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# REWRITING CAUCASIAN HISTORY

*The Medieval Armenian Adaptation  
of the Georgian Chronicles*

*The Original Georgian Texts  
and  
The Armenian Adaptation*

*Translated with Introduction  
and Commentary by*

ROBERT W. THOMSON

*Published with the Support of the Calouste  
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THE ORIGINAL GEORGIAN TEXTS AND  
THE ARMENIAN ADAPTATION

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by  
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## PREFACE

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ARMENIAN literature is rich in historical writing. Although original compositions account for by far the greatest number of histories, Armenians also translated some foreign historical works into their own language, which were influential in the formation of the Armenian literary tradition. The two most significant are the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of Caesarea (translated via the Syriac version in the fifth century) and his *Chronicle* (translated directly from the Greek some time later). Other examples include the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus, also re-edited in an abbreviated fashion, and the *Jewish Wars* of Josephus, now lost save for a seventeenth-century revision. In the thirteenth century two other foreign histories were translated: the Syriac *Chronicle* of the Patriarch Michael, and the collection of Georgian Chronicles known as 'The Life of Georgia', *K'art'lis C'xovreba*.

These later translations are of interest, not merely for their information about foreign lands, which now became available to medieval Armenian writers, but also for the mode of translation. For both are abbreviated renderings of the originals into which some new, specifically Armenian, material was incorporated. Before their impact on the succeeding generations of Armenian writers can be properly assessed, it is therefore necessary to distinguish the adapted version from the original text. That is the purpose of the present study of the Armenian version of the Georgian Chronicles.

My attention was first drawn to the Armenian rendering of the Georgian Chronicles a decade ago as one of the possible sources of the 'Historical Compilation' by Vardan Arevelc'i. It was known in Armenian as the 'History of the Georgians' (*Patmut'wn Vrac'*), though the nineteenth-century editor ascribed the whole text to the author of one of its parts, Juanšer. My original intention had been to publish the translation with a commentary. But I was soon prompted to take up the original Georgian text. The prime reason was that a commentary on the Armenian rendering (which is much abbreviated yet contains some additions of its own) would run to

great length if all the changes and omissions had to be explained. It seemed that a juxtaposition of the two texts would be not only simpler, but also much more useful for a potential reader. A quick glance would then suffice to note the variations between the two works.

It should be made clear from the outset that this is a study of the Armenian version of the Georgian Chronicles. It is not a critical study of the original Georgian. There are others far more competent in Georgian historiography who have addressed, and who are now engaged in studying, the historical and literary problems of the collection of texts known as the *K'art'lis C'xovreba*. Two reasons prompted this English rendering of that part of the Georgian Chronicles which was rendered into Armenian, namely the sections from the mythical origins of Georgia down to the accession of Demetre, son of David the Builder, in 1125. In the first place, no English rendering of all these texts has been made before, although K. Vivian has translated the *History of David, King of Kings* (section VI below). The French translation by Brosset (St Petersburg, 1848-52) is a splendid work to which all scholars remain greatly indebted. But since Brosset's time new manuscripts have been discovered. My translation is thus based on the critical edition of the Georgian published in Tbilisi in 1955. There is a recent German rendering by Pättsch, but it lacks a commentary. I therefore hope that those interested in the history of the Caucasus in early and medieval times will find this translation of some use.

But far more important for the present undertaking is the fact that the Georgian translation is in effect the commentary to the translation of the Armenian; for it is the latter which is my prime target. Over the years I have studied numerous Armenian historical works. What interests me is how the Armenian authors put together their histories, how they used their various sources, what literary models they followed or adapted, what moral ideas they wished to present to their readers, and the impact their works had on succeeding generations. I have been trying to trace the development of a specifically Armenian point of view about the past, and the ways in which those views formulated by the earliest writers were picked up by later writers. So far as the Georgian Chronicles are concerned, therefore, the Georgian is the 'given'. The historical accuracy or veracity of the original text is not my

concern. What matters—in the present enquiry—is what the Armenian translator made of the text before him. How accurate was his rendering, what did he omit, what did he introduce, and what were his reasons for making changes?

So this book is not an attempt to write the history of Armenia and Georgia from the origins down to the early twelfth century. It is an attempt to understand the Armenian text as a document of its own time. This means that the commentary will be more concerned with matters philological than historical, though I have attempted to guide readers through the tricky maze of Caucasian dynasties. Luckily, for this there is already an excellent guide. Cyril Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* is to some extent an elaborate commentary on the Georgian Chronicles and related texts down to the tenth century; the attentive reader will notice how deeply I am also indebted to his numerous articles on specific questions and his invaluable *Généalogie*. It seemed to me superfluous to repeat at any length information available elsewhere; so my only claim to originality is in the translation of the Armenian and Georgian and the annotation to the differences between the two texts.

In the preparation of this work I am particularly grateful to Carol Cross, who put the entire first draft of the translation and commentary into the computer and thus saved me an enormous amount of time when it came to corrections and additions. Once more I must acknowledge the cartographical skill of Robert Hewsen, to whose fine map at the end all readers will be indebted in their search for sites to match the places named in the text. Various other colleagues have helped in solving particular problems. I am indebted to Zaza Alek'sije for elucidation of several obscure passages in the Georgian. And I also thank his predecessor as director of the Kekelije Institute of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, Helène Metréveli, who several years ago sent me a microfilm of Abulaje's critical edition of the Armenian text (not available in the USA). Without the help of the Kekelije Institute and its generosity over many years in sending texts, many of which were otherwise quite inaccessible, the commentary would have been even more deficient than it now is. I am also indebted to the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for generously contributing to the costs of production.

In what follows I have tried to combine three related goals:



1. A translation of the Armenian adaptation of the Georgian text, making more accessible an important source used by Armenian historians of the thirteenth and later centuries.

2. A translation of the original Georgian, making available for the first time in English the Georgian traditions enshrined in this, the most famous of all Georgian historical compilations.

3. A commentary, elucidating the Armenian translator's aims and methods, and drawing attention to the Armenian traditions to which he alludes in his various changes to the original. The way in which a foreign source was rewritten and adapted for Armenian purposes is my prime interest throughout.

ROBERT W. THOMSON

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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### *In the Armenian Text*

#### Manuscripts (details in the Introduction below):

- A Matenadaran 1902 (between 1274–1311)
- B Matenadaran 3070 (1669–74)
- C Matenadaran 5501 (1683–84)
- D Matenadaran 7084 (1804)

#### Printed Editions (see the Bibliography):

- Abulaje Tbilisi, 1953, from which the readings of ABCD have been taken.
- V Venice 1884, the pages of which are noted in the translation by bold figures in square brackets [00].

### *In the Georgian Text*

#### Manuscripts (in the order presented by Q)

- A 'Queen Anna Codex', fifteenth century
- C second half of the sixteenth century
- M 1633–46
- R 1703
- T first half of the eighteenth century
- c 1731
- m 1736
- D middle of the eighteenth century
- P 1719–44
- P<sup>1</sup> 1761
- d middle of the eighteenth century
- E 1748
- B 1839
- b 1761

- s second half of the eighteenth century  
 k nineteenth century  
 n 1713 and later  
 a The Armenian version  
 v The *History* of Vaxušt

Printed Edition (see the Bibliography)

- Q Tbilisi, 1955, the pages of which are noted in the translation by bold figures in square brackets [00].

*General*

- Aa Agat'angelos, *Patmut' iwn Hayoc'*, ed. G. Tēr-Mkrtč'ean and S. Kanayeanč' (Tbilisi, 1909; repr. Delmar, NY, 1980)
- AB *Analecta Bollandiana*
- AG H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik, erster Teil: Armenische Etymologie* (Leipzig, 1897; repr. Hildesheim, 1962)
- Alek'sije–Burjanaje Z. Alek'sije and S. Burjanaje, *Masalebi sak'art'velos istoriuli geograp'iisa da toponimikisat'vis, i* (Tbilisi, 1964)
- AON H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen* (Strasburg, 1904; repr. Amsterdam, 1969)
- ASX R. H. Hewsen, *The Geography of Ananias of Širak (Ašxarhac'oyc')*: *The Long and the Short Recensions* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, 77; Wiesbaden, 1992)
- BK *Bedi Kartlisa*
- BHO *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, ed. P. Peeters (Studia Hagiographica, 10; Brussels, 1910, repr. 1954)
- Brosset M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 5 vols. (St Petersburg, 1849–58)
- Canard–Berberian M. Canard and H. Berberian, *Aristakès de Lastivert: Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne* (Bibliothèque de Byzantion, 5; Brussels, 1973)

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| CSCO                | Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Leuven)  |
| Deeters             | G. Deeters, G. R. Solta, and V. Inglisian, <i>Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen</i> (Handbuch der Orientalistik, i/7; Leiden and Cologne, 1963)  |
| DOP                 | <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>  |
| Du Cange            | C. Du Fresne, seigneur du Cange, <i>Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis</i> (Lyon, 1688)   |
| EI                  | <i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , 4 vols. and Supplement (Leiden and London, 1913–38); 2nd edn. in progress (Leiden and London, 1960– )  |
| <i>E. Iranica</i>   | <i>Encyclopædia Iranica</i> , ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London, 1985– )  |
| <i>Eranšahr</i>     | J. Marquart, <i>Eranšahr nach der Geographie des Ps.-Moses Xorenac'i</i> (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, NF 3/2; Berlin, 1901; repr. Göttingen, 1970) |
| Garsoïan, <i>EH</i> | N. G. Garsoïan, <i>The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')</i> Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 8: Cambridge, Mass., 1989)  |
| <i>HAnjB</i>        | H. Ačarean, <i>Hayoc' Anjanunneri Bararan</i> , 5 vols. (Erevan, 1942–62; repr. Beirut, 1972)   |
| <i>HArmB</i>        | H. Ačarean, <i>Hayerēn Armatakan Bararan</i> , 7 vols. (Erevan, 1926–35); rev. edn., 4 vols. (Erevan, 1971–9)   |
| <i>JRAS</i>         | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>   |
| <i>JTS</i>          | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>   |
| Justi               | F. Justi, <i>Iranisches Namenbuch</i> (Marburg, 1895; repr. Hildesheim, 1963)   |
| <i>K'C'</i>         | <i>K'art'lis C'xovreba</i>  |
| Laurent-Canard      | J. Laurent, <i>L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886</i> , rev. M. Canard (Lisbon, 1980)   |
| Levy                | R. Levy, <i>The Epic of the Kings</i> (Chicago, 1967)   |
| <i>LM</i>           | <i>Le Muséon</i>  |

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| LSJ                    | H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , with Supplement (Oxford, 1968)  |
| M.X.                   | Movsēs Xorenac'i, <i>Patmut'iwñ Hayoc'</i> , ed. M. Abelean and S. Yarut'iwnean (Tbilisi 1913; repr. Delmar, NY, 1981)                               |
| NBHL                   | <i>Nor Bargirk' Haykazean Lezui</i> , ed. G. Awetikean, X. Siwrmelean, and M. Awgerean, 2 vols. (Venice 1836-7; repr. Erevan, 1979-81)               |
| <i>Narratio</i>        | <i>Narratio de rebus Armeniae</i> , ed. G. Garitte (CSCO 132, Subsidia 4: Louvain, 1952)   |
| OCA                    | Orientalia Christiana Analecta   |
| ODB                    | <i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , 3 vols. (New York, 1991)   |
| P'.B.                  | P'awstos Buzand, <i>Patmut'iwñ Hayoc'</i> , ed. K'. Patkanean (St Petersburg, 1883; repr. Delmar, NY, 1984)  |
| PBH                    | <i>Patmabanasirakan Handes</i>   |
| PO                     | Patrologia Orientalis (Paris)  |
| <i>Primary History</i> | Sebēos 47-57   |
| PV                     | <i>Patmut'iwñ Vrac'</i>  |
| Rayfield               | D. Rayfield, <i>The Literature of Georgia: A History</i> (Oxford, 1994)  |
| REArm                  | <i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>  |
| REGC                   | <i>Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes</i>  |
| Tarchnišvili           | M. Tarchnišvili, <i>Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur</i> (Studi e Testi, 185; Vatican City, 1955)                                    |
| TAVO                   | <i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients</i>   |
| <i>Teaching</i>        | Aa 259-715   |
| Ter-Ghewondyan         | A. Ter-Ghewondyan, <i>The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia</i> , trans. N. G. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1976)   |
| <i>Wakhoucht</i>       | <i>Description géographique de la Géorgie par le Tsarévitch Wakhoucht, publié d'après l'original autographe par M. Brosset</i> (St Petersburg, 1842) |
| Wehr                   | Hans Wehr, <i>A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</i> , ed. J. Milton Cowan (Wiesbaden, 1961)  |

## NOTE TO THE READER

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THE spelling of many names in the Armenian version is inconsistent. I have not attempted to 'correct' garbled forms of Georgian names. Where misunderstanding may arise, a note points to the original Georgian. Well-known persons, and persons not of Armenian or Georgian origin, are referred to by English names, if these exist.

The English word 'Georgia' is ambiguous. It is widely used both for the eastern region of K'art'li and for the united country, *Sak'art'velo*. Since in English 'Kartvelian' is not widely recognized—save as a linguistic term—and 'Iberian' is ambiguous in a different way, in the translation below 'Georgia' renders *K'art'li*, the Armenian *Virk'*. On the rare occasions where *Sak'art'velo* is intended, this has been indicated in a note.



# TRANSCRIPTION

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THE transcription of Armenian and Georgian follows the standard system used in the *Revue des études arméniennes* and the *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes*.

## Armenian

|   |   |   |    |   |    |    |    |    |   |
|---|---|---|----|---|----|----|----|----|---|
| ա | բ | գ | դ  | ե | զ  | է  | ը  | թ  | ժ |
| a | b | g | d  | e | z  | ē  | ə  | t' | ž |
| ի | լ | խ | ծ  | կ | հ  | յ  | ղ  | ճ  | մ |
| i | l | x | c  | k | h  | j  | l̄ | č  | m |
| յ | ն | շ | ո  | ս | չ  | պ  | ղ  | ռ  | ւ |
| y | n | š | o  | u | č' | p  | j  | r̄ | s |
| վ | տ | ր | ց  | ւ | փ  | ք  | օ  |    |   |
| v | t | r | c' | w | p' | k' | ō  |    |   |

## Georgian

|   |   |   |    |    |   |   |   |    |    |
|---|---|---|----|----|---|---|---|----|----|
| ა | ბ | გ | დ  | ე  | ვ | ზ | თ | ი  | ო  |
| a | b | g | d  | e  | v | z | ē | t' | i  |
| კ | ლ | მ | ნ  | ყ  | ო | პ | ჯ | რ  | ს  |
| k | l | m | n  | y  | o | p | ž | r  | s  |
| ტ | ჯ | უ | ფ  | ქ  | ც | ყ | შ | ჩ  | ც' |
| t | w | u | p' | k' | g | q | š | č' | c' |
| ძ | წ | ჭ | ხ  | ძ  | ჯ | ჰ |   |    |    |
| j | c | č | x  | h  | j | h |   |    |    |

## INTRODUCTION

---

THE present book deals with the adaptation into Armenian of a collection of chronicles written in Georgian before the thirteenth century. By that time both peoples had developed their own literary traditions, in which the writing of history played a major part. But although the Armenians and Georgians shared many facets of Eastern Christian culture, and their countries had in common an originally Iranian background to their later complicated positions between the Byzantine and Muslim worlds, yet there were significant differences between these two peoples. Close neighbours, whose dominant families often spread over both borders, they yet remained suspicious of each other. The tensions and difficulties of the present era reflect these rivalries, which go back to their earliest recorded histories. The subtle changes which the medieval Armenian translator of the Georgian chronicles introduced into his rendering reflect various aspects of that antagonism. Hence, as a background to the specific problems of this Armenian text, it may be helpful to trace in outline the separate development of Armenian and Georgian literature in their historical contexts.<sup>1</sup>

In both Armenia and Georgia the invention of a script for the native language, the rapid translation of Christian texts, and the consequent development of an original literature, should be viewed as part of the process of conversion to Christianity.<sup>2</sup> Neither people had fashioned an individual script before the end of the fourth century of our era; Greek and Aramaic had been used for official purposes such as the coinage and inscriptions. In this regard it is particularly significant that the invention of scripts for

<sup>1</sup> For general historical background see C. Toumanoff, 'Armenia and Georgia', in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, iv/1 (Cambridge, 1966), 593-637; id., *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, DC, 1963).

<sup>2</sup> There is no comprehensive study of Armenian and Georgian literature in a western language. Good surveys may be found in Deeters. For Georgian religious literature see the more comprehensive work of Tarchnišvili; for Armenian see Ch. Renoux, 'Langue et littérature arméniennes', in M. Albert *et al.* (eds.), *Christianismes orientaux* (Paris, 1993), and R. W. Thomson, *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature* (Turnhout, 1995). For Georgian see now D. Rayfield, *The Literature of Georgia: A History* (Oxford, 1994).

ecclesiastical purposes occurred in those sections of the two countries which were under Iranian suzerainty. So not only did the conversion to Christianity set these countries apart from their Iranian heritage, their policy of using the vernacular marked a conscious distancing from the Christian East Roman, or Byzantine, empire.

'Armenia' and 'Georgia' are useful terms as linguistic markers, indicating speakers of different languages (the one Indo-European, the other Caucasian), but 'Armenia' and 'Georgia' as geographical entities have to be treated with caution. If the complications caused by the various divisions of Armenia between the two major powers on either side have not always been fully appreciated by historians,<sup>3</sup> even more misleading is the use of the term 'Georgia'. Used today to render *Sak'art'velo*, it embraces both the eastern sector, *K'art'li* in Georgian and 'Iberia' to the Greeks, and the western sector, *Egrisi* in Georgian and Colchis to the Greeks.<sup>4</sup> These regions, different in climate and historical fortunes, were not united politically until 1008 under Bagrat III. But such a superficial union did not eliminate long-standing cultural differences. In succeeding centuries the unity of 'Georgia' was as often broken as preserved, and to this day it remains a fragile concept.

In Armenia the Arsacid monarchy, of Iranian origin, was finally abolished in 428, since which time no single ruler has ever controlled the whole country. (The present republic comprises perhaps one-fifth of the territory of historic Armenia.) In Georgia the kings of *K'art'li* enjoyed longer continuity. But only rarely was *Sak'art'velo* under a common ruler, and the numerous other peoples within the borders were not integrated into a unified government. Christianity has thus often been seen, especially in Armenia, as a binding factor, as a force which could provide a broader focus of national solidarity than the various local principalities with their mutual rivalries and antagonisms.

The role of the church was indeed paramount in the cultural sphere—in the development of literature and learning, of art, music, and architecture. But it would be rash to envisage the Armenian and Georgian churches as entities which enjoyed the

<sup>3</sup> The fundamental work of N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, distinguishing the geographical boundaries and the social conditions in the different sectors, was not fully integrated into western historical writing until the translation by N. G. Garsoïan (Lisbon, 1970) appeared. This includes revisions and an important bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Toumanoff, *Studies*, 59.

undivided loyalty of their peoples. The process of conversion lasted many centuries; there remained until medieval times numerous indigenous non-Christians, quite apart from 'heretical' groups and Muslim settlers or Kurdish nomads.<sup>5</sup> Nor was the Caucasus immune from the divisions which split the larger world of Eastern Christianity. Armenia and Georgia were both drawn into theological controversies, to which the decrees of Oecumenical Councils gave answers that not all could accept. The two countries eventually parted company over such issues, which involved questions not only of dogma but also of ritual. And within each country discordant voices were never silenced.

The medieval Armenian and Georgian historians put much emphasis on the conversion of their countries to Christianity, repeating the traditional accounts of the conversion of King Trdat (Tiridates) in Armenia by St Gregory the Illuminator in 314, and of King Mirian (Mihran) in K'art'li by Nino in 337. These traditional accounts are important monuments of early Armenian and Georgian literature, but since they could not have been written before the invention of the respective scripts, they can hardly be treated as the eye-witness accounts they claim to be. Both emphasize conversion from the top down, omitting reference to any gradual missionary effort. In Armenia the significant impact of Syrian Christianity—as opposed to Greek influence from Asia Minor, epitomized by Gregory's consecration at Caesarea in Cappadocia—is neglected by Agat'angelos.<sup>6</sup> The account of this 'good messenger' in its current form dates from the end of the fifth century, though a previous version did circulate earlier and was translated into Greek.<sup>7</sup> In K'art'li the life of Nino was not put into writing until even later. The main theme of the story had been known to Rufinus by the end of the fourth century and was incorporated into his Latin adaptation of Eusebius' *Historia*

<sup>5</sup> For a general survey of the Armenian church see Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne de 611 à 1066', in J. M. Mayeur *et al.* (eds.), *Histoire du christianisme*, iv (Paris, 1993), 457–547. For dissident groups see N. G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague and Paris, 1967), and V. Nersessian, *The Tondrakian Movement* (London, 1987). For Muslim and Kurdish settlement see Ter-Ghewondyan.

<sup>6</sup> For the importance of Syrian traditions see G. Winkler, *Das syrische Initiationsrituale* (Rome, 1982).

<sup>7</sup> For the various recensions of Agat'angelos see R. W. Thomson, *Agathangelos* (Albany, NY, 1976); and more recently G. Winkler, 'Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its Oriental Versions', *REArm* 14 (1980), 125–41.

*ecclesiastica*; but the connection with Jerusalem is emphasized only in the later, Georgian accounts.<sup>8</sup>

During the fourth century both churches remained dependent on Greek or Syriac for liturgical purposes and whenever written texts were required. The impetus to provide an independent script in which the native language could be written first came in Armenia. The circumstances surrounding the invention of the Armenian script by Maštoc', a monk concerned with missionary activity in remoter parts of the country, are reasonably well known, since one of his pupils, Koriwn, wrote a short biography of the master. This is probably the earliest original composition in Armenian. In form it reflects the influence of Greek literary motifs, and set a pattern for later Armenian lives of prominent figures.<sup>9</sup>

It is clear from the early Armenian sources that Maštoc' was primarily concerned with providing his fellow-countrymen with access to liturgical, biblical, and other theological texts in their own language. His first effort was to adapt a Semitic script, but he found the twenty-two letters inadequate to render the complicated phonology of Armenian. (In this regard, it is interesting to note that no previous attempt had been made to write Armenian or Georgian in a foreign script.) After further trials, Maštoc' eventually prepared a script of thirty-six letters with the assistance of a Greek calligrapher. This script was based on the order of the Greek alphabet, with extra letters interspersed throughout. Several of the original forms, which are still used today for upper case letters, reflect the form of a corresponding Greek letter. But many others were invented out of thin air. It is noteworthy that the vowel *u* was rendered by the combination of *o* and *w* on the pattern of Greek *ou*; whereas the semi vowel *ə* was not written except in initial position, which is reminiscent of the unwritten *shəwa* in Syriac.

According to Koriwn, Maštoc' also composed alphabets for the Georgians and the Caucasian Albanians (Ał Hank'). The Albanian alphabet of fifty-two letters, some bearing a resemblance to Armenian or Georgian characters, has only survived in a few

<sup>8</sup> For the recensions of the Nino story see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 374-7 and Rayfield 49-55.

<sup>9</sup> There is a large secondary literature on this topic. See the Introduction by Maksoudian to the reprint of Koriwn (1985), Renoux, 'Langue et littérature', 141, Thomson, *Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature*, s.v. Koriwn, and G. Winkler, *Koriwns Biographie des Mesrop Maštoc'* (OCA 245; Rome, 1994).

inscriptions. It did not become the medium of a literature, for the Aġuank' used Armenian.<sup>10</sup> The Georgian alphabet came into use about the same time as the Armenian, but there is no early tradition ascribing the invention to a local figure. The legendary attribution of the alphabet to King P'arnavaz many centuries before Christ has no historical foundation.<sup>11</sup> There are thirty-seven letters in the Georgian alphabet, which also uses Greek as a model. But here most of the extra letters are added at the end. The vowel *u* is again rendered by *ow*, but in Georgian there is no semi-vowel *ə*. The original script, with a later rounded minuscule form, is known as the 'ecclesiastical' script. It was gradually replaced by a more cursive hand known as the 'military' or 'secular' script, but it remained in use until the last century for printed theological texts.<sup>12</sup>

For Maštoc' the invention of a script was only the first stage. The next step was to assemble a group of young men who would use the new script and disseminate copies of needed texts in Armenian. These disciples, including Koriwn and others who later composed original works in Armenian, were sent abroad to learn Syriac and Greek. This in itself was not a new departure. Many Armenians for some centuries had studied abroad, primarily in the Greek schools of the Eastern Mediterranean. Maštoc' himself, like many leading ecclesiastics, had acquired a good Greek education. He had used this as an *entrée* into royal service, before abandoning a secular career for the ascetic life. Nor was Syriac unknown in Armenian ecclesiastical circles. The importance of Maštoc''s activity, in which he received the support of king and patriarch, was that for the first time the basic texts needed for use in church were now rendered into Armenian.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The Albanian historian Movses Dasxuranc'i, i. 27, accepts that Maštoc' invented the three alphabets—Armenian, Georgian, and Albanian—and adds many legendary details. For the Albanian alphabet see R. H. Hewsen, 'On the Alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians', *REArm* 1 (1964), 427–32. For Albanian literature see A. S. Mnač'akanyan *O literature kavkazskoj Albanii* (Erevan, 1969), to be read in the light of Hewsen, 'Ethno-History and the Armenian Influence upon the Caucasian Albanians', in T. J. Samuelian (ed.), *Classical Armenian Culture* (Atlanta, 1982), 29–40.

<sup>11</sup> See the text of the Chronicles below, p. 26 of the Georgian text in Q, p. 25 of the Armenian text in V.

<sup>12</sup> For the Georgian scripts see the Album by I. Abulaje, *K'art'uli ceris nimušebi: Paleograp'uli albomi* (Tbilisi, 1973).

<sup>13</sup> For Armenian knowledge of Greek and Syriac see R. W. Thomson, 'The Formation of the Armenian Literary Tradition', in N. G. Garsoġan *et al.* (eds.), *East of Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1982), 135–50.

Maštoc' had been in Syria when seeking to perfect his script, the final version of which was designed at Samosata. Edessa, the centre of Syriac-speaking Christianity, was thus the first destination for his pupils, and from Syriac were made the first translations of biblical texts. Yet it is striking that when Koriwn and his companion Eznik also went to Constantinople to study Greek and make translations, they brought back copies of biblical texts that Koriwn calls 'authoritative', against which the first renderings were corrected. This indicates an attitude which persisted throughout the centuries. Many Syriac authors were eventually translated into Armenian, but Greek texts were usually held in higher esteem, and it was Greek scholarship which formed the foundation for Armenian learning in many areas.<sup>14</sup>

Nor did this process of translation ever cease. The circle of first translators included Koriwn and Eznik, the first authors of original compositions. The former's biography of Maštoc', which owes much to the Oration on St Basil by Gregory of Nazianzus, has already been noted. Eznik composed a far more elaborate treatise, commonly known as 'Refutation of the Sects'. This work concerns the Christian doctrine of free will and the problem of evil. Eznik framed his argument in the form of refutations of the opinions of the Greek philosophers, the Iranian Zurvanites, and the followers of Marcion. His wide knowledge of Greek authors—in the original Greek—is used to notable effect. But the book did not attract much attention in later times. Perhaps the immediacy of debate against non-Christian enemies rapidly gave way to the refutation of Christian enemies of 'orthodoxy'. Eznik's text is certainly unique in Armenian, which is totally a Christian literature.<sup>15</sup> Polemics against Islam did not develop into a genre until the fourteenth century, though attacks on other churches occur from the earliest times.<sup>16</sup>

Eznik brought back with texts of the Bible, various Fathers, and

<sup>14</sup> The translation of the Bible into Armenian and Georgian was a complicated process. See in general B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1992), and for the Old Testament the 'Introduction' and 'General Conclusion' in S. P. Cowe, *The Armenian Version of Daniel* (Atlanta, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> See the studies on Eznik by L. Mariès, *REArm* 4 (1924), 1-212; 8 (1928), 79-210.

<sup>16</sup> For Armenian views of Islam see R. W. Thomson, 'Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in Armenian Literary Tradition', in D. Kouymjian (ed.), *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian* (Lisbon, 1986), 829-58.

canon law, also a letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople concerning the interpretation of the decision of the Council of Ephesus held in 431. From the earliest stage of Armenian literacy theological debate thus figures prominently, and the Armenian church was brought into the controversies which embroiled their Christian neighbours, Greeks, Syrians, and Georgians. It is not necessary to follow these debates in detail here.<sup>17</sup> The Armenians and Georgians did not endorse the decision of the council of Chalcedon in 451, which recognized two natures in the person of Christ. With the Syrians they rejected the definition as a misuse of terms, and accepted the *Henotikon* of the emperor Zeno, promulgated in 482, which avoided the offending expression. When the imperial church of Constantinople returned to the Chalcedonian formula on the accession of Justin in 518, no action was taken in Armenia or Georgia. Only in 555 was the Greek church, rather than the Chalcedonian definition alone, anathematized. The Armenian and Syrian churches remained thereafter in precarious agreement. But at the beginning of the seventh century the Georgians accepted Chalcedonian orthodoxy. From then onwards their closer links with the Byzantine empire led to increasing separation from Armenia.

Yet the Armenians never wavered from their admiration for Greek culture and learning, despite religious schism and attendant political problems. Scholars in search of new texts to translate continually made the journey to Constantinople and other centres of Greek learning—not omitting Jerusalem, an important source of liturgical traditions. Nor was this entirely a one-way traffic. Several Armenian texts found their way into Greek. Although such translations are usually anonymous, the pro-Chalcedonian Armenian minority no doubt here played a role.<sup>18</sup> It was not unknown for citizens of the Byzantine empire to be able to speak Armenian. But in general the interpreters and translators for official dealings between the empire and Armenia in both secular and ecclesiastical affairs were of Armenian origin, though perforce members of the imperial church.

Greek was not the only language from which Armenians

<sup>17</sup> For a general overview of the situation see K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London, 1965).

<sup>18</sup> The most notable are the early Greek versions of Agat'angelos, and the later (9th- or 10th-c.) rendering of the pro-Chalcedonian *Narratio*.



translated texts that were integrated into their own literary traditions. The importance of Syriac has already been noted. In addition to biblical texts and Syrian liturgical practices, the great writers of early Syrian Christianity were rendered into Armenian at an early date. The homilies of Afrahat were very popular, though mistakenly attributed to Jacob of Edessa. Even more influential were the writings of Ephrem, whose commentary on the Diatessaron was of especial significance. A large number of homiletic and hagiographical texts were translated. The most notable of the latter is perhaps the collection of Acts of the Persian Martyrs, which served as a model for some well known Armenian descriptions of martyrdom.<sup>19</sup> Even Greek texts which were popular in Syria found their way to Armenia via the Syriac rendering. The most influential of these were the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius and the *Hexaemeron* of Basil, both of which were widely used.<sup>20</sup> The later adaptation of the comprehensive *Chronicle* of the Patriarch Michael will be discussed below.

Some Armenians were also familiar with Georgian, as is clear from the exchange of letters between Armenians and the leading representatives of the Georgian, Syrian, and Greek churches preserved in the official collection known as the *Book of Letters*.<sup>21</sup> But large-scale renderings of Georgian texts were not made in the early centuries of Armenian literacy. The adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles reflects the changed interests and circumstances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—quite apart from the fact that Georgian literature and historical writing progressed in a different manner from the Armenian. Translations from Arabic, Persian, and Latin are also a later phenomenon.

Classical Armenian literature developed in a Christian context, based on the adaptation to Armenian material of themes already adumbrated in Greek and Syriac writings. It may therefore be helpful to sketch the development of an original Armenian literature, especially in historical writing, and then the different course

<sup>19</sup> See L. H. Ter-Petrosyan, *Abraham Xostovanoti* 'V'kayk' Arewelic'ə' (Erevan, 1976), and the Introduction to R. W. Thomson, *Elishe*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

<sup>20</sup> See R. W. Thomson, 'The Syriac and Armenian Versions of the *Hexaemeron* by Basil of Caesarea', *Studia Patristica*, 27 (1993), 113–17.

<sup>21</sup> The *Girk' T'it'oc'*. For the secondary literature see Renoux, 'Langue et littérature', 140, and Thomson, *Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature*, s.v. Many of the letters exchanged between the Armenians and the Georgians are also quoted by the later historian Uxtanēs.

of Georgian literature, as a background to a specific discussion of the Armenian adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles.

Translations and original compositions in Armenian did not progress sequentially but in tandem. Koriwn and Eznik were both responsible for translations—though the exact texts they translated from Syriac and Greek are not known—and they also composed the first original works. In their generation a great effort was made to render into Armenian the major works of fourth- and fifth-century Greek and Syrian Christianity as quickly as possible. Nor was it long before an interest developed in secular texts of philosophy, rhetoric, grammar, and other subjects studied in the Greek schools of late antiquity. By the end of the sixth century there was already available in Armenian translation a large corpus of foreign material, so that later writers were less and less dependent on a personal knowledge of the original texts.<sup>22</sup> As already emphasized, Armenians never retreated into a literary shell. The body of translations was continually increased. But by the time of the final split between the churches it is noticeable that Armenian authors usually used Armenian versions of foreign texts already available. One may suppose that manuscripts in Greek or Syriac were rare in Armenia, for translation activity was generally pursued abroad. The texts brought back from Edessa, Constantinople, Jerusalem, or elsewhere were the finished translations, not copies of the originals.

Unfortunately, few of the early translations can be precisely dated or ascribed to known Armenian scholars. The disciples of Maštoc', and no doubt several succeeding generations too, produced renderings of works by Afrahat and Ephrem, Athanasius, John Chrysostom, the Cyrils of Jerusalem and Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea, Severian of Gabala, and many other fathers of the church. The sayings of Egyptian and other monks and numerous hagiographical texts were popular, while canon-law and doctrinal documents were preserved in collections.

Armenians soon branched out to adapt Greek secular texts for their own purposes. Of particular importance was the short work of Dionysius Thrax on grammar. This was not merely translated,

<sup>22</sup> For the patristic literature available see J.-P. Mahe, 'Traduction et exégèse', in *Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont*, (Geneva, 1988), 243–55, and for the technical texts, id., 'Quadrivium et cursus d'études', *Travaux et mémoires*, 10 (1987), 159–286.

but rather adapted to the Armenian language, and it formed the basis for a very long tradition of original Armenian writing on grammar, much of it in the form of commentaries on Dionysius. The late Greek commentators on Aristotle, especially David of Alexandria, were translated. These, rather than the original texts, formed the basis of Armenian philosophical speculation—which was not uninfluenced by texts attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. Theon's *Progymnasmata* introduced the Armenians to the formal study of rhetoric, while the scholia by Nonnus on Gregory Nazianzenus introduced readers to classical mythology, a subject generally ignored by Armenian Christian writers.<sup>23</sup>

These renderings of technical texts generally evince a different style and manner of approach compared to the first translations of biblical and theological texts. The latter are carefully nuanced renderings, in which much care has been given to transfer the sense of words in their context from the original into Armenian. The Armenian Bible, for example, has been described as 'the queen of the versions'. This refers not to its antiquity, but to its literary style as exhibiting the finesse of which classical Armenian is capable. On the other hand, the translations of the technical Greek texts exhibit a far more literal approach. The words are rendered with less regard for the context, new calques are devised for compound words, and the word-order of Greek is followed more closely than would be natural in Armenian. This style is usually described as the 'Hellenophile', or 'Hellenizing' school—though 'school' is perhaps too narrow a term for a general tendency to look to the word, or even syllable, rather than the sentence as the basic block to be translated. Nor are such renderings confined to secular texts. Theological works could also be translated quite literally. And in time Armenian authors appropriated much of this style of vocabulary for original compositions.<sup>24</sup>

Although writings of this 'Hellenophile' tendency can be classified according to the degree of literalness and innovative vocabulary which they exhibit, it is not easy to correlate such a scale with a chronology. The dating of the earliest examples has been much

<sup>23</sup> Details of all these texts and of secondary literature may be found in Renoux, 'Langue et littérature', 142–4, and Thomson, *Bibliography*, especially in the section 'Translations into Armenian'.

<sup>24</sup> See Ch. Mercier, 'L'École hellénistique dans la littérature arménienne', *REArm* 13 (1978/9), 59–75, and A. Terian, 'The Hellenizing School', in N. G. Garsoïan *et al.* (eds.), *East of Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1982), 175–86.

debated. But so many of the translations are anonymous, and so many of the works in which these texts are quoted are themselves of disputed date, that it is misleading to suggest that specific dates might mark the beginning and end of the period. This literal style was well developed by the sixth century, but has no clear end. One of the most notable examples, the rendering of the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, was made much later, between 715 and 718 in Constantinople.<sup>25</sup> Why Armenians thought it necessary to look more to the words than the sense after several generations of elegant translations is unclear. Technical vocabulary, such as the calques of Greek terms, could certainly have been created without going to such extremes. But a similar tendency may be observed in translations from Greek into Syriac. This literalness does not point to a feebler knowledge of Greek, but rather to an increasing concern for precision.

This is not the occasion to pursue the Armenian traditions of philosophy, of grammar, or even of theological debate. The Armenian adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles is both a translation of a foreign text which influenced subsequent Armenian historians, and a rewriting of Caucasian history from the Armenian angle. This text should thus be viewed in the light of traditional Armenian histories and their especial concerns. In the formation of that Armenian historiographical tradition, the influence of early translations from Greek and Syriac was not negligible.

Three texts in particular are of importance in this regard. For they became standard, authoritative accounts of major turning-points in Armenian history, conditioning later Armenian views of the past and the ideals of heroic conduct, and as such influenced the medieval adapter of the Georgian Chronicles. These histories are those of Agat'angelos, who described the conversion of Armenia to Christianity; of Moses (Movsēs) Xorenac'i, who traced Armenian history from the time of Noah down to the death of Maštoc' and the beginnings of Armenian literacy; and of Elišē, whose version of the revolt against Sasanian Iran in 450-1 presented a model of patriotic, Christian conduct of enduring influence.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See the Introduction to the volume of texts in R. W. Thomson, *The Armenian Version of Dionysius the Areopagite* (CSCO 488; Leuven, 1987).

<sup>26</sup> The following discussion is based on my Introductions to the translations of these three authors (see the individual works in the Bibliography below).

