euthymius Saqvardidze (1578–1605)—also mentions a copy of the Annals⁶. To the same period (sixteenth–seventeenth century) belongs the yet unpublished, so-called Queen Anne Ms. of the Annals themselves;⁷ whereas the earliest known Ms. of the Annals that has been published, that of Queen Mary, dates from the first half of the seventeenth century.

The Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century; the devastations of Timur at the end of the fourteenth and the opening of the fifteenth century; the numerous Ottoman and Persian wars; the Lesghian inroads; and, finally, the civil strife of the unruly feudal nobility, dealt a serious blow to Georgian culture. Consequently, between the Golden Age, of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and the nascent Silver Age, of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, there lies the interstitial Era of Decline. Each invasion, each war was accompanied by a destruction of works of art and of literary monuments, resulting from the ruin and loot of private dwellings, castles, churches, and monasteries. It is Professor T'akaishvili's opinion that not one-hundredth of the literary monuments of the pre-Decline periods has reached us.⁸ The sacred writings have, upon the whole, suffered less than the profane works, and have come down to us in far greater numbers: they have been either better protected by the remoteness and impregnability of some churches and monasteries (many of which possessed libraries of several thousand Mss.), or ransomed later—as a pious work—by the devout⁹. And thus it is that the archetype, of the earliest published Ms. of *The Georgian Annals* (that of Queen Mary) as well as, ultimately, of all the other extant Mss., appears to have been the so-called Mtskheta Ms. which we find in 1546, preserved—among the sacred writings—in the Library of the Primatial Cathedral at Mtskheta.¹⁰

⁵ The mention of the Annals is made in his *History of the Orbelians*, which constitutes the 66th chapter of his monumental *History of Siunia*; French transl. and parallel Armenian text, J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, II (Paris, 1819), 64; cf. Brosset, *Additions*, xvi, 260 and n. 1; 262 and n. 1.

⁶ T'akaishvili, "Description of the Mss.," *Sborn. Mat.* XXXVI, 59.

⁷ Javakishvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, II, 7.—The Queen of Georgia for whom the Ms. is named must be the consort of Bagrat VII (1614–1619), Anne, daughter of King Alexander II of Kakhia, cf. *Hist. de la Georgie*, II, 1, Add. ix "Tables généal.," i and ii.

⁸ T'akaishvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 108.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 54–58; cf. Allen, *History*, p. 316.—For an outline of the general political background of the Era of Decline, cf. *ibid.*, cap. IX and X, pp. 109–127.

¹⁰ T'akaishvili, pp. 54, 59–60, 108–109.—It was believed for a long time that the Vatican Library had an old Ms. of the Annals (Brosset, *Chronique géorgienne* [Paris, 1831], p. xlvii n. 1; Bak'raje, *Articles*, ii, 15 n. 3), but apparently it was a copy of Vaxušt's *History of*

The Queen of Georgia, 1638 and 1639. *K'art'lis-Chkhviri*, until the Russian text of the course, renaissance century, but Mss. are too few.

Both Queen Anne and Queen Mary are known as the first and second of their kind in the beginning of the History of Georgia.

It was written by the Queen Anne and drawn from the beginning of the Georgia, and discovered and published.

¹¹ Mary Mingrelia (married in 1638, and (cf. *Hist. de la Géorgie*, II, 1, Add. ix) The exact date has been lost. The exact date of the copy was copied therefore, (Jan. 25) 1638. Mexet'a Chk'adze T'akaishvili.

¹² T'akaishvili, p. 27 ff.

¹³ Forme

¹⁴ *Ibidem*

¹⁵ *Ibidem*

¹⁶ Vaxušt

King of Georgia

was a grand

Regent Le

Hist. de la

Table, p. 1

the great l

Juris Iberi

mali, treat

p. 114); he

Allen, *Hist*

air Georgian name (i.e., "The
ssions indicate his dependence
lly two more works were in-
rteenth centuries respectively,
corpus.

rgan *Annals* among the books
Another document—a register
y the Catholicus of Abasgia,
tions a copy of the *Annals*.
tury) belongs the yet unpub-
emselves;⁷ whereas the earliest
d, that of Queen Mary, dates

y; the devastations of Timur
fifteenth century; the numer-
ds; and, finally, the civil strife
w to Georgian culture. Con-
enth, twelfth, and thirteenth
teenth, seventeenth, and eight-

Each invasion, each war was
nd of literary monuments, re-
llings, castles, churches, and
on that not one-hundredth of
s has reached us.⁸ The sacred
the profane works, and have
ve been either better protected
urches and monasteries (many
l Mss.), or ransomed later—
is that the archetype, of the
at of Queen Mary) as well as,
rs to have been the so-called
—among the sacred writings—
skheta.¹⁰

he *Orbelians*, which constitutes the
ench transl. and parallel Armenian
ucs sur l'Arménie, II (Paris, 1819),
I.

nl. XXXVI, 59.

icen of Georgia for whom the Ms.
Anne, daughter of King Alexander
es général.,” i and ii.

an outline of the general political
nd X, pp. 109–127.

d for a long time that the Vatican
ue géorgienne [Paris, 1831], p. xlvii
was a copy of Vaxušt's *History of*

The Queen Mary Variant (= QM.) of the *Annals* was copied by order of the Queen of Georgia, Mary Dadiani of Mingrelia, sometime between the years 1638 and 1645¹¹. It was discovered in 1885¹² and published by Taqaišvili as *K'art'lis-Cxovreba, the Queen Mariam Variant* (Tiflis, 1906). It represented—until the recent discovery of the Queen Anne Ms.—the earliest known Georgian text of the *Annals*. The five opening works contained in this corpus have, of course, reached us in the above-mentioned Armenian adaptation of the twelfth century, but as for the two concluding works, the QM. and QA. (Queen Anne) Mss. are the earliest texts we have.

Both QM. and the unrevised part of another Ms. of *The Georgian Annals*, known as the Academy of Sciences Ms.¹³ and dating from 1700–1705, are based on the same Mtskheta Ms., and therefore repeat all the corruptions and errors of their archetype—a legacy of the Era of Decline¹⁴. Moreover, they stop at the beginning of the second reign of George V the Illustrious, the end of whose History is now missing from the *Annals*, i.e., about 1318.¹⁵

It was with a view to correct the various corruptions of the text of *The Georgian Annals* and to clarify its obscure passages; to amplify it with numerous data drawn from other sources; and, finally, to continue it for the period after the beginning of the fourteenth century, that King Vakhtang VI¹⁶—then still

Georgia, and not of the *Annals*, cf. T'aqaišvili, p. 59.—The connection between the recently discovered Queen Anne Ms. of the *Annals* and the Mexet'a Archetype is yet to be established.

¹¹ Mary (Mariam), d. 1682, was a daughter of Manu'ar I Dadiani, reigning Prince of Mingrelia (1582–1611), by his second wife, Princess Tamar Jaqeli of Meschia. She was married successively to (1) Simon, Prince of Guria, 1621, (2) Rostom, King of Georgia, 1638, and (3) the latter's successor (and adopted son) King Vaxtang V, 1658; cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, II, 1, Add. ix "Tables généalogiques", i, v, vi; T'aqaišvili, p. 32 ff.—The exact date of the Ms. is unknown, because the last folio, which must have contained it, has been lost. But the nineteen mementoes throughout the Ms., by the hand of the copyists of the text, mention Mary, Queen of Georgia, by whose order this Ms. of the *Annals* was copied, and her first-born son, Prince Otia (Gurieli; by Simon of Guria). This work, therefore, must have been done between 1638, when Mary became Queen of Georgia, and (Jan. 25) 1645, when Prince Otia of Guria died. The date 1646, found on his tomb at the Mexet'a Cathedral, must be taken to refer to its erection and not to the Prince's death; T'aqaišvili, pp. 29–34; Bak'raje, *Articles*, ii, 15–16.

¹² T'aqaišvili, p. 41; Bak'raje, *loc. cit.*;—for a description of the Ms. itself, cf. T'aqaišvili, p. 27 ff.

¹³ Formerly Prince T'eimuraz of Georgia's Ms.; *ibidem*, p. 46 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 74, 47 ff., 52–54, 70, 108–110.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 60–61, 63.

¹⁶ Vaxtang VI, b. Sept. 15, 1675, d. March 25, 1734, was Regent of Georgia, 1703–1711, and King of Georgia, 1711–1714, 1719–1723; he abdicated and emigrated to Russia in 1724. He was a grandson of the above-mentioned Queen Mary Dadiani, and the second son of Prince-Regent Leo (d. 1709) by his first wife, Princess T'ut'a Gurieli of Guria (d. 1678); cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, II, 1, Add. ix "Tables général.", i, vi; Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Geneal. Table*, p. 134. Besides the work of revision of the *Annals*, Vaxtang was also the author of the great legal code bearing his name (cf. Karst, *Le Code géorgien de Vakhtang VI, Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici*, I [Strasbourg, 1934]), as well as of another juridical work, *Dasturlamali*, treating of the constitution of the Crown and the Court (cf. Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 114); he was responsible, moreover, for the introduction of printing into Georgia (cf. Allen, *History*, p. 316). Cf. Kekelišvili, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, p. 361 ff.

Regent—of Georgia appointed, about 1703–1705, a Commission of scholars for the revision of the Annals¹⁷. All the Mss. of *The Georgian Annals* in the King Vakhtang (= KV.) Redaction have the following preface:

Honorable and noble Georgians! Due to the circumstances of the times, *The Life of Iberia* [= the Annals] had been in part corrupted by copyists and, in part, because of the revolutions of the times, had been left unwritten. But Vakhtang the Fifth¹⁸, son of Leo and nephew of the renowned George [XII], assembled learned men and collected, wherever he could find, [the Mss. of] *The Life of Iberia*, as well as the cartularies of Mtskheta, of Gelati, of numerous churches, and of many nobles. And they compared them; and what was corrupted, they rectified. They also found other works, they made excerpts from the Histories of the Armenians and the Persians; and in this wise they had it written down.¹⁹

In the light of this preface the work of the KV. Commission of Revision becomes clear. It consisted of collecting all the available Mss. of *The Georgian Annals* (with the notable exception of QA. and QM.), collating them, rectifying obscure or corrupted passages, and, finally, amplifying the corpus with additions from other sources; chronographical, historiographical, documentary, Georgian and foreign²⁰. All the Mss. of the KV. Recension can be divided into three groups representing the successive stages in the work of redaction, which was carried on by the Commission even after Vakhtang VI's departure from Georgia in 1724.²¹

¹⁷ The date must lie somewhere between Vaxtang's accession to the regency in 1703 (cf. Gugushvili, *op. cit.*, p. 134) and the latest date—1705—assigned by T'aqaišvili to the Academy of Sciences Ms. which shows traces of the earliest stage of the KV. Redaction and whose latter part has remained untouched by it; cf. T'aqaišvili, pp. 108–109, 110.

¹⁸ Vaxtang was the fifth among the Bagratid kings of that name, but the sixth of that name among all the Kings of Iberia and Georgia: the first one being Vaxtang Gorgasali, of the Chosroid dynasty, cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, 1, 15 n. 2.

¹⁹ Cf. T'aqaišvili, p. 38; *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, 1, 15.—The earliest complete Ms. of the KV. Redaction—that of the Rumjancev Museum—copied before 1709, has a somewhat different preface, in that Vaxtang VI speaks in the first person: all the other prefaces were probably composed by the Commission, T'aqaišvili, p. 10.

²⁰ Cf. T'aqaišvili, pp. 72–114.—Bak'raJe, *Articles*, ii, 11–20; Žordania, *Chronicles*, I, iv–xx; Janašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 228–235, are inclined to deny the very existence of the KV. Redaction, and to attribute the tremendous task of the revision of the Annals, as well as the authorship of the above preface, to Prince T'eimuraz, fourth son of the last King George XIII (b. June 3, 1782, d. Oct. 25, 1846)! T'aqaišvili, pp. 41–54, 70–72, however, unanswerably refutes their arguments.

²¹ T'aqaišvili, p. 109 ff.—The Academy of Sciences, Ms., copied before 1705, was revised only in its opening part: from the middle of the reign of Tamar to the end it is almost identical with QM.—going back, as it does, together with QM., to the same archetype, *ibid.*, p. 110. The latest Ms.—Prince P'alavandišvili's—of the KV. Redaction dates from August, 1761, *ibid.*, p. 113.—Here is a list of the chief variants of *The Georgian Annals*:—group I consists of the Mss. of the incomplete KV. Redaction; group II comprises the Mss. of the almost completed KV. Redaction, covering the whole of the Annals and showing most of the corrections and insertions; group III is composed of the Mss. of the complete KV. Redaction, with all the insertions and corrections, and including, moreover, the two Continuations of the Annals.—The Rumjancev Museum Ms. represents an intermediary, tran-

The various by Marie-Feli (in collaborat pre-KV. (QA. tions are kno

(1) *Histoire en géorgien*, I. burg, 1849–18 publiée en gé

(2) *Histoire* 2 livraisons (S (St. Petersbu to in this wor will be herein

Besides *Th* these publicat tion and a pr of the latter as well as nur set also publ *Géorgie* (St. I Petersburg, 1

sitional type be groups II and I

QA.	QM.
(XVI-	(1638/
XVIIth	1645)
e.)	