There are several problems associated with the interpretation of these histories which are not directly relevant to the present enquiry, but which are typical of many Armenian texts. In the first place the authors are not otherwise known, despite claims made in the texts. Agat'angelos says that he was a Roman, commissioned by King Trdat (Tiridates) to write down the events surrounding his conversion. But his history was written in Armenian, and it shows the influence of various other works available in Armenian. It cannot therefore predate the invention of the script and the activities of the disciples of Maštoc'. More than a century passed from the time of the events described by this 'eye-witness' and its composition. Moses Xorenac'i claims to have been a pupil of Maštoc', hence a contemporary of Koriwn and Eznik, who went to study in Alexandria and returned to find his master dead. But the text shows the influence of many works available in Armenian only much later, and it adapts its sources in favour of the Bagratuni noble family—whose rise to pre-eminence did not occur until the eighth century. Elišē claimed to have been an eye-witness of the mid-fifth-century revolt. But not only is he otherwise unknown, his history appears to be an elaboration of the shorter account of the same events found in Łazar P'arpec'i. Łazar's own work may be fairly securely dated to soon after 500.

These problems of authenticity, however, may be passed over here for the simple reason that they were not problems to early and medieval Armenian writers. These historians' claims were accepted at face value. Agat'angelos is first quoted by Łazar at the very beginning of the sixth century. Moses Xorenac'i is not quoted until the tenth century—by Thomas (T'ovma) Arcruni, the annalist of the Bagratunis' rivals in southern Armenia. Nor is Elišē mentioned by name before Thomas Arcruni, although the seventh-century Sebēos has some reminiscences of Elišē's version of the revolt. None the less, all subsequent Armenian writers integrated the histories of Agat'angelos, Moses, and Elišē into their accounts of Armenia's past. By the thirteenth century, when the Armenian adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles was made, no doubts existed concerning the authenticity of these works. And elaborate legends had developed, giving interested readers full details of their authors' careers.

These three histories are thus prime sources for the received Armenian view of the past, and valuable as the key to under-

standing Armenian traditional values reflected in literature and more modern media down to the present. They are writings of some sophistication, Elišė's book being perhaps the most subtle as he expounds his protagonists' motives through letters and speeches. Agat'angelos has brought together in a more or less coherent fashion a variety of traditions about the Armenian monarchy, early martyrdoms, the missionary activity of St Gregory the 'Illuminator', his consecration as first bishop of Armenia, the establishment of an organized hierarchy, and the mutual pact of Trdat with the first Christian emperor Constantine. His history leaves the reader with the optimistic impression that by the time of Gregory's death (details of which Agat'angelos does not yet know, but which were elaborated later), the whole country was fervently Christian.

The history of Moses Xorenac'i is far more broad-ranging. He was the first to offer an ancient past by integrating the oral traditions of pre-Christian Armenia into the schema of world empires found in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. The Armenians were there described as descendants of Japheth, so Moses could set down the genealogies of their ancient legendary kings parallel to the biblical account in Genesis. He is then able to give an impressive sweep of Armenian fortunes from the time of the Assyrians, whose noted sovereign Semiramis had especial affection for Armenia, through the Old Persian empire to the post-Alexander epoch when Rome and Parthia came into conflict. Here Moses draws on Josephus, not without exaggerating somewhat the Armenian role. When he comes to the Christian period, he adapts the story of the conversion of Abgar of Edessa to Armenian history. It turns out that Abgar was an Armenian, and the ancestors of his patrons, the Bagratunis, were Jews who converted in the days of the apostles. Bringing his story from the conversion of Trdat (which he curiously does not recount, though he does associate Gregory with the legend of the apostle Addai) down to Maštoc' he consistently boosts the fame of the Bagratunis at the expense of the Mamikonean family, which had played the leading role in the fourth and fifth centuries. This long history, full of lively episodes and reminiscences of old legends, became the standard account of national history, unchallenged until comparatively modern times.

But these three works were not merely statements about past

events which were accepted as factual truth, they also had a message to impart. It must, of course, be remembered that their authors, and all other Armenian writers, were Christians and they looked at their past through Christian spectacles. Nothing has survived of pre-Christian Armenian writing in Greek, such as the works of King Artavazd praised by Plutarch. Nor was any consistent effort made to preserve the legends and epic tales of that pagan past. So Agat'angelos not only stresses the immediate and total conversion of Armenia, with more than four million baptized in seven days, he emphasizes the complete destruction of the pagan temples and eradication of idol-worship. The king of Armenia as a Christian country is thus set on an equal footing with the emperor Constantine, and in Rome the two sovereigns swap accounts of their conversions and successes against the heathen. Agat'angelos also provides justification for the site of the patriarchal cathedral in the fifth century, at the place where martyrs were killed by Trdat before his conversion, which was confirmed by a divine vision. Although he does describe the building of the first church at Aštišat, he emphasizes the site as one of temples to Vahagn, Anahit, and Astlik. Agat'angelos ignores Aštišat as the patriarchal see before the division of 387.

Armenia as a Christian country is a major theme in Moses also. Although he knew nothing more about the pagan shrines than what he could read in Agat'angelos, he identifies the old deities with Greek gods and elucidates their introduction into Armenia. This is a typical feature of his *History*, which is devoted to explanations of the present situation in terms of the past, justified—if possible—by an appeal to a written source. Some of these written sources, otherwise unattested, are of dubious authenticity. But Moses clearly spells out his principles: veracity, chronological accuracy, and elegance of style. He also describes in no uncertain terms the purpose of historical writing. It is to present for emulation the notable deeds of famous men, acts of martial valour or of wise administration. Unworthy and immoral actions are to be avoided. He is therefore untypical of the general run of Armenian historians, emphasizing secular success as meritorious. Without ignoring ecclesiastical affairs or omitting to praise famous ascetics, he imparts quite a different tone to his work compared with Agat'angelos or Elišē.

In Elišē we find for the first time a very explicit Christian pur-

pose. Historical writing is aimed primarily at the inculcation of moral values through the description of heroic actions. Virtue is rewarded—in heaven if not in this world—while evil leads to eternal destruction. Elišē deals with the struggle of Christian Armenia against a stronger Zoroastrian power. Hence virtue is equated with defence of the church, wickedness with compromise or apostasy. But Elišē does not put his military heroes in the context of early Christian martyrs, for whom faith and impiety are absolutes divorced from earthly concerns. The Armenians who die on the battlefield are martyrs for their country. Apostasy and martyrdom are thus seen in national terms, though this adjective is perhaps anachronistic. Church for Elišē is not Christendom at large, but a specifically Armenian Christianity.

The interpenetration of Christian and Armenian causes is expressed in terms borrowed from Jewish sources that describe the struggle of the Maccabees. The key expression is the term for 'religion' in Elišē and other Armenian writers. They use the word *awrēnk*, which renders the Greek νόμοι, 'laws or customs', in the Books of Maccabees (e.g. 1 Macc. 13: 3, and especially 2 Macc. 7: 2). 'Religion' is thus a misleading translation, for the concept includes that of 'ancestral customs'. Indeed, *hayreni awrēnk* ('patrimonial laws') is used as a rallying-cry, and Elišē draws an express parallel between the Maccabees, who fought for their ancestral customs, and the Armenians, now struggling against the Persians for a similar cause.

These themes from the early classic historians entered the mainstream of Armenian historical thinking. Those writers who dwelt on the virtues of the past as models for future conduct would stress the importance of Armenian devotion to land and Christianity. Armenians who fell away from Armenian orthodoxy would be equated with those who collaborated with the enemy, especially the opponents of the martyr Vardan Mamikonean, Elišē's hero. The solidarity of co-operation between church and state, as exemplified in Agat'angelos's account of King Trdat and St Gregory working hand in hand, became the standard image of a golden age. For over the centuries various historians and poets looked forward to the restoration of freedom in Armenia—that is, the restoration of kings descended from Trdat's Arsacid line and of patriarchs from the family of Gregory. And the glorious past of Armenia, whose early monarchs held their own with the great empires of antiquity



as demonstrated by Moses Xorenac'i, would be held up as inspiration to succeeding generations down to modern times.

As will be seen below, these were also the points which the translator of the Georgian Chronicles wished to emphasize, even at the expense of changing his original.

Before we turn to the precise nature of those Georgian Chronicles, it will be useful to describe briefly the general Armenian attitude towards foreign historical sources. As has already emerged, Armenian authors were greatly indebted to a variety of literary models, which they adapted for their own purposes. By far the most significant was the impact of biblical imagery, but themes from a wide range of texts in Greek and Syriac were picked up and integrated into original Armenian compositions. Foreign authors provided both literary forms of general application and also specific historical information of interest to Armenian readers. The *Chronicle* of Eusebius is the best example, for it gave Moses Xorenac'i both a framework within which he could arrange his Armenian traditions, and also specific details of the past that he could correlate with the history of his own country. He used Josephus in the same fashion. For the *Jewish Wars* not only described the role of Armenia in the history of the Roman-Parthian conflict, it also gave him one of his most enduring themes: the image of Armenia as a small country, yet one where great deeds had been performed worthy of being recorded and made known to the world at large.<sup>27</sup>

Moses also used the Armenian versions of other histories as sources for his own work. Notable among these is the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus, which was translated into Armenian in 696/7 and to which was attached the legendary *Acts of Silvester*, previously translated in 678. These were particularly important for his accounts of Constantine's and Mihran's conversions. Moses was thus able to bring the emperor and Trdat into contact before the supposed visit of the Armenian king to Rome as elaborated by Agat'angelos; while he integrated the story of Mihran and Nino into the account of the martyr Hrip'simē and her

<sup>27</sup> The original Armenian version of the *Jewish Wars* has not survived, though a revised translation was made in the 17th c. by Stephen of Lvov, who used the Latin version to help him elucidate difficulties. This Stephen also revised the 8th-c. translation of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, again with the help of the Latin version.

companions, which is a crucial feature of Agat'angelos's description of Armenia's conversion.

It is noteworthy that later Armenian historians, describing events which occurred after the time of Socrates Scholasticus, do not use Armenian versions of subsequent Greek histories. There were no renderings of Procopius or other Byzantine historians, who have much to say about Armenia. Despite the enthusiasm of Armenian scholars for Greek culture, it was the classics of early Christianity in which they were interested, not the contemporary culture of Byzantium. Thus when Stephen of Siunik' went to Constantinople in the early eighth century to translate texts as yet unavailable, he was responsible for three major works: the corpus of texts attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory of Nyssa on *The Formation of Man*, and Nemesius on *The Nature of Man*.<sup>28</sup> Neither Stephen nor later Armenian visitors to Constantinople sought works of their own time. They might engage in disputation with Byzantine theologians, but the proof texts they cited were the writings of the classic fourth- and fifth-century fathers.

This general attitude is also reflected in the adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles and that of the Syriac *Chronicle* by the Patriarch Michael, also made in the thirteenth century. Even though they reflect a different time and ethos from Armenian literature of the classical period, it is events of early church history that were considered especially significant.<sup>29</sup> The abbreviated rendering of Michael's Syriac *Chronicle* was the combined work of two renowned scholars: Vardan—who was famous for commentaries on Scripture, a brief geography, and a chronicle which traced the highlights of Armenian history from Noah to his own time—and the Syrian Išox, the author of a brief work 'On Nature'. Michael's *Chronicle* was a grandiose history in twenty-one books, which covered not only the history of the Syrian church but also that of the Syrians from the days of the Old Testament patriarchs down to 1194. For Vardan it was a major source. But he was more

<sup>28</sup> Gregory and Nemesius were 4th-c. writers; the texts attributed to Dionysius were composed in the early 6th-c., but were accepted as authentic 1st-c. compositions by Stephen and his contemporaries, Greek and Armenian.

<sup>29</sup> The establishment of Armenian principalities in Cilicia at the time of the Crusades, which led to a new kingdom outside the old borders in the 13th c., brought Armenians into much closer contact with Syrian Christians, as well as Westerners. There followed a new series of translations, not only from Greek and Syriac, but also from Latin and Arabic.

interested in the sections dealing with Old Testament elaborations, legendary information about Christ and the apostles, and the early relationship between the Armenian and Syrian churches, than in contemporary issues. He was anxious to emphasize and confirm the antiquity and orthodoxy of his own people. This involved an appeal to the past. And, as we shall see, in describing that past he did not hesitate to alter his material in a tendentious, pro-Armenian fashion.

In northern Armenia too, by the thirteenth century circumstances were greatly different from those of the pre-Mongol period. The small medieval kingdoms had nearly all been incorporated into the Byzantine empire by the mid-eleventh century, only to be almost immediately lost to the Seljuk Turks after the battle of Manazkert in 1071. After the capture of Ani the following year, this old Bagratid capital was ruled by a Muslim dynasty, the Shaddādids. Although of Kurdish origin, they intermarried with Armenians. The first emir of Ani, Manūchihr, for example, was the son of an Armenian princess, and himself married an Armenian. Under the Shaddādids Ani recovered its importance; but during the twelfth century it was fiercely disputed between the Muslims and Georgians. The latter, led by King David II and supported by the local populace, recovered Ani for the Christians in 1123, but lost it three years later. Further brief Georgian occupations occurred in 1161–3 and 1174.<sup>30</sup>

The greatest expansion of Georgian power in Armenia took place in the reign of Queen T'amar (1184–1212). Two brothers, Zak'are and Ivane Mxargrjeli, recaptured Ani in 1199, and received it as their fief. Georgian control was briefly extended as far west as Ganja, as far south as Dvin and the Araxes, and as far west as Kars. Zak'are and Ivane were both Christians. Of Kurdish origin, their ancestors had served Armenian lords in Tašir and were converted to Christianity. When serving T'amar Ivane adopted Georgian orthodoxy, but Zak'are remained a member of the Armenian faith. It is in this period of unprecedented Armenian–Georgian interaction that the Armenian adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles is to be placed. But before discussing this par-

<sup>30</sup> For this period of Armenian–Georgian history see V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), and in more general terms, H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade* (Lisbon, 1965).

ticular collection of texts, it may be helpful to put them in the context of Georgian literary activity.

As in Armenia, so in Georgia the first concern of the early translators was with biblical and liturgical texts. The oldest Georgian gospel text shows that the first rendering was from Armenian, soon corrected on the Greek. Fifth- and sixth-century inscriptions in Georgian (and in Armenian) in and around Jerusalem indicate the presence of pilgrims and monks from the Caucasus. The influence of the Jerusalem lectionary in both countries is demonstrated by its early translation into Georgian and Armenian. Since the Georgians had reverted to imperial Orthodoxy by the early seventh century, they enjoyed wider contacts in the Holy Land than were possible for Armenians. Thus translations from Greek and Syriac, and after the eighth century from the originals via Christian Arabic, continued to enrich Georgian literature. Somewhat later Georgians were to be found in important monastic centres such as Mount Athos, which was closed to Armenians, and the Black Mountain, as well as in Constantinople. Indeed, so enthusiastic were many Georgian scholars for contemporary Byzantine culture, unlike their neighbours to the south, that by the beginning of the eleventh century not only were lacunae in the translations of the Church Fathers being filled, new versions were being made of the biblical, liturgical, and hagiographical texts then in use in the imperial capital.<sup>31</sup>

The Georgians did not develop a historiographical tradition in quite the same way as the Armenians. The earliest original composition is generally agreed to be the *Life of Saint Šušanik*. The daughter of Vardan Mamikonean (Elišē's hero), she had married a Georgian prince whose apostasy to Zoroastrianism led to harsh treatment and her eventual death. The *Life* was written at the end of the fifth century, and it was this genre—the biography—which became the most popular in historical writing. In other words, one does not find in early Georgian literature histories with a moral purpose comparable to the work of Elišē, or elaborate compositions with the sweep of Moses Xorenac'i. Lives, not unlike that of Maštoc' by Koriwn, were the preferred medium. The story of the conversion of Mihran by Nino may recall the *History* of Agat'angelos; but it lacks the elaborate setting of the latter, and is properly described as a *Life of Nino*. Likewise the accounts of the

<sup>31</sup> For all this see Tarchnišvili.

legendary kings of K'art'li present a series of brief lives without any attempt to achieve a greater literary cohesion.

These chronicles combine local oral traditions with written material extracted from Greek and Syrian chronographers. The first is attributed to an otherwise unknown deacon Gregory, and dates perhaps to the seventh century. It contains the earliest version of the Conversion and the 'Primary History', or legendary origins, of the monarchy. In succeeding centuries numerous other works, a few elaborating on Gregory's, but most dealing with later periods, increased the corpus of native Georgian historical material.<sup>32</sup>

The chronicles translated into Armenian in the thirteenth century form only a small part of the total number of such works written in Georgian. It is therefore confusing that the modern term 'Georgian Chronicles' gives a false impression, failing to distinguish the part from the whole. The selection known in Georgian as *K'art'lis C'xovreba*, 'Life (i.e. History) of K'art'li', formed a special collection which was not finally 'canonized' until the eighteenth century. The motivation for this particular grouping of works is not known, though they were placed in a regular chronological progression before the time of the Armenian rendering. The collection as known to the Armenian translator comprises six works by four authors, tracing Georgian history from its legendary origins down to the death of King David II in 1125. Two long works were added to the *K'art'lis C'xovreba* at a later date, bringing the period covered down to the early fourteenth century.

The Armenian version is the earliest witness to this Georgian collection. It was known to contemporaries as the 'History of Georgia', *Patmut'iwn Vrac'* (hereafter *PV*), but was misleadingly ascribed by its first editor in the nineteenth century to Juanšer, who was the author of only one of the original parts. The earliest surviving Armenian manuscript (hereafter *A*) was written between 1274 and 1311, whereas the earliest surviving manuscript of the original Georgian text, the 'Queen Anne codex', dates from between 1479 and 1495. But the end of the text breaks off in mid-sentence when describing the installation of King David's successor in 1125. All other Armenian manuscripts have the same abrupt conclusion. Although we do not have the translator's autograph

<sup>32</sup> See in general C. Toumanoff, 'Medieval Georgian Historical Literature', *Traditio*, 1 (1943), 139-82, and Rayfield 53-7.

copy, it seems unlikely that the original Armenian version carried the narrative much further. (This question is addressed below.)

The sections of the original Georgian (K'C') represented in abbreviated fashion in the Armenian (PV) are:

1. *The History of the Kings of K'art'li* by Leonti Mroveli. This covers the period from the original settlement of Georgia (K'art'li) by the legendary 'K'art'los' down to King Mirian, who was converted to Christianity in the fourth century AD. The date of original composition is debated, for Leonti has been variously placed in the eighth or the eleventh century.

2. *The Conversion of K'art'li by Nino*, also by Leonti Mroveli. This gives a detailed account of the life and activity of Nino, the agent of Georgia's conversion.

3. *The History of King Vaxt'ang Gorgasali*, with a continuation of the narrative from Vaxt'ang's time down to the eighth century by Juanšer Juanšeriani. This is the Juanšer to whom the first editor of the PV, A. T'iroyea, attributed the entire collection as translated into Armenian. The Georgian text was written in the eighth or ninth century.

4. *The Martyrdom of Arc'il, King of K'art'li*, at the end of the eighth century, also attributed to Leonti Mroveli.

5. *The Book of K'art'li*, which brings the narrative down to 1072. This combines accounts of different reigns from several unknown writers.

6. *The History of David, King of Kings*, i.e. David II, by an anonymous author.

These texts, from which the Armenian adaptation was made, are found at the beginning of all the recensions of the Georgian collection. In the later sections (not represented in Armenian) the Georgian anthologies diverge.<sup>33</sup>

In the critical edition of the Georgian text by S. Qauxč'išvili (hereafter Q) the narrative for these six sections extends from p. 1 to p. 365, whereas the abbreviated Armenian rendering (hereafter V) runs to only 116 pages of text. The reader may compare these versions at a glance from the translations below.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For details see Lordkipanidze in the Introduction to K. Vivian's translation of these later sections, p. xxxiii.

<sup>34</sup> The translation of the Georgian is from Q; that of the Armenian is from Abulaje's critical edition. However, since he gives only a few lines of Armenian on each page, the comparison of page-numbers from his edition would be awkward;

### *The Armenian Manuscripts*

ABCD refer to the four manuscripts used by Abulaje for his critical edition; V refers to the printed Venice edition.

A. This is the oldest surviving witness to the Armenian text. Now *Matenadaran* 1902,<sup>35</sup> it was written by a certain Sargis and commissioned by Hamazasp from (= former monk of) Hałbat. The place of writing is not given, nor is the date. But Hamazasp is known as a bishop and abbot of Yovhannavank', which is in Aragacotn in the province of Ayrarat. Inscriptions there mention him as abbot as early as 1274,<sup>36</sup> and colophons mention him as late as 1311.

The manuscript contains three main items: fos. 3<sup>v</sup>–127<sup>v</sup>: the *History of Łewond*; fos. 128<sup>r</sup>–214<sup>v</sup>: works by Evagrius; and fos. 218<sup>r</sup>–309<sup>v</sup>: the *History of the Georgians*. The beginning and end of the manuscript were already damaged at its restoration in 1664.

From A derives in part C.

B. *Matenadaran* 3070. This was commissioned by Vardan Bałıřec'i, abbot of the monastery of Amirdolu in Bałeř (Bitlis). It was written in 1669–74 at Van by the scribes Dawit', Grigor, and Vardan himself. It contains several histories: Yovhannēs Mamikonean, Step'anos Asolik, Aristakēs Lastivertc'i, Łewond, the *History of the Georgians* (fos. 301<sup>r</sup>–336<sup>v</sup>), Mx'it'ar Ayrivanec'i; and in addition to some theological works it also has two geographies: the *Ařxarhac'oyc'* of Vardan and a Latin geography translated by Yovhannēs Ankiwrac'i. From this manuscript are descended D (see below) and several other copies:

Venice 218, the *carantir* no. 19, copied in 1835; the *PV* is on fos. 137<sup>v</sup>–171<sup>r</sup>. From this MS was printed T'iroyeań's Venice edition of 1884 (V).

therefore the page-numbers of V have been given. The Venice edition is also far more easily obtainable in the West than the Tbilisi edition.

<sup>35</sup> For descriptions of these four MSS see the catalogue of the *Matenadaran*; O. Eganyan *et al.* *C'uc'ak Jeragrac' Mařtoc'i anvan Matenadaranani*, 2 vols. (Erevan, 1965, 1970).

<sup>36</sup> See K. Łafadaryan, *Hovhannavank' ə ev nra Arjanagrut'yunnerə* (Erevan, 1948), 106, inscription no. 56. Hamazasp is also mentioned as abbot in no. 30 (AD 1283), and as a member of the community (*elbayr*) in nos. 16 (AD 1300) and 57 (AD 1279). For the colophons see N. Akinean, *Simēon Phnjahanec'i ew ir T'argmanut'iwnnerə Vrac'erēnē* (Vienna, 1951), 164.

Paris 210, copied in 1855 by Dulaurier from a manuscript in Tbilisi, i.e. B.

A copy of 1841 used by Brosset for his French translation.

C. Matenadaran 5501 was copied in part from A. The scribe was Grigor, the patron Vardan Bałiřec'i (who also commissioned B), and it was written in 1683-4 in Bałeř. The MS contains three histories: Step'anos Orbelean, *History of Siunik*<sup>37</sup>; Ľewond's *History*; and the *History of the Georgians* (fos. 323<sup>r</sup>-389<sup>v</sup>). Vardan is famous for his patronage of manuscript writing. Many of the classic works of Armenian historiography are known only from manuscripts written at Bałeř in the seventeenth century and their later copies.<sup>37</sup>

This manuscript has no known descendants.

D. Matenadaran 7084. This derives from B and was written in 1840 at Tbilisi by Aristakēs Yarut'ean. In addition to the *History of the Georgians* it contains Step'anos Orbelean, *On the Principality of the Orbeleans*.

Where there are variants in the Armenian textual tradition, A and C generally stand together against B and its numerous descendants (including D and V).

### *The Date of the Translation*

The Armenian version of the K'C' breaks off at the point when David II installed his son on the throne in 1125. In the original Georgian this section, the life of David known as *The History of the King of Kings*, was composed soon after David's death by a contemporary panegyrist. The next item, *The Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns*, begins in 1156 and continues to the death of Queen T'amar in 1212; while the last item, *The History of the Mongol Invasions*, goes down to the second reign of Giorgi V (the Brilliant, 1318-46).<sup>38</sup> Since this takes us well beyond the last possible date for the writing of A, the question arises whether the PV originally included the *Histories of the Sovereigns*. Although

<sup>37</sup> See the important study by N. Akinean, *Bałeř Dproc'ā: 1500-1704* (Vienna, 1952).

<sup>38</sup> For further details see Toumanoff, 'Medieval Georgian Historical Literature'.



this seems unlikely, the evidence, both external and internal, is not absolutely conclusive.

The earliest Armenian historian known to have been familiar with the Georgian Chronicles is Mxit'ar of Ani. His exact dates are unknown, but he was active at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and his own *History* went down to 1187. This has not survived in its entirety, only the first part, from Adam to Muhammad, being extant.<sup>39</sup> But there are references in other writers to his work.

Vardan Arewelc'i in his *Chronicle* (p. 92), states that he is quoting from 'Mxit'ar the priest' with regard to a paragraph that deals with the origin of the Georgians, the descendants of King Vaxt'ang, and Bagarat ruling over the Ap'xazians. But it is not clear whether Vardan refers to Mxit'ar only for Bagarat (who became king in 978), or for the whole section. But even if Mxit'ar did describe Georgian origins, there are differences in this account from the *PV* and its Georgian original; he may have been familiar with Georgian traditions, but he did not quote from a previously existing Armenian version of the *K'C'*. Vardan's other references to Mxit'ar have no relevance for Georgia; his own knowledge of the *PV* is discussed below.

Step'anos Orbelean in his *History of Siunik'*, ch. 66, discusses the relationship of the Orbelean princes with P'arnavaz, king of Georgia (i.e. in the early period described in the first item of the *K'C'*). He indicates that the Georgians' ancestral stories (*naxnakan zruc'abanut iwnk'*) as found in the *K'art'lis C'xorebay*—for that is his term for the Georgian Chronicles—were confused, since their King Giorgi in his envy of the Orbeleans had expunged their names from Georgian history. Step'anos then states that he will therefore follow the brief account which he found in a book (or 'books', for the plural form *girs* is ambiguous) in the Armenian language (*i hay-alezu girs*). As for the destruction of the Orbeleans in Georgia, he will follow the 'fine', (*gelecik*) *History* of Mxit'ar Anec'i.

The first of these two sources, the book, might be taken as a reference to the Georgian Chronicles. For in Q, p. 367, the text describes Giorgi III suppressing the Orbeleans in 1177. This is in the section that follows the *History of the King of Kings* where *PV* breaks off. However, the story is also found in Vardan,<sup>40</sup> so the

<sup>39</sup> Ed. H. G. Margaryan (Erevan, 1983).

<sup>40</sup> *Chronicle* = *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean* (Venice, 1862; repr. Delmar, NY, 1991), 130.

term *hayalezu* ('in Armenian') offers no proof that Step'anos had in mind an Armenian translation of a Georgian chronicle. And since Mxit'ar took his own account down to 1187, his work too may have included this episode.

If it cannot be clearly shown that Mxit'ar of Ani was familiar with an Armenian rendering of the Georgian Chronicles for his knowledge of events in Georgia, perhaps the later Vardan provides better evidence. He states that 'in their book(s)' (*i girs noc'a*, with the same ambiguity as noted above) could be found the origins of their kings from K'art'los down to Vaxt'ang, and from the latter's descendants down to 'T'ewtas' (i.e. Theodosius III, 975-8).<sup>41</sup> Even if this is not taken from Mxit'ar of Ani, Vardan's account here is not exactly similar to the Georgian Chronicles.

Vardan lived and worked in northern Armenia in the thirteenth century when the Georgians exerted political control over significant areas of Armenian territory. It is difficult to imagine such a scholar not having some conception of Georgian historical traditions. Yet when he describes the capture of Ani by King David in 1124 he follows Armenian sources.<sup>42</sup> He later states that 'some say' Demetre's son Dawit' was killed in a plot of the Orbeleans in 1156,<sup>43</sup> but this is not mentioned in the Georgian Chronicles. Other events pertaining to Georgia that he describes are either not in the *K'C'* (e.g. p. 131, Giorgi's peaceful reign), or are given in a garbled version (e.g. p. 133, where T'amar's two husbands are run into one—though they are correctly distinguished later). Vardan's prime source for events of the thirteenth century was his contemporary and fellow student Kirakos, who was familiar with Georgian history. But even if he does not follow the *K'C'* for secular history, Vardan was familiar with the Armenian version, for he clearly borrows from it in his description of traditions concerning the tower of Babel.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, the enigmatic comments of Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i should be noted. His *Chronicle* goes down to the year 1328. At the beginning he gives various lists of rulers and bishops. These lists include one of the Georgian kings, numbering seventy-nine princes and kings, plus a Dawit' and Vaxt'ang—i.e. Vaxt'ang II, 1289-92.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 9.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 119; cf. Matthew of Edessa, *Patmut'wn* (Jerusalem, 1869), 451-52.

<sup>43</sup> Vardan, *Chronicle*, 126.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 11-12; see the commentary ad loc. in Thomson, 'Historical Compilation'.

Mxit'ar then states that 'we found these many in the original examples', (*zaysč'ap's gtak' yawrinaks*). A similar phrase is found after his list of Catholicoi of the Ałuank': *ays č'ap's gteal ē yawrinakac'*.<sup>45</sup> What did Mxit'ar mean by *awrinak'*? It means 'model', 'example', 'type', and in this context seems to imply that Mxit'ar took his information from a previous list. It could perhaps mean that he culled original documents. But these phrases by no means indicate that he used an Armenian rendering of the Georgian Chronicles for his list of Georgian kings. These comments cannot be used to prove that the *PV* continued down to the end of the thirteenth century.

Nerses Akinean quotes an anonymous list of works translated into Armenian which states that the 'History of the Georgians' (*Virk' Patmut'wn*: sic!) ran from Adam to the year 600 of the Armenian era, i.e. AD 1151.<sup>46</sup> But this date was not covered in the Georgian Chronicles, falling between two items. No Armenian translation of any part of the *K'C'* beyond the accession of Demetre has been found.

External evidence has not been able to give us a clear date for the composition of the Armenian version between the two extremes of 1125 and 1270—the last event mentioned and the first direct quotation from the text. Nor does a clear indication of the original length of the text emerge. On the other hand, internal evidence has been adduced by some scholars to demonstrate that the *PV* was translated in the first half of the twelfth century. The Armenian is greatly abbreviated, especially in the later sections; there are, however, some additions by the translator. These are mostly brief, though of interest on various counts, and will be discussed below. But at the very end, just before the text breaks off, there is a whole paragraph eulogizing the renowned Armenian scholar John Sarkawag and describing King David's affection for him. The author of this passage, who seems to be the translator himself, claims that David would confess his sins to John, and bending down his head would be blessed by this holy old man. In return John quoted scripture over the king: 'I have found David my servant, and with holy oil I have anointed him . . .'.<sup>47</sup> This same story,

<sup>45</sup> *Patmut'wn*, ed. K. Patkanov, *Trudy Vostočnago otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Arkeologičeskavo Obščestva*, 14 (St Petersburg, 1869), 224–418 at 246–8.

<sup>46</sup> Akinean, *Balēši Dproc'ā*, 306.

<sup>47</sup> Ps. 88: 21.

with the same scriptural quotation, is also found in Kirakos.<sup>48</sup> It is probably from the latter that Vardan gives a brief version stating: 'He (King David) frequently put his head under *our* hands, seeking a blessing.'<sup>49</sup> Vardan's *Chronicle* and the *History* of Kirakos were written more than a century after David's death, so here the first person possessive pronoun may perhaps derive from John Sarkawag's own lost *History*. In any event, the author of this addition in *PV* adds: 'We saw indeed the saying of the psalm fulfilled with regard to the king'; and he proceeds to list David's various escapes from death. Is this sentence also a quotation from the lost work of Kirakos, or an addition by the translator? And if the latter, was the translator of the *PV* someone who had seen King David in person—or, at least, had lived in his time? Or is this a rhetorical passage deriving from the translator's knowledge of David's brushes with fate?

If it is a true reflection of the Armenian translator's own time, then the *PV* existed by the mid-twelfth century, though if it was made as early as that, it was neglected for many years to come. But before hazarding any further views on the date of the translation, let us now turn to the general tenor of the Armenian.<sup>50</sup>

The translator was clearly very familiar with Georgian. There are very few mistakes in the Armenian—though since the latter is in general an abbreviation of the Georgian, a word-for-word comparison is usually not feasible. But the sense is rendered correctly. Not surprisingly, the Georgian names which were unfamiliar to later scribes who copied all surviving manuscripts—for it is not suggested that A is the autograph of the translator—became somewhat garbled in their Armenian guise; and there is much confusion over numbers, where the Armenian script could be easily misread. Fives and sevens, for example, are almost indistinguishable in Armenian. On the other hand, some corruptions go back to misreadings of the original. For example, the similarity in old Georgian ecclesiastical script of the letters *b* and *ḡ* led to forms such as 'Arbak' for the name 'Aršak'. This is all the more surprising in that the name is very common in both languages and one might have expected the translator to have recognized it.

<sup>48</sup> *Patmut'wn Hayoc'*, ed. K. Melik'-Ohanjanyan (Erevan, 1961), 114.

<sup>49</sup> Vardan, *Chronicle*, 120.

<sup>50</sup> Here no attempt has been made to list all the correct interpretations of Georgian words and all the misinterpretations; they have been identified in the notes to the translation below.

Sometimes a place-name is translated rather than being transliterated. Thus the castle Deda-c'ixe, where *deda* means 'mother' and *c'ixe* means 'fortress', is rendered by the correct Armenian equivalent Mayraberd, *mayr* being 'mother' and *berd* being 'fortress'. Or the noble title *mamasaxli* is rendered by *tanutēr*; for *mama* is 'father, lord', hence *tēr*, and *saxli* is 'house', hence *tan*. But the translator was not tied to a one-to-one equivalence for Georgian terms. Where there was no precise Armenian equivalent he would use a variety of words in different contexts. Thus the common title *erist'avi*, which means literally 'head of the people', may be rendered by *naxarar*, which connotes nobility, *koṭmnakal* or *gawaṛapet*, which connote authority over a province, or *sparapet*, which connotes military authority.

On occasion there is a gloss in the text explaining the meaning of a Georgian word that has been transliterated. For example, the place-name Up'lis-c'ixe is given in transliteration followed by a brief comment: 'which means lord's castle'. Such notes are found in the oldest manuscript, but it is not clear whether these are all the work of the original translator. Similarly a comment may be inserted to clarify the chronology, such as 'at the time that', or a scriptural quotation may be more precisely identified. Less common are actual additions of material, as when the translator adds a note to the effect that the Kushans are not to be confused with the people of Kush, which refers to Abyssinia. And the Kipchaks are explained as 'Huns', a people more frequently mentioned in Armenian sources. Such familiarity with earlier Armenian texts is natural; so the identification of Kronos with Bel and Nebrot', for example, would remind Armenians of the description of this giant in the first book of Moses Xorenac'i.

Very rarely does the translator give a completely different interpretation of his original. The notable example is the etymology of the word 'Saracen', over which Christian writers exercised their ingenuity. The first four letters were generally believed to refer to Abraham's wife Sarah, though the Muslims themselves were regarded as descendants of Ishmael from Abraham's second wife, Hagar. And in this regard it is noteworthy that the Armenian translator uses 'Hagarene', 'Ishmaelite', and 'Saracen', more or less interchangeably, regardless of the Georgian. But the interpretation of the second part of 'Saracen' was more problematical. As early as John of Damascus it was thought to derive from the Greek

κενός, 'empty'. The K'C' interprets it as the Greek κύννας, from κύων, 'dog'. But 'dogs of Sarah' becomes 'servants (*spasawork*)' of Sarah' in the Armenian, which has no parallel elsewhere.<sup>51</sup>

Inasmuch as the Armenian is an abbreviation of the original, and the Georgian is not attested until at least two centuries after the translation, it is not easy to point to specific omissions with a tendentious purpose. Any conclusions from such missing material would be hypothetical at best. But it is possible to point to additions to the original—on the assumption that the Georgian text as known to the Armenian translator (that is, at some time after 1125 but before 1270) corresponds with the text as found in the earliest surviving Georgian codex of the late fifteenth century.<sup>52</sup> This too is but a hypothesis, but perhaps more plausible than positing major changes in the Georgian over those two or three centuries; for, as Toumanoff notes, the textual divergences between the Queen Anne Codex and other manuscripts of the Chronicles are not great.<sup>52</sup>

There are numerous places where the Armenian adds something to the version found in the original Georgian. These additions fall into two broad categories. The first consists of additions which reflect a theological interest—not comments of a technical nature supporting a particular interpretation of some point of dogma at issue in the controversies that separated the churches, but rather additions which reflect a general Christian outlook. The second category would cover those additions which in some way reflect credit on Armenia, or which might be of special interest to Armenian readers. But since the special purpose of any given variation between the texts is not always clear, we may here list these changes in order.<sup>53</sup>

p. 11 (of the Armenian text in V)<sup>54</sup>. The Armenian emphasizes that the unity of the sons of T'orgom prevented their being

<sup>51</sup> This does not seem a plausible misrendering of *jağlt'a*. The Armenian rendering of Michael's *Chronicle*, 294, explains *Sarakinusk* 'merely in terms of Sarah, *vasn Sarayi*.

<sup>52</sup> Toumanoff, 'The Oldest Manuscript', 343.

<sup>53</sup> In my article 'The Armenian Version of the Georgian Chronicles', *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies*, 5 (1990/1), 81–90, these changes were divided into two separate lists, one with expansions of a 'theological nature', the other with those of 'Armenian interest'. On further reflection such a division seems rather artificial.