²² Vaxušt, S Georgia, and

i, a Commission of scholars
The Georgian Annals in the
following preface:

tances of the times, The Life of
yists and, in part, because of the
Vakhtang the Fifth¹⁹, son of Leo
rned men and collected, wherever
the cartularies of Mtskheta, of
l they compared them; and what
rks, they made excerpts from the
ise they had it written down.¹⁹

. Commission of Revision be-
ailable Mss. of The Georgian
A.), collating them, rectifying
ifying the corpus with addi-
toriographical, documentary,
Recension can be divided into
the work of redaction, which
akhtang VI's departure from

ession to the regency in 1703 (cf.
signed by T'aqaišvili to the Acad-
stage of the KV. Redaction and
qaišvili, pp. 108-109, 110.

that name, but the sixth of that
rst one being Vaxtang Gorgasali,
, 1, 15 n. 2.

e earliest complete Ms. of the KV.
re 1709, has a somewhat different
the other prefaces were probably

11-20; Žordania, *Chronicles*, I,
ned to deny the very existence of
sk of the revision of the Annals,
T'eimuraz, fourth son of the last
qaišvili, pp. 41-54, 70-72, however,

., copied before 1705, was revised
f Thamar to the end it is almost
ith QM., to the same archetype,
of the KV. Redaction dates from
riants of *The Georgian Annals*:—
tion; group II comprises the Mss.
le of the Annals and showing most
of the Mss. of the complete KV.
ncluding, moreover, the two Con-
represents an intermediary, tran-

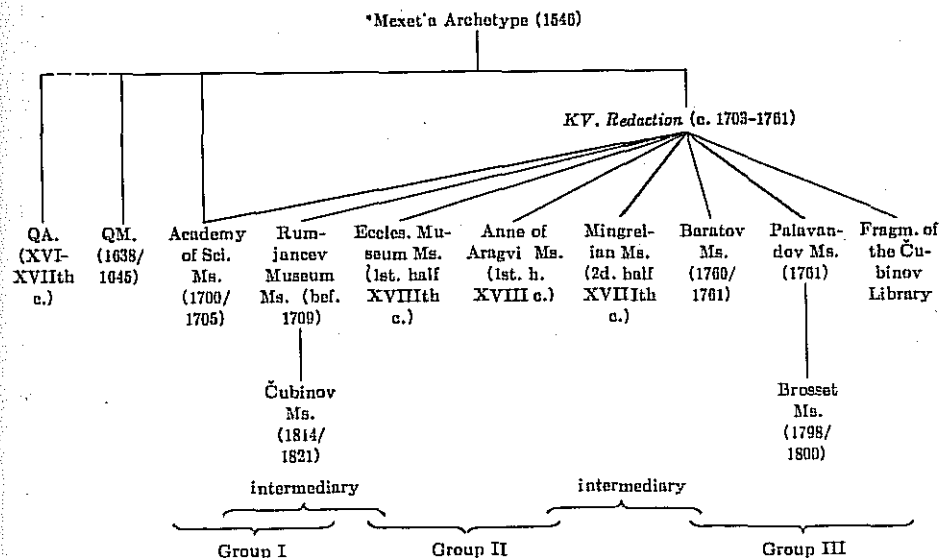
The various Mss. of the KV. Redaction of *The Georgian Annals* were collated by Marie-Félicité Brosset and published by him both in the original Georgian (in collaboration with David Chubinashvili) and in a French translation, the pre-KV. (QA. and QM.) Variants being as yet undiscovered. Brosset's publications are known under the following titles:

(1) *Histoire de la Géorgie, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle, publiée en géorgien*, I.—Histoire ancienne, jusqu'en 1469 de J.C., 2 livraisons (St. Petersburg, 1849-1850); II.—Histoire moderne, depuis 1469 jusqu'en 1800 de J.C., publiée en géorgien par D. Tchoubinof (St. Petersburg, 1854). (= HG^s.)

(2) *Histoire de la Géorgie, etc., traduite du géorgien*, I.—Histoire ancienne, etc., 2 livraisons (St. Petersburg, 1849-1850); II.—Histoire moderne, etc., 2 livraisons (St. Petersburg, 1856-1857). (This French edition has been hitherto referred to in this work as *Hist. de la Géorgie*, without any further specification, and it will be hereinafter referred to as HG^t.)

Besides *The Georgian Annals* contained in vol. I of both HG^s and HG^t, these publications also include the following works: (vol. I) The First Continuation and a part of The Second Continuation of the Annals; (vol. II) the rest of the latter work, and the historical writings of various Silver Age authors²², as well as numerous additions, chronological and genealogical tables, etc. Brosset also published the valuable *Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1851) and *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Géorgie* (St. Petersburg, 1858).

sitional type between groups I and II; and the Mingrelian Ms. a transitional type between groups II and III.



²² Vaxušt, Sexnia Čxeije, Papuna Orbeliani, Oman Xerxeuliše, David and Bagrat of Georgia, and P'arsadan Giorgijaniše.

HG². was, furthermore, reedited by Professor N. Marr (as a stereotype copy with the same pagination, to p. 200 where it stops), as *Histoire de la Géorgie, etc., I, 1 (en partie)*. Rédaction faite par Nicolas Marr (Petrograd, 1923).

B. Contents of *The Georgian Annals*

THREE WORKS BY LEONTIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF RUISI (XIth century).—The *floruit* of Leontius of Ruisi (Leonti Mroveli)¹ was at first assigned, by modern historians, to the seventh century², but now it has been definitely established that it must belong to the eleventh, about the years 1060–1080, to be exact³. He must be considered identical with the "Archbishop Leontius of Ruisi" (*Mt'avarepiskopozi Leonti Mroveli*) mentioned in the Athonite Ms. No. 61, of the eleventh–twelfth century, made known by Professor Marr⁴.

Leontius appears to have been a man of culture, well-read in ecclesiastical as well as profane literature, in Georgian as well as in Greek, Persian, and Armenian⁵.

(i) 11. THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF IBERIA⁶: QM., pp. 1–116 = HG¹, pp. 15–144.—This ample work, composed before 1072⁷, covers the history of the Georgians from the most ancient times to the fifth century of our era. It can be divided into three main parts—according to the groups of sources on which it is based—, viz., (1) treating of the period between the Deluge and Alexander the Great; (2) dealing with the history from Alexander's legendary invasion of Iberia to the fifth century A.D.; and (3) giving the story of the Conversion of the Georgians, inserted—in its due chronological place—in the preceding part, thus dividing it in two.

The first part—from the Deluge to Alexander—represents, in turn, several groups of sources. It is influenced, to begin with, by the Holy Scriptures, especially in its attempt to attach the local eponymous heroic genealogies to the *Tabula Populorum* of *Genesis X*,⁸ as well as by early Christian, particularly Syriac literature⁹. It, furthermore, displays indebtedness to the *Khwaday-*

¹ Cf. above, I, n. 46.

² Nicholas Marr, in *Kavkazskij Vestnik* (Caucasian Messenger), 1902, No. 3, *passim*; Jānašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 118–119; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 101.

³ Kekeliĵe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, pp. 238–239; cf. Javaxišvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, p. 170; Kakabaĵe, *On the Ancient Georgian Chroniclers of the XIth Century* (in Russian) (Tiflis, 1912), pp. 19–36.

⁴ Marr, "Hagiographical Materials According to the Georgian Mss. of the Iviron" (in Russian), *Zapiski of the East. Division of the Imp. Russ. Archaeol. Soc.*, XIII, 1, 84.—Kekeliĵe, *op. cit.*, p. 238 and n. 4, seems to be unduly cautious about accepting this obvious identification; cf. also Javaxišvili, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Kekeliĵe, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁶ *Georgice: Cxovreba K'art'veuli'a Mep'et'a da Pirvelt'agant'a Mamat'a da Nat'esavt'a* (The History of the Kings, and of the Original Patriarchs and Tribes, of the Iberians). *K'art'veuli* is an archaism for *K'art'veli*/*K'art'ueli*.

⁷ Kekeliĵe, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁸ Cf. Allen, *History*, p. 16.

⁹ More particularly by *The Cave of Treasures*, Javaxišvili, *The Polity of Ancient Georgia and Ancient Armenia*, pp. 20, 26–27; T'aqaišvili, *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 62–63; Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

Namagh—the form¹⁰—to which and possibly embodies the ancient source first part of *T* significance, a Proto-Georgian

¹⁰ Kekeliĵe, *op. cit.* Jānašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, and was translated into Arabic in the *Littérature arabe*.

¹¹ QM., pp. 10–11.

¹² Kekeliĵe, *op. cit.* Kekeliĵe, however, considers that the *familias*, mentioned in the Armenian equivalent is one of the most ancient of the tribal times. Karst, *Corpus litteraturae georgicae*, *The Paradise of Dschawachoff* [Berichte d. kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 2681, 2682, 2683, 2684, 2685, 2686, 2687, 2688, 2689, 2690, 2691, 2692, 2693, 2694, 2695, 2696, 2697, 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701, 2702, 2703, 2704, 2705, 2706, 2707, 2708, 2709, 2710, 2711, 2712, 2713, 2714, 2715, 2716, 2717, 2718, 2719, 2720, 2721, 2722, 2723, 2724, 2725, 2726, 2727, 2728, 2729, 2730, 2731, 2732, 2733, 2734, 2735, 2736, 2737, 2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742, 2743, 2744, 2745, 2746, 2747, 2748, 2749, 2750, 2751, 2752, 2753, 2754, 2755, 2756, 2757, 2758, 2759, 2760, 2761, 2762, 2763, 2764, 2765, 2766, 2767, 2768, 2769, 2770, 2771, 2772, 2773, 2774, 2775, 2776, 2777, 2778, 2779, 2780, 2781, 2782, 2783, 2784, 2785, 2786, 2787, 2788, 2789, 2790, 2791, 2792, 2793, 2794, 2795, 2796, 2797, 2798, 2799, 2800, 2801, 2802, 2803, 2804, 2805, 2806, 2807, 2808, 2809, 2810, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2814, 2815, 2816, 2817, 2818, 2819, 2820, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, 2825, 2826, 2827, 2828, 2829, 2830, 2831, 2832, 2833, 2834, 2835, 2836, 2837, 2838, 2839, 2840, 2841, 2842, 2843, 2844, 2845, 2846, 2847, 2848, 2849, 2850, 2851, 2852, 2853, 2854, 2855, 2856, 2857, 2858, 2859, 2860, 2861, 2862, 2863, 2864, 2865, 2866, 2867, 2868, 2869, 2870, 2871, 2872, 2873, 2874, 2875, 2876, 2877, 2878, 2879, 2880, 2881, 2882, 2883, 2884, 2885, 2886, 2887, 2888, 2889, 2890, 2891, 2892, 2893, 2894, 2895, 2896, 2897, 2898, 2899, 2900, 2901, 2902, 2903, 2904, 2905, 2906, 2907, 2908, 2909, 2910, 2911, 2912, 2913, 2914, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2918, 2919, 2920, 2921, 2922, 2923, 2924, 2925, 2926, 2927, 2928, 2929, 2930, 2931, 2932, 2933, 2934, 2935, 2936, 2937, 2938, 2939, 2940, 2941, 2942, 2943, 2944, 2945, 2946, 2947, 2948, 2949, 2950, 2951, 2952, 2953, 2954, 2955, 2956, 2957, 2958, 2959, 2960, 2961, 2962, 2963, 2964, 2965, 2966, 2967, 2968, 2969, 2970, 2971, 2972, 2973, 2974, 2975, 2976, 2977, 2978, 2979, 2980, 2981, 2982, 2983, 2984, 2985, 2986, 2987, 2988, 2989, 2990, 2991, 2992, 2993, 2994, 2995, 2996, 2997, 2998, 2999, 3000, 3001, 3002, 3003, 3004, 3005, 3006, 3007, 3008, 3009, 3010, 3011, 3012, 3013, 3014, 3015, 3016, 3017, 3018, 3019, 3020, 3021, 3022, 3023, 3024, 3025, 3026, 3027, 3028, 3029, 3030, 3031, 3032, 3033, 3034, 3035, 3036, 3037, 3038, 3039, 3040, 3041, 3042, 3043, 3044, 3045, 3046, 3047, 3048, 3049, 3050, 3051, 3052, 3053, 3054, 3055, 3056, 3057, 3058, 3059, 3060, 3061, 3062, 3063, 3064, 3065, 3066, 3067, 3068, 3069, 3070, 3071, 3072, 3073, 3074, 3075, 3076, 3077, 3078, 3079, 3080, 3081, 3082, 3083, 3084, 3085, 3086, 3087, 3088, 3089, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3097, 3098, 3099, 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103, 3104, 3105, 3106, 3107, 3108, 3109, 3110, 3111, 3112, 3113, 3114, 3115, 3116, 3117, 3118, 3119, 3120, 3121, 3122, 3123, 3124, 3125, 3126, 3127, 3128, 3129, 3130, 3131, 3132, 3133, 3134, 3135, 3136, 3137, 3138, 3139, 3140, 3141, 3142, 3143, 3144, 3145, 3146, 3147, 3148, 3149, 3150, 3151, 3152, 3153, 3154, 3155, 3156, 3157, 3158, 3159, 3160, 3161, 3162, 3163, 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168, 3169, 3170, 3171, 3172, 3173, 3174, 3175, 3176, 3177, 3178, 3179, 3180, 3181, 3182, 3183, 3184, 3185, 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3194, 3195, 3196, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, 3201, 3202, 3203, 3204, 3205, 3206, 3207, 3208, 3209, 3210, 3211, 3212, 3213, 3214, 3215, 3216, 3217, 3218, 3219, 3220, 3221, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3225, 3226, 3227, 3228, 3229, 3230, 3231, 3232, 3233, 3234, 3235, 3236, 3237, 3238, 3239, 3240, 3241, 3242, 3243, 3244, 3245, 3246, 3247, 3248, 3249, 3250, 3251, 3252, 3253, 3254, 3255, 3256, 3257, 3258, 3259, 3260, 3261, 3262, 3263, 3264, 3265, 3266, 3267, 3268, 3269, 3270, 3271, 3272, 3273, 3274, 3275, 3276, 3277, 3278, 3279, 3280, 3281, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3287, 3288, 3289, 3290, 3291, 3292, 3293, 3294, 3295, 3296, 3297, 3298, 3299, 3300, 3301, 3302, 3303, 3304, 3305, 3306, 3307, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3311, 3312, 3313, 3314, 3315, 3316, 3317, 3318, 3319, 3320, 3321, 3322, 3323, 3324, 3325, 3326, 3327, 3328, 3329, 3330, 3331, 3332, 3333, 3334, 3335, 3336, 3337, 3338, 3339, 3340, 3341, 3342, 3343, 3344, 3345, 3346, 3347, 3348, 3349, 3350, 3351, 3352, 3353, 3354, 3355, 3356, 3357, 3358, 3359, 3360, 3361, 3362, 3363, 3364, 3365, 3366, 3367, 3368, 3369, 3370, 3371, 3372, 3373, 3374, 3375, 3376, 3377, 3378, 3379, 3380, 3381, 3382, 3383, 3384, 3385, 3386, 3387, 3388, 3389, 3390, 3391, 3392, 3393, 3394, 3395, 3396, 3397, 3398, 3399, 3400, 3401, 3402, 3403, 3404, 3405, 3406, 3407, 3408, 3409, 3410, 3411, 3412, 3413, 3414, 3415, 3416, 3417, 3418, 3419, 3420, 3421, 3422, 3423, 3424, 3425, 3426, 3427, 3428, 3429, 3430, 3431, 3432, 3433, 3434, 3435, 3436, 3437, 3438, 3439, 3440, 3441, 3442, 3443, 3444, 3445, 3446, 3447, 3448, 3449, 3450, 3451, 3452, 3453, 3454, 3455, 3456, 3457, 3458, 3459, 3460, 3461, 3462, 3463, 3464, 3465, 3466, 3467, 3468, 3469, 3470, 3471, 3472, 3473, 3474, 3475, 3476, 3477, 3478, 3479, 3480, 3481, 3482, 3483, 3484, 3485, 3486, 3487, 3488, 3489, 3490, 3491, 3492, 3493, 3494, 3495, 3496, 3497, 3498, 3499, 3500, 3501, 3502, 3503, 3504, 3505, 3506, 3507, 3508, 3509, 3510, 3511, 3512, 3513, 3514, 3515, 3516, 3517, 3518, 3519, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3523, 3524, 3525, 3526, 3527, 3528, 3529, 3530, 3531, 3532, 3533, 3534, 3535, 3536, 3537, 3538, 3539, 3540, 3541, 3542, 3543, 3544, 3545, 3546, 3547, 3548, 3549, 3550, 3551, 3552, 3553, 3554, 3555, 3556, 3557, 3558, 3559, 3560, 3561, 3562, 3563, 3564, 3565, 3566, 3567, 3568, 3569, 3570, 357

N. Marr (as a stereotype copy ops), as *Histoire de la Géorgie*, Marr (Petrograd, 1923).

n *Annals*

si (XIth century).—The *floruit* assigned, by modern historians, nitely established that it must 80, to be exact³. He must be as of Ruisi" (*Mt'avarepiskopozi* To. 61, of the eleventh-twelfth

ure, well-read in ecclesiastical ell as in Greek, Persian, and

QM., pp. 1-116 = HG¹, pp. 72⁷, covers the history of the th century of our era. It can he groups of sources on which een the Deluge and Alexander xander's legendary invasion of the story of the Conversion of place—in the preceding part,

r—represents, in turn, several , by the Holy Scriptures, espe- nious heroic genealogies to the r early Christian, particularly indebtedness to the *Khwaday-*

Messenger), 1902, No. 3, *passim*; iorg. chrét., p. 101.

ili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, p. 170; 11th Century (in Russian) (Tiflis,

Georgian Mss. of the Ivron" (in uss. Archaeol. Soc., XIII, 1, 84.— tious about accepting this obvious

ll'agant'a Mamat'a da Nat'esant'a rehs and Tribes, of the Iberians).

ivili, *The Polity of Ancient Georgia* . Mat., XXXVI, 62-63; Karst, *op.*

Namagh—the Persian epic-historical "Royal Annals" in their pre-Firdousi form¹⁰—to which it refers as *The Life or History of Persia* (*Sparsl'a Cxovreba*)¹¹, and possibly also to the Armenian historian Moses of Khorene.¹² Finally, it embodies the ancient theogonic lore of the Georgian tribes, preserved in some ancient sources used by Leontius¹³. These ancient theogonies, contained in the first part of *The History of the Kings of Iberia* which otherwise is of little historical significance, are alone of interest because they reflect the historical facts of the Proto-Georgian period.¹⁴

¹⁰ Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, p. 246; *idem*, *The Literary Sources of Leonti Mroveli*, pp. 38-41; Jānašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 195-203.—The *Šāh-Nāme* of Firdousi appeared in 1011 and was translated into Georgian in the same century; the *Xwādāy-Namāġ* was translated into Arabic in the eighth century, by 'Abdallāh ibn al-Muqaffa' (cf. also, e.g., Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe* [Paris, 1912], pp. 211-212.).

¹¹ QM., pp. 10, 11.

¹² Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, pp. 245-246, and *The Lit. Sources of L. M.*, pp. 30-38.—Kekeliġe, however, tends to exaggerate Leontius' indebtedness to Moses; thus, e.g., he considers that even the Georgian socio-political term *Mamasaxlisi* (ethnarch or pater-familias), mentioned in *The Hist. of the Kings of Iberia*, is Leontius' adaptation of the Armenian equivalent, *Tanulēr*, found, among other authors, in Moses. But *Mamasaxlisi* is one of the most ancient and autochthonous Georgian socio-political terms, traceable to the tribal times (cf. Javaxišvili, *History*, I-II, 229-230; Allen, *History*, cap. xix, p. 221 ff.; Karst, *Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici*, I, 2, 245-246, 248, 251-252); it appears in Georgian literature already in the sixth-century *Martyrdom of St. Eustace of Mxet'a* (M. Sabinin, *The Paradise of Georgia* [in Georgian; St. Petersburg, 1882], p. 315; cf. A. Harnack and I. Dschawachoff [Javaxišvili], "Das Martyrium des heil. Eustathius von Mzchetha", *Sitzungsberichte d.kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin* [1901], p. 875 ff.); i.e., half a millennium earlier than Leontius; and, moreover, Moses himself has now been proved to have drawn upon Georgian sources (cf. S. N. Jānašia, *On the Criticism of Moses of Xorene*, pp. 473-503).

¹³ Cf. Jānašia, *The Most Ancient National Reference to the Orig. Habitat of the Georgians*, *passim*. Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, 246, considers that Leontius must have had in his hands some ancient, pre-eighth-century Georgian source, because he not only displays an Armenophile tendency (such as, e.g., admitting the seniority of Haos, the eponymous patriarch of the Armenians, over his brother K'art'los, from whom the Georgians claim descent, etc.), impossible in his age of fully grown Georgian nationalism (cf. Sumbat's *History of the Bagratids*, [No. 4])—but also because of his use of the term *Egrisi* which disappeared with the establishment of the Kingdom of Abasgia-Apxazet'i in the eighth century; cf. *idem*, *The Lit. Sources of L. M.*, p. 55.—Leontius also makes references to *The Book of Nimrod* (*Nebrot'iani*) which may have belonged to the now lost pagan literature of Iberia, Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 12 and n. 1; Jānašvili, *op. cit.*, p. 131; but which, on the other hand, may or may not have been the piece of apocryphal literature discovered in 1900 by the latter author (in a seventeenth-century Ms., and published by him in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXIX [1901]) which bears the same name; cf. Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, p. 248.

¹⁴ The coordination of the local heroic genealogies with the *Tabula populorum* of *Genesis* cannot be regarded as a wholly artificial and historically groundless grafting of the local and different, on the newly-acquired Christian tradition, as is the case with younger peoples (as, e.g., the Slavs who traced themselves, through the Noricians, to the posterity of Japheth, cf. Samuel H. Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930], pp. 136-137). The Georgian tradition, on the contrary, appears to be but another and independent reflexion of the same historical background as is reflected in the Bible, and only later coordinated with it. This is but natural in view of the geopolitics of the Proto-Georgian period.

Thus, e.g., this tradition makes the various peoples of Cis-Caucasia descend from one

The third part of *The History of the Kings* is an adaptation of *The Conversion of Iberia* (No. 1) and its sequel, *The Life of St. Nino*, together with the story of Alexander's legendary invasion of Iberia. It draws, moreover, upon Agathangelus' History of the Conversion of Armenia and various other Georgian as well as Greek sources¹⁵.

What is called here the second part consists really of two separately placed chronicles of the Kings of Iberia. These correspond to the chronicles of the kings in *The Conversion of Iberia* and are placed, like them, one between the story of the invasion of Alexander and that of the Conversion (covering the period from the fourth century B.C. to the fourth A.D.); and the other following the Conversion story (from the fourth to the fifth century). The chronicles

ancestor *T'argamos* (= *T'orgom* of the Armenian tradition); of his eight sons, *Haos* (= the Armen. *Hayk*) was the eponymous founder of the Armenians; *K'art'los*, that of the Kartvelians; and *Egros* (the last son), of the Western Georgians (cf. Allen, *History*, p. 16). Now the choice of the biblical *Thogorma* for their father is most significant: this is no mere *ad-hoc* choice of a later bookish historian, but a reflexion of an historical reality. *Thogorma*, as will be remembered, was—according to *Genesis*—the son of *Gomer* and nephew of *Thubal* and *Mosoch*—who stand, as we have seen in the introduction to this study, for two of the most important Georgian tribes, *Tabal* and *Muška*! Moreover—historically—*Tilgarimum* (*Thogorma*) was actually the capital of the state of *Tabal-Thubal* in Cappadocia-*Gimir* (*Gomer*) (cf., e.g., H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 488).

Now *Haos* represents, of course, the *Haiasa*, i.e., the non-Indo-European, Asianic-Japhetite element with which the Indo-European elements of the future Armenian nation mingled, and from which that nation derives its name (*Hay*, pl. *Hayk'*) (cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *On the Origin of the Georgians*, p. 70). The brotherhood of *Haos* and *K'art'los* is an allegory of the relationship between the Georgian tribes and the *Haiasa*, which is implicit in the linguistics of the Armenians and the Georgians, as well as in Professor Marr's equating the tribe-root *Ion-Hon-Hai* with that of one of the Georgian tribes: *Son-Čan* (*Selected Works*, I, 115, 225, 48). It is true, to be sure, that in the Georgian tradition, *K'art'los* is made the father of *Mczet'os* (*Muška-Mosoch*) and the elder brother of *Egros* (*Eger-Iber-Thubal*), but this must be an imprint of the later ascendancy of the Kartvelians over the older Moschi-Meschians and Tibareni-Tabalians. Furthermore, the table of the linguistic division of the Georgians, drawn up by Marr (*op. cit.*, p. 48), shows the three main branches: (1) Ibero-Megrelian and Čano-Lazian (called by Marr *Thubal-Cain*), (2) Svanian (*Son*), and (3) Kartvelian and Meschian (*K'art'-Mosoch*), which fully correspond to the main branches of the posterity of *T'argamos*, i.e., (1) the youngest son *Egros* (*Eger-Iber-Thubal*), (2) the eldest *Haos* (*Hai-Hon-Son*), and (3) the second *K'art'los* with his son *Mczet'os* (*K'art'-Mosoch*).