<sup>54</sup> These page-numbers are marked by bold type in the translation of the Armenian below.

defeated in war, a theme central to the descriptions of Armenian resistance to Sasanian Iran in Elišē and Łazar.

p. 16. The Armenian elaborates on Moses, 'the friend of the great God', and the crossing of the Red Sea.

p. 17. Pagans are said to eat 'crawling reptiles and worms', a passage reminiscent of Eznik's references to worms as associated with paganism and evil.

pp. 17–18. The Georgian states that originally six languages were spoken in Georgia: Georgian, Armenian, Khazar, Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek. But the Armenian adapter claims that Georgian is but a mixture of the other five!

p. 41. The Georgian notes that King Mirian agreed to worship both Persian and traditional Georgian gods. But the Armenian changes the text to claim that the Georgians refused to abandon their traditional religion. 'It is better for us to die', it makes them declare, 'than to be separated from the rites of our fathers'. This is in accord with the emphasis in Elišē on the defence of ancestral custom.

p. 50. Where the Georgian speaks of a threefold division of Israel, the Armenian adds that Romans, Greeks, and Armenians ruled over Israel. This may be a reminiscence of the account in Moses Xorenac'i (ii. 14) of Tigran's conquests in Palestine.

p. 51. The Armenian explains Daniel's prophecy as fulfilled by the birth of Christ. And it adds a reference to the star that led the magi as 'a rational and wise star'.

p. 53. Where the Georgian describes Old Testament prophecies of Christ, the Armenian adds a reference to the Georgian king's hearing of the conversion of Armenia. This is reminiscent of Moses Xorenac'i (ii. 86), who describes news of the conversion reaching Georgia. The Armenian also adds details from Agat'angelos at p. 79.

p. 56. The Armenian adds 'sun' and 'Aramazd' to the description of idols and fire. This is reminiscent of Elišē, who emphasizes the Persian worship of sun and fire.

p. 57. The Armenian adds a description of God as 'driver and controller', reminiscent of attributes in Eznik's treatise.

p. 72. The Armenian adds that the Persians established fire temples in Georgia, another reminiscence of phrasing in Elišē.

p. 77. The Armenian adds that Vaxt'ang made the sign of the cross and quoted David (1 Kgds. 17: 47) before going out to battle, a commonplace in Armenian descriptions of combat.

p. 80. The story of the tower of Babel is elaborated in the Armenian. In particular a parallel is made with the cross of Christ, which is a major theme in the *Teaching of Saint Gregory* in the *History of Agat'angelos*.

p. 90. The authority of the see of Antioch over Georgia is noted at several points. The Armenian adds at p. 95, that when the Georgian Catholicoi ceased to come from Greece, this happened 'without the authority of Antioch'.

p. 97. The Armenian adds that Heraclius stopped in Bznunik' in Armenia on his way to Georgia.

p. 102. The Armenian adds a long description of Kalart' and the rise of Muhammad, which has a close parallel to the account in Samuel of Ani.

p. 103. The Armenian adds an explanation for the origin of Kamax, a name for the Ani in Daranahi not found in Armenian until the eleventh century.

p. 111: The Armenian adds an account of the miracle worked by the Catholicos Peter *Getadarj* in the presence of the emperor Basil II, first found in Aristakēs.

p. 117. The Armenian elaborates on scripture with a simile from Matt. 13: 48.

pp. 122–3. The Armenian adds a section describing King David's admiration for the Armenian scholar John Sarkawag, omitting the insulting comment of the Georgian text concerning the vanity of Armenians 'who imagined that they had attained the summit of all learning'.

Alterations of detail and rhetorical embellishments are not the only distinguishing features of the Armenian version of the Georgian Chronicles. The larger-scale abbreviations are reminiscent of the way in which the Syriac *Chronicle* of the Patriarch Michael was rendered. It is perhaps not a coincidence that these two long works were cut down to size at about the same time. Vardan and Išoḫ, who rendered the Syriac of Michael, have not left us any explicit clues as to their intentions. But a comparison of the Armenian with the Syriac reveals very clearly that in addition to numerous omissions and abbreviations (and disregarding misinterpretations), there are also numerous additions and expansions of a tendentious, pro-Armenian, nature. These fall into various categories.



Michael's Armenian adapter adds details concerning the apostles from the apocryphal acts, a genre popular in Armenian. In particular the Abgar legend is expanded, with reminiscences of the account found in Moses Xorenac'i. Further additions of legendary material include stories concerning Christ's robe, the massacre of the Innocents, and Julian the Apostate. Another category is composed of additions with particular Armenian significance. These include the elaboration of Armenian participation in the ecumenical councils; greater emphasis on the activity of Gregory the Illuminator, and the introduction of Thaddaeus and Bartholomew as missionaries in Armenia in apostolic times; a note on the introduction of the Armenian era; and elaborations on the Persian-Byzantine wars of the late sixth and early seventh centuries, which had a great impact on Armenia. There are various expansions which emphasize Armenian orthodoxy in common with that of the Syrians and other anti-Chalcedonians. The most elaborate of these is the description of a theological debate under the shah Khusraw, where the orthodoxy of Armenians and Syrians is upheld against the Greeks; this has reminiscences of a passage in Sebēos.<sup>55</sup>

Just as the adapter of Michael's Syriac *Chronicle* emphasized the early history of the Armenian church, so the translator of the Georgian *Chronicles* was primarily concerned with the early history of his nation. It was not his purpose to transpose into Armenian much information about the recent history of the northern neighbour. Rather, he was anxious to provide an Armenian account of the early history of K'art'li which would demonstrate the ancient ties between the two peoples, subtly tinged to show the Armenians in the best light. Hence his version becomes progressively more abbreviated, (save for the addition concerning John Sarkawag).

As we have seen, the date of the Armenian adaptation of the Georgian *Chronicles* cannot be fixed precisely. Although its author claims personal acquaintance with King David, who died in 1125, the text is not quoted by any Armenian author before Vardan in his *Chronicle*, the original version of which ended in 1265. But the general tenor of the *PV* fits well the historical situation at the turn

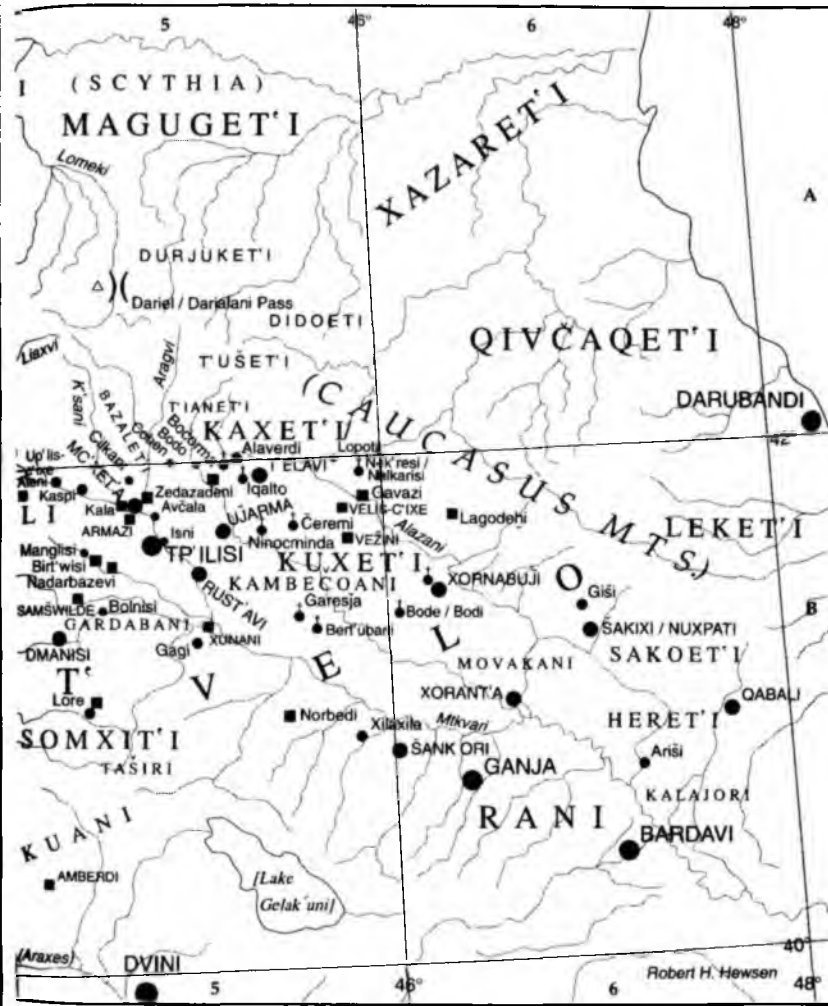
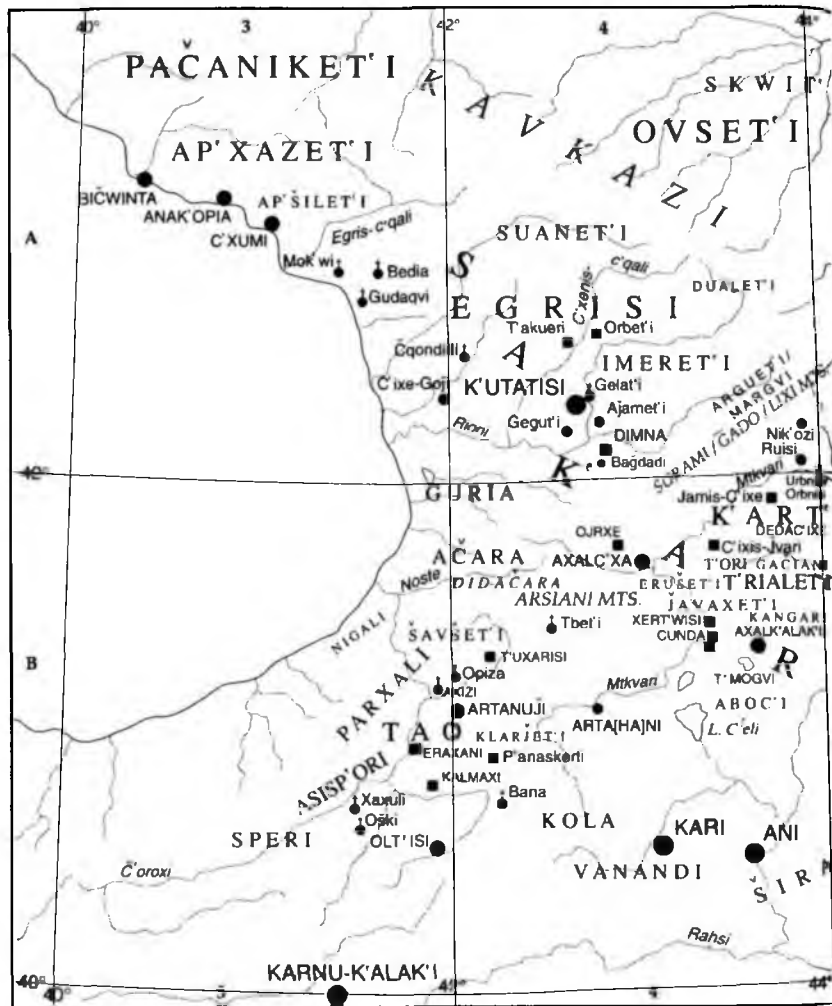
<sup>55</sup> For these changes in the Armenian version see F. Haase, 'Die armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Großen', *Oriens Christianus*, NS 5 (1965), 60-82, 271-84. The story of Abgar is found in Moses Xorenac'i, ii, 28-33. For the debate under Xosrov see the Armenian text of Michael, 286-92 and Sebēos, Patmut'iwn, ed. G. Abgaryan (Erevan, 1979), 151-61.

of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the Georgians held sway in northern Armenia, and other works were translated from Georgian into Armenian. Nerses Akinean rightly drew attention to Simēon Pñjahanec'i, who died in 1255, and his translations. He was responsible for rendering the *Elements of Theology* by Proclus Diadochus, parts of the *Fount of Knowledge* by John of Damascus, *The Spiritual Ladder* by John Climacus, and some shorter works of liturgical interest. It is noteworthy that these were not original Georgian compositions, but texts previously translated from Greek into Georgian. Simēon's activity may thus be paralleled with that of Stephen of Siunik' and other Armenian scholars, who were continually anxious to increase the range of texts available in Armenian. Furthermore, these texts now translated into Armenian were not recent compositions, but works of long-standing fame.

Simēon's translations evince difficulties and obscurities, which is hardly surprising given the fact that they are translations of translations. They are relevant here as indicators that Georgian was not an unknown language in northern Armenia. There is, however, no suggestion that they were abbreviated renderings, so that both the manner of translation, and the texts chosen by Simēon, differ from the adaptation of the *K'C'*. His responsibility for the *Patmut'wn Vrac'* remains an unproven possibility. But a date in the early thirteenth century remains the most plausible.

It is not unusual for an Armenian text to have no clearly identifiable author, or for its date to be uncertain within a hundred years or so. The difficulties associated with the authorship and dating of some classic works of Armenian historiography were discussed earlier. Such problems do not diminish the importance of the *Patmut'wn Vrac'* in Armenian. It remains the most significant source for later Armenian knowledge of early Georgian history, and as such a document of some importance in the Armenian historical canon. It is also valuable as an indication of thirteenth-century Armenian historical concerns—the subtle rewriting of early Caucasian history to reflect credit on Armenia at a time when her neighbours to the north had the upper hand.





THE  
GEORGIAN  
CHRONICLES

## PATMUT'IWN VRAC'

I. LEONTI MROVELI, *HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF K'ART'LI*

[7] Let us recall that for the Armenians and Georgians, and Ránians and Movkanians, and Heranians and Leks, and Caucasians and Egerians<sup>1</sup> there was a single father called T'orgom, son of T'iras, son of Gamer,<sup>2</sup> son of Yabet', [8] son of Noah; he was a man valiant and gigantic.<sup>3</sup> Now at the destruction<sup>4</sup> of the tower and division of tongues, when mankind was scattered over

<sup>1</sup> For the inhabitants of Egrisi Arm. consistently omits the Georgian prefix *me*. Cf. the form *Egerac'i* in M.X. ii. 5. For all place names see the Index of Geographical Names.

<sup>2</sup> According to Gen. 10: 2 Gamer and T'iras were both sons of Yabet' (Japheth). Arm. has added Gamer between T'iras and Yabet' from the genealogy in M.X. i. 5 (etc. ).

<sup>3</sup> Giant: *Gmiri* is a standard epithet for heroes in the Georgian text, whereas *k'aj'* (valiant) is standard in Armenian.

<sup>4</sup> Destruction: *Korcanum* is not found in the Armenian text of Gen. 11.

## K'ART'LIS C'XOVREBA

[3] LEONTI MROVELI: *HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF K'ART'LI*

I SHALL begin to narrate the history of the Georgian kings and of their fathers and ancestors from the earliest (ones).

*The Story of the Eight Brothers*

First let us recall that for the Armenians and Georgians, Ránians and Movkanians, Hers and Leks, Megrelians and Caucasians, there was a single father named T'argamos. This T'argamos was the son of T'arši, grandson of Iap'et', son of Noah. Now this T'argamos was a giant.<sup>1</sup> After the division of tongues—when they built the tower at Babylon, and the tongues were divided there and they were scattered from there over the whole world—this

<sup>1</sup> For the early genealogies see K. Kekelidze, 'La Chronique d'Hippolyte et l'histoire géorgien Leonti Mroveli', *BK* 17/18 (1964), 88–94.

the earth, he came and settled between the mountains Masis and Aragac.<sup>5</sup> Arm.

He had many wives; sons and daughters were born to him, and sons and daughters<sup>6</sup> to his sons and daughters. He lived for 600 years. The land was not sufficient for the multitude of his entourage; therefore they spread out, and they enlarged their boundaries<sup>7</sup> from the Pontus Sea as far as the sea of Heret'i and the Caspians,<sup>8</sup> and along the mountains of the Caucasus.

From his sons eight men became notable, the most valiant and renowned. The first was Hayk,<sup>9</sup> the second K'art'los, the third Bardos, the fourth Movkan, the fifth Lekan, the sixth Heros, the

<sup>5</sup> In Armenian Ararat is not a mountain but a region; see M.X. i. 10 and i. 12 for the mountain Aragac. Arm. refers below to the *plain* of Ararat and the mountain of Masis (V 13). For the identification of Armenian Masis and modern 'Mount Ararat' see P. Peeters, 'La légende de Saint Jacques de Nisibie', *AB* 38 (1920), 285-373 at 330-6.

<sup>6</sup> And sons and daughters: om. in AC.

<sup>7</sup> For the multitude . . . boundaries: an addition reminiscent of the expansion after Hayk in M.X. i. 12.

<sup>8</sup> These boundaries are mentioned again in Geo., Q6, where Oret'i is a mountain. Arm. interprets it as the Georgian province east of the Kura, but Heret'i does not reach the (Caspian) sea.

<sup>9</sup> Hayk is the eponymous ancestor of the Armenians; see M.X., book i, and the *Primary History*. The latter does not refer to his father T'orgom, but calls him merely a descendant of Japheth (*Abet'acin*, p. 48). For T'orgom as ancestor of the Armenians cf. Aa 776, 796. Hippolytus derives the Armenians from T'orgom (p. 12), but neither he nor Eusebius knows anything of Hayk or K'art'los.

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T'argamos set out with his family, and he settled between the two inaccessible mountains, Ararat and Masis. Geo.

His family was large and innumerable [4] because from his many wives he had sons and daughters, and children and grandchildren of his sons and of his daughters. For he lived for 600 years. And the land of Ararat and Masis was no longer sufficient. Now the land which fell to him by lot—this is the border of his land: to the east, the sea of Gurgen; to the west, the Pontus sea; to the south, the sea of Oret'i; and to the north, the Caucasus mountain.

Among his sons eight men became renowned, powerful and famous giants. Their names are these: the first was called Haos, the second K'art'los, the third Bardos, the fourth Movakan, the fifth

*Arm.* seventh Kovkas, the eighth Egrēs.<sup>10</sup> Hayk was the superior in strength and valour;<sup>11</sup> there was none similar to him on earth, neither before the flood nor after, up to today.

T'orgom divided his land among them. [9] He gave half to Hayk, and half to the (other) seven sons according to their merit.

To K'art'los he gave the shady<sup>12</sup> land of the north (bounded) on the east by the river Berdahoj, on the west by the Pontus sea, on the shady side by the Caucasus mountain, along Klarjġk' and Tayk' as far as Lexk'. He gave to Bardos (the land) from the same river

<sup>10</sup> Hayk's brothers are not known to earlier Armenian writers. Vardan (who used the Armenian version of the *K'C'*) on p. 14 refers to seven of them; on p. 91 he refers to the origin of the Georgians 'in their books', and mentions Hayos, K'art'los, and Kokasos.

<sup>11</sup> M.X. i. 10 refers to Hayk as 'valiant' (*k'aj'*), but does not use *oyz* (strength).

<sup>12</sup> Shady: *cmakayin*, a literal translation of *č'rdili*, which is used in Georgian for 'north'.

*Geo.* Lek, the sixth Heros, the seventh Kavkas, the eighth Egros. These eight were giants. But the biggest giant of them all was Haos; for there had never been such a one, neither before the flood nor after, in stature, power, and courage.

The land of Ararat and Masis was no longer sufficient, so T'argamos divided the country and his family between these eight giants. Half of his family and the better half of his land he gave to Haos; and to the (other) seven he gave their portion according to their merit. He led the seven northwards and shared out the lands according to their worth.

To K'art'los he gave and appointed as boundary: from the east Heret'i and the river Berduji; from the west the Pontus sea; from the south the mountain which runs along that same river Berduji and the mountain which runs to the west, whose source passes towards the north and joins the Mtkuari, and the mountain which runs between Klarjet'i and Tao as far as the sea. From the north [5] the boundary (was) Ğado, a small mountain which goes down as a branch from the Caucasus and whose point<sup>2</sup> reaches the end of Ğado, which they now call Lixi. And all (the land) between their boundaries he gave to K'art'los. To Bardos he gave (the land)

<sup>2</sup> Point: *cueri*, perhaps 'summit'. Brosset notes that this phrase is tautologous.



Berdahoj̄ along the bank of the river Kur as far as the sea into which enter the united rivers Erasx and Kur. The latter first built the city of Partaw under his own name. To Movkan he gave (the land) from the river Kur along the north bank by the head<sup>13</sup> of the Alazan as far as the great sea. He built the city Movkanet'.<sup>14</sup> To Heros he gave (the land) from the head<sup>15</sup> of the Alazan as far as the lake of the forest,<sup>16</sup> which is now called Gałgala. He built a city at the junction of two rivers and called it Heret' after his own name; now the name of the place is called Xorant'ay. To Egros he gave (the land) from the bay<sup>17</sup> of the sea along the Lixk' as far as the western sea, by the river of Xazaret', where the sea joins the Caucasus. He built the city of Egris under his own name, which is now called Bedia.

<sup>13</sup> Head: *glux*. This is a misrendering of *šesart'avi*, which is derived from *še-sa-ert'*, 'uniting', not from the stem *t'avi*, 'head'.

<sup>14</sup> The Georgian suffix *-et'i* is used for a region, not a city, though the two have been identified in this foundation tale. Cf. below, Q43 n. 32, for 'city (*k'alak'i*)' in an extended sense.

<sup>15</sup> See n. 13.

<sup>16</sup> Lake of the forest: *lič mayroy* (*sic*: read *mayrwoy*), rendering *tqe-tbe* 'lake-forest'.

<sup>17</sup> Bay: *akanj* 'ear', sometimes used in this sense; see *NBHL*. Georgian distinguishes *qure* 'bay' from *quri* 'ear'.

south of the Mtkuari, from the river Berduj̄i as far as where the Mtkuari and Raḥsi join. Bardos built the city of Bardav and settled there. To Movakan he gave (the land) north of the Mtkuari, from the confluence of the Lesser Alazan as far as the sea. And he built the city of Movaknet'i and dwelt there. To Heros he gave the land south of the Mtkuari, from the confluence of the Lesser Alazan as far as Tqetba, which they now call Gulgula. And this Heros first built a city between the junction of the two Alazans, and he called its name Heret'i. From his (name) Heret'i is called Heret'i; and now they call that place Xorant'a. To Egros he gave the land at the bay of the sea, and he defined the boundary: from the east the small mountain which is now called Lixi; from the west the sea; (from the north) the river of Lesser Xazaret'i where the summit of the Caucasus ends. This Egros built a city and called its name Egrisi; now they call that place Bedia.

*Arm.* The mountain of the Caucasus as far as the great river Łumëk had not heard the sound of human voices.<sup>18</sup> This he gave to his two sons Kovkas and Lekan, and until today these (regions) have been called by their names.

Now Hayk inherited his entire patrimony with its boundaries as described. He was lord of the seven brothers, and they remained subject to the giant Nebrot', who was the first to reign over the whole world.<sup>19</sup>

After a few years had passed, Hayk gathered together his brothers and said to them: [10] 'Listen to me, my brothers. Behold God has given us strength and a numerous people. So for the sake of the mercy of God<sup>20</sup> which (lies) upon us, let us not serve a stranger but the true God.' They all agreed; having rebelled, they did not

<sup>18</sup> Not heard . . . voices: *anmardajayn*. The Georgian *umkvidro* would be more literally rendered by *anbnak*.

<sup>19</sup> Nebrot' is equated with Bel in Armenian tradition; see M.X. i. 7. For his tyranny see Gen. 10: 8 and M.X. i. 10. M.X. does not mention Hayk's brothers.

<sup>20</sup> Of God: as ABCD, om. in V. It is noteworthy that Arm. frequently emphasizes Christian themes over the more deist language of Geo.

*Geo.* To the north of the Caucasus was not the portion of T'argamos, nor was there any man north of the Caucasus. That land was uninhabited from the Caucasus as far as the great river which flows into the sea of Daruband. Therefore he led (there) two giants out of many giants—Lekan and Kavkas. He gave Lekan (the land) from the sea of Daruband as far as the river Lomeki, northwards as far as the great river [6] of Hazaret'i. And he gave to Kavkas (the land) from the river Lomeki as far as the end of the Caucasus on the west.

Now Haos settled on the estates of his father T'argamos, and he occupied the land to the north as I have described; to the south from the mountain of Oret'i, to the east as far as the sea of Gurgan, and to the west as far as the Pontus sea. Over those seven giants Haos was commander and lord; they all became subject to Haos. And these eight together served the giant Nebrot', who was the first king of the whole world.

A few years after this Haos summoned the seven giants; he brought them together and said: 'God on high gave us strength and a numerous people; now with the help of the Creator let us become slave to no one, and let us serve no one else save God the Creator.'

give tribute, and they brought over to themselves the surrounding peoples.<sup>21</sup> When Nebrot' heard (this), he became angry. He collected a great host of giants and rabble,<sup>22</sup> set out to attack them, and came to the land of Atrpatakan. Arm.

Hayk was standing with his own (troops) at the foot of Masis. Nebrot' despatched sixty giants with a great multitude; they encountered each other with a fearsome and enormous crash like the sound of thunder-clouds.<sup>23</sup> On both sides there was a numberless and incalculable slaughter.<sup>24</sup>

Hayk was standing behind his (men), encouraging and urging them on. He himself, like a thunderbolt, made forays roundabout

<sup>21</sup> Peoples: Arm. distinguishes *azg* here from *zōlovurd* for the Armenian people just above. Geo. uses *nat'ēsavi* for both.

<sup>22</sup> Rabble: *xairnalanyk'*, a curious rendering for *spani*. It is used in Jer. 25: 24 of the people of the desert, and in 50: 37 of the Babylonians. M.X. i. 16 uses it to describe the common workers of Semiramis.

<sup>23</sup> Thunder-clouds: *orotmanc' ampoc'*, as AB.

<sup>24</sup> The versions of Hayk and Nebrot's encounter in M.X. and the *Primary History* have no reference to such a preliminary battle.

The seven giants agreed and confirmed that proposal. They rebelled against Nebrot' and no more gave tribute. They came to terms with some other peoples, and the other peoples also became disloyal. Then Nebrot' became angry. He gathered his giants and all his troops who were loyal and attacked the descendants of T'argamos.<sup>3</sup> Geo.

But Haos summoned the seven giants and the entire people of T'argamos, and some other peoples of the west also gave assistance. Haos assembled all these and occupied the base of Masis. Since Nebrot' had gone to the land of Adarbadagan, he stayed there and sent sixty giants and powerful troops with them to oppose the descendants of T'argamos. When the troops of Nebrot' arrived, then the seven giants, the brothers of Haos, went out to meet them with a powerful army, while Haos with an even stronger force followed behind in the rear. A fierce battle took place between them, which resembled a violent (storm) in the air. For the dust of their feet was like a thick cloud; the flashing of their armour [7] was like the lightning of the sky; the sound of their voices was like the sound of thunder. The multitude of arrows and their

<sup>3</sup> Descendants of T'argamos: the collective form *t'argamosianni*.

*Arm.* and fell on the sixty giants with his troops. He and his seven brothers remained unharmed until the end, by the grace of God, and they glorified their almighty Saviour.<sup>25</sup>

When Nebrot' heard (this), he was greatly troubled, and himself rushed on Hayk. The latter, not having forces to match his, fortified himself in the rough valleys of Masis. Now Nebrot' was completely covered with iron armour from feet to head.<sup>26</sup> Going up on a hill, he summoned Hayk to his former obedience. Hayk did not respond to him, but said to his brothers: 'Defend me from behind, and I shall go down to Nebrot'.' He went in person and approached him, and with an arrow struck him on the breastplate over his heart. It penetrated directly the (armour) that reflected the

<sup>25</sup> Note the Christian emphasis in *Arm.*

<sup>26</sup> See *M.X.* i. 11 for an elaborate description of Nebrot''s armour.

*Geo.* throwing of stones were like dense hail; and the shedding of their blood was like a stream of torrents. The struggle between them waxed strong, and the slaughter on both sides was numberless.

Now Haos, standing to the rear of his giants, strengthened and encouraged them with a fearsome voice which resembled the crash of a thunderbolt. Then the descendants of T'argamos prevailed, and they destroyed those sixty giants of Nebrot' and their troops. The seven giants descended from T'argamos—K'art'los, Bardos, Movakan, Heros, Lekan, Kavkasan, Egros—these survived alive without wounds, and being victorious they thanked God.

When Nebrot' heard (this), he was angry and marched against them with all his forces. Now Haos had not as many troops as those of Nebrot'; he fortified himself in the rough ground of Masis, while Nebrot' took up a position below. He was covered with armour of iron and bronze from the heels of his feet to the crown of his head. He went up on to a hill in order to speak to Haos; he told him to submit and be pleased to return. But Haos said to his giants: 'Defend my rear, and I shall approach Nebrot'.' He set off and went up close, facing Nebrot'. He shot an arrow which struck Nebrot''s chest, (went) through the plate of bronze, and came out behind. Then Nebrot' fell, his army fled, and the descendants of

sun;<sup>27</sup> spinning around, he immediately breathed his last.<sup>28</sup> His entire army collapsed, and the house of T'orgom enjoyed relief from worry. [11] Hayk reigned over his brothers and all the neighbouring peoples. Arm.

However, K'art'los went to the mountain which is called Armaz. There he built for himself a house and a castle, and his whole land was called K'art'la after his name, from Xunan as far as the sea of Sper. He built Orbet', which is now called Šamsoytë, and the castle Lunan, which is made of brick.<sup>29</sup> After living there many

<sup>27</sup> That reflected the sun: *aregaknac'ayt*. This word is not in the *NBHL*; for the theme cf. 1. Macc. 6: 39.

<sup>28</sup> Breathed his last: *p'č'er zšunč'n*. Cf. M.X. i. 11: *p'č' zogin*.

<sup>29</sup> Made of brick: *aliwsašën*. The Georgian *mtueri* means 'ashes, dust'. The castle Mtueri is rendered as *Moxraberđ*, 'castle of ashes', below, V13 (n. 47).

T'argamos were liberated. Then Haos made himself king over his brothers and over the other peoples neighbouring his borders. The seven brothers went off to each one's land and were subject to Haos. Geo.

Up to here we have recounted the story of the eight brothers.

### [8] *The Story of K'art'li*

But from here we shall begin and relate the story of K'art'li and of their people, and their history up to our own days, and how T'argamos divided the land among his family and his eight sons.

He gave to K'art'los the territory which we have described above. This K'art'los went first to the place where the Aragvi joins the Mtkuari. He went up on the mountain which is called Armazi, and first constructed fortresses on it and built a house there; and he called that mountain K'art'li by his own name. Until the idol of Armazi was erected there,<sup>4</sup> the mountain was called K'art'li. After that the whole of K'art'li was called K'art'li, from Xunan as far as the sea of Sper. After this the same K'art'los built the castle of Orbi, which is now called Samšwilde. He also built the castle of Mtueri, which is now called Xunan. He lived for many years and his family multiplied. Among his children five giants became noteworthy, whose names were: of the first Mc'xet'os, of

<sup>4</sup> For the idol see below, Q25.

*Arm.* years he died, leaving five valiant sons: Mc'xet'a, Gardbos, Kaxos, Kuxos,<sup>30</sup> Gajis.

Mc'xet'a was the eldest<sup>31</sup> of them. He buried his father at the entrance<sup>32</sup> of K'art'li on Mount Armaz. The wife of K'art'los built Mayraber<sup>33</sup> and the city which is called Rīša, also (known as) Partizak'alak'.<sup>34</sup>

She divided the whole land among the five sons. Gajēos built the city of Gajēn. Kaxos built C'elt' and Kaxēt'. And Mc'xet'os built the city of Mc'xet'a, and ruled over the four brothers.

<sup>30</sup> Kuxos: ABCD read *zkoxk'*; V prints *Kotk'is*.

<sup>31</sup> Eldest: *awag*, 'senior', not 'gigantic' as Geo.

<sup>32</sup> Entrance: *glux*, rendering *t'avi*, lit. 'head'. It refers to the first part of a region rather than its highest part.

<sup>33</sup> Mayraber: an exact rendering of *Deda-c'ixe* (mother-fortress).

<sup>34</sup> Partizak'alak': an exact rendering of *Bostan-k'alak'i* (garden-city).

*Geo.* the second, Gardabos, of the third Kaxos, of the fourth Kuxos, of the fifth Gač'ios.

These five were giants, but Mc'xet'os was more gigantic than the others. K'art'los died, and they buried him at the entrance of K'art'li, which is now called Armazi. After this his wife built Deda-c'ixe; and she also built Bostan-k'alak'i, which is now called Rustavi.

The wife of K'art'los divided (the land) among those same five giants, her sons. To Gardabos she gave Xunan and defined the boundary: from the east the river Berduji, from the west the city Gač'iani, from the south the mountain previously mentioned, and from the north the Mtkuari. [9] To Gač'ios she gave the castle of Orbi and (the land) from the river Skwired'i as far as the entrance to Aboc'. This Gač'ios built the city of Gač'iani, which is now called the city Sanadiro.<sup>5</sup> To Kuxos she gave the city Bostan-k'alak'i, which is now called Rustavi; and she gave him (the land) from the Aragvi as far as Heret'i, to the junction<sup>6</sup> between the mountain of Kaxet'i and the Mtkuari. To Kaxos she gave (the land) between the Caucasus and the mountain of Kaxet'i, from the Aragvi as far as Tqetba, which is the frontier of Heret'i. This Kaxos built Č'elet'i. Kuxos helped in the construction of Č'eleti.

<sup>5</sup> Sanadiro is named only here in K'C'. It means 'place for the hunt' (from *nadiri*, 'game').

<sup>6</sup> The MSS read *t'avadmde*, 'as far as the head' (cf. n. 13 in *Arm.*). Q suggests the emendation [. . . *šesar*]*t'avadmde*, 'as far as the junction'.

He had three famous sons: Op'los,<sup>35</sup> Ojrxos, Ĵawaxos, to whom *Arm.* he gave the land of his inheritance. Ojrxē built two fortified cities:<sup>36</sup> Ojrxē and T'uxrisi.

Ĵawaxos built two fortified towns,<sup>37</sup> Canday and Artahan, which was first called 'city of the K'aj'.<sup>38</sup> Up'los built Up'lis-c'ixē

<sup>35</sup> So the MSS.

<sup>36</sup> Fortified cities: *berdak'atak'*, rendering correctly *c'ixe-k'alak'i*.

<sup>37</sup> Fortified towns: *giwlak'atak' berdov* for *c'ixe-k'alak'i*.

<sup>38</sup> City of the K'aj: *K'ajac' k'atak'*. *K'aj'*, common to Armenian and Georgian, as an adjective means 'valiant'. The noun is also used of 'spirits', e.g. those on Mt. Masis in M.X. ii. 61. *Huri* is the Persian for 'virgin of paradise'. The same epithets are given to Artahan below, p. Q23; but at p. Q44 it is Cunda which is called *k'ajatun*, defined as 'house of demons'.

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Because Deda-c'ixe was the portion of Kaxos, the latter gave it to *Geo.* him for the sake of his assistance; and he helped in the construction of Ć'eleti, which was called Ber<sup>7</sup>—the first construction of Kaxet'i.

Now Mc'xet'os, who was the most gigantic of his brothers, stayed in the domains of his father K'art'los, which they now call Armazi. He built a city between the junction of the Mtkuari and the Aragvi, and named it Mc'xet'a. Furthermore he held the land from Tp'ilisi and from the Aragvi as far as the sea of Sper on the west. He was governor and lord over his four brothers, and the four were subject to him. These are the divisions among the sons of K'art'los which their mother effected after the death of K'art'los. Now the son of K'art'los (Mc'xet'os) lived for many years and a long time, and his family multiplied; and the progeny of them all multiplied.

Among the sons of Mc'xet'os three valiant giants became famous, whose names were: of the first Up'los, and of the next Ojrhos, and of the third Ĵawaxos. He divided among them the land and all their people.<sup>8</sup> To Ojrhos he gave (the land) from Tasis-kari as far as the sea of Sper, a rocky land. This Ojrhos built two fortified cities: Ojrhe and T'uxarisi. [10] To Ĵawaxos he gave (the land) from P'anavari as far as the head of the Mtkuari. This Ĵawaxos built two fortified cities: Cunda and the city of Artani, which was then called the city of the K'aj', but is now called Huri. Now Up'los

<sup>7</sup> Ber: only here in K'C', and not in *Wakhocht*. It means 'old (man)', and presumably refers to the antiquity of the site, the 'first' construction.

<sup>8</sup> People: *nat'esavi*. 'Land' and 'people' are both objects of the verb.

*Arm.* and Urbnis and Kasp. His lot, as far as the entrance to Tayk',<sup>39</sup> was called Inner K'art'li.<sup>40</sup>

The descendants of T'orgom built these fortresses because of their fear of the descendants of Nebrot',<sup>41</sup> who oppressed them in vengeance for the blood of their ancestor Nebrot'. But they were unable to defeat them because of their unity<sup>42</sup> down to the death of Mc'xet'a.

Now on the death of Mc'xet'a the [12] whole house of K'art'li fell into discord. For they did not wish Up'los to rule over themselves, whom his father K'art'los had appointed over the whole land. The struggle lasted for a long time. It would happen that wise

<sup>39</sup> Entrance (or 'gate') to Tayk': *Tayoc' durn*, a literal rendering of *Tasis-kari*.

<sup>40</sup> *Arm.* omits *Zena-sop'eli*, 'upper land'. Inner (*nerk'in*) correctly renders *sida*.

<sup>41</sup> Descendants of T'orgom: here *Arm.* has the collective *T'orgomeank'*; cf. *Geo.* at n. 3. Descendants of Nebrot': here *Arm.* has the adjective *Nebrovt'akank'* for the *Geo.* *Nebrovt'ianni*.

<sup>42</sup> The addition in *Arm.* emphasizing Armenian unity is reminiscent of a major theme in Eliše, e.g. p. 95.

*Geo.* stayed in Mc'xet'a, the domain of their father Mc'xet'os. He held the land from the Aragvi and from Tp'ilisi as far as Tasis-kari and P'anavari. He built Up'lis-c'ixe, Urbnisi, Kaspi. The land from the Aragvi and Armazi as far as Tasis-kari he called *Zena-sop'eli*, which is now called Inner Kart'li.

Until the death of Mc'xet'os all these families descended from T'argamos were on friendly terms with each other. They were possessed by fear of the descendants of Nebrot', and thought that the latter would seek (vengeance) for the blood of Nebrot'. So they hastened to defend their fortified cities out of fear of the descendants of Nebrot'.

Now when Mc'xet'os, the son of K'art'los, died, jealousy fell between the sons of K'art'los. They began to fight and quarrel with each other. For they did not obey Up'los, son of Mc'xet'os, nor did they call him lord who had been left on the throne of K'art'los—because the lordship of the descendants of K'art'los had been given him by his father. They began to fight and quarrel with each other, and they prolonged their mutual antagonism. At one time two families from among them would rise up against one, and some of the others would give the latter aid. Or again some would oppose each other and different ones would lend help. At another time peace would be made between them, and then they would



men tried to make some peace between them; then again turbulence occurred between them. At that time the city of Mc'xet'a grew large and was named capital<sup>43</sup> of the house of K'art'l. The lord who resided there was called *tanutēr* of the whole land; they bestowed on him not 'king,' nor 'prince,' nor any other title of honour.<sup>44</sup> Arm.

Thereafter they forgot God their creator, and worshipped the sun and moon and the other five<sup>45</sup> stars; and they swore by the tomb of their father K'art'los.

[13] At that time the nation of the Xazars grew strong and fought against the people of the Leks and of Kovkas. Reduced to

<sup>43</sup> Capital: *mayr k'atak'ac'*, for the sing. Georgian form *deda-k'alak'i*.

<sup>44</sup> *Tanutēr*: a traditional Armenian title (see Garsoian, *EH*, 563) which well renders *mamasaxlisi*. Here *naxarar* renders *erist'avi*; but see below, n. 71, for the wide range of terms used by the Armenian translator for that Georgian title.