All this seems to point to an extremely ancient—and essentially correct—historical memory. In this context, the similarities between Leontius and Moses of Xorene, which Kekeliġe would ascribe entirely to the former's borrowing from the latter, may be due also to the fact that Moses, likewise, records the ancient Japhetite, pre-Indo-European Armenian tradition, which is cognate with the Georgian preserved by Leontius. The Grecism of Leontius—or perhaps of the earlier source he used—is patent in the form of the ethnarchal names (*K'art'los*, *Egros*, etc.), cf. Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, p. 240.—Cf. Javakšvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, pp. 172–181.

¹⁵ Leontius, naturally, used the Armenian version of Agathangelus, and not its Georgian adaptation of 1081; Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, p. 245; L. Melik'set'-Begi, *The Life of St. Gregory the Parthian* [= the Illuminator of Armenia] (in Georgian, Tiflis, 1920), *passim*.—Cf. Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–249; *idem*, *The Lit. Sources of L.M.*, pp. 23–27; Javakšvili, *K'art'lis-Czovreba*, pp. 119–120, 131.

of the king
from the
therefore,
between th
community
of both.
of Iberia,
the same a
the same
with the e
detail give
Dio Cassio

(ii) 12.

JUANSHERL
A note in th
[*K'art'velt'*
century]¹⁹
it has been

Archil [II]
Concerni
divergence
Karst, acce
eighth-cent
on the othe
tang Gorga
witness.²⁰
which deals
Leontius M.

¹⁶ Cf. above.

¹⁷ Cf. Javakšvili, *op. cit.*, p. 245; L. Melik'set'-Begi, *The Life of St. Gregory the Parthian* [= the Illuminator of Armenia] (in Georgian, Tiflis, 1920), *passim*.—Cf. Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–249; *idem*, *The Lit. Sources of L.M.*, pp. 23–27; Javakšvili, *K'art'lis-Czovreba*, pp. 119–120, 131.

¹⁸ *Georgice*
Didisa da Ġn
Qovell'a Mep'
of That Gre
than All the

¹⁹ Cf. Javakšvili, *op. cit.*, p. 245; L. Melik'set'-Begi, *The Life of St. Gregory the Parthian* [= the Illuminator of Armenia] (in Georgian, Tiflis, 1920), *passim*.—Cf. Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–249; *idem*, *The Lit. Sources of L.M.*, pp. 23–27; Javakšvili, *K'art'lis-Czovreba*, pp. 119–120, 131.

²⁰ For the

²¹ QM., p.

²² Javakšvili, *op. cit.*, p. 245; L. Melik'set'-Begi, *The Life of St. Gregory the Parthian* [= the Illuminator of Armenia] (in Georgian, Tiflis, 1920), *passim*.—Cf. Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–249; *idem*, *The Lit. Sources of L.M.*, pp. 23–27; Javakšvili, *K'art'lis-Czovreba*, pp. 119–120, 131.

cause of thei
authors place

²³ *Chronicle*

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p.

adaptation of *The Conversion*, together with the story of, moreover, upon Agathangos and other Georgian as well

ly of two separately placed and to the chronicles of the like them, one between the e Conversion (covering the D.); and the other following century). The chronicles

; of his eight sons, *Haos* (= the s; *K'art'los*, that of the Kartve- cf. Allen, *History*, p. 16). Now ost significant: this is no mere n historical reality. *Thogorma*, of *Gomer* and nephew of *Thubal* on to this study, for two of the over—historically—*Tilgarimum l-Thubal* in *Cappadocia-Gimir- ear East*, p. 488).

; non-Indo-European, Asianic- of the future Armenian nation *Tay*, pl. *Hayk'*) (cf. Lehmann- ship of *Haos* and *K'art'los* is an d the *Haiasa*, which is implicit all as in Professor Marr's equat- georgian tribes: *Son-Çan* (*Selected Georgian tradition*, *K'art'los* is or brother of *Egros* (*Eger-Iber-* ndancy of the Kartvelians over 'urthermore, the table of the *op. cit.*, p. 48), shows the three led by Marr *Thubal-Cain*), (2) *Isoch*), which fully correspond) the youngest son *Egros* (*Eger-*) the second *K'art'los* with his

essentially correct—historical us and Moses of Xorene, which rom the latter, may be due also hetite, pre-Indo-European Ar- ved by Leontius. The Grecism ent in the form of the ethnarchal).—Cf. Javakšvili, *Anc. Georg.*

thangelus, and not its Georgian Begi, *The Life of St. Gregory the is*, 1920), *passim*.—Cf. Kekelišvili, 27; Javakšvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*,

of the kings given by Leontius, however, differ widely in content as well as size from the brief lists found in *The Conversion of Iberia*. Their sources must, therefore, be considered to lie elsewhere, although the essential similarities between the two sets of chronicles may, at the same time, indicate—besides the community of subject—also the ultimate community of origin of the sources of both. These must have been some ancient archival material¹⁶. The Kings of Iberia, found in this work of Leontius, are—despite occasional variations—the same as those mentioned in *The Conversion of Iberia*, and receive, therefore, the same corroboration in the evidence of foreign sources contemporaneous with the events described. Furthermore—and this is significant—some of the detail given by Leontius has parallels in the works of such writers as Tacitus, Dio Cassius, etc.¹⁷

(ii) 12. THE HISTORY OF KING VAKHTANG GORGASALI¹⁸, ASCRIBED TO JUANSHER JUANSHERIANI (VIIIth century): QM., pp. 117–211 = HG¹, pp. 144–250.—A note in the text of both QA. and QM. states: "This book of the 'Life of Georgia' [*K'art'velt'a Cxovreba* = *The Georgian Annals*] until Vakhtang [fifth–sixth century]¹⁹ was written at different periods, but from King Vakhtang till now, it has been written by Juansher Juansheriani, the husband of the niece of St. Archil [II (735–786)]²⁰, etc."²¹

Concerning this work and its author, there exists among scholars a great divergence of opinion. The traditional view, represented by Janashvili and Karst, accepts the above notice at its face value, i.e., it regards this work as an eighth-century compilation by the above-mentioned Juansher.²² Zhordania, on the other hand, arguing from the wealth of detail in the description of Vakhtang Gorgasali's reign, considers this work as that of a contemporary and eye-witness.²³ He consequently proposes to detach the latter part of this work, which deals with the post-Vakhtangian period, and to consider it as one with Leontius Mroveli's *Martyrdom of King Archil II* which follows.²⁴ This is ob-

¹⁶ Cf. above, I, No. 1.

¹⁷ Cf. Javakšvili's interesting (though far from exhaustive) attempt to present side by side parallel passages from the Georgian text and from Tacitus and Dio, *op. cit.*, pp. 216–220; cf. Gorgašvili, *Essays on Georgian History*, *passim*.—For the whole work, cf. also Žordania, *Chronicles*, I, xxix–xxxiv.

¹⁸ *Georgice: Cxovreba Vaxtang Gorgasali Mep'isa Mšobell'a, da šemdgomad T'wt' Mis Didisa da Ġmrt'is Msazurisa Mep'isa, Romeli Umetasad Szual'a Gant'k'mulad Gamočnda Qovell'a Mep'et'a K'art'lisat'a* (The History of King Vaxtang Gorgasali's Parents, and then of That Great and God-Serving King Himself, Who Manifested Himself More Glorious than All the Other Kings of Iberia).

¹⁹ Cf. Javakšvili, *History*, I, 188 ff.

²⁰ For the dates of Archil II, cf. below, No. iii/13.

²¹ QM., p. 215; cf. Javakšvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, 186; HG¹, p. 256, and n. 1.

²² Javakšvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, p. 120; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 102.—However, because of their acceptance of the traditional and erroneous chronology of Archil II, these authors place Juansher half a century too early; cf. below.

²³ *Chronicles*, I, xxxiv ff.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. xxxv ff.

vously wrong because, in the first place, the image of Vakhtang, as compared with its historical prototype, is definitely too heroicized to be the work of a contemporary, and, in the second place, the author himself admits that a long interval separates him from Vakhtang—which would indeed be the case if he were a nephew-in-law of Vakhtang's eighth descendant, Archil II.²⁵

Finally, Javakhishvili has come to the conclusion that Juansher is an author of the eleventh century, because in his work are mentioned *The Life of St. John of Zedazena* which was written by Arsenius II, Catholicus of Iberia (955–980),²⁶ and certain facts in the history of the Patzinaks (*Pačanig-s*), such as their flight before the Turks after 1034, all of which took place between the ninth and the eleventh century.²⁷ Kakabadze concurs with Javakhishvili in the dating of Juansher.²⁸ Whereas these two, like the more conservative scholars, treat Juansher as an independent source, Kekelidze tends to regard his work, at least as we know it now, not as an independent source, but as a part of Leontius of Ruisi's *History of the Kings*. He bases his consideration on the apparent identity, in the two works, of style as well as of the source material.²⁹

Perhaps it will not be too hazardous to venture a reconciliation of all these divergent opinions. To be sure, the opinion of Kekelidze—a leading authority in the field of Georgian literature—that stylistically Leontius' *History* and *The History of King Vakhtang Gorgasali* are one, must be accepted. This, however, need in no way imply a denial of the existence of Juansher as an original source, which existence has been recognized by other leading authorities. This may merely indicate that the *History* of Juansher in its present form has reached us in the eleventh-century redaction of Leontius of Ruisi. If this is conceded, all the serious objections to the traditional belief that Juansher was an eighth-century historian lose their ground, for the above-mentioned anachronisms may very well be due to interpolation, as has indeed been suggested by Zhordania³⁰—in this case by its eleventh-century redactor, Leontius³¹.

Juansher Juansheriani, as *The History of King Vakhtang Gorgasali* informs us, was himself a prince of the same Chosroid dynasty to which belonged his hero

²⁵ Cf. Javakhishvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 191.

²⁶ Cf. Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, p. 153 ff.

²⁷ Javakhishvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188.

²⁸ *On the Anc. Georg. Chroniclers*, pp. 19–36.

²⁹ Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–244.

³⁰ *Chronicles*, I, xxxv.

³¹ To question the authority of the notice in the text which ascribes the authorship of the work to Juanšer (as does Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, p. 243) is extremely dangerous; for it is precisely due to a similar notice in the same text that we owe the information on Leonti Mroveli's authorship (QM., p. 211). If the notice on Juanšer is indeed misplaced (after Mroveli's *Martyrdom of Arč'il*), so too is the notice on Mroveli (after *The Hist. of Vaxtang*). But what matters is not the place of the notices in a text unified by one redaction, but their sense: the notice on Juanšer clearly ascribes to him *The Hist. of Vaxtang*, of all the other works; and that on Mroveli ascribes to the latter *The Hist. of the Kings* and the story of St. Nino's conversion of Iberia (a part of it), as well as *The Martyrdom of Arč'il*. Prof. Javakhishvili, moreover, recognizes the authenticity and value of these notices, cf. *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, pp. 169, 186, 198, 202 etc.

Vakhtang married he the Mangl

The Hist into two p covering th down to th the Persian Gor³⁵; and centuries, t must have

This hist supplies us orated by v

(iii) 13. pp. 250–256 second last and 1080⁴⁰.

The death especially fr however, it v of the source to these sou polyhistor V

According

³² QM., p. 20

³³ QM., p. 20

tify our Juanšer Iviron Monast the Ms. and als was rather pop

³⁴ Javakhishvili

³⁵ Allen, *Hist*

³⁶ QM., p. 19

³⁷ Javakhishvili

also attested b expedition to S Rey immediate Chosroes II's p to the daughter

³⁸ Cf., e.g., I, *The Catholic*

³⁹ *Georgice: (K'art'ue'l'a (Ti Iberians).*

⁴⁰ Kekeliġe, I

of Vakhtang, as compared
eized to be the work of a
himself admits that a long
ld indeed be the case if he
ant, Archil II.²⁵

that Juansher is an author
mentioned *The Life of St.*
Catholicus of Iberia (955-
as (*Paçanig-s*), such as their
place between the ninth and
Javakhishvili in the dating
conservative scholars, treat
to regard his work, at least
out as a part of Leontius of
ion on the apparent identity,
a material.²⁹

a reconciliation of all these
kelidze—a leading authority
' Leontius' History and *The*
e accepted. This, however,
ansher as an original source,
ling authorities. This may
ts present form has reached
Ruisi. If this is conceded,
hat Juansher was an eighth-
mentioned anachronisms may
a suggested by Zhordania³⁰—
ius³¹.

akhtang Gorgasali informs us,
to which belonged his hero

which ascribes the authorship of
xtremely dangerous; for it is pre-
e the information on Leonti Mro-
r is indeed misplaced (after Mro-
eli (after *The Hist. of Vaxtang*).
nified by one redaction, but their
Hist. of Vaxtang, of all the other
ist. of the Kings and the story of
3 *The Martyrdom of Arčil*. Prof.
value of these notices, cf. *Anc.*

Vakhtang and his own wife, a niece of St. Archil II of Iberia (736-786).³² He married her after 736 and received, in dowry, a dukedom comprising Tiflis, the Manglisi Valley, Mtiuleti, and several other lands³³.

The History itself lacks both the beginning and the end³⁴. It can be divided into two parts: (1) the half-fabulous epic of King Vakhtang I Gorgasali itself, covering the fifth and the sixth century, and (2) the subsequent history of Iberia down to the eighth century. Both parts betray the author's indebtedness to the Persian sources. The figure of Vakhtang is modelled on that of Bahram Gor³⁵; and in the subsequent history, particularly of the sixth and seventh centuries, the author himself refers to the Persian historical material³⁶, which must have been the *Khwaday-Namagh*.³⁷

This history, especially in its second part, is a valuable monument which supplies us with much chronological and historical information, fully corroborated by various Byzantine, Armenian, Iranian, and Muslim sources.³⁸

(iii) 13. THE MARTYRDOM OF KING ARCHIL II³⁹: QM., pp. 211-215 = HG⁴, pp. 250-256.—This is a short narrative of the martyrdom of St. Archil II, the second last Chosroid of Iberia; the date of its composition lies between 1072 and 1080⁴⁰.

The death of Archil II is one of the moot problems in Georgian history, especially from the point of view of chronology. Upon closer examination, however, it will appear that the difficulties are due, not so much to the evidence of the sources, which supply us only with synchronisms, as to the application to these sources of the erroneous chronology set up by the eighteenth-century polyhistor Vakhusht.

According to Vakhusht's arrangement, followed by Brosset, Bakradze, and

³² QM., p. 208 = HG⁴, p. 248; cf. QM., p. 215 = HG⁴, p. 256.

³³ QM., p. 208 = HG⁴, p. 248.—Javakishvili's half-hearted attempt (*op. cit.*, p. 189) to identify our Juanšer with the monk Hilarion-Juanšer, mentioned in an Athonite Ms. from the Iviron Monastery, is not convincing because he does not give the date, or even epoch, of the Ms. and also because the name Juanšer alone is not sufficient for an identification, as it was rather popular in old Georgia (cf., e.g., Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 123).

³⁴ Javakishvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

³⁵ Allen, *History*, p. 77; Javakishvili, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

³⁶ QM., p. 191 = HG⁴, p. 221.

³⁷ Javakishvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 190.—Juanšer's dependence on the *Xwadāy-Nāmag* is also attested by the following facts: (1) the omission of all mention of Bahram Čobin's expedition to Suania and of his defeat, and the description of his revolt as starting from Rey immediately after his Turkish campaigns; (2) the omission of all mention regarding Chosroes II's part in the murder of his father; and (3) the mention of Chosroes' marriage to the daughter of the Emperor Maurice.

³⁸ Cf., e.g., Martin J. Higgins, "The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582-602)", I, *The Catholic University of America Byzantine Studies*, I (1939), 38.

³⁹ Georgice: *Çameba Çmidisa da Didebulisa Moçamisa Arčilisi, Romeli Eše Iqo Mep'e K'art'uell'a* (The Martyrdom of the Holy and Great Martyr Arčil, Who Was King of the Iberians).

⁴⁰ Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, pp. 239, cf. 249-251, 585-586.

Janashvili, Archil succeeded his elder brother in 668 and was martyred in 718.⁴¹ M. Sabinin pushes the latter event to 744.⁴² Professor Javakhishvili believes its date to lie between 737 and 741.⁴³ However, Marquart has correctly established it to be as late as 786.

An examination of this problem will bring out the essential reliability of the Georgian sources and their synchronisms, as opposed to the faulty chronology of Vakhusht-Brosset (with which they have, to some detriment of their prestige, become associated). According to Juansher's History and to Leontius himself, Archil succeeded his brother soon after the invasion of Iberia by the Arab Murvan-Qru or Qru-Amira⁴⁴. According to both, *fifty years later*, another Arab, whom Leontius calls Chichum (*Çiçum*) or Asim, put Archil to death⁴⁵. Now, Murvan-Qru is a composite figure in Georgio-Armenian historiography: a combination of Muhammad ibn Marwan, the Umayyad, and of his son Marwan ibn Muhammad, later the Caliph Marwan II (744-749). The former was remembered for his cruelty towards some Armenian princes, at Nakhchavan in 705, and the latter, under the Caliph Hisham (724-743), waged war in Caucasia⁴⁶. And Juansher, in fact, expressly states that it was the Caliph Hisham (*Ēšim*) by whom Murvan-Qru was sent. On the other hand, Chichum, alias Asim, has been identified by Marquart with Khuzaima ibn Khazim, Viceroy of Armenia under the Caliph Musà al-Hadi (785-786).⁴⁷ And indeed, the eighth-century Armenian historian, Bishop Ghevond (Levond), in his *History of the Arab Wars in Armenia*, records the execution of the Prince of Iberia by the Caliph Musà.⁴⁸

Now, between the caliphate of Hisham (724-743) and that of Musà (785-786), there had indeed elapsed half a century; and, more precisely still, between the opening of the Caucasian campaign of Marwan ibn Muhammad, in 736,⁴⁹ and

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 250.—Though they are referred to as Kings, by the legitimism of the later chroniclers, the last Chosroids did not enjoy that title, or the position it implies, in their lifetime. For kingship was abolished in Iberia by the Persians, and the *fait accompli* tacitly recognized by the Romans, in the "Eternal Treaty" of 532 (cf. Javaxiřvili, *History*, pp. 193-197; Allen, *History*, pp. 377-378; Gugushvili, *The Chron.-Geneal. Table*, p. 115). The Chosroids—the lawful dynasty—were thenceforth reduced to the position of a great noble house. This house, then, together with other feudal princes, exercised, under a Persian Viceroy (*Marzpān*), an oligarchic rule over Iberia (cf. Javaxiřvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-220; Gugushvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117; Marquart, *Osteur. u. ostas. Streifzüge*, pp. 431-433). What Archil II did succeed to, after his brother, must have been merely his family principedom, and whatever political influence his house may have had in Iberia.

⁴² *The Paradise of Georgia*, p. 332.

⁴³ *History*, II (Tiflis, 1914), 352-353.

⁴⁴ QM., pp. 200, 212, 214.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 211, 211-212.

⁴⁶ Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 394 and n. 4, and ff., 395 n. 1; Minorsky, "Tiflis", *The Encycl. of Islam*, IV, 752-753.

⁴⁷ Marquart, *op. cit.*, pp. 402, 415-416, cf. p. 433.

⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁹ Cf., e.g., Sir Wm. Muir, *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline, and Fall* (Edinburgh, 1915), p. 397;—the Caucasian-Khazar campaign of Marwān lasted 118-122 A.H.

the martyrdom
Juansher and
This, we know
sher's) work

(iv) 14. T.

HG., pp. 23

Georgian An

"the old Ch

History of th

name, howev

About its an

temporary of

Our chroni

Byzantine E

lost to the K

of the King of

the Byzantine

the onslaught

therefore, mu

described in i

1073⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ *Georgica: A*

⁵¹ QM., p. 323

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp.

cf. above, II A.

⁵³ Javaxiřvili

⁵⁴ QM., p. 25

⁵⁵ QM., pp. 28

and is, therefore

story of George

story of the tak

preserved both,

205-206). The

story of the rei

This Javaxiřvili

earlier statemen

of Iberia (*ibid.*,

fact that in QM

and that nothin

of Iberia. But t

Martyrdom of A

deniable that bo

II, are one and

narrative is now

of the other: tha

on p. 280, but th

⁶⁰ Cf. Javaxiř

nd was martyred in 718.⁴¹
Javakhishvili believes its
t has correctly established

essential reliability of the
o the faulty chronology of
striment of their prestige,
and to Leontius himself,
n of Iberia by the Arab
fifty years later, another
m, put Archil to death.⁴⁵
Armenian historiography:
ad, and of his son Marwan
49). The former was re-
rinces, at Nakhehavan in
-743), waged war in Cau-
it was the Caliph Hisham
her hand, Chichum, alias
ia ibn Khazim, Viceroy of

And indeed, the eighth-
nd), in his *History of the*
e Prince of Iberia by the

id that of Musà (785-786),
precisely still, between the
Muhammad, in 736,⁴⁹ and

by the legitimism of the later
he position it implies, in their
rsians, and the *fait accompli*
of 532 (cf. Javakhishvili, *History*,
Chron.-Geneal. Table, p. 115).
iced to the position of a great
al princes, exercised, under a
t (cf. Javakhishvili, *op. cit.*, pp.
r. u. ostas. *Streifzüge*, pp. 431-
st have been merely his family
have had in Iberia.

linorsky, "Tiflis", *The Encycl.*

ne, and Fall (Edinburgh, 1915),
d 118-122 A.H.

the martyrdom of Archil II in 785/786, exactly fifty years—assigned by both
Juansher and Leontius for his reign—had passed.

This, we believe, establishes both the reliability of Leontius' (as well as Juan-
sher's) work and the authentic chronology of Archil II.

(iv) 14. THE CHRONICLE OF IBERIA⁵⁰ (c. 1072-1073): QM., pp. 216-277 =
HG¹, pp. 256-336.—The name of this work is not given in the corpus of *The*
Georgian Annals, but it admits of identification with the source referred to as
"the old *Chronicle of Iberia*" (*jueli matianē k'art'isa*), by the author of *The*
History of the King of Kings, which follows it in the *Annals*⁵¹. Its original
name, however, may have been *The History of Iberia* (*Cxovreba K'art'isa*)⁵².
About its anonymous author, we know only that he was an Iberian and a con-
temporary of King Bagrat IV (1027-1072).⁵³

Our chronicler mentions the loss of the Abasgian fortress of Anakopia to the
Byzantine Empire, in 1033, and then adds: "thereafter Anakopia has been
lost to the Kings of Abasgia, to this day".⁵⁴ But, as we know from *The History*
of the King of Kings, Bagrat IV's successor George II recovered Anakopia from
the Byzantines in 1074, after they had abandoned their eastern provinces, before
the onslaught of the Seljuqs.⁵⁵ The date of the compilation of this chronicle,
therefore, must lie between 1072, the date of the death of Bagrat IV which is
described in it, and before 1074, the date of the taking of Anakopia; i.e., 1072/
1073⁵⁶.

⁵⁰ *Georgice: Matianē K'art'isay*.

⁵¹ QM., p. 329; Javakhishvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, pp. 200-201.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 201-203; this name may have given rise to that of the *Annals* themselves,
cf. above, II A, n. 1.

⁵³ Javakhishvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204.

⁵⁴ QM., p. 257; cf. Cedrenus II (Bonn.), 503, A.M. 6542.

⁵⁵ QM., pp. 280, 281.—The QA. Ms., which has its folios confused, is based on corrupt texts
and is, therefore, taken by itself not always of value; it further lacks the major part of the
story of George II's reign (= QM., pp. 278, 1.21-280, last line) and, consequently, also the
story of the taking of Anakopia by that king. The *Chronique armén.*, nevertheless, has
preserved both, like the QM. Ms. and other Mss. of the *Annals* (Javakhishvili, *op. cit.*, pp.
205-206). The above-cited remark of the author of *The Chron. of Iberia* proves that the
story of the reign of George II forms an integral part of *The Hist. of the King of Kings*.
This Javakhishvili indeed recognizes (*op. cit.*, pp. 206-207, 213-214) and thus vitiates his own
earlier statements to the effect that the story of George II is rather a part of *The Chron.*
of Iberia (*ibid.*, pp. 199, 200). This earlier opinion of Javakhishvili was based on the one
fact that in QM. the title of the work "The Hist. of the King of Kings" is found on p. 281,
and that nothing separates George II's reign, begun on p. 277, from the preceding *Chron.*
of Iberia. But then, likewise, nothing separates, in the QM. Ms., the latter work from *The*
Martyrdom of Archil (p. 216)! On the other hand, as Javakhishvili himself admits, it is un-
deniable that both the story of George II and that of his son, the "King of Kings" David
II, are one and the same narrative. Moreover, QM., p. 281, on which the title of his
narrative is now found, is not the end of the reign of the one, nor the beginning of the reign
of the other: that division is on p. 287. Thus, e.g., the taking of Anakopia is mentioned
on p. 280, but the reasons for it, its political background, on p. 281.

⁵⁶ Cf. Javakhishvili, *op. cit.*, p. 206; Žordania, *Chronicles*, I, xxiv.

This chronicle covers the period from the death of Archil II (786) to that of Bagrat IV (1072). In a style, clear and unaffected, it presents the purely political history of the growth of Georgia, from the end of the Muslim oppression to the beginning of the Bagratid Empire; the story grows fuller and richer in detail as it nears the author's own time⁵⁷. Its chronological data are invaluable, and its historical evidence finds corroboration in both the contemporaneous Georgian and foreign sources⁵⁸.

The sources upon which our historian has drawn must have included some chronicle of the Amirs of Tiflis, now lost, as well as other unknown Iberian and Meschian historical material; some chronography of Kakhia, which has not reached us; *The Divan of the Kings* (No. 3) and some other Abasgian sources; Leontius' *History of the Kings of Iberia* (No. 11); some hagiographical material known to us; and, finally—for the struggle of King George I with the Emperor Basil II—the source which he had in common with Sumbat, son of David⁵⁹.