<sup>45</sup> Five: 'seven' in BD and V. When numbers are rendered by letters and not written out, confusion between *e* and *ē* is exceedingly common. For star-worship as a religion invented by Alexander the Great see below, Q18, V20.

again fall into disorder and strife. [11] Such a state of affairs continued for a long time between them. None among them became pre-eminent or most famous,<sup>9</sup> but from place to place (different) leaders appeared. Whoever was at Mc'xet'a, he became leader over all the others. They did not name him king or *erist'avi*, but called him *mamasaxlisi*. And he was peace-maker and judge of the other descendants of K'art'los. For the city of Mc'xet'a had become the greatest of all, and they called it the capital city. Geo.

At that time they forgot God their creator and became worshippers of the sun and moon and of the five stars. And their strongest and most serious oath was the tomb of K'art'los.

### *The Attack of the Xazars*<sup>10</sup>

At that time the Xazars grew strong and began to attack the peoples of Lek and Kavkas. All the descendants of T'argamos at that

<sup>9</sup> Pre-eminent or most famous: *ucarč'inebules da usaxelovanes*. The former has implications of nobility; see below, Q27 n. 20. But the latter does not connote any specific rank.

<sup>10</sup> Leonti Mroveli uses the Persian national epos as a framework for early Georgian history; see Q13-15. But the Khazars do not fit into that pattern at this point. The earliest reference to the Khazars in Armenian sources are M.X. ii. 65, and the *AŠX*.

*Arm.* dire straits, they requested the six peoples<sup>46</sup> of the house of T'orgom—who in those days were living in happiness and peace—to come and assist them. They set off willingly and in ready array. Crossing the Caucasus mountain, they ravaged the land of the Hazars under the command of Ducuk, son of Tirit'is, who had summoned them to his assistance.

After this the Hazars again gathered together, imposed a king upon themselves, formed a great army, and came through the Pass of Darband against T'orgom, as far as the plain of Ararat and of Masis. They slaughtered and took captives, since they were numberless. There remained only the fortified cities of the north, and Moxraberđ,<sup>47</sup> Xunan, Samšoyltē, Dabi,<sup>48</sup> and Egris. [14] The Hazars found another pass, which is called Darial. They increased their raids against T'orgom and subjected them to tribute.

<sup>46</sup> For T'orgom had eight sons, including Lek and Kovkas.

<sup>47</sup> For *Moxraberđ* rendering *Mtueri* see above, n. 29.

<sup>48</sup> Dabi: the other references to Dab or Darb, V46, 64 below, are misrenderings of the Georgian for 'village'.

*Geo.* time lived in mutual and friendly peace. Durjuk, son of Tiret'i, was lord over the sons of Kavkas. They consulted with the six peoples descended from T'argamos, and they requested help against the Hazars. All the peoples descended from T'argamos united, crossed the Caucasus mountain, ravaged all the territory of Hazaret'i, built cities at the entrance to Hazaret'i, and returned.

After that the Hazars appointed a king; all the Hazars submitted to this king, their sovereign. They advanced and came out at the Pass of the Sea, which is now called Daruband. The descendants of T'argamos were unable to resist them, because the multitude of the Hazars was numberless. They plundered the land of the descendants of T'argamos, destroyed all the [12] cities of Ararat and of Masis and of the north. There were left (only) the fortified cities T'uxarisi and Samšwilde and the castle of Mtueri, which is Xunan, Inner K'art'li, and Egrisi. The Hazars knew two roads, namely the Pass of the Sea, Daruband, and the Pass of the Aragvi, which is the Darial. The attacks of the Hazars and their pillaging increased; and no one could resist them. From then on all the descendants of T'argamos became tributary to the Hazars.

The first captives from Armenia and Georgia the king of the Xazars gave to his son Uobos, and a part<sup>49</sup> of the Caucasus from the river Łamek to the end of the mountain range in the west. Uobos with his people settled the land which is called Osēt'. Then a certain Derjuk, a man renowned among the sons of Kovkas, went and fortified himself in the defiles of the mountain; and he paid tribute to the king of the Xazars. He named the place Durjkēt'. The same king of the Xazars gave to his cousin<sup>50</sup> a part of Lekan,<sup>51</sup> from the sea of Darband in the east as far as the river Łumek<sup>52</sup> in the west, giving him the captives from Ran and from Movkan. He built there a habitation for himself. Then a certain Xuzuni, one of the sons of Lekan, entered the ravines of the mountain and built a city Xuzunis after his own name. Much time passed, and all the peoples of the north paid tribute to the Xazars.

Arm.

<sup>49</sup> A part: *masn inc'*. *Masn* renders *nacili*, which can also mean 'portion', 'share'. For the territory given as inheritance to Kavkas see above, Q6.

<sup>50</sup> Cousin: 'father's brother's son' in Arm. and Geo.

<sup>51</sup> A part: *masn inc'*; whereas the area is the whole portion of Lekan; cf. above, Q5.

<sup>52</sup> Łumek; a correction by Abulaje for the meaningless *kolmn ekay* of the MSS and V.

Now when the king of the Xazars first came out and ravaged the lands which I described above, he crossed the mountain of the Caucasus. He had a son named Uobos, and to his son he gave the captives of Armenia and of K'art'li. He also gave him as territory the portion of Kavkas to the west of the river Lomeki as far as the western (side) of the mountain. Uobos settled (there). Their descendants are the Ossetes; and that is Oset'i, which was the portion of Kavkas. But Durjuk, who was the most prominent among the sons of Kavkas, went and dwelt in the defile of the mountain and called it Durjuket'i after his own name. And he paid tribute to the king of the Xazars. On the same road the king of the Xazars gave to his cousin the portion of Lekan, on the east from the sea of Daruband as far as the river of Lomeki; and he gave him the captives of Ran and of Movakan. He settled there, which was the portion of Lekan. Xozonix, who was the most prominent among the descendants of Lekan, went and dwelt in the ravine of the mountain. He built a city and called it Xozanixet'i after his own name. Then much time passed, and all these peoples were tributary to the Xazars.

Geo.

*Arm.* After this the people of Nebrot' increased to the east. There appeared from among them a man named Abriton,<sup>53</sup> of whom they say that by magic he bound in iron bonds the lord of serpents called Biwrasp [15] on the uninhabited mountain of Rayis,<sup>54</sup> as it is written in the books of the Persians.<sup>55</sup> He subjected many peoples to tribute and ruled over the house of Persia. He sent his general, Adarma,<sup>56</sup> a descendant of Nebrot', to the land of the Georgians. On his arrival he destroyed cities and castles, and slaughtered those of the Xazars whom he found. Then he ruled over the land.

He built on the sea coast Daruband, which is 'shut the gate.'<sup>57</sup> This Adarmos built Mc'xet'a with stones cemented with mortar, and began a wall from the mountain Armaz<sup>58</sup> as far as the river

<sup>53</sup> i.e. the Faridūn of the Persian tradition.

<sup>54</sup> M.X., end of book i, gives the earliest Armenian version of the story of Biwrasp; he calls the mountain Dembavend, like the Persian (R. Levy, *The Epic of the Kings* (Chicago, 1967), 20). For the identity of the two sites see *Eranšahr*, 127.

<sup>55</sup> If this phrase is by Leonti, and if he wrote in the 8th c., his extensive knowledge of the Persian national epic could not derive from Firdawsī (d. 1020). But his reference to written sources does not necessarily mean that Leonti actually is quoting from one of the earlier written versions (such as the *Xudāy-nāmak*) rather than citing from oral tradition.

<sup>56</sup> *Adarma* in A (and Abulaje), *Adramay* in B, *Adaramay* in CD, omitted in V. For the various renderings of *erist'avi* in Arm. see below, n. 71.

<sup>57</sup> ABCD read *p'akea zdurn*, 'shut the gate', but V has *p'akeal durn*, 'closed gate'. Geo. reads *daḡsta* (*kari*), which is 3rd sing. aor., not imperative.

<sup>58</sup> The MSS of Arm. are all in error, and V prints Amraz.

*Geo.* From then on the Persians, the descendants of Nebrot', gained strength on the east. A certain giant, [13] named Ap'ridon, became pre-eminent among the families of Nebrot': 'Who tied with a chain Bevrasp', lord of serpents, and fastened him on a mountain which is inaccessible for men.' Such is written in the *History of the Persians*. Ap'ridon ruled over the land of the Persians. To some lands he despatched *erist'avis*, his henchmen, and other lands he made tributary. He sent off with a large army his *erist'avi* who was called Ardam, a descendant of Nebrot'. He came to K'art'li, destroyed all the cities and castles of K'art'li, and killed as many Xazars as he found in K'art'li.

This *erist'avi* Ardam built a city at the Pass of the Sea and he named it Daruband, which means 'he shut the gate'. He also enclosed the city of Mc'xet'a with a mortared stone (wall). Up to

Kur. Now the house of the Georgians, which is K'art'l, up to this time did not know the art of mortar and stone. Arm.

When Abriten divided his subjected (lands) among his three sons, he gave Persia and Georgia to one son whose name was Yarederax.<sup>59</sup> Adarmos lived as lord of Georgia for many years, and after him another four leaders succeeded to his position.<sup>60</sup> After that discord arose among the sons of Abriton, and the two brothers together slew Ariadarex. The Georgians, finding an opportunity, brought the Ossetes to their help. They killed the leader of the Persians on the plain while he was diverting himself,<sup>61</sup> and also slaughtered his troops; so they were untroubled by the Persians. However, the land of Ran and of Heret' remained with the Persians.

<sup>59</sup> i.e., the Īraj of Iranian tradition.

<sup>60</sup> Lord, leader: *išxan*, *glxawor*; see n. 71 for various renderings of *erist'avi*.

<sup>61</sup> Diverting himself: *i zbawsans*. The Georgian verb *knisoba* is not common. I. Abulaje, *Jueli k'art'uli enis Lek'sikoni* (T'bilisi, 1973), gives only this reference without explanation. But the meaning 'to insult' is given by D. Čubinov, *Gruzinsko-russko-francuzshij slovar'* (St Petersburg, 1840), and A. Meckelein, *Georgisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (Berlin and Leipzig), 1928.

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then there had not been in K'art'li any construction of mortared stone; thenceforth they learnt that technique. The same Ardām undertook the mortared wall of the castle of Armazi, and from there as far as the Mtkuari. And he enclosed with a wall the projection of Armazi as far as the Mtkuari. Ardām was *erist'avi* for many years. Geo.

When Ap'ridon divided the whole land among his three sons, then the son to whom he gave the house of Persia also had K'art'li as his portion; he was named Iared. After the *erist'avi* Ardām there was a succession of four *erist'avis*. From then on the sons of Ap'ridon were occupied, because they began to fight with each other. Two brothers killed Iared their brother. Then the (descendants) of K'art'los found an opportunity. They came to terms with the Ossetes. The Ossetes came down and found the *erist'avi* of the Persians outside on the plain. [14] He insulted them, and they killed him. Whatever Persians they found, the Ossetes and Georgians slew them all. So the Georgians were liberated. But Ran and Heret'i were subject to the Persians.

*Arm.* After this the king of Persia, whose name was K'ekapos,<sup>62</sup> again became powerful. He came to Mokan and to Heret', and intended to enter Leket'. But the leader of the Leks, a relative of Xuzanix, was a magician.<sup>63</sup> Through sorcery he blinded K'ekapos and his troops. When they turned back, their eyes were then opened. After making the land of Georgia tributary, they departed.

[16] At that time the astonishing report was spread abroad that Moses, the friend of the great God,<sup>64</sup> had brought the twelve tribes across the Red Sea, 60,000 strong,<sup>65</sup> and they were in the desert and eating manna-bread that came down from heaven.<sup>66</sup> When they heard this, all the heathen praised and blessed the God of Israel.

At that time all the people of T'orgom, united with the Armenians,<sup>67</sup> rebelled from the Persians and fortified their cities

<sup>62</sup> i.e., Kay Kavus of the Iranian epic, who was captured by a Dīv.

<sup>63</sup> Magician, sorcery: *kaxard*, *diwt'ut'iwn*, for which see references in R. W. Thomson, "Let Now the Astrologers Stand Up", *DOP* 46 (1992), 305-12, but in Geo. two forms from the same stem, *mgrjnebeli* and *grjneba*.

<sup>64</sup> For Moses as God's friend cf. Vardan, *Chronicle*, 1.

<sup>65</sup> 600,000 in Exod. 12: 37.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Exod. 16: 15 for the definition of manna as bread. Note the frequent elaborations in Arm. of biblical or theological themes.

<sup>67</sup> This is peculiar phrasing, since both Arm. and Geo. emphasize that T'argamos was the common ancestor of both peoples.

*Geo.* Many years after this the Persians again grew strong. And the king of the Persians, who was called K'ekapos, became powerful. At that time there was a certain man in Leket'i, a magician, a relative of Xozanixi. Through his magic he blinded King K'ekapos and his army, so he was unable to enter Leket'i. He turned back, and immediately he regained the sight of his eyes. K'ekapos again made the Georgians tributary, and departed.

Some years after that the report came that Moses had brought the Israelites across the Sea, and that they were being nourished on manna in the desert. All were astonished, and all the heathen praised the God of the Israelites.

Some years thereafter K'ekapos, king of the Persians, became occupied because a war with the Turks had begun.<sup>11</sup> The Armenians and Georgians found this an opportune time. They

<sup>11</sup> The Turks do not appear in history at the time of Moses or of Nebuchadnezzar! The reference is to the war between Kāvūs and the Turks led by Afrāsiyāb in the Iranian epic.

and castles. Vexed, K'ekapos sent his general P'araporot<sup>68</sup> with a large army against T'orgom. The Armenians and Georgians went out to oppose them, and came upon them in Atrpatakan. When battle was joined, they slaughtered many, and P'araporot fled with a few survivors. In anger K'ekapos despatched his grandson, son of Biuab the handsome<sup>69</sup> who had been killed by the Turks; his name was K'uē-Xosrov.<sup>70</sup> The Armenians and Georgians were unable to resist him, but were totally trampled under his feet. He

<sup>68</sup> The son of Kay Kāvts in the Iranian epic was called Fariborz.

<sup>69</sup> Biuab the handsome (*gelec'id*): this transformation of *Šioš bednieri* was caused by the easy and frequent confusion between *b* and *š* in *xuc'uri* script. Arm. thus read *b* for *š* in the name, but *š* for *b* in the epithet, *šuenieri* for *bednieri*. The latter mistake would be aided by the translator's familiarity with the Armenian hero Ara 'the handsome' (M.X. i. 15).

<sup>70</sup> i.e., Kay Xusraw, son of Siyarosh.

rebelled from the Persians and fortified their castles and cities. All the nations descended from T'argamos united. Some years after this K'ekapos, the king of the Persians, despatched his son, who was called P'araporot, with a large army against the Armenians and Georgians and all the descendants of T'argamos. However, all the descendants of T'argamos gathered together, went out to oppose them, and defeated them in Adarbadagan. They routed P'araporot and destroyed his army. A few years after this the same K'ekapos again despatched his grandson, the son of Šioši the fortunate who had been killed in Turk'et'i, as is written in the books of the *History of the Persians*. [15] This son of Šioši, K'aixosro by name, set out. The Armenians and Georgians were unable to resist him, because his force was great. He entered all Armenia and Georgia, and plundered it all. He sacked all the fortresses and cities, and left *erist'avis*. He built in Adarbadagan a house of prayer of their religion, and departed.

Some years after this King K'aixosro was occupied: he had begun a war against the Turks in order to seek (vengeance) for the blood of their father. The Armenians and Georgians took the opportunity. They rebelled from the Persians, slew the Persians' *erist'avis*, and liberated themselves. Now at that same time the Turks came who had been defeated by K'aixosro. They crossed the

*Arm.* established satraps,<sup>71</sup> built in Atrpatakan a house of prayer according to their religion,<sup>72</sup> and went to his own country.

He began to wage war with the Turks, who had killed his father. Some of the Turks fled from him, twenty-eight families.<sup>73</sup> They came to the *tanutēr*<sup>74</sup> of Mc'xet'a [17] and requested from him a cave to the east<sup>75</sup> of the city. This they walled as their dwelling house, and called it Sarakinē, which means 'iron mines.'<sup>76</sup> Because K'ūē-Xosrov was not occupied with the Armenians and Georgians, therefore they took strength and slew the Persian lords and equipped their<sup>77</sup> fortresses. At the same time there arrived in the land of Georgia some refugees from among the Greeks and Syrians<sup>78</sup> and Xazars who had been oppressed by their enemies.

<sup>71</sup> Satraps: *gorcakal*. Cf. M.X. i. 21 for this term used of Persian governors, and in general Garsoian, *EH* 528. *Arm.* is not consistent in its rendering of *erist'avi*; also used are: *gawarapet*, *glxawor*, *išxan*, *išxec'ot*, *kołmnakal*, *naxarar*, *ostikan*, *zawraglux*.

<sup>72</sup> Religion: *den*. The Georgian *s'juli*, 'law', is more exactly rendered by *awrēnk'*.

<sup>73</sup> Families: *tun*, 'house', as the Georgian *saxli*. For the defeat of the Turks and the death of Afrāsiyāb cf. Levy, 173-4.

<sup>74</sup> Sarkine was a suburb (*t'al*, Geo. *ubani*) of Mc'xet'a to the west; see *Wakhoucht* 213. *Arm.* here makes a rare error in translation.

<sup>75</sup> Iron mines: *erkat'ahank'*. *Sarkine* means 'iron', but 'mines' is an addition in *Arm.*

<sup>76</sup> Their: as BD, om. in AC.

<sup>77</sup> Syrians: *Asoroc'*, in Geo. *Asuret'i*, i.e. western Syria, distinguished from *Asorestan* (Geo. *Asurastan*), which is northern Mesopotamia.

*Geo.* sea of Gurgan, went up the Mtkuari, and arrived at Mc'xet'a, twenty-eight families. They came to terms with the *mamasaxlisi* of Mc'xet'a, and promised to help him against the Persians. The *mamasaxlisi* of Mc'xet'a informed all the Georgians, who wanted to make an alliance with the Turks because they were afraid of the Persians. For the sake of support the immigrant Turks made an alliance, and they were dispersed among all the cities. The majority of them went and found a place at Mc'xet'a, a cave hewn out among the rocks on the western side. They requested this site from the *mamasaxlisi* of Mc'xet'a. He granted it, and they built it up, walled it strongly, and called the place Sarkine. The Turks and Georgians joined in a willing alliance. While waiting for the arrival of the Persians, they fortified the castles and cities. At that time whoever came from Greek territory for reason of persecution, or fled from Syria or from Xazaret'i, the Georgians befriended them all for the sake of their help against the Persians.



(The Georgians) received them for the sake of their help against the Persians. Arm.

Around those times came also the Jews, escaping from<sup>79</sup> Nebuchadnezzar who had captured Jerusalem.<sup>80</sup> They requested from the *tanut'er* of Mc'xet'a a place in return for tribute. He gave them (a place) at the spring<sup>81</sup> called Zanaw above the river Aragvi; now it is called Xerk because of the paying of tribute.<sup>82</sup>

Up to this moment Armenian was the language of the Georgians. But then they began to grow different from the nations who dwelt among them. There occurred a mixture<sup>83</sup> of all (the tongues), and they came together in this which is now called Georgian. Thenceforth they selected a religion<sup>84</sup> and way of life more indecent and dissolute than every (other) people. For in

<sup>79</sup> Escaping: *zercealk'*, Geo. *otebulni*, which is more properly rendered by *p'axs-takan*, as in the previous paragraph.

<sup>80</sup> 4 Kgs. 24.

<sup>81</sup> At the spring: *yatbern*, as AC.

<sup>82</sup> Tribute: *hark* in Armenian, *xark* in Georgian.

<sup>83</sup> Mixture: *xairnakel*, as in Gen. 11: 7, 9. The Armenian of Gen. 11: 9 renders *Σύγχυσις* of the LXX by *xairnakut'iwñ*. For the various languages spoken in Georgia see below, Q16, 163. For Armenian theories on the origin of language see A. N. Erznkac'i-Srapyan, 'Lezvi harc'erd Hay k'erakanneri gorcerum', *PBH* 126 (1989/3), 122-32, and Thomson, *Vardan*, 12 nn. 3, 4.

<sup>84</sup> Religion: *krawns*, *sjuli* in Geo., as above, n. 72.

Meanwhile much time passed. Then King Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem. The Jews who fled from there came to Georgia, and requested from the *mamasaxlisi* of Mc'xet'a [16] territory in return for tribute. He gave (a place) and settled them on the Aragvi, at a spring which was called Zanavi. They held the land under tribute, and because of the tribute it is now called Xerk. Geo.

Up to this time the language of the descendants of K'art'los in which they conversed had been Armenian. But when these innumerable nations had come together in K'art'li, then the Georgians abandoned the Armenian tongue. From all these nations was created the Georgian language. All these nations adopted the most foul religion. For with regard to marriages they paid no attention

*Arm.* marriage they made no distinction of family relationship;<sup>85</sup> and they ate all crawling reptiles and worms and corpses,<sup>86</sup> and had no tombs.

After this there came to attack Armenia another king of the Persians, Spandiar by name, son of Vašt'apīš.<sup>87</sup> On reaching Atrpatakan he heard the sad news that the race of Turks had killed his uncle.<sup>88</sup> So he turned back to Turkestan, and the Armenians and Georgians were at ease. After this Vahram, son of Spandiar, also known as Artašēs, ruled over the Persians.<sup>89</sup> [18] He was more powerful than all the kings of the Persians. He took Babylon and imposed tribute on Asorestan<sup>90</sup> and the Greeks and Georgians.

<sup>85</sup> Early Armenian texts often attack marriages between close relatives, which were characteristic of Zoroastrian practice. See, for example, P'.B. iv. 4, with further references in the notes *ad loc.* of Garsoian, *EH* 273.

<sup>86</sup> The eating of carrion was also condemned by P'awstos; see references in the previous note. For reptiles and worms as forbidden see Eznik, *De Deo*, § 63. 'That was living' (in Geo.), *sulieri*, i.e., possessed of a *suli*, which renders the Greek *πνεύμα* or *ψυχή*.

<sup>87</sup> Vašt'apīš is the Guštasp of the Iranian epic; his son was Esfandiyār. Arm. omits *rvali*, 'bronze'.

<sup>88</sup> Esfandiyār's uncle Zarir had been killed by the Turks. It is noteworthy that the Armenian translator was more familiar with this Iranian tradition than Leonti Mroveli.

<sup>89</sup> This is Ardashir Bahman of the Iranian epic.

<sup>90</sup> Asorestan: but *Asuret'i* in Geo.; cf. n. 78 above.

*Geo.* to family relationship; and they ate everything that was living. There was no burial, and they ate the corpses.

Some years after this the son of the Persian king Vaštašabi, called Spandiat-Rvali, attacked; he was a Goliath and a celebrated man. The Armenians and Georgians were unable to resist him, but fortified their castles and cities and awaited his arrival. When he reached Adarbadagan news of Persia arrived, that the Turks had killed his grandfather and had entered Persia. Then Spandiat abandoned the war with the Armenians and Georgians, and turned back to attack the Turks, seeking (vengeance) for the blood of his grandfather. So the Armenians and Georgians were liberated. Some years after this the son of Spandiat became king in Persia; he was called Baram and was known by (the name of) Ardašir. He became greater than all the kings of the Persians. He seized Babylon and Syria, and imposed tribute on the Greeks and Romans. Then the Georgians too became tributary to him.

At that time they spoke in Georgia six languages: Armenian and Zazar, Syrian and Hebrew, Greek and the combination of their mixture—Georgian.<sup>91</sup> Arm.

[19] At that time arose Alexander the Great,<sup>92</sup> son of Nectanebo an Egyptian, in the land of Macedon, who controlled the three<sup>93</sup> corners of the world. He came from the west along the north, and having gone round through the east he entered the shady<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Arm. returns to the theory previously mentioned, changing the meaning of the Georgian. For a different tradition see below, V81.

<sup>92</sup> For legends about Alexander see in general G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, 1956). The Armenian version of the *Alexander Romance*, §158, claims that A. came to Armenia, but does not mention Georgia. However, §209 has variants; and Brosset 35 n. 6 notes a reference to the Georgians. For the text of the *Alexander Romance* known to Leonti Mroveli see Naschakidze, *Georgica* 12. For Alexander in Persian traditions see forthcoming articles in *E. Iranica*, 'Du'l-qarnayn', 'Eskandar'.

<sup>93</sup> Three: confusion between g (3) and d (4) in Armenian is easy.

<sup>94</sup> Shady: i.e. north. See above, n. 12.

Now all these peoples in K'art'li became so mixed that six languages were spoken in K'art'li: Armenian, Georgian, Zazar, Syrian, Hebrew, and Greek. All the kings of Georgia, (and) the men and the women, knew these languages. Geo.

### [17] *The Expedition of Alexander*

Alexander became prominent in the land of Greece, in the country which they call Macedon; (he was) the son of Nectanebo, an Egyptian, as the account of him is written in the book of the Greeks. This Alexander conquered all ends of the world. He came from the west, entered from the south, went up by the north, crossed the Caucasus, and came to K'art'li. He found all the Georgians (living) by the most foul religion of all nations. For in marriage and fornication they paid no attention to family relationship, they ate everything that was living, they ate corpses like wild beasts and animals; the description of their way of life is inexpressible. He saw that these wild heathen peoples which we call 'real' Turk and Kipchak<sup>12</sup> were settled on the river Mtkuari in its winding. Alexander was astonished, because (other) peoples did not live thus. He wished to extirpate them from the cities, but at

<sup>12</sup> Real: *bun*, 'original'. These 'Turks' are only mentioned with reference to Alexander. The Kipchaks (*Qivč'aq*) are not mentioned again until Q336 below.

*Arm.* country and crossed the Caucasus mountain into the land of the Georgians. He was astonished at their dissolute life.

[20] Since he saw many castles, he wore out his army for six months in capturing them: Cunda, Xert'wis,<sup>95</sup> Unjexē, (which was) erected on the rock of Ladas, T'ufars on the river of Sper, which is called the Ćorox, Urbnis, Kasb, Up'lis-c'ixē, which means 'the lord's castle',<sup>96</sup> Mc'xet'a, the suburbs<sup>97</sup> which were called Sarakina, C'ixē-did, which means 'the great fortress',<sup>98</sup> Zawan the quarter of the Jews, Riša, Mayraberđ,<sup>99</sup> Šamsoutē, and the fortress of the river Kur, Xunan. In these he found strong fighters. He divided his own troops among them all, and established himself at

<sup>95</sup> These names have become garbled in the Armenian MSS. *Xert'visi* means 'island'. Ladas: Georgian *g* may easily be confused with *l* in minuscule script.

<sup>96</sup> A correct translation.

<sup>97</sup> Suburbs: *t'alk'*, correctly rendering *ubanni*. But later scribes mistook it for a proper name, hence the following verb is in the sing., not the plural as required.

<sup>98</sup> A correct translation.

<sup>99</sup> *Mayraberđ* correctly renders *dedač'ixe* (major fortress). But in V it is taken as a proper name.

*Geo.* that time he was unable to do so, because he found the castles defended and the cities fortified. Furthermore, other peoples, the K'aldeveli,<sup>13</sup> had come, and they too had settled in K'art'li.

After this Alexander grew strong and conquered the whole world. He came to the land of Georgia and found these fortified cities in Inner K'art'li: Cunda, Xert'wisi of the Mtkuari, Ojrhe suspended on a cliff of Ćado, T'uxarisi on the river of Sper, which they call the Ćoroxi, Urbnisi, Kaspi and Up'lis-c'ixē, the great city of Mc'xet'a and its suburbs, Sarkine, C'ixe-didi, and Zanavi, the quarter of the Jews, [18] and Rust'avi, and the major fortress Samswilde, and the fortress of Mtueri which is Xunan, and the cities of Kaxet'i. In all these fortified cities he found strong warriors. He divided his army and besieged all these fortified cities; he himself stayed at Mc'xet'a. He posted his army to either side, above and below, and took up his own position on the K'san, at a place called Nastaki. But he did not attack the fortresses of Mtueri or T'uxarisi, because he would have been unable to capture them. In six months he captured these other fortresses and cities.

<sup>13</sup> K'aldeveli: Chaldaeans. For the form cf. Acts 7: 4; for those in the Caucasus see Strabo xii. 3. 18. Their deity is mentioned below, Q91, Q106.

the place called Astagi.<sup>1</sup> However, he did not attack the castles of T'ulars and Xunan, because they were impregnable. Arm.

He besieged the inhabitants of Sarakinē<sup>2</sup> for twelve<sup>3</sup> months because they had insulted Alexander; and he did not make a treaty with them. Eventually they dug through the soft (rock of the) cavern to the other side;<sup>4</sup> they all came out and fled at night to the Caucasus. But he slaughtered many of the others, and took captive women and innocent children under twelve<sup>5</sup> years old.

Over the country he appointed as patrician, which is 'elder', a Macedonian called Azon, and gave him 100,000 soldiers, who were the guard,<sup>6</sup> very brave and strong fighters. They were seriously

<sup>1</sup> Astagi: the initial *n* has been lost by confusion with the suffix *n* on the preceding word.

<sup>2</sup> For their Turkish origin see above, VI6-17.

<sup>3</sup> Twelve: there are no variants to the numbers in the MSS of either text.

<sup>4</sup> Brosset (ad loc. ) notes a parallel in the *Life* of Šio Mgvimeli. Part of that *Life* is quoted in an interpolation into the *K'C'*, pp. 210-12 of the Georgian text, translated below, pp. 365-6.

<sup>5</sup> Twelve: there are no variants to the numbers in the MSS of either text.

<sup>6</sup> Guard: *p'rotitosik* (not the pl. *-k'*), rendering *p'rotat'osehni*. The word cannot derive from the Greek *πρότακτος*, as suggested by the editor of V, since *p'* renders *φ*, not *π* (as in *patrik*, above). The word may represent a form derived from *phrouros*. H. Ačatean, *Hayerēn Armatakan Bararan*, rev. edn. (Erevan, 1971-9), s. v., suggests that the first *t* of the Armenian is a corruption of *wr*; this is plausible in Armenian, but less so in the original Georgian. The Georgian applies the term *p'rotat'os* to the city of Rome, and uses the adj. *p'rotat'osehni* for the soldiers. As in Armenian, *p'* in Georgian renders Greek *φ*, not *π*. The curious form *P'romni*, for *Hromni*, occurs in Acts 16: 21.

Now the Sarkineliens, of 'real Turk' origin, insulted the king. Alexander was angered and did not wish a treaty at all. He rejected their request and said to them: 'Since you insulted me, this is your lot, that I slaughter you all.' He surrounded the city of Sarkine, and not a single person escaped. He caused much hardship for the Sarkineliens, because he attacked them for eleven months. Secretly they began to hew out the rock and to drill through the cliff, which was soft and easily cut. The Sarkineliens escaped through the hole by night and fled to the Caucasus; they left the city empty. Alexander conquered all K'art'li. He slaughtered all the mingled tribes living in K'art'li; he also slew or took captive all the foreign tribes, including women and innocent children less than 15 years old. Geo.

But he spared the tribes descended from K'art'los, and left over them as patrician one Azon by name, son of Iaredos, a relative of

*Arm.* oppressing the Greeks in their own country, therefore he removed them from there and handed them over to Azon. Azon appointed from among them commanders<sup>7</sup> throughout the whole land of Georgia.

Alexander commanded Azon to worship the sun and moon and the five stars,<sup>8</sup> and that they should serve the one invisible God, creator of heaven and earth. He imposed the same religion on the whole land, because in those days there was no preacher of the truth. Now Azon razed all the fortresses in the land of Georgia, leaving four castles at the entrance of Georgia, [21] which he filled with his troops. He imposed tribute on the Leks, the Ossetes, and the Xazars; and he ruled over all Georgia, from the regions of Heret' and Berdahoj' as far as the sea of Sper.

<sup>7</sup> Commanders: *išxec'ot* For the various Armenian renderings of *erist'avi* see above, n. 71.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, V12.

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*Geo.* his from the land of Macedon; and he gave him 100,000 men from the land of Rome, which is called P'rotat'os. The P'rotat'oselni were strong and courageous men, who were oppressing the land of Rome. He brought them to K'art'li, gave them to the patrician Azon, and left Azon in K'art'li as *erist'avi* with those troops in order to subdue K'art'li.

Alexander commanded Azon to worship the sun and moon and the five stars, and to serve the invisible God, the creator of the universe. For at that time there was no prophet or teacher of the true religion [19] who could teach and expound it. But Alexander himself had thought up this religion, and he imposed this religion on every land during his reign. Then Alexander departed. Now this Azon razed the walls of the city of Mc'xet'a from the foundations, but he left the four castles which stood at the entrance of K'art'li: the chief fortress, which is Armazi; a fortress at the end of the prolongation of Armazi; and one at the entrance of Mc'xet'a; a fourth fortress, to the west, Mc'xet'a on the Mtkuari. These he fortified and filled with soldiers. He razed the walls of all the cities of K'art'li, and occupied all the borders of K'art'li, from Heret'i and from the river of Berduj as far as the sea of Sper. And he occupied Egrisi in addition to K'art'li, and subjected the Ossetes to tribute, as well as the Leks and Xazars.

King Alexander subjected the world for twelve years. In the fifteenth<sup>9</sup> year he released to their own countries the hostages who were with him in servitude.

Arm.

He divided his empire among his four relatives.<sup>10</sup> To Antiochos, who built Antioch, he gave Asorestan;<sup>11</sup> to Hromos, who built a city in his own name, he gave<sup>12</sup> western Greece; to Biwzandos, who built Byzantium, he gave Thrace, Bithynia, and Georgia. And he wrote to Azon that he should submit to Biwzandos. He sent Platon to Egypt, giving him Alexandria. Then he himself completed his life.

<sup>9</sup> Fifteenth: All the MSS read 'fifteenth', but the editor of V prints 'twelfth'. For 'fourteenth' in MTd all other Georgian MSS read 'twelfth'. Alexander succeeded to the throne in 336, began his expedition abroad in 334, and died in 323. Iranian tradition puts his death in the 14th year; Levy, 237.

<sup>10</sup> Leonti omits the twelve years following Alexander's death before the fourfold division, as did M.X. ii. 2.

<sup>11</sup> It is noteworthy that Armenia is omitted here. M.X. ii. 1, also avoids saying who ruled in Armenia immediately after Alexander.

<sup>12</sup> He gave: in BD only. 'Western Greece', *z Yoyns yarewmtic*, is a curious rendering for Rome in Italy. In Armenian 'Rome' generally means New Rome, i.e. Constantinople.

When Alexander went to Egypt he built the city of Alexandria. For twelve years he went over the whole world, and in the twelfth year all corners of the earth were occupied. In the fourteenth year he died in Alexandria, the most upright and greatest ruler. When he was dying but while still alive, he sent back all the princes who had been captured and subjected by him. These went off to each one's country, as it had been commanded.

Geo.

Then he dispatched four men, relatives of his, who were called: Antiochos, Hromos, Bizintios, and Platon. To Antiochos he gave Asorestan and Armenia, and assigned to him the region of the east; he built the city of Antioch, named after him. To Hromos he gave Trimikios,<sup>14</sup> and assigned to him the region of the west; he built the city of Rome. [20] To Bizintios he gave Greece and K'art'li, and assigned to him the region of the north. And he wrote a testament to the patrician Azon, *erist'avi* of K'art'li, that he should submit to Bizantios. The latter built the city of Byzantium, which is now called Constantinople. To Platon he left Alexandria. Then Alexander died.

<sup>14</sup> T'rimikosi (T'rinikosi in M): a corruption for Thrace (?), normally *T'rakia* in Georgian.

*Arm.* After this Azon forgot the faith given by Alexander, and made two silver idols, Gac'im and Gayim by name,<sup>13</sup> which he worshipped. He was a tyrannical and blood-loving man, and was subject to Biwzand. Azon gave laws to his (men) that whoever found one of the Georgian race who was wealthy, of adult stature, and successful, was to kill him and take his possessions. He also turned against the Greeks, and killed many of them.

Then one of the sons of Mc'xet'a became noted, P'arnawaz by name,<sup>14</sup> of a Persian mother<sup>15</sup> (who was) from Ispahan. He was the

<sup>13</sup> For these idols see further below, V47, Q89.

<sup>14</sup> P'arnawaz: See Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 8-9, for a brief review of his reign (299-234 BC) in historical context. For the name see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), 92. M.X. i. 22 and the *Primary History*, 51, make him a king of Armenia about the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

<sup>15</sup> Of a Persian mother: *i Parsik mawrē*, as ABCD. The editor of V omits *i*, thereby giving a text closer to the Georgian.

*Geo.* Now Azon abandoned the religion given by Alexander, and he began to worship idols. He made two idols of silver, Gac'i and Gaim. And he served Bizantios, king of Greece. He was a hard and bloodthirsty man. He decreed and ordered his troops: 'Kill every Georgian that you find bearing arms.' The Romans acted in this fashion towards the Georgians; and whoever among the Georgians was prominent as handsome and adult they killed. Great distress fell on the nation of the Georgians. And this Azon was bloodthirsty against the Romans too, and slaughtered many of them.

*The History of P'arnavaz*<sup>15</sup>  
*who was the first king of K'art'li, a descendant of K'artlos*

At that time there was a young man in the city of Mc'xet'a whose name was P'arnavaz. This P'arnavaz was Georgian on his father's side, descended from Up'los, son of Mc'xet'os; and on his mother's side a Persian from Ispahan. He was also the nephew of Samari, who at the time of Alexander's invasion had been the *mamasaxlisi* of Mc'xet'a. This Samari and his brother, the father of P'arnavaz, had been killed by Alexander. But the mother of P'arnavaz had

<sup>15</sup> For the 'History of P'arnavaz' as a separate document see R. Baramidze 'Die Anfänge der georgischen Literatur ("Das Leben des Parnawas")', *Georgica*, 10 (1987), 39-43.



son of the sister<sup>16</sup> of Samaros, who was *tanutēr* of Mc'xet'a on Alexander's invasion and whom the latter killed. Arm.

[22] Now P'arnawaz was intelligent and a dexterous hunter; and he became known to Azon. His mother said to P'arnawaz: 'Do not show yourself to Azon; but take me to Ispahan to my brothers, and escape with me.' But P'arnawaz did not want to abandon his fatherland.