(v) 15. THE HISTORY OF THE KING OF KINGS⁶⁰ (c. 1123–1126): QM., pp. 277–335 = HG¹, pp. 336–381).—The anonymous author of this History is a contemporary and an eyewitness of the events he describes; he is, moreover, an intimate and an ardent admirer of David II as well as, probably, an ecclesiastic.⁶¹ The date of the composition of this History is the period of 1123–1126; the end having been added later, after David II's death in 1125.⁶²

The troublous reign of George II (1072–1089) is treated as a preamble to the glorious reign of his son, the author's—and indeed the nation's—hero, David II the Builder (1089–1125).⁶³ This, the principal part of our History, is practically

⁵⁷ Javakšvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 209–210.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 211–212.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 208–209; Kekelišvili, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, p. 249; also: Žordania, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxviii–xlii (this author tends to see two chronicles in this work); T'akašvili, *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 107; XXVIII, 117 n. 1, 177 n. 2; Janašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 120–121, and Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, pp. 105–106 (these two authors do not distinguish sufficiently between *The Chron. of Iberia* and Sumbat's *Hist. of the Bagratids*, No. 4).

⁶⁰ *Georgice: Cxovreba Mep'et-Mep'isa*. The KV. Redaction has added *Davit'isi* (David). As QM. gives no Christian name to the king in question, the full English equivalent of the Georgian royal title is given here; David II was indeed "King of Kings" *par excellence* in Georgian history.

⁶¹ Žordania, *op. cit.*, pp. xlii–xlv; Janašvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 121–123; Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Javakšvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–215—the latter author is not so sure, p. 215, of the Anonymus' ecclesiastical state; though, no doubt, he is correct when he states that the work is not of an exclusively theological character; in fact Žordania exaggerates when he speaks, p. xlv, of the "theological imprint" borne by the work.

⁶² Javakšvili, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁶³ Although the historical tradition founded by Prince Vaxušt and followed by Brosset (e.g., HG¹, II, 1, Add. ix "Tables généal.", i) makes David II succeed his father upon his death (in 1088, according to Vaxušt, cf. Žordania, *op. cit.*, p. 233), *The Hist. of the King of Kings*, on the contrary, relates that George II himself elevated his son to the throne (QM., p. 287); and, moreover, both this work and the yet unedited *Chronicle of the Kings of Abasgia* (No. 6) (Žordania, *loc. cit.*) give 1089 as the date of David's accession. Now, *The Hist. of the King of Kings* does not mention the death of George II at all, and *The Chron. of the Kings of Abasgia* gives it *sub anno* 1112 (Žordania, *op. cit.*, p. 239). This is supported by a

one vast
David II
and prof
work is

(vi) 16

QM., pp.
even par
(1156–11
daughter
Georgian
tradition
and is, li

The wo
in charac
the Queen
tion of he
witness' a
an heroic
official pa
letters pa
the Realm

number of
either toge
ready Boss
David II in
view of the
his son, bu
him (Žorda
Zapiski [B
[1910], 65 ff
he became
King of Ki
marriage o
cephorus II
Paxomov, I
1089, co-Ki

⁶⁴ Cf. Jav
work is mis
II's reign a

⁶⁵ *Georgic*

⁶⁶ For Ge
ibidem, pp.
266–267.

⁶⁷ Cf. Žo
Litt. géorg.

⁶⁸ Cf. Do

of Archil II (786) to that
ted, it presents the purely
d of the Muslim oppression
grows fuller and richer in
logical data are invaluable,
both the contemporaneous

must have included some
other unknown Iberian and
of Kakhia, which has not
ne other Abasgian sources;
me hagiographical material
George I with the Emperor
h Sumbat, son of David⁶⁰.

23-1126): Q.M., pp. 277-335
is History is a contemporary
moreover, an intimate and
an ecclesiastic.⁶¹ The date
1123-1126; the end having

reated as a preamble to the
ie nation's—hero, David II
of our History, is practically

.9; also: Žordania, *op. cit.*, pp.
work); T'aqaišvili, *Sborn. Mat.*,
l'lis-Cxovreba, pp. 120-121, and
do not distinguish sufficiently
l'agratids, No. 4).
on has added *Davit'isi* (David).
ie full English equivalent of the
"King of Kings" *par excellence*

121-123; Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 103;
sure, p. 215, of the Anonymus'
e states that the work is not of
saggerates when he speaks, p.

l'axušt and followed by Brosset
d II succeed his father upon his
p. 233), *The Hist. of the King of*
ted his son to the throne (Q.M.,
Chronicle of the Kings of Abasgia
's accession. Now, *The Hist. of*
II at all, and *The Chron. of the*
p. 239). This is supported by a

one vast panegyric simle inspired by King David, the Prophet and Psalmist,
David II's official ancestor. The Anonymus is well versed both in the sacred
and profane literature and is on terms of conversancy with the Classics. This
work is both good literature and very good history.⁶⁴

(vi) 16. THE HISTORIES AND EULOGIES OF THE SOVEREIGNS⁶⁵ (XIIIth century):
Q.M., pp. 362-535 = H.G.¹, pp. 383-480.—This composition consists of two un-
even parts: the first and smaller one deals with the reign of King George III
(1156-1184), and the second and larger one treats of that of his celebrated
daughter Queen Tamar (1184-1212).⁶⁶ Its anonymous author is known in the
Georgian historiographical literature as the First Historian of Tamar, in con-
tradistinction to the Second Historian, i.e., the Master of the Court Basil (No. 5),
and is, like him, a contemporary and eyewitness of the events described.⁶⁷

The work of the Anonymus is at once ampler than that of Basil and different
in character to it. Whereas Basil displays a courtier's intimate knowledge of
the Queen's private life, the former appears to possess all a statesman's apprecia-
tion of her political activity; yet while Basil produces, in simple words, an eye-
witness' account of a great reign, the Anonymus, with flowery rhetoric, builds
an heroic epic.⁶⁸ The Anonymus, in other words, has all the earmarks of an
official panegyrist-historian; his style, moreover, is reminiscent of the royal
letters patent of the period which were drawn up by the Grand Chancellors of
the Realm. This led Zhordania and Janashvili to surmise that the author of

number of documents, of the years 1089/1091 and 1103, in which King George is mentioned.
either together with his son David or alone (Žordania, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 236, 240-241). Al-
ready Bosset, at a later date, arrived at the conclusion that George II reigned jointly with
David II in the years 1089-1092 (*Introduction à l'H.G.*, p. lxiv); it is now obvious that, in
view of the misfortunes of his reign (cf. Q.M. pp. 277-287), George II ceded the crown to
his son, but retained the royal title to his death: in other words became a co-King with
him (Žordania, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241; E. A. Paxomov, "The Georgian Coins" [in Russian],
Zapiski [Bulletin] of the Numismatic Division of the Imp. Russ. Archaeol. Society, I, iv
[1910], 65 ff.). David II himself had become a co-King with his father some time before
he became a King-regnant in 1089; a document of 1085 mentions: "Our Kings, George the
King of Kings and Caesar [this Byzantine title was acquired, no doubt, because of the
marriage of his sister with, first, the Emperor Michael VII and, then, the Emperor Ni-
cephorus III] and His Son David, King and Sebastus" (Žordania, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233;
Paxomov, *loc. cit.*). Thus the dates of the two kings are: George II, King-regnant 1072-
1089, co-King 1089-1112; David II, co-King c. 1085-1089, King-regnant 1089-1125.

⁶⁴ Cf. Javaxišvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-224; —As has been noted before, n. 55, the title of this
work is misplaced in Q.M.: it should be on p. 277 and not 281. QA. omits a part of George
II's reign and the title of the work as well, *ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

⁶⁵ *Georgice: Istoriani da Azmani Šaravandl'a.*

⁶⁶ For George III's dates, cf. Žordania, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-258, 259, 268; for Tamar's,
ibidem, pp. 260-267, 268-269, 300 ff. She was co-opted by her father in 1179, *ibid.*, pp.
266-267.

⁶⁷ Cf. Žordania, *op. cit.*, pp. xlvii ff.; Jānašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 123-124; Karst,
Litt. géorg. chrét., pp. 103-104.

⁶⁸ Cf. Dondua, *Basili, the Hist. of Queen Tamar*, pp. 36-37.

this History might have been one of the contemporaneous Archbishops of Chqondidi, *ex-officio* Grand Chancellors of Georgia.⁶⁹

The personage to whom the authorship, or only supervision, of this History may thus be ascribed, must have been the Archbishop-Chancellor Theodore, who held that function from 1205-1206 on.⁷⁰

(vii) 17. THE HISTORY OF THE MONGOL INVASIONS⁷¹ (XIVth century): QM., pp. 536-785 = HG¹, pp. 481-644.—This important historical work, the last in *The Georgian Annals*, was compiled in the fourteenth century by an anonymous Meschian chronographer.⁷² It can be divided into three main parts. Part one deals with what may be termed the pre-Mongol period, i.e., the reigns of George IV the Resplendent (1212-1223) and his sister Queen Rusudan (1223-1245); part two describes the period of the Mongol invasions and overlordship, covering the reigns of Rusudan, David IV (1250-1258), David V (1250-1269), Demetrius II the Devoted (1273-1289), Vakhtang II (1289-1292), David VI (1292-1299), George V (1299-1301), Vakhtang III (1301-1307), and George VI the Little (1307-1318); and part three treats of the period of restoration, beginning with the second reign of George V the Illustrious (1318-1346). Unfortunately, however, the very beginning of the History and its latter part, dealing with the second reign of George V, have been lost, and so has the name of our historian, who must have been a younger contemporary of that king.⁷³

The author draws upon thirteenth-century sources; he cites the now lost *Annals of the Abbey of St. Shio of Mghvime*; and he is well versed in the Mongol language.⁷⁴ Apart from merely political events—which are extremely well presented—the History contains also valuable information concerning the economic and social development of the country during that period. The author, moreover, displays great impartiality towards the enemy—the Mongols—and bold criticism of his sovereigns.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Zordania, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.; Jānašvili, *loc. cit.*; Karst, *loc. cit.*—For the office of Grand Chancellor (*Mqignobart'-Uxucesi*) and its connection with the Abasgian See of Chqondidi, cf. N. Berjēnišvili, "The Vazirate in Feudal Georgia: *Chqondidel-Mqignobart'-Uxucesi*" (in Georgian), *Bulletin de l'Institut Marr*, V-VI, (1940), 391-412; Allen, *History*, p. 264.

⁷⁰ Cf. Berjēnišvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-412.—Zordania, p. 1 ff., tends to regard the Archbishop-Chancellor Anthony Glonis-T'avisje as the author of this work. But this prelate is for the last time mentioned in *The Hist. and Eul.* at the beginning of the first decade of the thirteenth century (QM., p. 468), before 1205, the earliest date of Theodore, and could not therefore have written this History, which is brought down to 1212.

⁷¹ This title is due to modern historiography: the *Annals* do not give this History any specific appellation.

⁷² Prince I. A. Džavaxov (= Javaxišvili), "The Anonymous Georgian Historian of the XIVth Century" (in Russian), *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, XVII (1917), 1483-1486; Jānašvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125 (he attempts, pp. 125, 143, to identify this Meschian Anonymus with Abuseriġe [No. 8]); Karst, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

⁷³ Javaxišvili, *The Anonym. Georg. Hist.*, pp. 1483, 1485; T'aqaišvili, "Description of the Mss.", *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 60-61, 63.

⁷⁴ Javaxišvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 1485-1486; B. Vladimircov, "An Anonymous Georgian Historian of the XIVth Century On the Mongol Language" (in Russian), *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*, XVII (1917), 1487-1501; Jānašvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125; Karst, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ Javaxišvili, *op. cit.*, p. 1484.

(i) Princip

1. QM. certain apoc (No. v/15), entire *Hist.* (No. iv/14) Redaction throughout thus causin

2. KV. *Eulogies of*

3. KV. i graphical, (b) into Ju

¹ Some, as Georgian Ch *Writ.*, pp. 14 Syriac of one Great.—The pp. 786-849.

Karst, *op. c*

² T'aqaišv

³ T'aqaišv

⁴ These in Mxet'a, tak on this text (repeats what *op. cit.*, p. 6

(2) a narri p. 55, taken 1154]; Kekel supposes T'a

(3) a deta 42-45 = HG cf., Karst, p

(4) *The I* Georgian in varying degi cf. Kekeliġe *Orthodox Pa*

⁵ These in 110, 149 = H

(2) an abb the tenth cer pp. 580-584;

(3) a noti Catholicus cl p. 83);

C. Appendix

(i) Principal Differences Between the QM. Variant and the KV. Redaction of The Georgian Annals

1. QM. includes: (a) before Leontius' *History of the Kings of Iberia* (No. i/11), certain apocryphal writings;¹ and (b) between *The History of the King of Kings* (No. v/15) and *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns* (No. vi/16), the entire *History of the Bagratids* of Sumbat (No. 4). *The Chronicle of Iberia* (No. iv/14) had one source in common with Sumbat; nevertheless, the KV. Redaction dismembered Sumbat's History and interpolated passages from it throughout the *Chronicle of Iberia* (as well as Juansher's History, No. ii/12), thus causing much unnecessary repetition.²

2. KV. omits whole passages of factual importance from *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns*, found in QM., pp. 362-364, 394-395, 474-476.³

3. KV. inserts, wholly or in part, various hagiographical, diplomatic, chronological, and other materials: (a) into Leontius' *History of the Kings of Iberia*,⁴ (b) into Juansher's *History of King Vakhtang Gorgasali*,⁵ (c) into *The Chronicle*

¹ Some, ascribed to Ephrem Minor (Ep'rem Meiro, b. 1027, d. 1100, great Doctor of the Georgian Church, cf. Kekeliġe, *Hist. Georg. Lit.*, pp. 259-283; Javakhišvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Writ.*, pp. 145-169; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, pp. 30-31), constitute an adaptation from the Syriac of one of the versions of *The Cave of Treasures*; others are attributed to St. Basil the Great.—These writings are published by T'aqaišvili in Annex I to his edition of QM. = pp. 786-849. Cf. T'aqaišvili, "Description of the Mss.", *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 62-63; cf. Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

² T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-77, 107 and in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXVIII, 117 n.1., 42 n.2, 124 n.1.

³ T'aqaišvili, *Sborn. Mat.* XXXVI, 86-87.

⁴ These insertions are: (1) a detailed narrative of the translation of Our Lord's Tunic to Moxet'a, taken from *The Life of St. Nino*: HG^s, I, 40-41 = HG^t, 54-55. Mroveli is based on this text (cf. QM., pp. 78-82; HG^s, I, 80 = HG^t, pp. 106-107), so that this insertion merely repeats what is told later on in the same work (T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82; cf. Karst, *op. cit.*, p. 68 ff.);

(2) a narrative of how Georgia became an appanage of Our Lady: HG^s, I, 41 = HG^t, p. 55, taken from *The Metaphrase of St. Nino* (by Arsenius the Monk [Arsen Beri, c. 1123-1154]; Kekeliġe, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-321; and not by Arsenius of Iqalt'o [Iqalt'odli], as supposes T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 n.1.) (T'aqaišvili, p. 82);

(3) a detailed narrative of the legendary apostolate of St. Andrew in Georgia: HG^s, I, 42-45 = HG^t, pp. 56-59, instead of the short notice in QM., p. 30 (T'aqaišvili, p. 82; cf., Karst, p. 70 n. 2; Javakhišvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 131-132);

(4) *The Life of Peter the Iberian, Bishop of Mayuma*, translated from the Syriac into Georgian in the thirteenth century: it is found in various Mss. of the KV. Redaction in varying degrees of abbreviation: HG^s, I, 102-103, not in HG^t. (T'aqaišvili, pp. 72-73; cf. Kekeliġe, pp. 353-355; Marr, "The Life of Peter the Iberian" [in Russian], *The Orthodox Palestinian Collection*, XVI, 2 [1896]).

⁵ These insertions are: (1) more fragments from *The Metaphrase of St. Nino*: HG^s, I, 119, 149 = HG^t, pp. 159, 200 n. 4 (T'aqaišvili, p. 85);

(2) an abbreviation of *The Lives of the Thirteen Syrian Fathers* (dating ultimately from the tenth century): HG^s, I, 151-158 = HG^t, p. 203 ff. (T'aqaišvili, pp. 73-74; cf. Kekeliġe, pp. 580-584; Karst, p. 79 ff.);

(3) a notice on the Emperor Justinian's authorization to the Iberians to have their Catholicos chosen from among themselves: HG^s, I, 154 n. 4 = HG^t, p. 202 n. 6 (T'aqaišvili, p. 83);

mporaneous Archbishops of
supervision, of this History
bishop-Chancellor Theodore,

¹ (XIVth century): QM., pp.
historical work, the last in
th century by an anonymous
three main parts. Part one
riod, i.e., the reigns of George
Queen Rusudan (1223-1245);
ns and overlordship, covering
id V (1250-1269), Demetrius
292), David VI (1292-1299),
, and George VI the Little
f restoration, beginning with
-1346). Unfortunately, how-
latter part, dealing with the
as the name of our historian,
that king.⁷³

ources; he cites the now lost
e is well versed in the Mongol
—which are extremely well
ormation concerning the eco-
ng that period. The author,
e enemy—the Mongols—and

, *loc. cit.*—For the office of Grand
h the Abasgian See of Ćqondidi,
ondidel-Meignobart-Uxucesi" (in
-412; Allen, *History*, p. 264.

.1 ff., tends to regard the Arch-
r of this work. But this prelate
e beginning of the first decade of
rliest date of Theodore, and could
t down to 1212.

als do not give this History any

ymous Georgian Historian of the
s *Sciences de Russie*, XVII (1917),
.125, 143, to identify this Meschian
-104.

5; T'aqaišvili, "Description of the

; "An Anonymous Georgian His-
in Russian), *Bulletin de l'Académie*
op. cit., pp. 124-125; Karst, *loc. cit.*

of Iberia,⁶ (d) into *The History of the King of Kings*,⁷ (e) into *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns*,⁸ and (f) into *The History of the Mongol Invasions*.⁹

4. KV. inserts a new, rather short *History of Demetrius I and David III* between *The History of the King of Kings* and *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns*: HG^s, I, 263-264 = HG^t, pp. 381-382. This work is not an original

(4) a fragment from *The Life of St. Šio of Mqume*, one of the Syrian Fathers: HG^s, I, 159 = HG^t, p. 212 (T'aqaišvili, pp. 82-83);

(5) a notice on the Second Council of Constantinople: HG^s, I, 159 = HG^t, pp. 212-213 (T'aqaišvili, p. 83);

(6) fragments from Sumbat's *History of the Bagratids*, concerning the Davidic origin of the Bagratids: HG^s, I, 161-163 = HG^t, pp. 216-220 (T'aqaišvili in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXVIII, 42 n. 4, 124 n. 1);

(7) notices concerning the closing of the Council of Aquri (Meschia) by the Emperor Heraclius, taken from *The Metaphrase of St. Nino*: HG^s, I, 166 = HG^t, p. 225 (T'aqaišvili in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 83);

(8) a notice on the Gothian Bishop John, also from the Metaphrase: HG^s, I, 168 = HG^t, p. 230 (T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.*, p. 83);

(9) fragments from *The Martyrdom of Sts. David and Constantine*, Princes of Arguet'i, a work of the twelfth century: HG^s, I, 173, 173-174, 174-175, 176 n. 1, 176-177, 177 = HG^t, pp. 238, 238-239 n. 1, 241 n. 4, 242 n. 6, 243 n. 1. (T'aqaišvili, p. 81; cf. Kekelišvili, p. 584; Karst, p. 64).

⁶ These insertions are: (1) fragments from Sumbat's *History of the Bagratids*: especially HG^s, I, 198-200 = HG^t, pp. 282-285 (T'aqaišvili, pp. 74-77 and in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXVIII, 117 n. 1.);

(2) fragments from the treatise of Ephrem Minor on the reasons for Georgia's conversion to Christianity, with some variations: HG^s, I, 159, 168, 171-172 = HG^t, pp. 213, 229-230, 235-236 (T'aqaišvili in *Sborn. Mat.* XXXVI, 77-79; cf. Kekelišvili, pp. 259-283; Javakšvili, *Anc. Georg. Hist. Wril.*, pp. 145-169; Karst, pp. 30-31);

(3) fragments from *The Lives of Sts. John and Euthymius* (by St. George the Hagiorite [Mt'qemindeli, d. 1066], cf. Kekelišvili, pp. 212-236, esp. p. 232 ff.; Karst, pp. 24 ff., 88; Paul Peeters, S.J., "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes: i. *Vie des SS. Jean et Euthyme*", *Analecta Boll.*, XXXVI-XXXVII [1917-1919], 8-68): HG^s, I, 206 = HG^t, p. 293 (T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.*, p. 70);

(4) fragments from a charter of the time of Bagrat IV (1027-1072), with a reference to the Catholicus Melchisedech I: HG^s, I, 212-213, 218, 220-221, 221-222 = HG^t, pp. 301-302 n. 1, 310-311, 313, 315-316 (T'aqaišvili, p. 79);

(5) fragments from *The Life of St. George the Hagiorite*, by his disciple George the Hieromonk [Xucesmonazoni] (Kekelišvili, pp. 257-259; Peeters, *Hist. monast. géorg.*, ii, 69-159; Karst, p. 28 ff.): HG^s, I, 226-227, 229-230 = HG^t, pp. 324, 329-330 (T'aqaišvili, pp. 79-80).

⁷ These insertions are some notices from contemporary documents: HG^s, I, 241 = HG^t, p. 354, n. 2 (T'aqaišvili, p. 80).

⁸ These insertions are passages of a panegyric character (adduced in the notes to pp. 362-536 of T'aqaišvili's edition of QM.) as well as, in its latter part, passages taken either from the now lost second part of Basil's *History of Queen Thamar* (No. 5), or from an unknown "Third Historian" of that Queen (T'aqaišvili in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 85-87; cf. above, I, No. 5).

⁹ These insertions are: (1) some adduced in the notes to pp. 536-714 of QM. (T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.*, p. 87); (2) a detailed narrative of the joint campaign of King Vaxtang III (1301-1307) and Qazān-Xān against the Sultan of Egypt, as well as a few details concerning the victory of Bek'a I, Prince of Meschia, over the Tatars, based on an unknown source: HG^t, pp. 629-637 = QM. notes to pp. 772-777 (T'aqaišvili, pp. 84-85, 103).

source, but was Redaction, on that which could be found in that of George.

5. Finally, KV. covers the history

(ii)

The King Valarshach's errors and confusion in the Decline—, but so and clarified some of them. Nonetheless, admitted into the text of sections and with anachronisms; (4) incorrectly; and are, into a continuing handling of these scientific significance.

The fact that in the KV. Redaction earned for them moreover, a superior opinion among scholars that the or at least comparatively, very useful material. eighteenth-century they came to the history in Georgia general and, in greater or less degree

¹⁰ T'aqaišvili, pp.

¹¹ T'aqaišvili, pp.

¹² T'aqaišvili, pp.

¹³ *Chronique géorg.* 1703. T'aqaišvili is deed, came to the r (T'aqaišvili in *Sborn. Three Hist. Chron.*, after a Ms. in the B géorg. (Paris, 1829), de l'Académie Impériale

is, (e) into *The Histories and of the Mongol Invasions*.⁹

metrius I and David III be-Histories and Eulogies of the

This work is not an original

of the Syrian Fathers: HG², I,

HG², I, 159 = HG¹, pp. 212-213

concerning the Davidic origin of
iašvili in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXVIII,

quri (Meschia) by the Emperor
166 = HG¹, p. 225 (T'aqaišvili

he Metaphrase: HG², I, 168 =

Constantine, Princes of Arguet'i,
75, 176 n. 1, 176-177, 177 = HG¹,
išvili, p. 81; cf. Kekeliš, p. 584;

story of the Bagratids: especially
77 and in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXVIII,

reasons for Georgia's conversion
71-172 = HG¹, pp. 213, 229-230,
ekeliš, pp. 259-283; Javaxišvili,

ius (by St. George the Hagiorite
32 ff.; Karst, pp. 24 ff., 88; Paul
des SS. Jean et Euthyme"), Ana-
206 = HG¹, p. 293 (T'aqaišvili,

(1027-1072), with a reference to
221, 221-222 = HG¹, pp. 301-302

by his disciple George the Hiero-
l. monast. géorg., ii, 69-159; Karst,
30 (T'aqaišvili, pp. 79-80).

ary documents: HG², I, 241 =

ter (adduced in the notes to pp.
after part, passages taken either
Thamar (No. 5), or from an un-
in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 85-87;

pp. 536-714 of QM. (T'aqaišvili,
sign of King Vaxtang III (1301-
II as a few details concerning the
sed on an unknown source: HG¹,
84-85, 103).

source, but was compiled by the Commission in charge of the King Vakhtang Redaction, on the basis of the information about these two intermediary reigns that could be found at the end of the History of David II and at the beginning of that of George III.¹⁰

5. Finally, KV. includes the two *Continuations of The Georgian Annals*, which cover the history of Georgia from George V the Illustrious to the year 1605.¹¹

(ii) Positive and Negative Sides of the KV. Redaction

The King Vakhtang Redaction (1) rectified nearly nine-tenths of the textual errors and confusion of the Mtskheta Archetype—a heritage of the Epoch of Decline—, but some of its "rectifications" are decidedly wrong; (2) it paraphrased and clarified some obscure passages, but omitted altogether others which, nevertheless, admitted of clarification; (3) it inserted the evidence of other sources into the text of the Annals, but without mentioning the provenance of the insertions and without a critical sense, thus causing contradictions, repetitions, anachronisms; (4) it supplied the text with more chronological data, but often incorrectly; and (5), by smoothing out the *corpus scriptorum*, which the Annals are, into a continuous History divided into "reigns", it facilitated, perhaps, the handling of these, but also served to obscure in the eyes of many their veritable scientific significance as a body of valuable historical material.¹²

The fact that *The Georgian Annals* came first to be known to the outside world in the KV. Redaction, as well as the above-mentioned Preface to that Recension, earned for them the appellation of "The Chronicle of King Vakhtang". Given, moreover, a superficial acquaintance with this chronographical corpus, there was formed among some scholars of the early nineteenth century the erroneous opinion that the whole of the Annals was a mid-eighteenth-century production, or at least compilation, of King Vakhtang VI. This opinion reflected, quite naturally, very unfavorably on the estimation of *The Georgian Annals* as historical material. As, furthermore, other Georgian sources—except perhaps the eighteenth-century *Chronique géorgienne*¹³—were still unknown to those scholars, they came to the conclusion that, before Vakhtang VI, there had been no written history in Georgia. This opinion regarding the Georgian historical sources in general and, in particular, the "authorship" of the Annals was shared, to a greater or less degree, by Klaproth, Saint-Martin, Dubois de Montpéreux, Pat-

¹⁰ T'aqaišvili, pp. 87-88, 66.