He saw a dream as if he were in a very narrow<sup>17</sup> house and trying to find a way out, but was unable. Suddenly a ray of sunlight shone through the window, seized him around the waist, and drew him outside. As he came out he saw himself near the sun; he wiped off the sweat and anointed his own face. On awakening he was

<sup>16</sup> Son of the sister: *ordi k'er*. Geo. reads *dmisculi*, 'brother's son'; but M has *disculi*, 'sister's son'.

<sup>17</sup> Very narrow: *nelagoyn*, for *ukac'uri*. Arm. misinterpreted the initial *u* as the emphatic/superlative rather than as the deprivative prefix. Why *kac'*, 'person', was rendered 'narrow' is puzzling.

taken him away, a child three years old, and had fled to the Caucasus. There he had grown up, and (later) he had returned to Mc'xet'a, his fatherland. Geo.

[21] P'arnavaz was a wise man, an enterprising warrior, and a skilful hunter; he hid his virtue from fear of Azon. Through his hunting he had become known to Azon; and the latter was friendly to him because of his hunting. His mother begged P'arnavaz: 'My son, beware of Azon and do not reveal anything of your virtue, lest he kill you.' Fear and trembling came upon her. And since fear of Azon increased for them, his mother said to P'arnavaz: 'My son, abandon the domain of your fathers, and take me away to my fatherland, Ispahan, to my brothers; and escape alive from the hand of Azon.' They affirmed this plan—to go away from Azon. It seemed a misfortune to P'arnavaz to abandon the domain of his fathers. But because of (her) great fear he agreed to depart.

Then P'arnavaz saw a dream: he was in an uninhabited house and was wishing to depart, yet could not leave. Then a ray of sunlight entered the window and seized him around the waist; it drew him up and brought him out the window. When he had come out into the country-side, he saw the sun bending down. He stretched out his hand, wiped the dew on the sun's face, and anointed his own face. P'arnavaz awoke, was astonished, and said: 'The dream

*Arm.* astonished. Then he decided: 'If<sup>18</sup> I go to Ispahan, good will befall me.' So he planned to go.

That same day he went out to hunt alone, and he saw a deer in the ravines of Tp<sup>ʿ</sup>xis. He hit it with an arrow, and the deer fell into a defile.<sup>19</sup> He followed it. The sun set, and he passed the night there. A sleety<sup>20</sup> rain fell, so P<sup>ʿ</sup>arnawaz sought shelter. He saw an entrance blocked up with stones from times of old. Dislodging them, he opened it up and saw an extensive cave filled with treasures of gold and silver. He rejoiced and remembered the dream. He went and summoned his mother and two sisters. For fifteen<sup>21</sup> nights they excavated the treasures, which they kept in various secret places.

<sup>18</sup> If: The particle *et'ē* could simply introduce the following direct speech. But the sense of the Armenian requires a subordinate clause here.

<sup>19</sup> Defile: *kirč*, as AC, for *kič* in V.

<sup>20</sup> Sleety: *jiwnaxarn*, lit. 'mixed with snow', for the Georgian *mjap'ri*, 'violent'.

<sup>21</sup> There are no variants to the numbers in the MSS of either text.

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*Geo.* means that I should go to Ispahan, and there I shall find good (fortune).'

On that day P<sup>ʿ</sup>arnavaz went out and hunted alone; he chased a deer in the plain of Diğom. The deer fled into the rough ground of Tp<sup>ʿ</sup>ilisi. P<sup>ʿ</sup>arnavaz followed; he shot an arrow and hit the deer. The deer went on a little, and fell at the foot of a cliff. P<sup>ʿ</sup>arnavaz went up to the deer. Now the day, (already) evening, was declining. So he sat down by the deer in order to spend the night; in the morning he would go off. Now at the foot of the cliff was a cave, the entrance of which had been blocked up long since by stones; the ravages of time had caused dilapidation in the edifice. Then a heavy rain began to fall. So P<sup>ʿ</sup>arnavaz took up an axe and broke away the entrance to the cave in order [22] to keep himself dry from the rain inside. He entered the cave and saw there unparalleled treasures, gold and silver and incomparable dishes of gold and silver. Then P<sup>ʿ</sup>arnavaz was astonished and filled with joy. He remembered the dream, and closed up the entrance to the cave in the same fashion. He hastened off and informed his mother and two sisters. That same night the three of them returned with donkeys and carts, and began to collect the treasure and to bury it in an appropriate (place). When day dawned, they again closed up the entrance to the cave in the same way. In this fashion they collected the treasure for five nights, and planned their opportunity.

P'arnawaz sent word to K'uĵis,<sup>22</sup> saying: 'I have a flock of sheep;<sup>23</sup> if you wish, I shall come to you and we shall bring it into use. Now this is in opposition to Azon, and our good hope<sup>24</sup> will give us victory.' When K'uĵis heard this, he rejoiced and said: 'Come to me, and we shall lead troops from your flock against Azon. The house of Georgia will flourish, and the Greeks will assist us since Azon rebelled against them.' P'arnawaz went with his family to [23] K'uĵis, who received him with joy, saying: 'You are from the ancestral *tanutērs* of the house of Georgia, and authority befits you. So you are lord, and I am your servant.'

Then they informed the Leks and Ossetes; these greatly rejoiced, having been oppressed by the payment of tribute to Azon. Joining

<sup>22</sup> For K'uĵi see below, V23, Q24.. He was ruler of Egrisi and Suanet'i.

<sup>23</sup> Flock of sheep: *xashn.* the Georgian *xuastagi*, 'livestock, cattle', is also used in the sense of 'wealth' (see below, V2, Q23), which explains the following exchange of messages.

<sup>24</sup> Hope: *yoys*, a common rendering of the Georgian *sue*, 'fate, fortune'; cf. below, V25, Q26.

Then P'arnavaz sent a servant of his to K'uĵi, and said: 'I am descended from Up'los, son of Mc'xet'os, and a nephew of Samari the *mamasaxlisi*; and there are in my possession a great number of cattle. Now if you wish, I shall come with these cattle, and we shall become brothers, and the two of us will make use of it. We shall show ourselves as enemies of the *erist'avi* Azon, and our fate will give us a good victory.' Then K'uĵi rejoiced with much happiness and said: 'Arise and come to me, and do not spare your cattle. With your cattle I shall multiply for you your troops, until we show ourselves as enemies of Azon. Then all the Georgians, consumed and decimated by him, will rejoice. And I think that some of the Romans will join us, because very many of them have been killed by Azon.' Then P'arnavaz secretly set out in joy; he took with him as much of the treasure as possible, and was also accompanied by his mother and sisters. He came to K'uĵi, and K'uĵi said to him: 'You are the son of the lords of K'art'li, and it is right for you to be my lord. Now do not spare your cattle, so that we may multiply the troops. And if victory is granted us, you will be our lord and I shall be your servant.'

[23] Then they united and came to terms with the Ossetes and Leks. These rejoiced, because they were not happy at paying tribute to Azon. The Ossetes and Leks joined forces and the number

*Arm.* forces, they came to them as a large host of cavalry. There also came (troops) from Egeria.<sup>25</sup> When Azon heard of this, he gathered his own army. But 1,000 men deserted from his army and went over to P'arnawaz; these were Greeks.<sup>26</sup> Lacking confidence in his remaining troops, Azon fled to the fortresses of Klarčēt'i.

Then P'arnawaz went to Mc'xet'a and seized it, the four fortresses nearby,<sup>27</sup> and all Georgia within a single year. He despatched envoys to Antiochos with many presents; he requested help against the Greeks and promised to be subject to him. Antiochos happily received his proposals and called him his son. He sent him a crown, and commanded the Armenian princes<sup>28</sup> to help him.

When the next year came round, Azon joined forces with the Greeks and collected a large host of cavalry to attack P'arnawaz.

<sup>25</sup> Egeria: (*y*) *Egeray*, as ABC; D and V read (*y*) *Egerac*'.

<sup>26</sup> See above, V21, Q20, for Azon's cruelty to the Greeks ('Romans' in Georgian, as here).

<sup>27</sup> For the four fortresses see above, V20, Q19.

<sup>28</sup> Princes: *išxank*'. See above, V16 n. 71 for the various renderings of *erist'avi*.

*Geo.* of troops was multiplied. From Egrisi innumerable soldiers joined them, and they attacked Azon. So Azon summoned and brought together his own soldiers. Then 1,000 elite cavalry from among the Romans, on whom maltreatment had been inflicted by Azon, abandoned Azon and went over to P'arnavaz. Then all the Georgians abandoned Azon. Azon no longer had confidence in those troops which remained with him, because they had all been badly treated. Azon advanced and went to Klarjet'i, and fortified himself in the strong places of Klarjet'i.

P'arnavaz went to Mc'xet'a and seized the four fortresses of Mc'xet'a. And in that same year he conquered all K'art'li except for Klarjet'i. P'arnavaz sent envoys to King Antiochos of Asurastan, and offered valuable gifts. He promised to serve him, and requested from him help against the Greeks. Antiochos accepted his gifts, called him his son, and presented him with a crown. He commanded the *erist'avis* of Armenia to assist P'arnavaz.

In the next year Azon brought together troops from Greece, created a strong force, and attacked P'arnavaz. The cavalry of K'art'li were numerous on P'arnavaz's side; he summoned them and also

The latter gathered his own (troops), and an army came to him from Antiochos. He preceded Azon to the city and land of Artahan, which was then called 'city of the k'aj'.<sup>29</sup> There they fell on each other. Azon was vanquished and killed on the spot, and the army of the Greeks was defeated. Arm.

P'arnawaz went to Greek territory, and captured Anji, Anjura,<sup>30</sup> and Elekac'ik'. He returned to Klarčēt'i, which he seized, and came to Mc'xet'a in great joy. He appropriated all Azon's treasure,<sup>31</sup> and became very rich. He gave his sister in marriage to the king of the Ossetes, and the other to K'ujis; he also granted him (territory) from the Egris river<sup>32</sup> to the Rioni, from the inner sea<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For the 'city of the k'aj' see above, VII, Q10.

<sup>30</sup> ABCD read *zAnji ew zAnjura* (sic). Brosset, 40 n. 1 suggests Anjit', which is south of Ekeleac', in western Armenia on the border of Byzantine territory.

<sup>31</sup> Treasure: here Geo. has *xuastagi*; see above, V22, n. 23.

<sup>32</sup> From the Egris river: ABCD read *i Gerojroyn* (Abulaje suggests *yEgerojroyn*), rendering *Egris cqalsa*; the Armenian translator has taken this as one word.

<sup>33</sup> Inner Sea: *mijnacov*, i.e. the Black Sea. This word is not attested in the *NBHL*, and seems to be modelled on the common term *mijerkreayk'*, meaning Anatolia.

called on K'ujj and the Ossetes. All these gathered together, and the *erist'avis* of Antiochos joined them from Armenia. P'arnavaz assembled them all and marched to the region of Artan, which was then called 'city of the K'aj', which is Huri. There they encountered each other and a fierce battle took place. An incalculable number from both sides was killed. The Greeks were defeated by P'arnavaz. Their army fled and Azon was killed; while innumerable troops of theirs were slain or taken captive. Geo.

P'arnavaz advanced and captured the border of Greece, Anjianjora, and returned from Eklec'i. He went to Klarjet'i and captured Klarjet'i, then advanced on Mc'xet'a in great joy. To his own riches he added Azon's wealth; thus his riches overflowed. [24] Now (the land) below the Egris river remained to the Greeks, because the inhabitants of that region had not wished to rebel against the Greeks. Then P'arnavaz gave his sister as wife to the king of the Ossetes, and his other sister he gave as wife to K'ujj. He gave to K'ujj the territory between the Egris river and the Rioni, from the sea to the mountain, in which were located Egris

*Arm.* as far as the great mountain under<sup>34</sup> which live the Egerians and Sonk'.

Then he was untroubled by enemies. And K'ujis built the castle of K'uji.

[24] P'arnawaz appointed eight provincial governors<sup>35</sup> and one *sparapet*: One governor<sup>36</sup> for the Lexs, who built two castles: Šoran and Dimoc'. He sent the second to Kaxet'i; and the third to (the land) from Berdahoj' as far as Tp'xis and K'a'jenk', which is Gardaban.<sup>37</sup> The fourth he sent to Šamšoytē, giving him (the land) from Sakuret'i as far as Tašir and Ašoc'k'.<sup>38</sup>

He sent the fifth to Cundis; (and he gave him the land) from

<sup>34</sup> Under: *i nerk'oy* can mean both 'under' and 'inside'. The translator takes the reference as the Caucasus mountain, but the Georgian implies the stretch of territory as just defined.

<sup>35</sup> Governor: *kotmnakal*. See above, V16 n. 71 for various renderings of *erist'avi*.

<sup>36</sup> One governor: as ABCD, but omitted by V.

<sup>37</sup> ABCD read *Dardaban*. For confusion in Armenian between *g* and *d* cf. above, V19 n. 93.

<sup>38</sup> ABCD read *Ašoc'k'* the name of the Armenian province next to Tašir, for which see H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen* (Strasburg, 1904), 365. The Georgian form is regularly *Aboc'*; see *Wakhoucht*, 149. V has *Apoc'k'*.

*Geo.* and Suanet'i; and he confirmed him as *erist'avi* there. K'uji himself built C'ixe-Goji. Then P'arnavaz was freed from fear of all his enemies and became king over all K'art'li and Eguri.<sup>16</sup>

He multiplied the cavalry of the descendants of K'art'los, and appointed eight *erist'avis* and a *spaspet*. He dispatched one as *erist'avi* of Margvi, and gave him (the land) from the small mountain, which is Lixi, as far as the sea, above the Rioni. And P'arnavaz built two castles: Sorapani and Dimna. He sent a second as *erist'avi* of Kaxet'i, and gave him (the land) from the Aragvi as far as Heret'i, which is Kaxet'i and Kuxet'i. He sent a third as *erist'avi* of Xunan; and he gave him (the land) from the river of Berduj' as far as Tp'ilisi and Gač'iant'a, which is Gardaban. He sent a fourth as *erist'avi* of Samšwilde; and he gave him (the land) from the river of Skwiret'i as far as the mountain, which is Tašir and Aboc'.

He sent a fifth as *erist'avi* of Cunda; and he gave him (the land)

<sup>16</sup> Eguri is a river south of the Egrisi; see *Wakhoucht*, 399.

P'arawan to the head of the river Kur, which is Ĵavaxet'i, and to Artahan. The sixth he sent to Unjrxis, giving him (the land) from Tayk' as far as Arsian, and from the head of Ostan<sup>39</sup> as far as the sea, which is Samc'xē and Ačaray. The seventh he sent to Klarčēt', giving him (the land) from Arsian as far as the sea.<sup>40</sup> The eighth he despatched to K'učaet'<sup>41</sup> and Eger. And he appointed a *sparapet* for (the land) from Tp'xis and Arag as far as the entrance to Tayk',<sup>42</sup> which is Inner K'art'li. From all these came in revenue and subjection to his rule.<sup>43</sup>

They married to P'arnawaz a wife from Durckay, a descendant of Kovkas. And the country was organized like the kingdom of the

<sup>39</sup> Ostan: for the river Noste (*Nustē* in Arm) see below, V33, Q48. The Armenian rendering here has been influenced by the common noun *ostan* for a provincial capital (originally the royal domain); see Garsoĭan, *EH* 551.

<sup>40</sup> Which is Samc'xē . . . sea: as ABCD, omitted in V.

<sup>41</sup> K'učaet': the person has been mistaken for a place, though K'uĵi is correctly rendered below.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. above, VII, n. 32. For *sparapet* (commander-in-chief) see Garsoĭan, *EH* 560-1.

<sup>43</sup> Subjection to his rule: *hnazandut'iwn t'agaworut'ean*. Is this a deliberate change, or a misunderstanding of *sameup'o da saerist'avo*?

from P'anvari as far as the head of the Mtkuari, which is Ĵavaxet'i, and Kola, and Artan. He sent a sixth as *erist'avi* of Ojrĥe; and he gave him (the land) from Tasis-kari as far as Arsiant'a, from the head of the Noste to the sea, which is Samc'xe and Ačara. He sent a seventh as *erist'avi* of Klarĵet'i; and he gave him (the land) from Arsian as far as the sea. And the eighth, K'uĵi, was *erist'avi* of Egrisi. And one he appointed as *spaspet*; and he gave him (the land) from Tp'ilisi and from the Aragvi as far as Tasis-kari and Panvari, which is Inner K'art'li. This *spaspet* was [25] an attendant in the king's presence; he had oversight with authority<sup>17</sup> over all the *erist'avis*. But under these *erist'avis*, in various places, he appointed *spasalars* and heads of a thousand. From all these came in the royal and *erist'avi* revenue.

In this fashion did P'arnavaz order everything, imitating the kingdom of the Persians. He married a wife from among the Durjukeli, a descendant of Kavkasi. This P'arnavaz strongly

<sup>17</sup> With authority: *mt'avrobit'*. *Mt'avari* is used by Ĵuanšer below as 'leader, prince'; here the abstract noun has a more general meaning.

*Arm.* Persians. The Greeks were not opposed (to him), because they were preoccupied with the Romans.<sup>44</sup> P'arnawaz walled the city of Mc'xet'a and the fortresses destroyed by Alexander. He made a great image<sup>45</sup> in his own name, that is Armaz; for P'arnawaz was called Armaz in the Persian language.<sup>46</sup> He erected the image at the entrance to K'art'li, which is called up to now the mountain Armaz.

He was aged 27 when he began his reign; and he ruled for sixty-five years in a peaceful and happy manner, subject to king Antiochos. The autumn and spring he spent at the city of Mc'xet'a; the summer in Ĵawaxet'i,<sup>47</sup> and the winter in Ganč'enk'. On occasion he entered Klarĵk' and Egris, concerned with the prosperity of those lands; for he was an intelligent and wise man. The 1,000 men

<sup>44</sup> Romans: *Arm.* rarely uses the form *Hromayec'i* (only V51); *Horomk'* is used more often.

<sup>45</sup> Image: *patker*, for which the Georgian equivalent is *xati*, not the *kerpi* used here. Although at V25 n. 51 *Arm.* does refer to this image as an 'idol', *kurk'*; in general *patker* is used for the various Georgian pagan idols; see below V25 (n.57), V27.

<sup>46</sup> The etymology of P'arnawaz is Iranian; see Justi 92. *Arm.* equates the god Armazi with Aramazd, below, V46. *Arm.* adds the explanation 'mountain' in the following sentence to distinguish this site from the castle; cf. above. V15.

<sup>47</sup> It is surprising that *Arm.* gives the province for the town; cf. above, V11.

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*Geo.* walled the city of Mc'xet'a; and he restored all the cities and fortresses of K'art'li that had been destroyed by Alexander. The Greeks sought no vengeance from him, because the Greeks were preoccupied by war with the Romans. This same P'arnavaz made a great idol named after himself. This is Armazi, because P'arnavaz was called Armaz in Persian. He erected this idol Armazi at the entrance to K'art'li, and from then on it was called Armazi because of the idol. And he celebrated a great feast of dedication for the idol which had been erected.

He became king at the age of 27, and he reigned happily for sixty-five years. He was subject to Antiochos, king of Asurastan. All the days that he sat (on the throne) he passed in peace; and he made K'art'li prosperous and rich. The months of spring and of the vintage season he passed at Mc'xet'a, the royal city. The months of winter he passed at Gač'iant'a, the months of summer at Cunda. From time to time he went to Egrisi and Klarĵet'i; and he would visit the Megrelians and the Klarĵians and regulate all



who had come to him from Azon he divided among [25] the provinces of Georgia; he called them Azonites<sup>48</sup> and treated them well. Arm.

The whole house of Georgia sacrificed to the image, saying: 'Praise to our hope,<sup>49</sup> for we have a king from the family of K'art'los our ancestor.' P'arnawaz had a son; and he called his name Sayurmak.

Now P'arnawaz was the first king from the family of K'art'los. He commanded the whole land to speak the Georgian language. And he made a script for the Georgian language.<sup>50</sup> He died, and

<sup>48</sup> Leonti derives *aznauri* from Azon. In Georgian *-uri* is a common adjectival suffix; curiously, Arm. uses the suffix *-ac'i*, which is normally used for adjectives derived from place-names.

<sup>49</sup> Hope: as above, V22 n. 24.

<sup>50</sup> And he made . . . language: as ABCD, omitted in V. Armenian tradition, first expounded in the *Life of Maštoc'* by his pupil Koriwn, attributes the invention of the Georgian script (as well as the Armenian and Caucasian Albanian) to Maštoc' in the early 5th c. The earliest dated example of the Georgian script is the inscription of 493/4 at Bolnisi Sion; some mosaic inscriptions in Palestine are also ascribed to the 5th c; see Abulaje, *Nimušebi*, pls. 1-4. The script used is the *xuc'uri*, 'ecclesiastical'. By the 11th c. a simpler form was being used for secular documents, the *mxedruli*, 'military' script, the forerunner of the present standard printed form. Georgian tradition knows nothing of Maštoc's role. It ascribes the origin of the *mxedruli* script to a pre-Christian time, while admitting the influence of the church in the development of *xuc'uri*. See Toumanoff, *Studies*, 105-6. For a recent review of Georgian opinions see E. Chintibidze, 'Das Problem der georgischen Schrift- und Schriftumsentstehung', *Georgica*, 8 (1985), 34-40.

matters that had fallen into disorder. As for the 1,000 Roman cavalry which had joined P'arnavaz from Azon, whom we mentioned above, these he distributed among glens and lands. He treated them well because they had been valiant in the war against Azon; and he gave them the title of *aznauri*. Geo.

[26] After Alexander went away no more did they eat humans, except those sacrificed as victims to the idol. There was tranquillity and joy for all K'art'li because of the reign of P'arnavaz, and everyone would say: 'We bless our fortune, because it gave us a king from the line of our fathers and removed from us the tribute and oppression of foreign nations.' All this P'arnavaz accomplished through his wisdom and benevolence, valour and grandeur. He had a son, and called his name Saurmak.

This P'arnavaz was the first king in K'art'li from among the descendants of K'art'los. He extended the Georgian language, and no more was a different language spoken in K'art'li except

*Arm.* was buried in front of his idol<sup>51</sup> of Armaz.

That same year his son became king. The Georgian princes plotted to kill Sayurmak in order not to be subject to their own relatives, but to an outsider<sup>52</sup>—whoever should raise his head.<sup>53</sup> When Sayurmak learnt of this, he took his mother and went to Durjuket', to his mother's brothers. However, the troops called Azonites went to him because of their kind treatment from his father. He summoned to his aid the king of the Ossetes.<sup>54</sup>

Then he went and easily gained control of the country. His enemies he slaughtered, though some he pardoned for their transgres-

<sup>51</sup> Idol: *kurk*'; see above, V24 n. 25.

<sup>52</sup> Outsider: *awtar*, 'foreigner', not necessarily a non-Georgian, but someone from a different family. Cf. below, V24 n. 74, *awtar azgi*.

<sup>53</sup> The Armenian adaptation of 'victorious' is reminiscent of Judg. 8: 28, where this phrase denotes military prowess (or the lack thereof).

<sup>54</sup> For the relationship by marriage see above, V23.

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*Geo.* Georgian. And he created the Georgian script. P'arnavaz died, and they buried him in front of the idol Armazi.

### *Second,*<sup>18</sup> *King Saurmag*

In his stead his son Saurmag became king. At that time the *erist'avis* of K'art'li conferred and said: 'It is not good for us that we serve our own kin. But let us unite and kill Saurmag; then we shall be independent as we were formerly, and we shall give tribute to whoever shall turn out as victorious. For in that fashion we shall be more fortunate.'<sup>19</sup> They confirmed the plan and the killing of Saurmag. But Saurmag learned of it and escaped secretly and fled. He took with him his mother and went to Durjuket'i, to his mother's brothers. Then the Roman *aznauris* advanced and went to Durjuket'i as well. They said to Saurmag: 'We have received much good from your father, therefore we are firmly loyal to you.' [27] Then Saurmag conferred with the king of the Ossetes, the son of his father's sister, and requested aid. He happily came to his assistance.

Saurmag gathered the (soldiers of) Durjuket'i, and marched

<sup>18</sup> The K'C' numbers the successive rulers of Georgia. But not all rulers were 'kings'. Furthermore, when there was a divided monarchy, two kings share a common ordinal; see e.g. Q44. I have therefore disregarded the punctuation of Q, who renders 'second king', etc.

<sup>19</sup> Note the emphasis on 'fortune', *up'ro ganvisuenebt'*.

sions. He exalted the Azonites, and humbled the Georgians. He brought in all the numerous people of the Caucasus and settled them in Mt'sulēt',<sup>55</sup> which is Suanēt'. Some of them he made nobles,<sup>56</sup> calling them trustworthy. He made four images,<sup>57</sup> Ayinina and Danana, above the road to Mc'xet'a. He took to wife the daughter of the prince of Partaw, a Persian by descent, and she bore him two daughters. One he gave to a Persian, Mruan, son of his wife's maternal aunt,<sup>58</sup> whom he called his son; and the other

Arm.

<sup>55</sup> Mt'sulēt': as ABCD, a corrupted form, found only here, for *mt'eulet'i* or *mt'iulet'i*. The two forms of the Georgian word, which is derived from *mt'a*, 'mountain', reflect earlier and later spellings; see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 407 n. 2. Here 'mountain land' is used in a wider sense than the specific region described in *Wakhocht* 223. The transformation of *e/i* to *š* is not easily explicable in either Armenian or Georgian.

<sup>56</sup> Nobles: *naxarar*, rendering *carč'inebuli*; see Q27 n. 20.

<sup>57</sup> 'Four' is an easy corruption from 'two' in Armenian minuscule script (*d* for *b*). Image: *patker* for *kerpi*, as above, V24.

<sup>58</sup> In both Arm. and Geo. Mruan is 'the son of the sister of the mother of his wife'.

against the Georgians. No one was able to oppose him. He seized K'art'li and destroyed those who had rebelled against him. Some he pardoned, but he humbled the descendants of K'art'los and made the *aznauris* pre-eminent.<sup>20</sup> He caused the Durjuks, descendants of K'avkas, to multiply. They all had remained unharmed at the invasion of the Xazars through the impregnability of the land, and Durjuket'i could no longer contain (its population). Then Saurmag led forth half of all the nations of the Caucasus. Some of them he made pre-eminent, and others he established in the mountainland, from Didoet'i as far as Egrisi, which is Suanet'i. These he considered loyal to himself, as relatives of his mother. Saurmag resided in Mc'xet'a as king; he increased all the fortifications of Mc'xet'a and of K'art'li. And he made two idols, Ainina and Danana, and set them up on the road of Mc'xet'a. He was subject to the king of Asurastan. He took as wife a Persian, the daughter of the *erist'avi* of Bardav. With her he had two daughters, but did not have a son. Then he brought from Persia a descendant of

Geo.

<sup>20</sup> Pre-eminent: *carč'inebuli*. This term is used in a technical sense of the princes of Armenia and Georgia. Leonti is defining *aznauri* by a close equivalent.

*Arm.* he gave to the son of K'ujī, who was the son of his own father's sister.<sup>59</sup> After living for many years, Sayurmak died.

[26] Mruan<sup>60</sup> reigned in his stead, a wise and valiant man, handsome of person. However, the Durc'ukec'ik', forgetting their pact, abandoned it; uniting with the Č'art'ałk', inhabitants of the Caucasus, they plundered Kaxēt' and Bazalēt'.<sup>61</sup> Then Mruan gathered his loyal (troops), cavalry and infantry, and attacked Durckē. There was a fierce battle; the Durckuk' were defeated and

<sup>59</sup> K'ujī married the wife of P'arnawaz; see above, V23, Q24.

<sup>60</sup> For the reign of Mirvan see C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Early Kings of Iberia', *Traditio*, 25 (1969), 1-33 at 10 (159-109 BC). For the name see Justi 208.

<sup>61</sup> *Wakhoucht*, 221 notes that the population of Č'art'alet'i and Bazalet'i was addicted to robbery and brigandage.

*Geo.* Nebrot', from his wife's family, the nephew of (her) mother, and he adopted him as a son; his name was Mirvan. He gave him his own daughter to wife, the city of Gač'ian, and the position of *erist'avi* of Samšwilde. The other daughter he gave to the son of K'ujīs, the son of his father's sister. Saurmag reigned happily for many years. Then Saurmag died, and in his stead his adopted son Mirvan became king.

*Third, King Mirvan, a descendant of Nebrot'*

This Mirvan was perfect of figure, handsome, strong, valiant, and benevolent. During his reign the Durjuks forgot the friendship of P'arnavaz and Saurmag. [28] The inhabitants of Durjuket'i came forth and united with the Caucasians dwelling in Č'art'alet'i; they plundered Kaxet'i and Bazalet'i. Then King Mirvan summoned all the *erist'avis* of K'art'li, gathered all the troops, cavalry and infantry. All the Caucasians who had been removed by King Saurmag were loyal in their obedience to Mirvan, except for the Č'art'als. He gathered all these and attacked Durjuket'i. The Durjuks assembled and occupied the fortifications on the roads of the passes. Then Mirvan dismounted from his horse and marched with his infantry. He sent the infantry in advance and posted the cavalry to the rear. He moved on the gates, in ardour like a leopard, in courage like a panther, roaring like a lion. A fierce battle was waged between them. The swords of the Durjuks were unable

overcome. Mruan entered their land, seized Durcuk and Cart'al and the gate [27] Krazm,<sup>62</sup> which was by Darbala,<sup>63</sup> and came joyfully to Mc'xet'a. Arm.

Antiochos, king of Syria and Babylon, died. In Armenia Arbak came to the throne. Mruan gave his daughter to the son of Varbak,<sup>64</sup> and then Mruan died. His son P'arnajom came to the throne.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> The editor of V prints *Krazm*; ABCD read *krazmn*. The word is not otherwise attested. It is probably a corruption of the original translation of 'mortared stone', (*k'vit'kari*), which on V13, Q13 above was rendered by *krašatax* and *kir ew k'ar*. Since *kir* is 'lime, mortar', a form such as \**kramacn*, 'plastered with lime', may lie behind this enigmatic word.

<sup>63</sup> Darbala: BD read *Andadar Balay*; AC read *and Darbalay*, which is adopted by Abulaje. The editor of V suggests *and ar Darbalay*, which he thinks may be *Daruband*. But since Mirvan was known for fortifying the Dariel Pass (*Wakhoucht* 229), the latter must be intended here. The Georgian form *Darubal* is not attested elsewhere in the K'C'; but at V34 *Darialan* is rendered *Dalara* in Arm.

<sup>64</sup> Varbak: for the common shift between *b* and *s* see above, V16 n. 69. It is noteworthy that Arm. does not here recognize the Arsacids; cf. also Vardan, *Chronicle*, 91, who follows the Armenian text of the K'C'. The change here to *Varbak* is perhaps due to identification with the Varbak of M.X. i. 22, who crowned the first Armenian king, Paroyr.

<sup>65</sup> For the reign of P'arnajom see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 10 (109-90 BC).

to strike Mirvan, (who was) like a smooth rock. He stood immovable, like a firm tower. The battle between them continued long; on both sides an incalculable number were slain. But the Durjuks were defeated and fled. The Georgians pursued them, killing and taking prisoners. Mirvan entered Durjuket'i, and laid waste Durjuket'i and Cart'ali. He blocked the gates with a mortared stone (wall), and named (the pass) Darubal. Mirvan resided at Mc'xet'a, and reigned untroubled and without fear. He was a man who bestowed bounty lavishly, and all the inhabitants of K'art'li loved him. Geo.

He was subject to the king of Asurestan. In his time the reign of Antiochos came to an end in Babylon. And at that time there came to the throne in Armenia a king who was called Aršak. Mirvan came to terms with Aršak, and gave his own daughter to Aršak's son, Aršak. Then Mirvan died, and in his stead his son P'arnajom became king.

*Arm.* He built the citadel of (Z)adēn,<sup>66</sup> erected an image at (Z)adēn, and built in Kaxet'i the city Nēkrēs. After this he honoured the magi of the Persian religion,<sup>67</sup> built for them a site which is now called Mogt'a, and established a fire-temple.<sup>68</sup> The Georgians were angered and requested Varbak, king of Armenia, to give them his own son as king. 'For our king, they said, has forgotten the faith of his maternal ancestors, and serves his paternal religion.'

The king of Armenia joyfully sent back the envoys. When

<sup>66</sup> Zadēn: the initial *z* is lost by confusion with the Armenian prefix *z-*. This is not uncommon; cf. M.X. ii. 68, where the *Zemran* (of Gen. 25: 2) becomes *Emran*. Image: *patker* for *kerpi*, as above, V24.

<sup>67</sup> Persian religion: *parskaden* (as Eliše 144, but not attested elsewhere according to the *NBHL*) for *sjuli Sparst'a*. *Sjuli*, 'law, religion' (cf. Arm. *awrēnk'*), is used throughout the following passage, but rendered in Arm. by 'faith' (*hawat*), and 'religion' (*krawnk'*).

<sup>68</sup> Fire-temple: *tun kraki*. For the various terms used in early Armenian authors see Thomson, *Elishe*, 12 n. 4. Mogt'a: 'of the magi'.

*Geo.* [29] *Fourth, King P'arnaĵom, a descendant of Nebrot'*

This king P'arnaĵom increased the construction of all fortified cities. He built the castle of Zaden; and he made an idol with the name of Zaden and set it up at Zaden. He also began the construction of the city of Nelkarisi,<sup>21</sup> which is Nēkrisi, in Kaxet'i. After this he adopted the religion of the Persians, fire-worship. He brought from Persia fire-worshippers and magi and installed them at Mc'xet'a, in the place which is now called Mogut'a. He began openly to blaspheme the idols. Therefore the inhabitants of K'art'li hated him, because they had great faith in the idols. Then the majority of the *erist'avis* of K'art'li conspired. They sent an envoy to the king of Armenia and said: 'Our king has abandoned the religion of our fathers; no more does he serve the gods who protect K'art'li. He has introduced his paternal religion and abandoned his maternal religion. Now he is no longer worthy to be our king. Give us your son Aršak, who has as wife a descendant of our kings of the line of P'arnavaz. Help us with your army and we shall expel P'arnaĵom, the advocate of a new religion. Your son Aršak will be our king and his wife, the offspring of our kings, our queen.'

Then the king of Armenia approved this plan. He sent back their

<sup>21</sup> The form Nelkarisi (Nelkari, Q33) for Nēkrisi is not attested in *Wakhoucht* or noted by AlekÆsije-Burĵanaje.

P'arnaĵom heard this, he brought an army from Persia, gathered (troops) from wherever he could, and went out to oppose the king of Armenia. With Armenians and Georgians Varbakēs<sup>69</sup> fought a battle against P'arnaĵom in the province of Tašir. He killed him and completely destroyed his army. Arm.

He made king over the Georgians his own son Arbak, who had as wife Mruan's daughter.<sup>70</sup> His reign was successful. He built many castles and fortified the wall of the city of the Cundac'ik' of Ĵawaxet'i. After living with such success, he died.

<sup>69</sup> Varbakes: the spelling follows M.X. i. 22.

<sup>70</sup> For the reign of this Aršak see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', II (90-63 BC). For the name see Justi 40.

envoy with a good answer and said to them: 'If you truly with a pure heart wish my son as your king, all you *erist'avis* give me a hostage and I shall give you my son as your king and shall fill you with many presents.' Then the majority of the *erist'avis* of K'art'li gave hostages and declared a revolt against P'arnaĵom. Then the king of Armenia with all his army marched on K'art'li. King P'arnaĵom called on the Persians; he brought a strong Persian force and gathered those Georgians who were loyal to him. The rebellious *erist'avis* of K'art'li met the king of Armenia in Tašir. There he assembled a host of Armenians and Georgians, while P'arnaĵom came to meet him in the same (province of) Tašir. [30] A fierce battle was waged between them; on both sides an incalculable number were slain. P'arnaĵom was defeated by the Armenians and Georgians; he himself was killed, and his army destroyed. The tutor of P'arnaĵom's son Mirvan, a year-old infant, took him off and fled to Persia. And the king of the Armenians gave (them) his son Aršak. Geo.

#### *Fifth, King Aršak, an Arsacid*

Aršak ruled as king and occupied all K'art'li. His reign was happy, and he increased all the fortifications of K'art'li. He strengthened further the walls of the city of Cunda in Ĵawaxet'i. Aršak died, and his son Artag became king.

*Arm.* [28] Artak<sup>71</sup> his son reigned over the Georgians for two years. In his days the Persians came to seek vengeance for the blood of P'arnajom. Artak was unable to oppose them because of their large number, but fortified himself from them. Whatever open places they found they captured, then went away. After Artak his son Barton reigned.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>71</sup> For the reign of Artak see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', II (78-63 BC). For the name see Justi 40.

<sup>72</sup> For the reign of Barton see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', II (63-30 BC). Justi 65, gives no etymology for the name.

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*Geo.* *Sixth, King Artag, an Arsacid*

This King Artag reigned only for two years. In the second year of his reign the Persian *erist'avis* came with a large army to seek (vengeance for) the blood of P'arnajom and the Persian troops who had been killed with P'arnajom. Artag, king of the Georgians, was unable to oppose them because the force of Persians was large; but he fortified the castles and cities. The Persians crossed all K'art'li, and ravaged the plains; but they captured not a single fortified city. Then they departed. Artag died, and in his stead his son Bartom reigned.

*Seventh, King Bartom, an Arsacid*

This King Bartom increased the walls of Mc'xet'a and all the fortifications of K'art'li. Now the Persians raised the son of P'arnajom, Mirvan, whose tutor had taken him away on the death of P'arnajom, as we mentioned above. This Mirvan [31] was a valiant man, strong, a horseman, and he was often tested in warfare against the Turks and Arabs.<sup>22</sup> Mirvan gathered a powerful army in Persia; he marched on K'art'li, sent an envoy to the *erist'avis* of K'art'li, and said to them: 'Remember the love of my grandfather Mirvan and his goodness towards you. Even if my father introduced a foreign religion among you, you received good treatment from him. Rightly was my father killed because he did not cleave well to the religion of your fathers. But now let there not be worry or fear in your hearts because of my father's death. For on account of apostasy fathers have killed sons, and brothers

<sup>22</sup> Turks and Arabs: such anachronisms are common in the Iranian tradition; see above, n. 10. The Arabs are not mentioned in a historical context until Q229.



Now the son of P'arnajom was raised in Persia. Taking supporting (troops) he came to attack Barton. He sent a message to the Georgian princes that they should abandon Barton. They did not heed him, but fought for a month against Mruan beside Xunan. However, they were defeated and Barton died in the battle. Arm.

He did not have a son, but a single daughter whom he had given

brothers, and blood is not sought from those who kill because of apostasy. I am the offspring of your kings of the line of P'arnavaz. Although I have been raised among Persians, yet I abide by the religion of your fathers. I believe in the gods who protect K'art'li, and with hope in them I have arrived to seek my patrimony. Now you may count on honour and good treatment from me.' The *erist'avis* of K'art'li did not accept the proposals of Mirvan; but they all turned to King Bartom. However, a few Georgians, not noble ones,<sup>23</sup> went and joined Mirvan. King Bartom gathered all the troops of K'art'li, and a force from Armenia joined him. He marched on Xunan, and captured the city of Xunan from the rear. Mirvan arrived and took up a position on the Berduji river. They began to fight, and on both sides champions<sup>24</sup> distinguished themselves. Every day for a month there took place contests of champions. Now those one side were victorious, and now those on the other gained the victory. [32] In that single month Mirvan himself killed thirteen champions from among the Georgians and Armenians; and not one of the Georgians or Armenians showed himself victorious over Mirvan. King Bartom did not himself fight with him, because Bartom did not possess heroic stature.<sup>25</sup> Then King Bartom posted his troops, and with his whole army attacked Mirvan. Mirvan encountered him there with all his troops, and a fierce battle ensued between them. On both sides an incalculable number were slain. The Armenians and Georgians were defeated by the Persians; and Bartom, king of the Georgians, was killed. Geo.

Now this King Bartom did not have a son, but a single daughter.

<sup>23</sup> Noble: *carč'inebuli*, as above, n. 20.

<sup>24</sup> Champions: *bumberazni*, from the Arabic *mubârîz*, 'one who engages in combat or a duel'. See further below, V28 n. 77.

<sup>25</sup> Heroic stature: *goliat'oba*. 'Goliath' is often used of heroes, especially those famed for military prowess. Cf. below, Q329, where David is so described.

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*Arm.* in marriage to the son<sup>73</sup> of K'ujis so that he might inherit his kingdom. This he did for the sake of pleasing the Georgians, who did not want the rule of an outside family but only of a descendant of P'arnawaz.<sup>74</sup> However, he was killed in the same battle; his name was K'art'am. His wife, the daughter of Barton, being pregnant, went to Armenia. She bore a son and named him Adrik.

Then Mruan entered Georgia and took control of the whole land, forcibly subjecting those fortified in the castles and expelling those in inaccessible places by means of an oath. He brought out from Samsuda Barton's wife, whom he married; she was a daughter of the Arbakunik'.<sup>75</sup> She bore a son and named him Arbak.

<sup>73</sup> Son: *ordi* for *jisculi*. This is an error, since the son of K'uji, Mirvan, had married the daughter of Saurmag, above, V25.

<sup>74</sup> Descendant of P'arnawaz: *P'arnawazuni*; cf. the Georgian at n. 26. Outside family: *awtar azgi*, rendering *sxvisa nat'esavisa*, 'other family'. As above, V25 n. 52, *awtar* does not necessarily mean a non-Georgian.

<sup>75</sup> ABCD have *noyn* before *Arbakunik'*, rendering the emphatic Georgian suffix *Aršakuniant'a-ve*.

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*Geo.* During his lifetime he had brought from Egrisi a grandson of K'uji, K'art'am by name, to whom belonged lineage with the descendants of P'arnavaz,<sup>26</sup> from the wife of K'uji, sister of P'arnavaz, and from his mother, daughter of Saurmag and wife of the son of K'uji. To this K'art'am from Egrisi King Bartom had given as wife his daughter, and he had adopted him as his son. Bartom did this for the sake of pleasing the Georgians, because the Georgians had great respect for the descendants of P'arnavaz. They did not wish for royalty of any other family which did not belong to the lineage of the descendants of P'arnavaz. This K'art'am, adopted son of King Bartom, was killed in the same battle with Bartom. But his wife, Bartom's daughter, left pregnant, fled and went to Armenia. There she bore a child and named it Aderki. And he grew up there.

After Mirvan had killed Bartom, he entered K'art'li and seized [33] all K'art'li. To those Georgian *erist'avis* who had remained in castles and fortifications, he gave a promise and swore an oath, and brought them all out. He forced Bartom's wife to leave Samswilde, and married her. She was of the line of the Arsacids. And he reigned in Mc'xet'a.

<sup>26</sup> Lineage with the descendants of P'arnavaz: *P'arnavazianoba*.

After living a few more years Mruan died.<sup>76</sup> His son Arbak *Arm.* reigned.

Now Adrik, brought up in Armenia, developed into a personable man. He was successful in warfare in both Armenia and Syria, slaughtering many of their champions.<sup>77</sup> Taking Armenian troops, he did battle with Arbak in the land of the T'relik', which is Całkac'.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> For the reign of Mirvan see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 11 (30-20 BC).

<sup>77</sup> Champions: *muberiz* for *bumberazi*, as above, Q31 n. 24. *Axoyean*, as V36, is the usual Armenian rendering; but at V33 and V37 the term *menamartik*, 'one who engages in single combat', is used.

<sup>78</sup> Although there are numerous places in Armenia with names derived from *catik*, 'flower' (see *AON* 435-6), other references to T'relk' do not make a similar identification. Brosset (ad loc.) notes the fortress Calka in T'rialet'i (see *Wakhoucht* 161), but that is not the sense of the Armenian.

#### *Eighth, King Mirvan*

*Geo.*

He reigned happily for a short time, and then died. In his stead his son Aršak sat (on the throne).

#### *Ninth, King Aršak II, son of Mirvan, a descendant of Nebrot'*

This king Aršak was an Arsacid on his mother's side, and on his father's side a descendant of Nebrot' and P'arnavaz. Aršak embellished Nelkar, a city of Kaxet'i, which is Nekrisi; and he increased the fortifications of U'plis-c'ixe. He was mighty in strength, large and gigantic.

Now Aderki, son of K'art'am, offspring of King Bartom's daughter, whom we mentioned above, grew up in Armenia. He was a man handsome of stature, in form large and gigantic. Often he had been tested in battles of Armenians and Syrians; and he had killed many champions and made a name for himself. Aderki requested troops from the king of Armenia, who granted them. He marched against Aršak king of the Georgians, his mother's brother. Then Aršak gathered all the *erist'avis* of K'art'li, added a force from Persia, and went to oppose him.

[34] Both armies met in T'rialet'i, and encamped near to each other. Aršak proposed single combat to Aderki. Happily Aderki equipped himself with handsome armour, mounted his horse, and said to his troops: 'Protect my rear, and do not be afraid.' Aršak came forth in the same fashion, armed himself, and advanced through the ranks. They both cried out with a loud shout, rushed

*Arm.* For one entire day they [29] battled with their swords and smote them.<sup>79</sup> But neither of them turned his back. They rested for the night, and in the morning fought with clubs of forged iron, like the hammers of smiths who beat on anvils. Not even thus did they turn away from each other. Then, taking up bows, they shot arrows at each other. Adrik struck with an arrow the breast of Arbak, his mother's brother,<sup>80</sup> and killed him. The Georgians turned in flight;

<sup>79</sup> They smote them: plural verb and object in *Arm.*, implying that the two armies engaged each other. But the following passage refers only to the two champions.

<sup>80</sup> His mother's brother: as in *Geo.* just above. But the *K'C'* had previously indicated that Adrik was the son of Barton's daughter (not named) and K'art'am, whereas Aršak was the son of the same woman and her second husband, Mirvan. Aderki and Aršak were thus half-brothers.

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*Geo.* at each other, and both began to strike with spears; but they were unable to cut through each other's armour. In the course of the long struggle the spears were broken, so they took up axes and began to fight with axes. When the axe struck their armour, the noise resembled the sound of a smith's hammer when he strikes the anvil. And the sound of their shouting was like thunder. Neither was able to vanquish the other. Grudgingly they withdrew on both sides. The day came to a close and the two of them separated. In the morning once more they came forth. They took up bows, and began to rush at each other, shooting. Aderki shot an arrow at the breast of Aršak, which the strength of his armour was unable to stop. Aršak fell backwards and toppled from his horse. Aderki quickly turned back to the Armenian soldiers and said to them: 'I abjure you by your gods, do not draw your swords against the Georgians because they are my father's kin. Now I am their king thanks to your strength and assistance.' The Armenians heeded his request and kept their places. Aderki turned and came close to the Georgian troops. He shouted in a loud voice: 'I am the offspring of your kings; and my fortune has given me sovereignty. [35] Now you will receive from me good treatment and happiness. Behold, no more shall I set Armenian troops on you.' Then the Georgians responded:<sup>27</sup> 'You have shown yourself the best among all the descendants of P'arnavaz. Since our king is dead, now you are our

<sup>27</sup> Here begins the Queen Anne manuscript (A), the oldest surviving Georgian text of the *Chronicles*. See C. Toumanoff, 'The Oldest Manuscript of the Georgian Annals', *Traditio*, 5 (1947), 310-44, and the Introduction.

but Adrik implored the Armenians and prevented them from slaughtering the Georgians. 'For I am henceforth,' he said, 'their king thanks to you.' All the Georgian troops fell down and did obeisance to Adrik. They placed on his head Arbak's crown. So the Armenians, the Georgians, and the house of A tan were united. Arm.

Adrik<sup>81</sup> was 30 years old when he came to the throne, and for forty-five<sup>82</sup> years he ruled over the Georgians, taking the daughter of the Armenian king to wife.

In his first year was born Jesus Christ in Bethlehem of Judaea. The news reached the Jews of Mc'xet'a that kings had come from Persia and captured Jerusalem. The Jews were distressed. But two<sup>83</sup> years later they heard that they had come not to capture Jerusalem

<sup>81</sup> Adrik: as ABCD, omitted in V. For the reign of Aderki see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 11-12 (AD 1-58).

<sup>82</sup> A change from 7 to 5 is easily explicable in Armenian ( $\bar{e}$  to  $e$ ), but 40 and 50 are not easily confused.

<sup>83</sup> Two: ABCD read *bac*, to be interpreted as  $b (=2)$  [*am*]*ac*'. V interpreted this as *b[azm]ac*', 'many'.

king. And we bless our fortune, that in place of that king of ours it gave us a descendant of our kings, gigantic and renowned.' All the Georgians dismounted, fell on their faces, and did obeisance to Aderki. Peacefully the Armenians, Georgians, and Persians from Ran gathered in unity. The Georgians took Aršak's crown, placed it on Aderki, and led him away. Geo.

#### *Tenth, King Aderki, son of Bartom, an Arsacid*

Aderki occupied the whole land of K'art'li and Egrisi. The king of Armenia gave him his daughter to wife. He resided at Mc'xet'a and ruled well. He became king aged 30, and reigned for fifty-seven years.

In the first year of his reign was born our Lord Jesus Christ in Bethlehem of Judaea. The magi came to him to offer gifts. When the magi went to Jerusalem, a report reached Mc'xet'a that: 'The Persians have captured Jerusalem.' So among the Jews who were at Mc'xet'a lamentation and weeping were caused. After the second year another report came to the effect: 'The [36] Persians did not come to Jerusalem in order to capture it, but they had gifts for

*Arm.* but to bring gifts for a child born of a virgin;<sup>84</sup> so they greatly rejoiced. After thirty years messengers came to the regions of the north-east (to announce) that the child who had been given presents by the magi had reached the age of a mature man and was proclaiming himself to be the son of God. 'So, they said, those of our race who are wise and learned in our laws should come, so that we may go and investigate this matter.' On hearing the report, Elios from Mc'xet'a and Lunkinos of Karsn set out. They happened to arrive on the great Friday of the Lord's Passion. And they brought to Mc'xet'a the Lord's tunic.<sup>85</sup>

[30] In the days of that same king Adrik there came two of the twelve apostles, Andrew and Simon the Canaanite, to Ap'xazet'

<sup>84</sup> Of a virgin: *kusut'eamb*, lit. 'in virginity'. Note the Christian orientation of many of the additions in Arm.

<sup>85</sup> Tunic: *patmučan*, *kuart'i* in Geo., the *χιτώων* of John 19: 23.

*Geo.* some child who had been born.' Then the Jews of Mc'xet'a rejoiced. After this, when thirty years had passed, Jewish messengers came from Jerusalem to the Jews of Mc'xet'a, indicating: 'He for whose sake the magi came and offered gifts, the same has grown up and calls himself the son of God. Now we have been sent as messengers to all the Jews (to ask) that those learned in the law should come; let us enquire and judge this matter. So now let those among you who are learned in the law come thence.'<sup>28</sup>

Then Elios of Mc'xet'a and Longinos of Karsn set out. Now they happened to arrive at the time of the crucifixion of the Lord; and Elios of Mc'xet'a and Longinos of Karsn brought from there the Lord's tunic, as it is clearly written in the *Conversion of K'art'li*.<sup>29</sup>

[38] Now King Aderki increased the fortifications of K'art'li, of the cities and fortresses, and strengthened even more the walls of the city of Mc'xet'a, above and below the river. During the reign of this Aderki Andrew and Simon the Canaanite from among the

<sup>28</sup> In the text of Q there are numerous 'interpolations, (*č'anart'i*), which did not form part of the text as known to the Armenian adapter; many are direct quotations from texts not included in the *K'C'*. These have been translated for the sake of completeness and relegated to the Appendix. For the addition in BP<sup>1</sup>Tb at this point see Appendix, no. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Here BP<sup>1</sup>Tb have an 'interpolation' concerning the Lord's tunic; see the Appendix, no. 2. For the text of *The Conversion of K'art'li* (Q37; *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay*) see Toumanoff, 'Medieval Georgian Historical Literature', 149-53.



and Egris. Saint Simon was martyred in the city of Nikop'is on the Greek border.<sup>86</sup> Saint Andrew, having converted Egris, went on through Klarjĭk'.<sup>87</sup> When Adrik heard (of this), he was angry, He sent (agents) and reconverted Egris to idols.<sup>88</sup> They hid the Cross and the image of the Cross;<sup>89</sup> and the governor<sup>90</sup> of Klarjĭk' was reprimanded for letting Andrew go in peace.

In those times the Persians rebelled against the Macedonians.<sup>91</sup> They appointed as their king Ažian the wise.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Border: *sinawrn*, the Greek *συνωρος*, 'conterminous'. *Sazĭvari* is normally rendered by *sahman*.

<sup>87</sup> For Armenian traditions about Andrew see *Ankanon Girk'*, 3 vols. (Venice, 1896-1904) iii. 124-73, and in general F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Washington, DC, 1958).

<sup>88</sup> Idols: *kurk'*, as above, V25.

<sup>89</sup> Cross . . . Cross: a curious rendering of *xatni da juarni*.

<sup>90</sup> Governor: *ostikan*. For various renderings of *erist'avi* see above, VI6 n. 71.

<sup>91</sup> For the addition of the Macedonians cf. M.X. ii. 2.

<sup>92</sup> Ažian: Arm. here transcribes the Geo., but at V39 correctly renders the adjective as *Arsacid*. The form is derived from the Persian *Aškanian*. 'Wise' is an epithet of Artaban, not the first Aršak; see Levi 251.

twelve apostles came to Ap'xazet'i and Egrisi. And there St Simon the Canaanite was martyred in the city of Nikop'si, on the Greek border. But Andrew converted the Megrelians, and went on further on the road of Klarjĭt'i.<sup>30</sup> [42] When King Aderki heard that the Megrelians had abandoned their religion, he was angered. He sent his *erist'avis* and by force reconverted the Megrelians. But they hid the images and crosses. King Aderki reprimanded the *erist'avi* of Klarjĭt'i for letting the apostle Andrew go in peace.<sup>31</sup>

[43] During the reign of this Aderki the kingdom of Persia once again became prominent. For after Alexander had come and destroyed Persia, up to that time no king had reigned in Persia, because there were *erist'avis* in various places of Persia. Then the *erist'avis* of Persia gathered together and appointed as king Ažĭgalan the wise. Then the Armenians and Georgians were subject to Ažĭgalan, king of the Persians. Until the reign of Aderki one person reigned as king of the Georgians, however many were the sons of the kings.

<sup>30</sup> Here BP<sup>1b</sup> have an 'interpolation' concerning the preaching of the apostle Andrew; see the Appendix, no. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Here BP<sup>1Tb</sup> add further details of Andrew's mission; see Appendix, no. 4.

*Arm.* Adrik gave a crown to his two sons, dividing the land between them. K'art'li with its extensive borders he gave to Bartos;<sup>93</sup> and to K'art'am<sup>94</sup> he gave Xunan as far as Klarjet'i. Then he died.

During their reign Vespasian, the emperor of Rome, captured Jerusalem. Refugees from among the Jews came and joined the Jews first (settled) in Mc'xet'a. With them were also the sons of Barabbas, the brigand<sup>95</sup> whom the Jews had requested from Pilate in place of our Lord.

<sup>93</sup> *Bartos* here; but just below ABCD read *Barton*.

<sup>94</sup> *K'art'am*: as AC, *K'art'aman* in BD and V.

<sup>95</sup> Brigand: *awazak*, an addition from John 18: 40.

*Geo.* Now Aderki had two sons who were called, one Bartom and the other K'art'am. Between them he divided all his territory. The city of Mc'xet'a and the land<sup>32</sup> on the Mtkuari, Inner K'art'li, the land by Muxnar and all K'art'li north of the Mtkuari, from Heret'i as far as the entrance to K'art'li and Egrisi, all this he gave to his son Bartom; whereas the land by Armazi, K'art'li south of the Mtkuari, from Xunan as far as the head of the Mtkuari, and all Klarjet'i, he gave to his son K'art'am. Then Aderki died.

[44] *Eleventh*,<sup>33</sup> *Kings Bartom and K'art'am, sons of Aderki king of the Armenians, Arsacids*

After him his sons reigned. During their reign Vespasian, the emperor of the Romans, captured Jerusalem. From there refugee Jews came to Mc'xet'a and settled with the old Jews. Among them were the sons of Barabbas, whom the Jews had released at the crucifixion of the Lord in place of our Lord Jesus. Bartom and K'art'am reigned in peace and mutual friendship. Bartom had a son who was called Kaos; and K'art'am had a son P'arsman by name. The sons of Aderki, Bartom and K'art'am, died. And after them their sons became king: in Armazi, P'arsman; and in Inner K'alak'i,<sup>34</sup> Kaos.

<sup>32</sup> Land: *k'alak'i*, used in a broader sense than 'city'. See below, nn. 34, 42 for confusion between *k'alak'i* and *K'art'li*.

<sup>33</sup> For the supposed diarchy, a series of simultaneous (!) dual reigns (AD 58–106) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 2–3, 12–15.

<sup>34</sup> Inner K'alak'i: Inner K'art'li in B.

Barton and K'art'am remained in subjection to the Armenian kings, beginning with Adrik. Moreover, the kings of Armaz assisted the Armenians in opposing their enemies. Arm.

[31] After this Eruand<sup>96</sup> the Great ruled over Armenia. He seized Artahan from the Georgians, as far as the river Kur, and also the city of Cond. In it he settled men who spoke with demons,<sup>97</sup> and he called it K'ajatun.<sup>98</sup> The Georgian kings P'arsman and Kayos died of grief.

[32] Smbat (son) of Biwrat, killed Eruand and made his brother Artaband king.<sup>1</sup> Then the Georgian kings Azuk and Azmayer

<sup>96</sup> For the synchrony of Eruand and Vespasian cf. M.X. ii. 38.

<sup>97</sup> Who spoke with demons: *diwaxaws*, not attested in the *NBHL*. The Georgian would require a form such as *diwazgi*, as in M.X. ii. 55, where it is used as an insult.

<sup>98</sup> K'ajatun: see above, V11.

<sup>1</sup> For Smbat, son of Biwrat Bagratuni, the death of Eruand, and the crowning of Artases, cf. M.X., ii. 37-47.

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*Twelfth, Kings P'arsman and Kaos, sons of Bartom and K'art'am, Arsacids* Geo.

From the reign of Aderki up to their own they were in subjection to the king of Armenia. The kings of Armazi in particular aided the Armenians against all their enemies.

Then the great king Iarvand became king in Armenia. He forgot (to treat) the Georgians well,<sup>35</sup> overcame P'arsman of Armazi, and seized on the border of K'art'li the city of Cunda and Artan as far as the Mtkuari. He settled in Cunda wild men descended from the demons. And he named Cunda *K'ajatun*, which means 'house of demons'. The kings of K'art'li could not regain the border; and P'arsman and Kaos died in great sadness. [45] Their sons after them reigned as king, Azork in Armazi and Armazel in Inner K'art'li.

*Thirteenth, Kings Azork and Armazel, sons of P'arsman and Kaos, Arsacids*

These Kings Armazel and Azork were courageous and decisive men. They conspired together and planned to recover the borders of K'art'li. At that time Sumbat Biwritian killed Iarvand, king of Armenia, and installed as king Iarvand's brother who was called

<sup>35</sup> Forgot . . . well: *daivicqa man ket'ili K'art'velt'a*. This seems to mean not the goodwill of the Georgians, but the kind treatment shown by Aderki to the Georgians, as above, Q35.

*Arm.* summoned to their aid the kings of the Leks and Ossetes, two brothers Bazuk and Anbazuk. These brought with them the Pačaniks and Jiks, Durjuks, and Didos.<sup>2</sup> The Georgian troops gathered together at one place, unexpectedly entered Armenian territory while the latter were unprepared, ravaged Širak and Vanand as far as Basen, then returned to the plain of Naxĵawan. They seized much booty, and went out through the Pass<sup>3</sup> of P'arisis.

Crossing the river Kur in haste, they went to Kambēč and camped on the river Ior. [33] Then Smbat gathered the Armenian troops, and pursued them as far as the river Kur. He sent messengers to say: 'You are forgiven for these Armenians you killed, and

<sup>2</sup> The following attack and Smbat's campaign are equated by Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 13, with the Alan invasion of AD 72 and the Armenian king Trdat's expedition described by Josephus, *Jewish War*, VII, 244-51. For Armenian reminiscences see M.X. ii. 50, 85. The Pechenegs are mentioned again in the time of Vaxt'ang Gorgasal, below, Q156-7. But they did not reach the Volga until the 9th c.

<sup>3</sup> Pass: *duin*. This pass is close to Lake Sevan; see TAVO B VII 16.

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*Geo.* Artasan. Then the kings of K'art'li, Azork and Armazel, summoned the Ossetes and Leks. The kings of the Ossetes, two gigantic brothers called Bazuk and Abazuk, came forth with the army of Ossetia. They brought with them Pačaniks and Jik's. The king of the Leks came forth, bringing Durjuks and Didos. The kings of Georgia gathered their troops; and this entire numberless host assembled. Skilfully and secretly they joined forces. Before the Armenian troops had gathered, they invaded Armenia unexpectedly, and plundered Širakuan and Vanand as far as Bagrevand and Basian. They turned and ravaged the Plain<sup>36</sup> as far as Naxčevan. They took numberless captives and plunder; and filled with all this wealth<sup>37</sup> they went off by the road of P'arisis.

Then Sumbat Biwritian summoned the troops of Armenia. They quickly gathered and gave pursuit. But all these Northerners had crossed the Mtkuari and reached Kambeč'oan. They were camped on the Iori and were dividing the prisoners [46] and booty. Then Sumbat sent a messenger to say: 'Whatever booty you have taken from Armenia—animals, gold, silver, textiles—all this I bestow on

<sup>36</sup> The Plain: *dasti*, the Armenian Dašn-Šarur, not used elsewhere in the *KĀCĀE*.

<sup>37</sup> Wealth: *xuastagi*, which can also mean 'livestock', (as above, Q22).

let whatever booty you have taken be yours. But the prisoners whom you hold alive, return them here.' But in their pride they responded very harshly that they would return to the attack in order to seize him too. When Smbat heard this, he crossed the river Kur and attacked them like a lion. The king of the Ossetes, Bazuk, sought to wage single combat<sup>4</sup> with him, and was killed at his hands; he plunged the lance a cubit deep into his breast. His brother, Anbazuk, rushed to the attack; him too he struck with his lance, and he fell dead. He (Smbat) said: 'Let this be vengeance for the Armenian women and innocent children who were killed at your hands.'

<sup>4</sup> Single combat: *menamartil*; cf. above, V28 n. 77.

you. And whatever Armenian blood has been shed by you will not be avenged on you. But whatever people you have as prisoners, release them and go in peace, enriched and sated with everything.' However, they responded as follows: 'We invaded Armenia for no other purpose except to seek you out, but we did not find you. Now come to us, take your portion; otherwise we shall come to you wherever you may be, and you will not escape alive from our hands.' Then Sumbat Biwritian crossed the Mtkuari. Bazok, king of the Ossetes, threatened him, sent a messenger, and challenged him to single combat. Sumbat equipped himself, mounted his steed, and went out through the ranks. Bazok came forth from his side. They both shouted out, and attacked. Sumbat struck a spear at (Bazok's) belt, and it came out of his back a cubit's length. He knocked him off his horse and cast him to the ground. Then Anbazuk attacked in order to help his brother. But Sumbat seized his spear, went to meet him, and gave him such a blow that it pierced him. He knocked him over and cast him to the ground, saying: 'This is for the sake of the men, women, and young children of the Armenians whom you killed.'

Then all the troops of the Ossetes, Leks, and Georgians, and of all the northern tribes, shouted out in unison, saying: 'Since they have slain those two brothers, the chiefs of all heroes,<sup>38</sup> our own death is worth nothing.' They became even more embittered, gathered all their forces under Arzok and Armazael, the Georgian kings, and together attacked Sumbat and the Armenian troops.

<sup>38</sup> Heroes: *goliat'oba*, as above, n. 25.

Arm.

The entire armies joined battle with each other in a fearsome manner. From both sides numberless men fell until evening. The northerners fled in defeat; and the Armenian troops mercilessly slaughtered them until very few remained whom the night saved.

Both Georgian kings, wounded, escaped and took refuge in Mc'xet'a. Then Smbat victoriously entered K'art'li and ravaged the country. He built a castle, Samc'xe, in the land of Unjurxe, and left troops there to support the Cundac'ik' who had submitted to him.<sup>5</sup> However, the Georgian kings Arzuk and Amziēr, taking with them the people of the Ossetes, assaulted the land of Armenia along the

<sup>5</sup> Who had submitted: an addition here, but see above, V31.

Geo.

[47] Then took place a mighty struggle between them, and the battle lasted from the third hour until the ninth hour. On both sides an uncountable number were slain. The dust rose so that the day became as dark as night. They were so mixed together that they did not recognize each other from the dust. Then the army of the north was defeated by the Armenians; they all fled and scattered. Sumbat rushed on, wounded in many places by many people; and he pursued them until nightfall. He slew all the Ossetes and Leks, of whom only a few escaped. But more Georgians escaped because of their knowledge of roads by which to flee.

Both Georgian kings, wounded, took refuge in Mc'xet'a. Then Sumbat victoriously entered K'art'li. He ravaged K'art'li, whatever he found outside the castles and cities. But he did not attack the fortified cities because he was not prepared, owing to the suddenness of his invasion. However, he built a castle, which is called Samc'xe, in the land of Ojrĥevi at the place called Demot'i at the foot of Mount Ġado. And he left in it troops to assist the Cundelis and to wage war on the Ojrĥevelis. Then he departed. Now these kings of Georgia, Arzok and Armazel, in the hardness of their hearts were not afraid, but fortified their castles and cities; they abandoned all the valleys of K'art'li, but did not cease from their attacks on the Armenians. The Ossetes began to seek (vengeance) for their blood on the Armenians; they came down to K'art'li and made friends with the Georgians. The Ossetes and Georgians joined together, and continuously attacked the Armenians. There was in the city of Ojrĥe an *erist'avi* of King Armazel, one of the

river Nustē,<sup>6</sup> and by way of Parxar, which is Tayk', and the road of Ašoc'. Arm.

Then the Armenian king Artaban marched to attack the Georgians. For five months he besieged Mc'xet'a, ravaging the country, until they implored a peace treaty under which the Georgians and Ossetes would submit to them. The Armenian king agreed, imposed tribute,<sup>7</sup> and left them. While he was contending with Greeks and Persians,<sup>8</sup> [34] the Georgians and Ossetes seized the opportunity to rebel against the Armenians.

<sup>6</sup> Correct here; but cf. above, V24.

<sup>7</sup> Tribute: an addition in Arm. to the 'submission' of both texts.

<sup>8</sup> For Armenian involvement in the Roman-Parthian wars see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 13-14.

nobles, and he continued in loyal faithfulness towards Armazel; Geo.  
[48] the Megrelians aided him. But the people of Cunda and of Demot'i gave each other assistance, and tirelessly waged war. The fighting was strongest along the river which is called Noste. There was in Klarjet'i an *erist'avi* of King Arzok, also one of the nobles. He was inflicting damage on the borders of Armenia, on the land of Parxali, which is Tao. And no harm entered Klarjet'i, because it was inaccessible and impregnable by virtue of forests and rocks, and the inhabitants of Klarjet'i were agile horsemen. The kings of K'art'li would attack Armenia from Mc'xet'a along the road of Aboc'. And the Georgians made continuous raids in that manner.

Then Artašan, king of the Armenians, attacked with all his might, and his general Sumbat Biwritian. The Georgians fortified their castles and cities; they brought an army from Ossetia and occupied the castles and cities. The Armenians arrived and besieged Mc'xet'a. They battled for five months, and every day combats of champions took place. Then the Georgians and Ossetes, in dire straits, asked for peace; they promised to submit and not to seek (vengeance) for the blood and territory. Then the king of the Armenians agreed to their request. They made a treaty and pact. The Armenian king received the subjection of the Georgians and Ossetes, then departed. Some years passed in this way, and K'art'li recovered from its devastation by the Armenians. At that time the Armenians were preoccupied, because the Persians and Greeks had begun to wage war. Finding thus the time opportune, the Georgians and Ossetes began to dominate the Armenians,

*Arm.* Artaban sent his son Zaren<sup>9</sup> to oppose them with a small force. He went off; but he was captured by them like a child<sup>10</sup> at the place called Lake C'ix. The Ossetes wished to kill him for the sake of the blood of their kings. The Georgians prevented them so that they might recover through him their territories which the Armenians had seized; and they imprisoned him at Dalara.<sup>11</sup>

For three years the Armenians paid no attention. Then three years later Smbat went with the king's sons, Artavazd and Tigran,<sup>12</sup> and the entire Armenian army, to the land of the T'retk'.

<sup>9</sup> Zaren: as ABCD. But V has Zareh, following the version of these events in M.X. ii. 53.

<sup>10</sup> Like a child: this addition is reminiscent of a common theme in Eliše; further references in Thomson, *Eliše*, 41 n. 1. M.X. ii. 53 stresses Zareh's military incompetence.

<sup>11</sup> Dalara: i.e. Darialan; cf. above, V27.

<sup>12</sup> Tigran: Tiran in M.X. ii. 53, who refers to these three waging war in the Caucasus. But for M.X. Tiran was a general, not the son, of Artašes.

*Geo.* because all the Armenian troops and the king's two sons and Sumbat were occupied in fighting the Persians.

After the Georgians and Ossetes had increased their damage to the Armenians, then King Artašan gathered those troops who remained in Armenia,<sup>39</sup> entrusted them to his son Zaren, and sent them off against the Georgians. [49] The Georgians and Ossetes united and went to meet them in the land of Javaxet'i. The Georgians and Ossetes defeated and overcame them; they put to flight the Armenian king's son, Zaren, destroyed his whole army, and pursued them to the borders of Armenia. They overtook Zaren, the king's son, captured him on the shore of the lake which is called C'eli, and took him back. The Ossetes wished to kill Zaren for the sake of the blood of their kings. But the Georgians kept him alive in order to seek (the return of) their borders; and they imprisoned him in the fortress of Darialan.

The Armenians were unable to seek (vengeance) because they were occupied with the Persians. Then in the third year Sumbat Biwritian came, and the king's two sons, Artavaz and Tigran, with the entire army of Armenia. The kings of Georgia commanded (the inhabitants of) their land to flee to the castles and cities; and the

<sup>39</sup> In Armenia: *šin*, lit. 'at home'.



The Georgian kings fortified themselves, sent abroad (the inhabitants of) the land, and sought a treaty. They would give back to them with honour the king's son, and they promised service in the following terms: to coin money in the written name<sup>13</sup> of the Armenian king. 'And if any enemy comes to attack you, both of us kings of Georgia will live and die with you; and if you go to war against another nation, ten thousand<sup>14</sup> armed soldiers from Georgia will go with you.' The Armenians agreed to this, then returned the Georgian territory they had seized: Cunda, Dmuīs, J̄awaxēt', and Artahan. So the Armenians, Georgians, and Ossetes became one people. Arm.

[35] When the aforementioned kings of Georgia had ended their

<sup>13</sup> Written name: lit. 'script and name' *grov ew anuamb*, for Geo. *xatit'a*. This latter is normally rendered by *patker*, the term used in M.X. ii. 11 and iii. 51 for the stamping of coins.

<sup>14</sup> 10,000: Arm. may have misread *at'asat'asit'a*, 'a thousand each', as *at'at'asit'a*. But the Georgian for 10,000 would normally be *bewri*, Arm. *biwr*.

people of Mt'eulet'i<sup>40</sup> fortified their castles and cities. The Armenians arrived and besieged T'rialet'i; they sent up envoys among them, and came to terms. The Georgians gave up the king's son who had been imprisoned, and they promised to give aid in these terms: 'If any enemy rises up against you and attacks you, we two kings in our own persons and with our troops will stand by you and help you. And if, on the other hand, you wage war against anyone, with a thousand armed cavalry each we shall assist you.' And the Georgians made the following promise: 'In this city of ours we shall coin money with the image of King Artašan.' Therefore the Armenians restored the border territory of K'art'li, the city of Cunda, and the fortress of Demot'i, J̄avaxet'i, and Artan. From then on the Armenians, Georgians, and Ossetes became friends; and the three of them fought in unison against their enemies. Geo.

[50] Arzok and Armazael died, greatly comforted that through their courage they had recovered the borders of K'art'li. After

<sup>40</sup> Mt'eulet'i: in the narrower sense; see above, V25 n. 55.

*Arm.* lives, their sons took the kingdom:<sup>15</sup> Hamazasp (was) king in Armaz and Deruk in K'art'li.<sup>16</sup>

After them<sup>17</sup> (reigned) P'arsman and Mirdat.<sup>18</sup> This Mirdat took a Persian wife of royal descent. At the urging of the Persians he turned to hatred of P'arsman of Armaz, and plotted to kill him over wine<sup>19</sup> in his own house. When P'arsman heard of this, he did not go at his invitation. The business came into the open, and they became mutual enemies. Now P'arsman was a good man, handsome of face and stature, merciful, wise, and as valiant in combat

<sup>15</sup> Their sons took the kingdom: as ABCD, omitted in V.

<sup>16</sup> For the dual reign of Amazasp and Deruk see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 15-16 (AD 106-16).

<sup>17</sup> Them: as AC, but sing. in BD and V.

<sup>18</sup> For the dual reign of P'arsman and Mirdat see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 16 (AD 116-32). P'arsman's epithet *k'ueli* means 'good', 'kind'.

<sup>19</sup> Over wine: *i ginwoy*, which could also mean 'while drunk'. The Georgian *mjlisad* is derived from the Arabic *majlis*, in the sense of a social gathering. The word is rare; Abulaje, *Lek'sikoni*, notes only this reference.

*Geo.* them their sons reigned: Amazasp in Armazi, and Derok in Inner K'art'li.

*Fourteenth, Kings Amazasp and Derok, sons of Azork and Armazel, Arsacids*

And after them their sons reigned: P'arsman K'ueli in Armazi, and Mirdat in Inner K'art'li.

*Fifteenth, Kings P'arsman K'ueli and Mirdat, sons of Amazasp and Derok, Arsacids*

Up to this time all these kings in pairs were on friendly terms; their friends were mutual, and their enemies mutual. Then the Georgian Mirdat married a Persian wife of royal descent. At the urging of the Persians he became an enemy of P'arsman K'ueli of Armazi. He plotted treacherously to kill P'arsman K'ueli. Mirdat invited P'arsman K'ueli to his house as if for a party and diversion. But someone informed P'arsman and warned him. So he did not go. [51] From then on they became mutual enemies. The Persians supported Mirdat, and the Armenians P'arsman. This Mirdat was a gloomy and bloodthirsty man, whereas P'arsman K'ueli was a good man, generous with gifts and of a forgiving nature, handsome of stature, large and powerful of frame, a brave horseman and

as if he were incorporeal. All the Georgians loved him and hated Arm. Mihrdat. Therefore the latter fled to Persia.

P'arsman established in his place P'arnawaz his *sparapet*, who was his foster-brother,<sup>20</sup> of the same age and a very brave man. Mihrdat brought Persians and came to attack P'arsman. The latter brought a force from Armenia and went to face him at Hrinisi-Xē, which is Erkat'ajor.<sup>21</sup> Persian champions<sup>22</sup> demanded

<sup>20</sup> Foster-brother: *kat'nakic'*, 'who shared the same milk', rendering *jujusmte*, 'sharing the breast'. The Georgian is a common term, rendering *σύντροφος* (as in Acts 13: 1). But the usual Armenian term is *dayeakordi*, 'son of the *dayeak*', *dayeak* being either a wet-nurse or the foster-father in whose house a boy was brought up. Here *kat'nakic'* renders the Georgian exactly; but the word is rare (perhaps a *hapax*), although numerous other compounds with *kat'n* are attested.

<sup>21</sup> Erkat'ajor: 'Iron Valley,' a correct translation.

<sup>22</sup> Champions: *menamartik*; see above V28 n. 77, for other renderings of *bumberazi*.

aggressive in warfare, as fearless as if he were incorporeal, and in Geo. every respect superior to all the kings of K'art'li who had preceded him. He befriended also the Georgians around Mirdat, who hated Mirdat on account of his bloodthirstiness and stubbornness. The majority of those on Mirdat's side joined forces; P'arsman K'ueli overcame them and put king Mirdat to flight. Mirdat went off to Persia.

Now at that time P'arsman K'ueli's *spaspet* was called P'arnavaz, as kind and heroic<sup>41</sup> as himself. P'arnavaz was P'arsman's foster-brother, faithful, loyal, and trustworthy. He appointed him to Inner K'art'li<sup>42</sup> in place of Mirdat. And P'arnavaz the *spaspet* dwelt all the time in K'art'li, while King P'arsman K'ueli travelled and administered his kingdom. Then Mirdat brought Persians, powerful soldiers, and attacked P'arsman. P'arsman gathered the troops of K'art'li; a force from Armenia joined him, and he advanced to meet him in the defiles of Rkinis-Hevi. The champions began their combats over many days. And if there came forth from among the Persians a champion with whom the warriors of K'art'li and of Armenia could not do battle, then King P'arsman himself or his *spaspet* P'arnavaz went out to oppose him. In this fashion they rose up and defeated them. In the

<sup>41</sup> Heroic: *goliat'oba*, as above, n. 25.