¹¹ T'aqaišvili, pp. 88-91, 109, 112-113.

¹² T'aqaišvili, pp. 102-108, 113-114.

¹³ *Chronique géorgienne* or *The Paris Chronicle* is a compilation covering the years 1373-1703. T'aqaišvili is of the opinion that it was also done by order of Vaxtang VI, who, indeed, came to the regency of Georgia in 1703, down to which year this work is brought (T'aqaišvili in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, 91; XXIX [1901], 99-102; XXVIII, 189 n. 2 ff.; *idem*, *Three Hist. Chron.*, pp. cxlii-cxlvii; Karst, *Litt. géorg. chrét.*, p. 105). It was published after a Ms. in the Bibliothèque du Roi (now Nationale), by the Société Asiatique, as *Chr. géorg.* (Paris, 1829), and, in a French translation, by Brosset in Paris, 1831, and in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, 6^e série, V (St. Petersburg, 1841), 220-245.

kanov, Gren, etc.,¹⁴ and even by Brosset himself—that founder of modern Caucasianology—until he became better acquainted with Georgian historical material.¹⁵

However, by analyzing the contents of the Annals, and by comparing their data with those of the Armenian, Byzantine, and Muslim sources, Brosset soon realized that *The Georgian Annals* had existed, since the early Middle Ages, as Annals and under the very same name, "The Life of Iberia". With the discovery of the twelfth-thirteenth-century *Chronique arménienne*—an adaptation of the first five parts of the Annals—that existence was proved beyond all doubt.¹⁶ The subsequent discovery and publication of the Queen Mary Ms. of *The Georgian Annals*, almost a century older than the King Vakhtang Redaction; then, the discovery of the still earlier and as yet unpublished Queen Anne Ms.; further philological and historical analysis (such as comparison of the language of the Annals with that of various contemporaneous documents; examination of the inner evidence by which the epoch of various authors was established; and, finally, collation of these with other contemporaneous Georgian and foreign sources)—all these factors have now definitely dispelled the earlier erroneous notions regarding the Annals. Thus the true nature of this corpus, long obscured by the superimpositions of the King Vakhtang Redaction, has been finally brought to light.

Furthermore, the discovery and publication of numerous other chronographical works, not forming part of the Annals, but serving, in part, as sources for them, and of which the earliest dates from the seventh century, have fully rehabilitated the Georgian historiographical sources in general.

It may be added, in this context, that the historical work of Prince Vakhushht (d. 1772), Vakhtang VI's natural son, may to some extent have further contributed to the confusion about the Annals. Vakhushht, perhaps the best historian of the Silver Age and the greatest polyhistor in Georgian history, has left

¹⁴ Cf. J. von Klaproth, "Histoire de la Géorgie", *Journal Asiatique*, 2^e série, XII (1833), 518 ff.; XIII (1834), 21 ff.; J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, I (Paris, 1818), 44; F. Dubois de Montpéroux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, II (Paris et Neuchâtel, 1840), 7-8; K. Patkanov, "On the Ancient Georgian Chronicle", *Žurnal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, 1883; *idem*, *The Vannic Inscriptions and Their Significance for the History of Hither Asia*, p. 201; A. Gren, "The Bagratid Dynasty in Armenia", *Žurnal of the Min. of Publ. Instr.*, CCXC (1893), 52 ff. (the last three works in Russian).—Even Prince T'eimuraz of Georgia (fourth son of the last King and great-great-grandson of Vakhtang VI) was inclined to ascribe the "authorship" of the Annals to Vaxtang VI, though, to be sure, he knew infinitely better than to share the above-mentioned scholars' opinion regarding the Georgian sources in general; cf. his *Georgian Ancient History of Iberia* (St. Petersburg, 1848).

¹⁵ T'aqaišvili in *Sborn. Mat.*, XXXVI, pp. 42-44; Jānašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 113, 117, 128-129, 228-235; *idem*, "The Evidence of the Georgian Chronicles and Historians Regarding North Caucasus and Russia" (in Russian), *Sborn. Mat.*, XXII (1897), i, 1-5; Bak'raje, *Articles*, ii.; Žordania, *Chronicles*, I, i ff.; Toumanoff, *The Founder of the Emp. of Trebizond and Queen Thamar*, p. 301 n. 2.—Karst, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-108, despite all the evidence at his disposal, still uses the misleading expressions like: *la chronique vakhtangiennne*, *Annales dites de Vakhtang*, *l'oeuvre chronologique-annalistique de Vakhtang VI*, etc.

¹⁶ Brosset, *Introduction à l'HG.*, pp. xiv-xxvi; HG¹, I, 1, 256 n. 1; T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.*, p. 38 ff.; Bak'raje, *loc. cit.*; Žordania, *loc. cit.*

two principal
which "not
been written
most complete
monumental
eighth-century
Annals the
identical with
father Vakhtang
very often
imbroglio, I
Recension of
for his own

III.

Century or
Date of
Composition

VII.

VIII.?

IX.

1008/1014

c.1030

bef.1072

1072/1073

1072/1080

1123/1126

1210/1213

XIII.

XIII.

¹⁷ Allen, *H*

¹⁸ T'aqaišvili

¹⁹ HG¹, I,

—that founder of modern Caucasian Georgian historical material.¹⁵ Annals, and by comparing their and Muslim sources, Brosset soon since the early Middle Ages, as of Iberia". With the discovery *ménienne*—an adaptation of the was proved beyond all doubt.¹⁶ the Queen Mary Ms. of *The* the King Vakhtang Redaction; t unpublished Queen Anne Ms.; 1 as comparison of the language meous documents; examination arious authors was established; poraneous Georgian and foreign dispelled the earlier erroneous ture of this corpus, long obscured ng Redaction, has been finally

numerous other chronographical ing, in part, as sources for them, century, have fully rehabilitated al.

torical work of Prince Vakhushht some extent have further con-Vakhushht, perhaps the best his-tor in Georgian history, has left *Journal Asiatique*, 2^e série, XII (1833), *hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, I (Paris, *du Caucase*, II (Paris et Neuchâtel, *Chronicle*", *Žurnal* of the Ministry of tions and Their Significance for the ratid Dynasty in Armenia", *Žurnal* last three works in Russian).—Even ing and great-great-grandson of Vax-the Annals to Vaxtang VI, though, to e above-mentioned scholars' opinion orgian *Ancient History of Iberia* (St.

Ĵanašvili, *K'art'lis-Cxovreba*, pp. 113, rgian Chronicles and Historians Re-*Šborn. Mat.*, XXII (1897), i, 1-5; Ba-umanoff, *The Founder of the Emp. of . cit.*, pp. 105-108, despite all the evi-sions like: *la chronique vakhtangienn*, *nalistique de Vakhtang VI*, etc. 1⁶, I, 1, 250 n. 1; T'aqaišvili, *op. cit.*,

two principal works. One of them is his *Geographical Description of Georgia* which "not only represented a great advance on any other material which had been written up to that date, but . . . may certainly be regarded as among the most competent and scientific productions of the time".¹⁷ The other is his monumental *History of Georgia* which was completed in 1744. This mid-eighteenth-century work, of which the first part is merely an adaptation of the Annals themselves,¹⁸ and whose very name *Sak'art'velos-Cxovreba* is almost identical with theirs (*K'art'lis-Cxovreba*)—as is Vakhushht's with that of his father Vakhtang to whom was ascribed the authorship of the Annals—, has very often been confused with them. And, as though further to increase the imbroglio, Brosset thought nothing of prefacing his edition of the King Vakhtang Recension of *The Georgian Annals* with the Introduction Vakhushht had written for his own History!¹⁹

III. CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE SOURCES AND OF THEIR MSS.

A. Sources

Century or Date of Composition	Name and Number	Author	Period covered
VII.	<i>The Conversion of Iberia</i> (1),	Gregory the Deacon,	IV.B.C.-VII.A.D. (continued to IX)
VIII.?	<i>The History of King Vakhtang Gorgasali</i> (12),	Juansher Juansheriani,	V.-VIII.
IX.	<i>The History of the Kings, Bishops and Catholicici of Iberia</i> (2),	Anonymus,	IV.B.C.-IX.A.D.
1008/1014	<i>The Divan of the Kings</i> (3),	Bagrat III of Georgia,	V.-XI.
c.1030	<i>The History of the Bagratids</i> (4),	Sumbat, son of David,	VIII.-1030.
bef.1072	<i>The History of the Kings of Iberia</i> (11),	Leontius of Ruisi,	IV.B.C.-V.A.D.
1072/1073	<i>The Chronicle of Iberia</i> (14),	Anonymus,	780-1072.
1072/1080	<i>The Martyrdom of King Archil II</i> (13),	Leontius of Ruisi,	730-786.
1123/1126	<i>The History of the King of Kings</i> (15),	Anonymus,	1072-1125.
1210/1213	<i>The History of Queen Thamar</i> (5),	Basil, Master of the Court,	1156-c.1204.
XIII.	<i>The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns</i> (16),	"First Historian of Thamar",	1156-1212.
XIII.	<i>The Chronicle of the Kings of Abasgia</i> (6),	Anonymus,	V.-XIII. (continued to XV.)

¹⁷ Allen, *History*, p. 316; cf. Karst, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-112 and n. 1.

¹⁸ T'aqaišvili, p. 96.

¹⁹ HG¹, I, 1, 1-13.

Century or Date of Composition	Name and Number	Author	Period covered
1212/1223	<i>The History of the Kings Demetrius I, George III, Thamar, and George IV the Resplendent</i> (7),	Anonymus,	1125-1223.
XIII.	<i>The Khwarizmian Invasion of Georgia</i> (8),	Abuseridze of Tbeti,	1225-1231.
XIV.	<i>The History of the Mongol Invasions</i> (17),	Anonymus,	1212-1318.
XV.	<i>The Monument of the Dukes</i> (9),	Anonymus,	VI.-1220-1400.
1424/1450?	<i>The History of the Invasions of Timur</i> (10),	Anonymus,	1360-1405.

B. Manuscripts

Century or Date of earliest Ms.	Name	Contents (Nos. of Sources)	Century or Date of earliest Ms.	Name	Contents (Nos. of Sources)
973	The Shatberdi Collection	(1) (2)			(11) (12)
XIII.	.....	(8)			(13)
		(11)	XVI-XVII.	The QA. Variant of <i>The Georgian Annals</i>	(14) (15)
		(12)		(defective and yet unpublished)	(16)
1279/1311	<i>The Chronique arménienne: XII-XIIIth-century Armenian adaptation of</i>	(13) (14) (15)			(17) (11) (12)
XIV-XV.	The Chelishi Collection..	(1)	1638/1645.	The QM. Variant of <i>The Georgian Annals</i>	(13) (14)
1405/1412	.....	(3)		(traceable to 1546) (the earliest Ms. published)	(15) (4)
XV.	.....	(6)			(16)
XV.(?)	.....	(9)			(17)
XV-XVI.	The Eradzhev Ms.....	(5)	XVIII. (c.1760)	<i>The First Continuation of The Georgian Annals</i>	(10)

Washington, D. C.

STUDIEN

I. NOMINALISM

Obwohl über
über viele Ein
unterrichtet.
lung der Sumr
den späteren N
von Candia F.
des Krieges in
stica aufzusuch
und richtungge
Zeit,^a hat er n
zwischen M. de
Namen der Riel
eine eingehende
darüber bedau
Akademie der V
wohl J. Reiners
die gesamte Fü
achte Jahrgang
Wenn wir au
zweiten Hälfte
richten, die dar
sitzen wir eine d
tar zu der Stell
Synagoge der I

Scola vel collect
Libertini, in alia C

Damit dürfte au
das ist eben die

¹ Der Sentenzen
Beitrag zur Scheid
des Wegestretes.

² Zweite Auflage

³ Die patristisch

⁴ Der Nominalis

Mittelalters. Ban

⁵ Le Saulchoir

⁶ Act. 6, 9.

⁷ Cod. Paris. M