<sup>42</sup> Inner K'art'li: all MSS except A read *k'alak'i*, 'city', for K'art'li. Cf. above, n.

*Arm.* P'arsman and his *sparapet* in single combat. P'arsman [36] killed seventeen men, and his *sparapet* twenty-three.

Then one of the Persians, Jewanšer<sup>23</sup> by name, an enormous giant, asked for P'arsman. The latter joyfully went out to oppose him. Their combat was like the thundering of clouds; it lasted many hours. However, that handsome and powerful P'arsman struck to the ground and slew the foreign<sup>24</sup> giant. He cried out to his army: 'Arise, you lions who sleep;<sup>25</sup> attack those sheep who have been beaten down by hail.' Then the Armenian and Georgian armies mercilessly shed torrents of Persian blood over the face of the land. Mirdat escaped and took refuge in Persia.

The next year he again returned to attack P'arsman with a numerous army; he came to Mc'xet'a and besieged it. As before, Persian champions challenged P'arsman and his *sparapet*.

<sup>23</sup> Jewanšer: all the Georgian MSS, except AM, have *Juanšer*, perhaps by confusion with the historian.

<sup>24</sup> Foreign: *Arm.* reads *anari*. In the sense of 'timorous' it hardly applies to someone 'who had caught a lion with his hands!' Perhaps here it is *an-Ari* 'non-Aryan', i.e., not a true Persian, but a foreigner in their army.

<sup>25</sup> Who sleep: *or nmjēk*. This curious rendering is perhaps due to the translator's reading *mjinare*, 'sleeping', for *mjinvare*, 'ferocious'.

*Geo.* fighting King P'arsman slew seventeen Persian champions, while his *spaspet* P'arnavaz killed twenty-three.

[52] There was at that time among the Persians a gigantic man by the name of Ĵumber, who had caught a lion with his hands. He challenged King P'arsman to single combat. King P'arsman happily armed himself and went forth. They both shouted out with a great cry and rushed on each other. They began to fight with sabres, and the noise of their combat resembled the sound of the crashing of thunder. P'arsman rose up, threw (Ĵumber), and slew him. He turned back towards his own army and shouted out in a loud voice: 'Aha, ferocious lions, the sheep (are) beaten down by hail.' Then the Georgians and Armenians rushed on the Persians, put them to flight, and destroyed them; numberless were taken captive, and Mirdat took refuge in Persia.

The next year Mirdat again returned with an even more powerful army. So P'arsman K'ueli gathered his troops, cavalry and infantry; but he remained in the city of Mc'xet'a because he did not have as many troops as Mirdat. Mirdat came and stopped at

P'arsman killed twelve of them, and his *sparapet* sixteen. Then he fell on them<sup>26</sup> with a few men, slaughtering and exterminating their host. Mihrdat fled to Persia. The valiant P'arsman in person with an Armenian force devastated and ravaged Persia. Arm.

The Persians resorted to a stratagem: they sent a cook, on the pretext of emigrating,<sup>27</sup> to whom they had given a deadly poison so that he might kill P'arsman unsuspecting. Which indeed he accomplished, deceitfully murdering that all-victorious warrior. He

<sup>26</sup> Then he fell on them: *apa ankaw* in AC (for *apakanaw* in BD and V); *i veray noc'a* in ABCD (for *i noc'anē* in V).

<sup>27</sup> On the pretext of emigrating: *hatuaci patčarov*. The same wording is used in Aa 28, of Anak joining Xosrov with a view to murdering him.

Jač'wi. As before, every day the champions engaged in combat. In the fighting king P'arsman killed twelve champions himself, and the *spaspet* P'arnavaz sixteen champions. Then King P'arsman in the fieriness of his heart paid no heed to the host of Persians, but came forth at dawn with his army and fell on them. His fortune gave him the victory. He put their army to flight and destroyed an incalculable number. Mirdat fled to Persia. From then on the fame of P'arsman K'ueli and of his *spaspet* P'arnavaz was noised abroad. He became chief of the troops of K'art'li and [53] of Armenia. And he began to wage war on the Persians and to invade Persia. Nobody at all was able to resist P'arsman K'ueli. Geo.

Then the Persians adopted the following stratagem. They brought a cook, promised him a large reward, and gave him these instructions: 'Go and join the service of P'arsman K'ueli. Take with you a deadly poison, mix it in his food, and give it him to eat.' The cook went off and did as the Persians had told him. In this way he killed king P'arsman K'ueli. Then all the Georgians, from the most prominent to the poorest, made lamentation, weeping, and mourning. They all mourned in all their cities and villages. The wailers<sup>43</sup> sat down; they all gathered and recalled the bravery and kindness, the beauty and goodness of P'arsman K'ueli. And they declaimed: 'Woe to us, for evil fortune has found us; and our king,

<sup>43</sup> Wailers: *mgosanni glovisani*. *Mgosani* (pl. *mgosnebi*, Q40, l. 25) is the Armenian *gusan*, the bard who recites heroic tales, especially those of a family's ancestors. See M. Boyce, 'The Parthian *gōsān* and Iranian Minstrel Tradition', *JRAS* 1957, 10-45.

*Arm.* cast the house of Georgia into mourning, from the least to the greatest.

P'arsman's *spayapet*,<sup>28</sup> P'arnawaz, took P'arsman's wife and sons to Armenia. [37] With their help he appointed as provincial governors<sup>29</sup> in Armaz and in all his (P'arsman's) portion those who had preserved loyalty for P'arsman. Mihrdat, however, bringing Persian (troops), came to Georgia and took his own portion. The Armenian king, having made a treaty with the Greeks,<sup>30</sup> attacked the Persians and Mihrdat. He encountered them on the river Lex, and slew Mihrdat and the commander<sup>31</sup> of the Persians.

<sup>28</sup> *Spayapet*: as ABCD, the Georgian *spaypet*, more usually *spaspēt*, for the usual Armenian *sparapet*. It is also used by Koriwn 64 of the Greek general Anatolius. Cf. the form *spayspet* below, V40.

<sup>29</sup> Provincial governors: *gawarapet*. For the various Armenian renderings of *erist'Avi* see above, V16 n. 71.

<sup>30</sup> Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 16, identifies this with the restoration of the Armenian monarchy in 117 after Trajan's annexation.

<sup>31</sup> Commander: *išxan*; cf. above, n. 29.

*Geo.* by whom we were delivered from subjection to enemies, has been killed by sorcerers; and now we have been given over to the ravages of foreign peoples.'

Then the Persians came forth, bringing with them Mirdat. They captured K'art'li and gave to Mirdat his portion. They seized for themselves the portion of P'arsman, and left an *erist'avi* at Armazi. Now the *spaspēt* P'arnavaz took away P'arsman's wife and son, and fled. He went to Armenia because P'arsman's wife was the daughter of the Armenian king. Mirdat and the Persian *erist'avi* controlled K'art'li, whereas the Megrelians remained loyal to P'arsman's son. At that time the Armenians and Greeks had become friends. Then the Armenian king brought an army from Greece and set out to wage war on the Persians and Georgians. [54] The Megrelians joined him, and a numberless host was assembled. Then Mirdat and the Persian *erist'avi* brought a force from Persia. The Armenians, Greeks, and Megrelians entered Inner K'art'li; and there the Persians and Georgians encountered them on the river which is called the Liaxvi. At the place called Reḥa a battle was fought between them. On both sides an incalculable number were slain. The Persians and Georgians were defeated, Mirdat and the Persian *erist'avi* were killed, and their troops exterminated.

He made P'arsman's son, Admi, king of Georgia.<sup>32</sup> He lived for three (more) years then died, leaving a young son; through the latter P'arsman's wife ruled Georgia.<sup>33</sup> Arm.

After him his grandson Hamazasp ruled,<sup>34</sup> a valiant man and a warrior. In his days the Ossetes came in a vast multitude unexpectedly along the road of Dualet'. They encamped on the river Leax for eight days and rested; then they went and besieged the

<sup>32</sup> The 'dual' reigns are now over. For the reign of Adami see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', (AD 132-5).

<sup>33</sup> Arm. omits the reign of P'arsman III (AD 135-85). His mother was regent for the first 14 years; see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 16-17.

<sup>34</sup> i.e. Adami's grandson, because Arm. has omitted his father. See Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 17 (AD 185-9).

*Sixteenth, King Adami, son of P'arsman K'ueli, an Arsacid*

Geo.

They installed as king the son of P'arsman K'ueli, who was called Adami. For three years he reigned, then died. He left a son, a child aged one year. Until that child grew up, Adami's mother reigned—the wife of P'arsman K'ueli—whose name was Ġadana. When the grandson of P'arsman K'ueli, named P'arsman, had grown up, he reigned (himself).

*Seventeenth, King P'arsman, son of Adami, an Arsacid*

This P'arsman reigned over all K'art'li. He had a son, and called him Amazasp. After this P'arsman died; and after him his son Amazasp reigned.

*Eighteenth, King Amazasp, son of P'arsman, an Arsacid*

[55] This Amazasp was a strong man and a great hero, like P'arsman K'ueli. During his reign the Ossetes, many troops, came down the road of Dvalet'i. King Amazasp was unaware of the approach of the Ossetes until they had descended the mountain. The Ossetes arrived and stopped on the Liaxvi for eight days in order to rest. Nowhere did anyone take plunder, because they had come in order to destroy the city of Mc'xet'a. Then Amazasp summoned all the *erist'avis* of K'art'li. The *erist'avis* of the east came: the *erist'avi* of Kaxet'i, the *erist'avi* of Xunan, the *erist'avi* of Samšwilde. And the cavalry of the *spaspet* assembled. Before the arrival of the *erist'avi*

*Arm.* city of Mc'xet'a. Amazasp, with 16,000<sup>35</sup> cavalry and 30,000 infantry, went out to do battle with them by bow and arrow from a distance. He himself, by the power of his bow, struck fifteen of their elite champions.<sup>36</sup> The next day he laid low one of the Ossetes called Xawnaxua, and smote his midriff.<sup>37</sup> The third day, since the

<sup>35</sup> There are no variants in either text to the change in number.

<sup>36</sup> Champions: here *axoyean*; cf. above, V28 n. 77.

<sup>37</sup> Smote his midriff: the MSS have *ebek zmējs noc'a*, 'he broke their ranks'. This makes little sense. But if *noc'a* is emended to *nora*, the phrase refers to the Ossete's wound.

*Geo.* of the west,<sup>44</sup> the Ossetes arrived from the region north of the city, which is Muxnar. Then King Amazasp filled the fortresses and gates of Mc'xet'a with troops.<sup>45</sup> There was a host of infantry from Mc'xet'a who defended the gates and walls. In addition to those who went out as warriors, there was a total of 30,000 infantry; then there were another 10,000 cavalry. Amazasp came forth and arranged the infantry on either side of the Aragvi, inside the fortifications of the gates; while with the mounted troops he went out to the place which is called Sap'urc'le. He kept in his rear the city and the infantry whom he had posted within the gates. The champions began to fight. Amazasp came out with a bow and began to shoot with a fierce heart and a strong arm. From so far away did he shoot that [56] from the direction where the Ossetes were standing it was not known or seen, because of the distance, whether he had a bow at all. He shot arrows which strong armour could not resist. On that day in single combat Amazasp slew fifteen elite champions and many horses. And the other champions of Amazasp slew many Ossete champions. Thus they inflicted great losses on the Ossetes. On that day Amazasp entered the city with his cavalry, while the infantry remained on the spot inside the gates. That night his forces were augmented by the cavalry whom the *erist'avis* had not been able to bring with them in their haste. When it became light Amazasp came out again to the same place, and took up a spear. A man called Xuanxua stepped forth from

<sup>44</sup> Just below, Q57, five *erist'avis* of the west are listed. It is noteworthy that in both passages 'west' is *dasavlet'i* (with the suffix *-et'i* for provinces) instead of the usual *dasavali*. 'East' is the regular *aḡmosavali*.

<sup>45</sup> Four fortresses protected Mc'xet'a; see above, Q19. 'Gates' (*karni*) must refer to the gates of the extended fortifications, not just those of Mc'xet'a itself, because just below the infantry remained inside the gates but outside the city.



Georgian army had increased, they did battle with each other. The Ossetes were defeated, their king was killed, and the survivors fled to their own land. Arm.

The next year Hamazasp took an Armenian army, crossed over the mountain to attack [38] the Ossetes, and plundered the whole land; then he returned home. After this Hamazasp became haughty. He rebelled against the Armenians, killed his most eminent men, and relied on the Persians.<sup>38</sup> Therefore the Georgians hated him.

They sought as king for themselves the son of the Armenian king, Vroyn<sup>39</sup> the nephew of Hamazasp. The Armenian king

<sup>38</sup> Relied on the Persians: *apawinec'aw i Parss*, which could also mean 'he took refuge in Persia'.

<sup>39</sup> Vroyn: so here in ABCD; *Vroyn* just below in AC; but *Viron* in BD; *Rēv* in all MSS at V38 bottom. He was the son of Artašes, named Vroy in M.X. ii. 53; see *HAnjB*, s.n. for various spellings.

among the Ossetes; he was prominent among the Ossete soldiers. They both shouted out and fell on each other. At the very first attack Amazasp struck his spear; it came out at the back (of the Ossete) and killed him. He bared his sabre and fell on the other champions. He slew another two, (then) turned back and entered the city with the cavalry. But the infantry remained there within the gates. And that night again more cavalry joined them. They decided to attack the Ossetes. At the hour of dawn he came out and attacked the Ossetes with all his cavalry and infantry. He was victorious, put their army to flight, killed the king of the Ossetes, and annihilated all their host. Geo.

[57] In the next year a force from Armenia joined him. He gathered all his own troops and descended on Ossetia. No one was able to resist him; he plundered Ossetia, and returned home victorious. After this he became haughty and began to shed blood. He slew many nobles, and therefore the people of K'art'li came to hate him. He became an enemy to the Armenians, and made friends with the Persians.

Then the five *erist'avis* of the west rebelled: the two *erist'avis* of Egrisi, and those of Ojrḡe, of Klarjet'i, and of Cunda. These came to terms with the king of Armenia, and requested his son as king; for he was the nephew of Amazasp. Then the Armenian king with

*Arm.* agreed to their request, and came to Georgia. The five lords<sup>40</sup> of the western region came to him, including the lord of Unjrxē and the lord of Cunda; they also summoned the Ossete troops. The latter joyfully came to avenge the blood which Hamazasp owed them. So the Armenian king acquired a large army.<sup>41</sup> Then Hamazasp called to his assistance the house of Persia. There was a fierce battle, in which Hamazasp was overcome and killed, and the Persian army defeated. So Vroyn ruled over the Georgians.<sup>42</sup>

The daughter of a logothete,<sup>43</sup> called Sep'elia, was brought from

<sup>40</sup> Lords: *išxan*; see above, n. 31. *Arm.* implies that the two named *erist'avis* were in addition to the five; but since it is clear from *Geo.* that the total number was five, I have rendered *ew* by 'including'.

<sup>41</sup> So . . . army: as ABCD, omitted in V. But the phrasing in *Arm.* is curious: *ew ełew t'agaworn Hayoc' banak mec.* An original *t'agaworin* may have been misread.

<sup>42</sup> For the reign of Rev see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 17 (AD 189–216).

<sup>43</sup> Logothete: *lotot'ac'i* rendering *logot'et'i*; the Armenian term is not attested in *NBHL* or *HArmB*, nor is the Georgian in Abulaje, *Lek'sikoni*. For the Greek office see *ODB* s.v.

*Geo.* a large force attacked K'art'li. A force from Greece also joined him. He also negotiated with the Ossetes, and the Ossetes joyfully came forward because they had a blood feud with Amazasp. They came down the road of T'akueri and joined the *erist'avis* of Egrisi. Then Amazasp summoned the Persians, and the Persians came in force. He also gathered those Georgians who remained (loyal). Then the Ossetes and Megrelians descended the small mountain.<sup>46</sup> They and the rebellious Georgian *erist'avis* joined together and all came to face the king of Armenia. However, Amazasp moved to the attack and encountered them at Gutis-Hevi. Amongst so many troops of the Greeks, Armenians, Ossetes, Megrelians, and Georgians, no one was found who could engage in single combat with Amazasp. But the armies drew up facing each other, and a battle was waged between them. Amazasp was defeated and his army put to flight. They slew Amazasp, annihilated his army, and occupied K'art'li. The king of Armenia left as king of K'art'li his son, whose name was Rev, the nephew of Amazasp.

[58] *Nineteenth, King Rev, an Arsacid*

Rev married a wife from Greece, the daughter of a logothete,

<sup>46</sup> The small mountain: probably Gado (S. of Ossetia and W. of Egrisi), which is so described above, Q5.

the land of the Greeks as wife for him. She brought the image of Aphrodite<sup>44</sup> and set it up at the entrance to Mc'xet'a. The king was merciful and an avenger<sup>45</sup> for the oppressed. Knowing a little of the dispensation<sup>46</sup> of our Lord, he loved Christ. He prevented the Georgians from human<sup>47</sup> sacrifice, but worshipped idols and had oxen and sheep sacrificed. His name was called Rēv, which means

<sup>44</sup> Image: *patker* for *kerpi*, as above, V24 n. 45. This is the only reference to Aphrodite in the K'C'.

<sup>45</sup> Avenger: *vrēžxndir*, an epithet in the Bible normally applied to God.

<sup>46</sup> Dispensation: *tnawrēnut'iw*n for *saxarebay*.

<sup>47</sup> For human sacrifice cf. above, Q26.

named Sep'elia. Sep'elia brought with her an idol by the name of Aphrodite, and she set it up at the entrance to Mc'xet'a. Although Rev was a heathen, yet he was compassionate and helpful to all the oppressed. For he had heard a little of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and he possessed some love for Christ. During his reign he did not permit anyone in K'art'li to kill children, as before him and previously they used to sacrifice children in front of idols as offerings. While he was king no one slew children for the idols, but he prescribed the sacrifice of sheep and cows. Therefore he was called Rev the Just. This Rev reigned well, then Rev died.

*Twentieth, King Vač'e, son of Rev, an Arsacid*

After him his son Vač'e reigned.

*Twenty-first, King Bakur, son of Vač'e, an Arsacid*

And after Vač'e reigned Vač'e's son Bakur.

[59] *Twenty-second, King Mirdat, son of Bakur, an Arsacid*

And after Bakur reigned Bakur's son Mirdat.

*Twenty-third, King Asp'agur, son of King Mirdat, an Arsacid*

And after Mirdat reigned his son Asp'agur. This Asp'agur built the fortified city of Ujarma.

Now from the reign of Alexander all these kings reigned over

*Arm.* 'victor'.<sup>48</sup> His son Vač'ē succeeded him.<sup>49</sup> And then Aspatur, son of Vač'ē.<sup>50</sup>

[39] At that time K'arsē-Šarvan<sup>51</sup> ruled over the Persians. He was the son of Sasan<sup>52</sup> who put an end to the Arsacids, who are

<sup>48</sup> Victor: *yatt'ot*. The verb *revay* in Georgian means 'to mix' or 'to overcome, conquer'. But the name Rev is derived from Iranian; see Justi 260.

<sup>49</sup> For the reign of Vač'ē see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 17 (AD 216–34).

<sup>50</sup> And then . . . Vač'ē: as AC, omitted in BD and V. For the reigns of Bakur (234–49), Mirdat (249–65), and Aspatur (265–84) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 18–20. The Armenian and Georgian spellings of names do not always exactly correspond.

<sup>51</sup> This, in garbled form, is Xusraw Anūšīrwan, shah 531–79, whose fame eclipsed in popular tradition the renown of all other Sasanian rulers. K'arsē for K'asrē, a common form (via Arabic in later texts; cf. Ps.-Šapuh 47).

<sup>52</sup> As Aa 18, M.X. ii. 69. But Iranian traditions concerning Artasīr's ancestry are more complicated; see R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Iran* (Cleveland and New York, 1963), 198–9.

*Geo.* K'art'li, and they were idolators. Aspatur was the last king of the line of P'arnavaz.

In his time K'asre Anušarvan the Sasanian became king in Persia. He put an end to the Ažgalanian<sup>47</sup> kings, and was known as Ardabir, as is written in the *History of the Persians*.<sup>48</sup> Kosaro was king in Armenia. This Kosaro, king of the Armenians, began to wage war on K'asre, king of the Persians. Aspatur, king of the Georgians, helped him. Aspatur opened the passes of the Caucasus and brought down the Ossetes, Leks, and Xazars; he joined forces with Kosaro, king of Armenia, in order to wage war on the Persians. In the very first attack on Persia K'asre, king of the Persians, drew up his line; but they put him to flight and destroyed his army. From then on no king of Persia was able to resist them, and they increased their attacks on Persia and their ravages in Persia. Then the kings of K'art'li descended from P'arnavaz came to an end.

[60] *Attack of the Persians on K'art'li, and the reign of Mirian, son of K'asre*<sup>49</sup>

After the Armenians, Georgians, and nations of the North had put the king of Persia to flight, and they had increased their attacks on

<sup>47</sup> i.e. , Arsacid; for the form see above, Q43.

<sup>48</sup> For the Iranian epic see above, n. 10.

<sup>49</sup> For the historical setting of Mirian's reign (284–361) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 21–4.

called Ardabir.<sup>53</sup> The Armenian king Xosrov waged war on him, with the help of Asparagur, who brought through the pass of the Caucasus the Lexs, and Leks, and Ossetes, and Xazars, to King Xosrov the Great.<sup>54</sup> He entered Persia with an enormous host, and defeated the Persian army. The Persian king K'arsēšar, who is the same as Artasir, fled. Arm.

He then took counsel with his magnates as to what they would do in face of the king of Armenia, who had been oppressing them

<sup>53</sup> Ardabir: *Ardabiwroyk'*, rendering the *Ardabirobit'* of AM, but *Ardaširobit'* in all other MSS. The suffix *-oba* (here in the abl.) forms abstract nouns; cf. *goliat'oba* above, Q32 n. 25. For the confusion of *b* and *š* see above, V16 n. 69. It is remarkable that none of the scribes of the Armenian MSS recognized the name, so well known from the description of the following wars in Agat'angelos, and correctly glossed just below.

<sup>54</sup> For the war against Persia, and the numerous Caucasian peoples who assisted Xosrov, see Aa 19 ff. The epithet 'great' (*mec*) is common for Xosrov, e.g. M.X. ii. 74, but is not used in Aa.

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Persia and their ravages of Persia, and the king of Persia was no longer able to resist; then the king of Persia, filled with sadness, summoned the princes of the provinces, the *pitiaxšes*<sup>50</sup> and *erist'avis* of the provinces, and held a council. He sought some means of (alleviating) the evil which had come upon him, and he promised great reward and honour to whoever should be able to find a way of gaining vengeance. In the assembly there was a prominent noble by the name of Anak, from the family of Kosaro, king of Armenia. He stood up, came forward, and said: 'Your army has been put to flight by Kosaro, king of Armenia; your cavalry have been destroyed; and fear and trembling for them have fallen on the Persians. They have grown strong and we have no power to resist them. Now this is my advice, that we appease King Kosaro by peace and entreaty and payment of tribute.' What Anak said he did not mean sincerely, but he hid from the crowd the intention of his heart. He came close to the king and spoke for himself: 'Know that what I am saying is not my counsel. But allow me in private to advise you, and I shall make known to your majesty my real opinion.' Then the notables gave each his advice before the king and went out. Then the king secretly summoned Geo.

<sup>50</sup> *Pitiaxš*: Pahlavi *bitaxš*, the Armenian *bdeašx*. For this office see Garsoñan, *HE* 516-17.

*Arm.* for ten<sup>55</sup> years. A certain relative of Xosrov's came forward, Anak by name, and said in the hearing of all: 'You must submit to Xosrov by paying tribute; then the Persians will have a respite from his afflictions.' [40] But secretly approaching him in audience, he said: 'I shall go to him as a friendly relative, as if in rebellion<sup>56</sup> from you. And I shall treacherously<sup>57</sup> kill him.' Which indeed he did.

He came to him with his brother. When the next year came round, he killed him in the hunt, when he was intending to attack Persia. He himself and all his family were put to death, except for two children, whom their tutors had taken; these fled, one to Greek

<sup>55</sup> Ten: an addition from Aa 23, echoed in M.X. ii. 67.

<sup>56</sup> As if in rebellion: as Aa 28, also in Geo. just below.

<sup>57</sup> Treacherously: an addition from M.X. ii. 67.

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*Geo.* Anak, [61] and Anak said to the king: 'O king, live for ever. I shall find for you a means of attaining vengeance on Kosaro. I shall go to him with my wife, and he will trust me because of our family relationship. Your fortune will send good success, and I shall kill the king and lay down my life for you.' This advice pleased the king.

Within a few days Anak and his brother departed with their wives as if in rebellion against the king of Persia. He came to the borders of Armenia, to the city called Xilaxila,<sup>51</sup> winter quarters for the kings of Armenia. When King Kosaro saw him, he received him with great honour, because he demonstrated (himself) as loyal with great skill on his arrival. The king saw that he had come to him with all his family; then the king rendered him honour, and for joy and relief appointed him second in rank to the throne.<sup>52</sup> When the days of winter had passed, the days of the summer season had arrived, and the rivers had swollen, the king moved on from there and came to the city of Ararat.<sup>53</sup> King Kosaro was ready to attack Persia again. Then one day the king went out to hunt, taking with him Anak and his brother. These secretly held sharp swords under their camel-hair (cloaks). They found the opportunity, killed the king, and fled. The princes of Armenia gave

<sup>51</sup> i.e. Xalxal; see Aa 28.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Aa 30.

<sup>53</sup> Ararat: the province Ayrarat in Aa 31. Here AC read *Arat*, the other Georgian MSS having the usual form.

territory and the other to Persian.<sup>58</sup> When the Persian king heard this, he came to Armenia<sup>59</sup> and slew all the relatives of Xosrov. But one child escaped to Greek territory, called Trdat. Arm.

Aspagur, king of Georgia, went to Ossetia to bring back troops. But he died there. He did not have a son, but a single daughter. And the descendants of P'a'rnawaz came to an end, who numbered twenty-eight kings after Alexander.<sup>60</sup> Then the princes of Georgia

<sup>58</sup> For the two sons see Aa 34, and the later elaborations in Zenob. M.X. ii. 74, only refers to one son, Gregory, destined to become Illuminator of Armenia. Tutor: *dayeak* for *mamamjuju*; cf. above, V35 n. 20.

<sup>59</sup> To Armenia: here V omits the whole passage down to n. 65 below, (*ew ekn i* . . . *ew ekn i*). For the text in ABCD see Abulaje, p. 65, l. 7-p. 67, l. 11.

<sup>60</sup> And the descendants. . . Alexander: see above, Q59, for the corresponding Georgian. Arm. has added 'who numbered twenty-eight kings'. The Georgian titles go down to 'twenty-third'; but five reigns (nos. 11-15) were dual.

pursuit; some hurried to the bridge, and others rushed to the ford. They cornered them in a defile, let none pass through, and killed them. They killed all their families, except that two of their sons survived, [62] whom their tutors took away. One fled to the borders of Greece, and the other to the borders of Persia. When the Persian king K'asre the Sasanian heard this report, he was filled with joy and set out with all his forces. He first came to Armenia and seized Armenia; he killed or took captive all the family of the Armenian king. However, one son of King Kosaro, a small child, fled to the borders of Greece; and there he grew up. He was called T'rdat. Geo.

Then after the Persian king had seized Armenia and had gone to K'art'li, Asp'agur, king of the Georgians, went off to Ossetia in order to increase (his army) with soldiers from Ossetia and to garrison the fortified cities. But when Asp'agur went to Ossetia, death overtook him and he died there. Asp'agur did not have a son but a single daughter. Then all the *erist'avis* of K'art'li gathered in the city of Mc'xet'a with the *spaspet*, who was called Maežan. They held council together, filled with sadness, and said: 'Let us not allow sadness to rule our hearts lest we lose our understanding. Rather let us seek some way out of our afflictions and tribulations.' Then Maežan the *spaspet* said: 'If only we had a certain strength, were the Persians to outnumber us by three times, yet we would give ourselves over to death and resist them. If there had remained

*Arm.* gathered in Mc'xet'a with Mayzan their *spayspet*,<sup>61</sup> to ask what they should do. He said to them: 'If we had a king, we would submit to death. If we had an heir to our kingdom, we would enter (our) fortresses and eat human flesh, like our fathers. But because this is not the case, let us request the Persian king for the son of his handmaid,<sup>62</sup> Mihran, as husband and king for us. We shall give him the daughter of Aspagur our king, Abebura.'<sup>63</sup>

This plan pleased them all. They sent a messenger and informed the king that the maiden had descent from the Arbak'ids, that is,

<sup>61</sup> *Spayspet*: a curious hybrid from the Georgian *spaypet* and *spaspet*; cf. above, V36 n. 28.

<sup>62</sup> Handmaid: *ataxin*, rendering *mhevali* (as in Luke 1: 38, etc. ). But below, V42 n. 75, *Arm.* renders the same term by *harč*, 'concubine'.

<sup>63</sup> Abebura: for the shift between *b* and *s* see above, V16 n. 69.

*Geo.* an heir of our king or a relative of our sovereigns who was worthy to rule, we would stay in our fortified cities and offer ourselves to death and would eat human flesh, as our fathers did earlier. But such times have come upon us that the great king of Armenia has been killed by the Persians; [63] Armenia, to which our kingdom is neighbour, has been laid waste; and the Persian king has opened his mouth in order to swallow our whole land. There is no one among us to resist him, and we have been left orphaned like sheep without a shepherd. Now this is my advice, that we present our submission to the king of Persia and request from him mercy; and that we ask him for his son as our king, and request that he marry his son to the daughter of our king Asp'agur. We shall inform him of the maiden's family ties with the K'art'losids and Nebrot'ids, and with the Arsacid magnates and our P'arnavazian kings. And we shall ask him to preserve the religion of our fathers, and request no mixing of Persians with us, and that our treatment be as nobility. Perchance he will accept this request of ours and will do all this for us. But if he takes away from us the religion of our fathers, and makes Persians pre-eminent over us, and destroys the line of our kings, then death is better for us than the sight of such a state of affairs. We would occupy our castles and cities, and perish all together.'

Then all the *erist'avis* confirmed the advice of the *spaspet* Maezan. They despatched an envoy to the Persian king, and informed him of all that they had decided. First the Persian king



Arsacids,<sup>64</sup> and P'arnawazids, and also Nebrot'ids. And close to us are the Ossetes, and Alans, and Leks, and Sonk', and Xazars, and all the region of the north. Arm.

<sup>64</sup> That is, Arsacids: this may be a later addition; for the original translator had not recognized the Arsacids above, V39.

asked about the city of Mc'xet'a, and they described its size and strength and its proximity to the Xazars and Ossetes. Next he asked about the parentage of Asp'agur's daughter, and they described her descent from the Nebrot'ids and Arsacids and P'arnavazids. This well pleased the Persian king and he accepted the Georgians' request, since he himself decided it was best to appoint his own son as king of Mc'xet'a. [64] For of all the cities of Armenia and of K'art'li, of Ran and its surrounding territory, he deemed it the best and strongest and closest to his northern enemies; from there he could wage war on them and control all the Caucasians. He carried out all that the Georgians asked, and gave an oath and promise for everything. Geo.

He went to Mc'xet'a, where Maežan the *spaspet* and all the *erist'avis* of K'art'li met him. Then they brought from Samšwilde the daughter of King Asp'agur, who was called Abešura, and the Persian king married her to his son who had accompanied him, aged 7 years. He was the offspring of a handmaid, and was called Mihran in Persian, but in Georgian Mirian. This is the Mirian who in his old age<sup>54</sup> acknowledged God the creator and accepted the gospel of the apostles from St Nino. He became a confessor of the holy Trinity and a worshipper of the revered cross.

<sup>54</sup> Old age: if Mirian came to the throne in 284 aged 7, he was aged 57 at the time of his conversion in 334. See the discussion in Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 21-4.

*Arm.* When the Persian king had heard them, he came to Mc'xeta.<sup>65</sup> He gave them an oath, and installed as king for them the young Mihran, aged 5 years.<sup>66</sup> As governor [41] of the province and guardian for the child he appointed his tutor Mirvanos,<sup>67</sup> leaving with him 40,000 élite Persian soldiers. He told him that 5,000 of these were to be with the king, and the others would take up their position in Heret' and wage war on the Xazars; and that his son should worship fire and do obeisance to the idols of the Georgians. For the Georgians had requested that he should not remove them from their own religion. 'Because it is better', they said, 'for us to die than to be separated from the rites of our fathers.'<sup>68</sup> The king

<sup>65</sup> To Mc'xet'a: here ends the omission in V.

<sup>66</sup> The figures 5 and 7 are easily confused in Armenian; cf. above, V12 n. 45.

<sup>67</sup> Mirvanos: for the name (Mirwan) see Justi 208. Governor: *gawarapet*; see above, V16 n. 71. Guardian: *snuc'ot*, rendering *ganmgebeli*, used above (K'C', pp. 6, 9) of the chief brother of a family. Tutor: *dayeak*, rendering *mamamjuju*, as above, V35 n. 20. Soldier: *zawrac'ni* in AC for the *aranc'* of BD and V.

<sup>68</sup> Rites of our fathers: *awrēnk' harc' meroc'*. The theme reflects the Geo. just above, but the wording is reminiscent of a major theme in Eliše, e.g. pp. 72, 82.

*Geo.* *Twenty-fourth, King Mirian, son of the Persian king, a descendant of Xosro*<sup>55</sup>

Here we shall record the Life<sup>56</sup> of Mirian, son of K'asre, the Sasanian Ardašir.

After King K'asre had accepted the Georgians' request, he married the daughter of the Georgian king to his son Mirian, and gave to the Georgians his son as king. He held Mc'xet'a, and he also gave him K'art'li, Armenia, Ran, Movakan, and Heret'i. Mirian was then aged seven years. King K'asre had brought with him Mirian's mother, but he did not leave her with Mirian because he loved Mirian's mother like his own self. [65] Rather he left for him as tutor and guardian a noble who was named Mirvanoz. He also left 40,000 élite Persian cavalry. He did not station these Persians in the territory of K'art'li because of the oath which he had sworn to the Georgians, but he posted them in Heret'i and Movakan and Armenia. He commanded Mirvanoz to keep 7,000 élite cavalry

<sup>55</sup> Descendant of Xosro: *Xosroviani*. For the Chosroids, descended from the Iranian house of Mihran, see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 83, with further references n. 105.

<sup>56</sup> Life: *c'xovreba*. The same word is used in the sense of 'History', as in the title to the Georgian Chronicles: *K'art'lis C'xovreba*.

of Persia marched off and went to his own land along the foot of the Caucasus, ravaging the valleys. Arm.

Now when Mihran grew up and reached manhood, he loved the Georgians and used their language; and he worshipped five<sup>69</sup> images beside the fire-temple. In his fifteenth year his wife

<sup>69</sup> Five: read 7. Gac'i and Gayim (V21), Armazi (V24), Ainina and Danana (V25), Zaden (V27), Aphrodite (V38). Idols of Artemis and Apollo in Mesxia are mentioned in an 'interpolation', Q41; translation below, Appendix, n. 3. Fire-temple: *krakaran*; cf. the 'house of fire', above V27 n. 68.

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from among these Persians always in the city to guard his son. He came to these terms with the Georgians: that all the passes, fortresses, and cities would be occupied by Persian troops, but there would be no other concentration of Persians in the land of K'art'li to mingle (with the Georgians), and: 'My son will observe both religions, the fire-worship of our fathers and the worship of your idols', because he had previously given his oath for this. The king departed and subdued all the valleys of the Caucasians. He appointed commanders<sup>57</sup> everywhere, and ordered them all to be obedient to his son Mirian. And he commanded Mirian, his son, and the latter's tutor Mirvanoz to wage war on the Xazars. Then the king departed for Persia. Now this Mirvanoz increased all the fortifications of K'art'li, and most of all strengthened the walls of the city of Nekresi. Geo.

Mirian grew up in the worship of the seven idols and of fire. He loved the Georgians, forgot the Persian tongue, and learned the Georgian language. He augmented the embellishment of the idols and altars, and treated the priests well; more than all the kings of K'art'li he carried out the worship of the idols, and he embellished the tomb of P'arnavaz. He did all this for the sake of pleasing the Georgians; and he treated the Georgians well, with gifts and all kinds of honours. So all the Georgians loved him more than all (their other) kings. Mirian ruled in this fashion from Mc'xet'a over K'art'li, Armenia, Ran, Heret'i, Movakan, and Egris. [66] When Mirian became 15 years old his wife died, the daughter of the Georgian king. With her came to an end in K'art'li the rule of kings and queens descended from P'arnavaz. Then all the Georgians were grieved at the death of their queen; but they

<sup>57</sup> Commanders: *mi'avarni*, a term of wide application derived from *t'avi*, 'head'.

*Arm.* died. They brought him a wife from Pontus, Anna, daughter of Ulitos.<sup>70</sup>

Mihran continually fought against the Xazars. For the Xazars tried to seize Darband and open the broad<sup>71</sup> pass in order to invade Persia. But Mihran did not allow them.

In his fortieth year<sup>72</sup> his father Artasir died, and his younger brother Bartam seized the kingdom. When Mirian<sup>73</sup> heard of this,

<sup>70</sup> A corruption of Olympus. Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 23 n. 91, connects him with the dynasty of the Bosphoros, and notes the influence in that kingdom of Judaism and Christianity. This is of some interest in view of the strong Jewish connections of early Georgian Christianity.

<sup>71</sup> Broad: *layn*, as ABCD and Geo., but *zayn*, 'that', in V.

<sup>72</sup> i.e. in 317, according to traditional dates. See above, Q64 n. 54.

<sup>73</sup> Mirian: as ABCD and Geo. Arm. usually has the Armenian form Mihran.

*Geo.* remained loyal to Mirian because there was no descendant at all of P'arnavaz who was worthy of reigning over the Georgians. For this reason they were happy with the rule of Mirian. King Mirian increased the well-being of the Georgians. A wife was brought from Greek territory, from Pontus, the daughter of Oligotos, named Nana.

He began to wage war on the Xazars, and fought continuously. Sometimes the Leks defected from Mirian; and whenever they brought down the Xazars to help them, Mirian would encounter them in Heret'i or Movakan, and there they fought a battle. On other occasions the Durjuks and Didos joined forces and brought down the Xazars. Then they fought battles, and never did the Xazars win. Mirian was always victorious. Such was the frequent result of battle with the Xazars. He made most of his expeditions to Daruband. For the Xazars would come and besiege Daruband in order to capture it and open the broad pass, from where they began to invade Persia. But when the Xazars came to Daruband, then Mirian would march to aid Daruband. Sometimes without fighting the Xazars withdrew before Mirian, and sometimes he routed them in battle.

[67] When Mirian was 40 years old, then his father, the king of Persia, died. Following him, Mirian's younger brother succeeded as king; he was called Bartam. When Mirian heard of this, he sum-

he went to Baghdad<sup>74</sup> with a large number of troops and tried to acquire for himself the kingdom of Persia, as the elder [42] brother. 'For I live abroad,' he said, 'and have no respite from battles with the Xazars, if I am not to allow them to enter Persia.' But his brother insulted him as the son of a concubine,<sup>75</sup> and said that the kingdom was rightly his; for with his own hand their father had placed the crown on his head, and had confirmed him on his throne in writing.<sup>76</sup> Arm.

Then they gave to Mihran Ĵozrēt' and half of the land of Šam,

<sup>74</sup> Baghdad: founded in 762 by the caliph al-Manšūr. But it is frequently used in later texts to mean the Sasanian capital, Ctesiphon; cf. V87. At Q233 it is used for the earlier Muslim capital, Damascus.

<sup>75</sup> Son of a concubine: *harčordi*, for *mhevalt*; see above, V40 n. 62.

<sup>76</sup> Writing: *gir* for *anderji* (Pahlavi *handarz*), which in Armenian would be *andarj*.

moned all his soldiers, assembled them, and marched on Baghdad in order to sit on the throne of his father. Then his brother gathered innumerable soldiers and came to meet him in battle in the valley of Nisibis. When the elders and *marzpan*s<sup>58</sup> of Persia saw that they were going to lay sword on each other, they stood between them as envoys and arbiters. The two kings agreed to their mediation. They sat down to arbitrate, and then Mirian spoke to defend himself: 'I am the first-born son of my father, and (on me) were conferred as apanage<sup>59</sup> foreign lands conquered by the sword. There, all my days I have been occupied in fighting the Xazars, often with my own blood have I saved Persia from the Xazars. Therefore, the throne of my father is mine.' Bartam spoke concerning this as follows: 'If Mirian is the first-born, yet he is the offspring of a handmaiden. And the offspring of a handmaiden they treat well to whom they allot royal (lands). But I am the offspring of the daughter of the king of India, the queen of Persia. You have heard the testament of my father, and you have seen that with his own hand he placed the crown on my head.' Geo.

So they judged, and gave the kingdom of Persia to Bartam. But to satisfy Mirian they took from Bartam Ĵaziret'i, half of Šam, and

<sup>58</sup> *Marzpan*: a ruler of an Iranian province; see Garsoïan, *EH* 544. For the historical background to the conference near Nisibis see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 22.

<sup>59</sup> Apanage: *saup'isculo*, 'property for the son of a king'. See also Q70, 258; but it is not rendered in Arm.

*Arm.* and Atrpatakan, Armenia, Movkan, Ran, and Heret'; and they confirmed what he had previously possessed. Returning to the territory of Ossetia,<sup>77</sup> Mihran ravaged it because he had heard that on learning of his departure for Persia they had rebelled against the Georgians. Mihran reached as far as Xazaret'i, then returned through the territory of Dualet' and came to Mc'xet'a. After this the Xazars made a raid to Darband; Mihran went to oppose them and stayed (there) many days.

At that time the son of Khosrov, Trdatēs,<sup>78</sup> evinced great bravery in Greek territory, capturing there the king of the Goths who was oppressing the Greeks. Therefore he was crowned<sup>79</sup> by them,

<sup>77</sup> Of Ossetia: *Awset'ac'* in ABD, *Awset'ayc'* in D, a curious plural form.

<sup>78</sup> The following section is based on the story in Agat'angelos, where also Trdat is sometimes rendered by Graecized forms such as Trdatēs, Trdatios; see Aa 378. For the war with the Goths see Aa 39-47.

<sup>79</sup> Crowned: an addition from Aa 46.

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*Geo.* Adarbadagan; all this they added to K'art'li, Armenia, Ran, Heret'i, and Movakan. Then Mirian departed. However, while Mirian was still there, [68] the Ossetes P'eroš and Kavtia had come down and devastated K'art'li. So Mirian went all the way to Ossetia, ravaged Ossetia, and penetrated as far as Xazaret'i. Then he descended by the road of Dualet'i and returned. Some years after this, in accordance with their custom, the Xazars came to attack Daruband. Mirian went off to help Daruband.

While he was there in order to fight the Xazars, then the king of the Goths with an innumerable army entered Greek territory. The king of the Greeks gathered a large army and opposed him. Then the king of the Goths proposed single combat to the emperor. Now the emperor was not able to fight him. But there was then among the Greek troops the son of Kosaro the king of Armenia, Trdat by name, whom we mentioned above. He had been raised in Greek territory and was a giant.<sup>60</sup> At that time he was in the Greek army, and all the Greek troops chose him (as their champion). They dressed him in the emperor's clothes and armour, and in the guise of the emperor sent him out to fight the king of the Goths. The king of the Goths came forth, and they rushed on each other in combat. Trdat was victorious and seized hold (of his opponent);

<sup>60</sup> Giant: *goliat'i*, or 'hero'; see above, n. 25.

and returned to his fatherland. He slew all the foreigners he found and Mihran's soldiers. Arm.

Then Mihran brought his relative Peroz to his assistance, giving him his daughter in marriage, so that perchance he might be able to repel the valiant Trdat. So he (Trdat) was unable<sup>80</sup> to bring great damage on the land of Georgia and all Persia.

In those days the third brother of Mihran reigned in Persia. He sent word to Mihran that he should take his forces and attack Armenian and Greek territory. He went to meet him with all his

<sup>80</sup> Might be . . . unable: as AC, omitted by BD and V (by homoioarkton: *karasc'ē* . . . *karēr*).

and they routed the army of the Goths. So the emperor gave troops to Trdat and sent him to Armenia, his fatherland. They came to Armenia and expelled the soldiers (and)<sup>61</sup> *erist'avis* of Mirian. Geo.

Then Mirian returned from fighting the Xazars. He had sent from Persia one of his relatives, of royal descent, named Peroz, who brought with him a great army. Mirian gave Peroz his own daughter to wife, and gave him the territory from Xunan as far as Bardav, [69] on both sides of the Mtkuari; and he appointed him *erist'avi* there. He was joined by other forces from Persia, and began to wage war on Trdat. Now sometimes Trdat was joined by a force from Greece and attacked Mirian; then the latter was unable to resist him. So he fortified the castles and cities, while Trdat moved around his land. Sometimes Mirian was reinforced from Persia, and then Trdat was unable to resist him; so Mirian occupied Armenia. In this fashion without interruption there was turmoil over many years, and no one was found among the Persians to engage Trdat in single combat. So he became renowned in the whole land and was victorious in all his battles, as the report about him is written in the *History of the Armenians*.<sup>62</sup>

After this the third brother of Mirian and Bartam became king in Persia. He sent a messenger to Mirian, saying: 'We should join together, go across Armenia, and enter Greek territory.' Then the

<sup>61</sup> Soldiers and: *spani*, following Q. Mm read *sparsni*, 'Persians', and AC omit the word.

<sup>62</sup> i.e. Agat'angelos; cf. also M.X. ii. 84-5. Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 22, identifies this war as that of Nerses and the Romans in 297.

*Arm.* strength, and they assembled<sup>81</sup> a great host which surpassed calculation. They entered Armenia and plundered the whole (land); for Trdat was unable to resist them because of their multitude. [43] But he remained in the secure places of the country. After plundering Armenia, they passed into Greek territory, ravaging, slaughtering, plundering without concern. Their king Constantine was unable to do battle with them, and remained in great trepidation.

Then a vision in a dream was revealed to him:<sup>82</sup> if he worshipped the crucified God he would conquer by the power of the cross their enormous army. Which indeed he did. Bearing the sign of the cross in front, he attacked and defeated them by the power of Christ, slaughtering with the sword until with very few men the kings of Persia and Georgia escaped by the skin of their teeth.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Assembled: *kutec'an* in ABCD, but *kotorec'in*, 'they slaughtered', in V.

<sup>82</sup> Agat'angelos does not refer to the dream; see Lazar 4, and M.X. ii. 83. But for Constantine's victories through the Cross see Aa 868.

<sup>83</sup> By the skin of their teeth: *mazapur*, 'escaping by a hair'.

*Geo.* king of the Persians marched forth; Mirian met him, and assembled a numberless host, as numerous as the grass of the fields or the leaves of the trees. They crossed Armenia; Trdat was unable to resist them, but fortified the citadels. So they plundered Armenia and entered Greek territory. Constantine, king of the Greeks, was unable to resist them and fell into great distress.

When they had begun to plunder Greece, then some god-fearing men reassured King Constantine as follows: 'We have seen the wondrousness of Christ and the power over their enemies of those who trust in him; how all believers in Christ overcome their enemies by the guidance of the Cross.' King Constantine believed them, as is written clearly in the *Conversion of the Greeks*.<sup>63</sup> [70] Constantine was baptized. He carried before him the sign of the cross and vanquished his innumerable Persian enemies with a small army. By the strength of Christ he routed their army and destroyed their host. The two kings fled with a few cavalry. Constantine pursued them and entered their borders.

<sup>63</sup> This may be the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates, where Constantine's vision (i. 2) and baptism (i. 39) are described.



Mihran entered the fortress of Mc'xet'a. And when he learnt that all the Georgian and Persian elite had perished, he was plunged into deep distress and remained in trepidation. Coming to his senses, he despatched messengers to Constantine the Great, requesting him for a treaty under which he would submit to him. Likewise he sent to Tirdatēs the Great.<sup>84</sup> They agreed and made peace. Constantine took Mihran's son Bahk'ar as hostage; and Trdat gave his daughter Sołomē<sup>85</sup> in marriage to Mihran's son, who was called Rēv. He settled in Ojormi.

<sup>84</sup> The translation follows the text of V and Abulaje. But the MSS omit *ar*, 'to,' implying that it was Trdat who sent the message.

<sup>85</sup> Sołomē is unknown to Armenian tradition. According to Aa 766, Trdat's wife was Ašxēn, as M.X. ii. 83. For the latter name see AG 20.

The king of the Persians returned to Persia as a fugitive, while Mirian made for K'art'li and fortified the citadels. Mirian was discouraged and was fearful of having to abandon K'art'li altogether, because in the battle all his nobles, both Persian and Georgian, had perished. Therefore he dispatched a messenger to King Constantine and begged him for peace. He promised to be subject to him, to defect from the Persians, and to ally himself to him. This pleased Constantine, because he was fearful of further (attacks) from the king of Persia. So for the sake of assistance he made peace with Mirian. The son of Mirian, who was called Bak'ar, was sent as hostage. He reconciled Trdat and Mirian and caused them to make a mutual alliance. For Trdat gave his daughter, who was called Salome, as wife to Mirian's son, who was called Rev. He fixed the border for Mirian and Trdat as follows: those lands whose rivers flowed in a southerly direction and joined the Raḥsi, these lands he allocated to Trdat's side; while the territory whose rivers flowed in a northerly direction and joined the Mtkuari, these he allocated to Mirian's side. After King Constantine had made these arrangements and had mediated between them, then he departed for his own kingdom. Mirian reigned there over K'art'li, Ran, Heret'i, and Movakan; and he held Egrisi as far as the river Egris. He gave to his son Rev as appanage Kaxet'i and [71] Kuxet'i, and settled him in Ujarma—Rev and his wife Salome, daughter of Trdat. So they lived in Ujarma. But Peroz, Mirian's son-in-law, occupied the land which we mentioned above as given him by Mirian; and there he was *erist'avi*.

Arm. LEONTI MROVELI, *THE CONVERSION OF K'ART'LI BY NINO*

[44] At that time the blessed Nunē, mother of the Georgians,<sup>86</sup> came to Mc'xet'a. After she had been there for three months,<sup>87</sup> the Georgian queen Sołomi asked her whence she was. Nunē said to her: 'Hear my tale from the beginning.'<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Mother of the Georgians: a standard epithet in Georgian, which refers to her role in baptizing (just as Zabilon is called 'father' in a similar connection, below, Q75). For the baptismal font as 'mother' see Lampe (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, (Oxford, 1968), s.v. μητήρ.

Arm. usually spells Nino as *Nuni*, though *Nunē* and the transliterated form *Ninaw* (= *Nino*) are found. Since the standard Armenian form is *Nunē*, I have retained this throughout.

<sup>87</sup> Months: *amis*, easily confused with *ams*, 'years'.

<sup>88</sup> Arm. here makes the third-person account of Geo. a first-person reminiscence. See below, Q127, for Nino dictating on her deathbed. The differences between the account of Nino's work and Mirian's conversion in the *K'C'* and that in the *Mok'c'evay K'art'liisa* have generally not been noted here.

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Geo. At that time came the holy and blessed woman Nino, who baptized us.<sup>64</sup> She lived in Mc'xet'a for three years, and preached the tidings of Christ's religion. She effected cures without medicines, and openly began to preach the true religion of Christ our God.

[72] LEONTI MROVELI: *THE CONVERSION OF  
K'ART'LI BY NINO*

*The Conversion of King Mirian and of all K'art'li with him by the apostle our holy and blessed mother Nino*

First let us recall the life of our holy and blessed mother Nino, the apostle and illuminator of all K'art'li, which the blessed one herself imparted to us at the hour of her death and which was written down by the believing queen Salome of Ujarma, wife of the son of King Mirian and daughter of T'rdat king of the Armenians. It happened in those times when St George of Cappadocia was martyred for Christ,<sup>65</sup> there was a certain man from a city in Cappadocia, of noble rank, a servant of God, by the name of Zabilon. He went to Rome to pay his respects to the king and to receive a gift from him. In those same days there was in Kolastra

<sup>64</sup> Who baptized us: *embazi č'ueni*, lit. 'our font'.

<sup>65</sup> George of Cappadocia: see *BHO* 72-4, for various passions of George. The date of his martyrdom is unknown.

'Once the nation of the Branj<sup>89</sup> was engaged in a struggle with Rome. A certain Cappadocian, Zabołon by name, vanquished them by the power of Christ, and captured their king and his army. In their astonishment they requested the grace of baptism. When

Arm.

<sup>89</sup> Branj: The word, only used in this context, is usually interpreted as 'Frank'. But that common term for people of western Europe is spelled *P'rang*i in Georgian, and *P'rang* or *P'rank* in Armenian.

a certain man who had two children, a son and a daughter; the son's name was Iobenal, and the daughter's Sosana. The husband and wife died, so the children were left orphans. They set out and went to the holy city of Jerusalem. They had the hope of all Christians in the (church of the) holy Resurrection, and there they made their petitions. The brother Iobenal obtained a position in the chancery,<sup>66</sup> while his sister Sosana became a servant to Sara Niap'ori<sup>67</sup> of Bethlehem.

Geo.

[73] Now this young Cappadocian by the name of Zabilon, whom we have mentioned, arrived at Rome in the presence of the king. At that time the Branj had risen up to wage war against the Romans on the plain of Patalan. The Lord gave invincible strength to Zabilon, the young Cappadocian; he opposed the numberless enemy, put the Branj to flight, captured the king of the Branj and all their leaders, and brought them before the king. The king decreed that they should die. Then the Branj began to weep and begged Zabilon: 'Give us first your religion and lead us to the temple of your god, and then let us die. Because you captured us, O champion,<sup>68</sup> do this for us and make yourself innocent of our blood.' When Zabilon heard this, he immediately informed the king and the patriarch of what they had requested. They baptized them under the sponsorship<sup>69</sup> of Zabilon, led them to God's temple, administered to them the holy mysteries, the body and blood of Christ, and showed them the glorious (deeds) of the apostles. Early

<sup>66</sup> Chancery: *devtalaroba*, from the Arabic *daftar*, 'register'. 'Clerk', Q75, renders *devtalar*.

<sup>67</sup> Sara Niap'ori: Sara is the common female name, but Niap'ori is otherwise unknown.

<sup>68</sup> Champion: *axovan*, a common adjective in Georgian. See above, V28 n. 77, for the Armenian *axoyean* in a more technical sense.

<sup>69</sup> Sponsorship: lit. 'hand'. This implies that Zabilon laid his hand on them in the ceremony, as is made explicit just below. For this rite see Lampe, *Lexicon*, s. v. *χείρ*.

*Arm.* he had bestowed this on them, they set off<sup>90</sup> for their own country, illuminated<sup>91</sup> in Christ.

Zabołon himself followed them. And he made the people of the Branĵ Christians.

<sup>90</sup> They set off: *arjakec'in*, lit. 'they (indef. pl.) released (them)'.

<sup>91</sup> Illuminated: i.e., baptized. The verb 'to baptize' in Georgian is 'to give light'. Cf. Lampe, *Lexicon*, s. v. φωτισμός.

*Geo.* the next morning the Branĵ arose, put on clothes of mourning, and went forth to the place of the executioner and of the shedding of blood. They prayed and blessed God for their baptism, and said: 'In death we are immortal, because God made us worthy of such grandeur to receive [74] the unfailing viaticum,<sup>70</sup> the body and blood of Christ the immortal Son of God, who is higher than all mountains and lower than all depths, who is blessed for ever. But woe to our parents, the fruits of bitterness and dwellers in darkness.' And they shouted out: 'Come executioner, and remove our heads from us.' When Zabilon saw this he was agitated in his mind and wept bitterly. For like animals they were bending their heads to be cut off and were facing death, and they were mourning pitifully like sheep over their lambs. Then, moved with compassion for them, Zabilon went before the king and requested from the king those condemned to death. The king granted them to him and said: 'I have given them to you as a gift; do with them whatever you wish.' And he let them go.

They begged Zabilon that he send them back to their country and give them the religion of Christ and baptism with water for all their people. He heeded their request and asked the patriarch for a priest. He received permission<sup>71</sup> from the king, and they departed in joy. When they had approached a day's journey away, the report was noised abroad that: 'The king is alive, he is coming and all the nobles with him.' Then the ten *erist'avates* became excited: Xozama, Xoza, Gaaxilaja, Tenebaga, Xingaragi, Ziĵa, Zaga, [75] Zada, Zarma, and royal Tmonidi. All these came to meet them at a wide and deep river. The king divided the people and set them

<sup>70</sup> Viaticum: *sagzali*, from *gza*, 'road', (*via*).

<sup>71</sup> Permission: *brjaneba*, also 'command'. Brosset translates as 'ordination', though this comes from the king, not the patriarch. It is clear from the context that Zabilon had priestly authority to administer baptism and communion, but Geo. does not state when this was bestowed on him.

'He came to the king; and having received many gifts from him, he went to Jerusalem to revere the holy places. There he discovered two orphans who had come from Klastrat after the death of their Christian parents; one was named Yubnał,<sup>92</sup> and his sister, Susan. She was a servant to Niop'or of Bethlehem. [45] Zabołon married

Arm.

<sup>92</sup> Juvenal was the first bishop of Jerusalem to be named 'patriarch', but he held office 422-58; see V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris, 1958), 451.

on either side of the water. The priests blessed the water, and then all the people entered the water. They bathed and went up an ascent. Zabilon placed his hand on all the people, and he was there for ten days. He communicated to all the people the mystery of Christ. He left priests and put in order all the ritual of Christianity.

Geo.

After this he took his leave from them; he left his blessing on all and departed, with great presents, for Rome. He decided: 'I shall go to Jerusalem and dedicate this gift of mine to the places of God.' He went to Jerusalem, and after he had entered Jerusalem he divided all his possessions among the poor because of God's command. He saw that the previously mentioned clerk had become patriarch. Zabilon and the patriarch became very friendly. Then Sara Niap'ori spoke to the patriarch as follows: 'This Zabilon, the father and baptizer<sup>72</sup> of the Branj, is a man completely perfect in piety and wisdom. So give him your sister Sosana to wife.' This advice of Sara Niap'ori pleased the holy patriarch, [76] and he gave Sosana as wife to Zabilon. Then Zabilon went to his own city of Kolastra. St Nino, the teacher of K'art'li, was their sole offspring, except for another child.<sup>73</sup> Her mother Sosana brought her up in the service of the poor. When Nino was 12 years old, then her parents sold everything that they possessed, went to Jerusalem, and divided it among the poor. When they came to Jerusalem, at that time Zabilon was blessed<sup>74</sup> by the patriarch, and separated from his wife. He embraced his daughter, St Nino, to his breast and shed tears from his eyes over his face like streams, saying: 'My only daughter, I abandon you as an orphan and entrust you to the

<sup>72</sup> Baptizer: *embazi*, lit. 'font', as above of Nino, Q71. For 'father' cf. above, V44 n. 86.

<sup>73</sup> Except for another child: omitted in C, and not in the 'Life of Nino'.

<sup>74</sup> Blessed: lit. 'made the sign of the cross', but in the passive.

*Arm.* Susan and went to the city of Klastatas. And I was born from them. When I was 12 years old, they came to Jerusalem. My father went to the desert, having entrusted me to God and to the grace of Christ, so that I might be dedicated in virginity to the heavenly Bridegroom.<sup>93</sup>

‘I entered the house of Niop’or, an Armenian from the city of Dvin, whom I served for two years. Continuously I was instructed about the dispensation of Christ our God, how his death occurred, and where the burial winding-sheets of our Lord are kept. They taught me that the writings in the prophets were fulfilled in the Lord:<sup>94</sup> he was crucified and rose, he ascended to heaven and will come again.

<sup>93</sup> Heavenly bridegroom: an addition reminiscent of the *Teaching*, 441.

<sup>94</sup> This is the general theme of the *Teaching*.

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*Geo.* father in heaven, God who cares for all. For he is the father of orphans and the judge of widows. Be not afraid, my child, but take on the zeal for the love of Christ of Mary Magdalene and of the sisters of Lazarus. If you love him in such fashion as they loved him, he will give you everything that you may ask of him.’ After he had spoken thus, he kissed her farewell for ever and went beyond the Jordan among wild men; God, the author of all knowledge, (alone) knows his whereabouts.

[77] The patriarch appointed the mother of St Nino to serve poor and sick women, while St Nino served Niap’ori, an Armenian from Dvin, for two years and learnt about all the suffering of Christ: his crucifixion, burial, and resurrection, his clothing, winding-cloth, towel, and Cross. And she enquired about all the rest in order; because there had been and was no one around Jerusalem equal to her in knowledge of the law, both old and new, and of the details of everything. She began to instruct her and said: ‘I see, my child, your strength like that of a female lion which roars over all four-footed beasts; or like a female eagle which rises in the air to a greater height than the male and in the pupil of its eye, as small as a pearl, encompasses the whole continent. Like a flame it spies and tests its prey; when it sees it, it folds its wings and falls on it. In such fashion will your life be passed through the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Now I shall begin and recount everything to you. For

'Pilate's wife had requested the winding-sheets; and having *Arm.* believed in Christ, she went to Pontus to her house. After a time they fell into (the hands of) the evangelist Luke; and he knows what he did with them. They say that Peter took the napkin with him. The shirt without seams reached the northern land and is in the city of Mc'xet'a. The cross of the Lord is buried at Jerusalem and will be revealed when (God) wishes.

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when mortal men saw the immortal God on earth, him who had *Geo.* come to call the Gentiles, since he wished to save the world he began to do good for the Jews: to raise the dead, give sight to the blind, cure the ill. They were envious and took council together. They sent soldiers<sup>75</sup> throughout the whole world that the Jews should rapidly come, [78] and they said: "Behold, we are being destroyed. Come and gather together, all of you." Then innumerable people arrived from all countries, learned in the law of Moses, who opposed the holy Spirit and accomplished what was necessary to be done for Christ. For they crucified him and threw lots for his clothing; and it fell by lot to the northerners, the citizens of Mc'xet'a. When the Jews had buried Jesus, they guarded and sealed his tomb. But he arose, just as he had previously said, and they found his winding-sheets in the tomb. When day dawned all this became known.

'Pilate and Pilate's wife came to Christ's tomb. Pilate's wife took the winding-sheets, when they found them, and went rapidly to Pontus, to her own house; and she became a believer in Christ. After some time they came into the hands of Luke the evangelist; and he took them only he knows where. But the napkin was not found; although some said concerning Peter: "He managed to take it and kept it." But they did not explain to us clearly how he got hold of it. However, the Crosses are preserved in that same city of Jerusalem, though no one knows their hiding-place. When God wishes he will reveal them.' When St Nino heard all this from Sara Niap'ori, then [79] she thanked and blessed God. Again she asked: 'Where is that land of the north, where to the Jews who had gone there the robe of our Lord Jesus Christ fell as lot, and they took it away?' Sara Niap'ori replied, saying: 'It is a city to the east by the name of Mc'xet'a, the land of K'art'li and of Armenia, a

<sup>75</sup> Soldiers: *stratiotni*, the Greek term, as in Mark 15: 16.

*Arm.* 'After I had heard all this, I went to the patriarch and he blessed me. I went to Rome so that perchance I might find there some share in the grace of Christ. Setting my face towards the living hope,<sup>95</sup> I found the convent of Paul, where dwelt 300 virgins.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Cf. 1 Pet. 1: 3.

<sup>96</sup> Agat'angelos does not name Hrip'simē's convent in Rome (Aa 138) or give the number 300. Hrip'simē is consistently called Gaianē's *san*, i.e. foster-child; but Gaianē is not called her *dayeak*. For this relationship see above, V35 n. 20. In Georgian *dedamjuje* (here 'foster-mother') is the female equivalent of *mamamjuje* (*ibid.*). A connection between Nino and Hrip'simē in Armenian texts is first made by M.X. ii. 86: he claims that Nino was one of the companions of Hrip'sime who had fled to Armenia.

*Geo.* mountainous pagan (land). But at the present time it has fallen into the power of the Uzik's.<sup>76</sup>

In those days there came a certain lady from Ephesus to worship at the holy (church of the) Resurrection. Sara Niap'ori asked the lady: 'Is Queen Helen also in such ignorance and darkness?' She replied: 'I am a servant of theirs and I know all their thoughts, open or hidden. And I know that she has a great desire for the religion of Christ and for baptism.' When St Nino heard this from the lady, she said to Niap'ori: 'Send me off and let me visit Queen Helen. Perhaps I can approach her in order to speak about Christ.' Niap'ori informed the patriarch about this desire and action of Nino's. Her uncle summoned St Nino, his niece; he placed her on the steps of the holy altar, laid his holy hands on her shoulders, sighed towards heaven from the depths of his heart, and said: 'Lord, eternal God, into your hands I entrust [80] this orphan, my sister's child. And I send her to preach your divinity so that she may announce your resurrection. Wherever it may please her to travel, be, O Christ God, her companion, her port of refuge, her teacher, her interpreter, as (you were) for those who previously feared your name.' She took leave of her mother with a kiss of separation, and she made the sign of the cross over her. Thus she sent her off with prayer to God and blessing. St Nino set out with the lady who had come from Ephesus. When they reached the house of her lady travelling companion in the capital Rome, they found there a certain princess of royal descent by the name of Rip'sime and her foster-mother Gaiane, in a monastery of virgins who

<sup>76</sup> Uzik's: defined in Abulaje, *Lek'sikoni*, as *xužik*, the standard Georgian for 'Mede'.



'Trials there arose against us;<sup>97</sup> so we went to Armenia.<sup>98</sup> The emperor sent a letter to Trdat.<sup>99</sup> Arm.

<sup>97</sup> See Aa 137 ff. for the search for a bride. There the emperor is named Diocletian.

<sup>98</sup> See Aa 149 ff. for the flight to Armenia.

<sup>99</sup> See Aa 152 ff. for the emperor's letter.

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desired to confess Christ and awaited baptism from Jerusalem. Geo. Then the lady brought St Nino, presented her to St Rip'sime, and informed her about her career. When the friend of Christ, Rip'sime, saw her she embraced her with joy and openly received St Nino into her house from the hand of the lady who had accompanied her. Thus St Nino lived with her. And in that same year Rip'sime was baptized—for which she had longed—and with her Gaiane her foster-mother and the others in the house, in number fifty souls. [81] Most of these received baptism from the hand of St Nino. And they all withdrew to their monastery, and St Nino was with them for two years.

In those days the emperor sent out (persons) to seek a well-made and beautiful woman, so that they might find one worthy to be his wife. When the searchers entered the monastery of the virgins, saw Rip'sime and perceived her figure, they enquired about her family; for there was no one equal to Rip'sime in appearance. They painted her figure on a board and sent it to the emperor. It pleased the emperor and he was filled with joy; he arranged to celebrate the wedding with much rejoicing. Therefore he rapidly sent messengers and officials throughout all his dominions (with orders) that all should assemble with presents, and with great joy come at the king's command to the royal wedding. Now when the holy ones saw all the hidden machinations of the Enemy and his flaming arrows which he was hastening to shoot at the holy virgins, they became anxious. For the king was a vessel of anger; like the serpent who worked his spells in paradise, so here similarly was he impious, he who was addicted to the profane cult of impure and disgusting idols. When the blessed Rip'sime, Gaiane, and the other holy and quite glorious women saw this misfortune which was about to fall on them, [82] then they recalled the pure promise and praiseworthy life in solitude in which they had been instructed; with lamentation they wept over the disclosure to the impious king

*Arm.* [46] 'Having made a search, they found us in the vats of the vineyards. Despite his efforts, the king was unable to force the bride of

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*Geo.* of St Rip'sime's beauty through the picture which had been painted and sent. They prayed indefatigably and gave themselves over to the most severe regimen; they begged God for mercy with multiplied entreaties. By a unanimous decision they abandoned the country secretly, fifty-three souls.<sup>77</sup> In their flight they came to the regions of Armenia, to the place which is called Axalk'alak'i, built by Valarš, which is Dvin, the residence of the Armenian king.<sup>78</sup> They entered the wine-presses of the vineyard which was planted to the north and east, and they made a living there by the sale of their handiwork.<sup>79</sup> However, the emperor was filled with sadness, and he sent men to all places, to seek them out.

Then the emperor's envoys came before T'rdat, king of the Armenians, and presented the emperor's letter, which was written in the following terms: 'The autocratic emperor to my beloved brother, friend, and co-ruler T'rdat; I greet you. May you know, brother and ally, that we have been much harmed by the erring race of the Christians. For our rule is totally disregarded by their people, and [83] our authority is despised by them. For they serve some crucified dead man, and worship wood, and honour human bones, and reckon their own death for their lord's sake a glorious thing; and they do not fear the Jews yet fear one crucified by the Jews, and they have gone astray. They abuse kings, despise the gods, and disregard the power of the light of the sun and moon and stars, yet say that these were created by the crucified one. They have so stirred up the land that husbands separate from wives and wives from husbands while still alive. Although with great proclamations and severe tortures we have been exterminating them, yet they multiply again more numerously. Now it happened that I saw a young woman of their race, and I decided to take her as my wife.

<sup>77</sup> Fifty-three; more than 70 in Aa 209.

<sup>78</sup> Axalk'alak'i: a correct rendering of *Nor K'alak'*, for Valaršapat, the residence of the Armenian king; see Aa 150. But this is not Dvin, which was not the royal residence but the later capital of Armenia after the fall of the Arsacid dynasty; see Garsoian, *EH* 460.

<sup>79</sup> According to Aa 150 their only income was from the sale of glass pearls made by one nun.

Christ,<sup>1</sup> Hrip'simē, to become his own bride. With the sword<sup>2</sup> they *Arm.* slaughtered thirty-seven of us; the others were scattered.<sup>3</sup>

'I remained under a rose-bush which had not flowered. Raising my eyes upwards I saw the souls of the saints ascending to heaven. There was a commander (in the garb of) a monk<sup>4</sup> advancing to

<sup>1</sup> Bride of Christ: *harsn K'ristosi*; for the theme see Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v. *νύμφη*. In Aa 188, where the struggle with Trdat is described, Hrip'simē is called the 'hand-maid' (*ataxin*) of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> Sword: In Aa 208 only Gaiane was slain by a sword.

<sup>3</sup> Aa 209 refers to 37 martyrs, but not to the scattering of the survivors; cf. M.X. ii. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Commander, monk: *zawrapet, krawnawor*. The reason for this change from Geo. is unclear. In Aa 735 the man of light who appeared to Gregory is given a military character.

However, she did not respect my desire as that of a king, but *Geo.* treated me as hateful and impure. So they fled secretly from me and have reached the area of your country. Inform yourself, my brother, seek them out, and when you have found her companions put them to death. But as for the one who led them astray, the one beautiful in form by the name of Rip'sime, send her to me. Or if she pleases you, take her for yourself. Because no one else equal to her has been found in the country of the Greeks. Be well in the service of the gods.'

[84] When T'rdat received this command of the emperor's, he rapidly began to seek them out; and he found them in the wine-presses mentioned above. On seeing Rip'sime, he was filled with desire and rejoiced with great joy. He planned to make her his wife, but the holy Rip'sime did not submit. Then he martyred her, her foster-mother Gaiane, and their many companions, as their martyrdom and miracles are written in the *Conversion of the Armenians*. For by the grace of God King T'rdat was turned into a boar. But some of the saints hid and fled.

Then the holy Nino hid among thorny rose-bushes which at that time had not yet bloomed. When the souls of the holy martyrs were ascending, the holy Nino saw a deacon, like Stephen, coming down with a stole of light; in his hands he held a censer, from which emerged fragrant smoke that hid the sky. With him was a multitude of heavenly hosts, and the souls of the blessed martyrs joined

*Arm.* meet them with the fiery hosts. In his hand he held a censer, and the world was filled with the fragrance of the incense. Censing the saints, he returned with them, and they entered within the curtain.<sup>5</sup> I cried out to the Lord, saying: "Why did you abandon me here, my lord Jesus?" And he said to me: "Do not fear, because you too will rise up through the same (curtain) to your sisters. But arise, go to the region of the north, where there is an abundant harvest but no labourer."<sup>6</sup>

'After a short time that thorny bush flowered with blossoming roses. I arose and went to Urbanis in Armenia, where I spent the winter. In the month of June I came to the mountain of Čavaxet', and reached the lake of P'arnaw. I saw there fishermen in the lake and shepherds on the lakeshore. I heard them swearing by Aramazd and Zadēn.<sup>7</sup> For I was familiar with the Armenian lan-

<sup>5</sup> Curtain: *varagoyr*, which divides heaven from earth. For that theme see Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v. *καταπέτασμα*. In Dionysius the Areopagite, *Heavenly Hierarchy*, i. 2, *varagoyr* renders *παρπέτασμα*, which refers to the veil between the human and the divine.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Matt. 9: 37; Lk. 10: 2.

<sup>7</sup> Aramazd: *Arm.* is not consistent in rendering *Armazi*; e.g. V24 *Armaz*. M.X. ii. 86, had identified *Armaz*, 'god of thunder', whose image overlooked Mc'xet'a, with *Aramazd*. For the image of *Zaden* see above, V27.

*Geo.* them. When St Nino saw this, she cried out: 'Lord, Lord, why did you abandon me among asps and vipers?' Then she heard a voice from above, [85] which said: 'In such fashion will you too be led up (to heaven), when those thorns which now surround you shall all become fragrant rose-leaves. Arise and go to the north, where the harvest is abundant but there is no labourer.'

St Nino left there and went to Orbant'a on the borders of Armenia. There she spent the winter in great neediness. In the fourth month, which is June, she set out and reached the mountains of Ĵavaxet'i, where she came to a great lake, source of a river, which is called P'aravna. When she looked out from there she saw the mountains of the north. Even in the days of summer they were covered with snow, and the climate was rigorous. Terrified, St Nino said: 'Lord, lord, take my soul from me.' She stayed there two days and requested food from the fishermen who were fishing in the lake. In that same place there were shepherds who kept watch over their flocks by night. They used to invoke their gods *Armaz* and *Zaden* and promised them offerings 'when we shall

guage, having learnt it in the house of Niop'or of Dvin. When I asked whence they came, they said: "From Darb,<sup>8</sup> from Lrbin, from Sap'ursel, from K'incer, from Rāpat, and from the great city<sup>9</sup> of Mc'xet'a, where gods<sup>10</sup> are honoured and kings rule. And this river which flows from the lake goes there."

'Going off by myself, I laid down my head and slept. There was given me a text<sup>11</sup> sealed in Roman<sup>12</sup> writing; and the writing of the seal was the name of Jesus Christ. The man who gave me the paper said to me: "Arise, go and preach what is written here." I said to him: "Who am I, an ignorant and weak woman?"' He said to me: "In the grace of Christianity and in the realm of life, which is the supernal Jerusalem, there is no male or female, and weakness and ignorance are not mentioned; because Christ is the power of God

<sup>8</sup> Darb: This is an error, the Georgian *dabi*, 'village', being interpreted as a place-name.

<sup>9</sup> The great city: as ABCD, omitted in V.

<sup>10</sup> Gods: as AC. BD and V read *c'astuack'*, 'false gods'.

<sup>11</sup> Text: *gir*, 'writing', for the more explicit *cigni*, 'book', of Geo. Just below 'paper' renders *t'utt'*, also meaning 'letter'.

<sup>12</sup> Roman: *hromayerēn*. Here Geo. has *hromaelebr*; but Arm. also renders *berjudad*, 'in Greek', by the same Armenian term, as below, V48.

come safely.<sup>80</sup> Now St Nino was acquainted a little with the Armenian language, because she had previously learned it from Niap'ori. Among the shepherds she found a speaker of Armenian, so asked him: 'From which village are you?' He replied and said: 'From the villages of Elarbini, Sap'urc'le, Kinjara, Rabati, and from the great [86] city of Mc'xet'a, where gods reign and kings rule.' She asked: 'Where is Mc'xet'a?' But the shepherd merely informed her that the river flowed from the lake to reach Mc'xet'a.

St Nino placed a stone as a pillow, lay down, and fell asleep on the shore of the lake. When she had fallen asleep, there came a man in a vision, of middle stature and with hair of moderate length. He gave a sealed book to St Nino and said: 'Take this to Mc'xet'a to the king of the pagans.' But St Nino began to weep and begged him: 'Lord, I am a foreign and ignorant woman, and I do not know the language. How shall I go to a strange land and to foreign peoples?' Then the man opened the book and gave it to her to read. It was written in Roman, and the seal was that of Jesus.

<sup>80</sup> All MSS except AC add 'before you'.

*Arm.* and [47] the wisdom of God.<sup>13</sup> Mary Magdalene preached the resurrection of Christ to the apostles and to many others; and that was no shame to the speaker or to the hearers." I opened the text, and there the whole force of the gospel was written down succinctly, contained in ten phrases. After reading and understanding this, I awoke.

<sup>13</sup> I Cor. I: 24.

*Geo.* Ten sayings were written down in the book:

1. Wherever this gospel shall be preached, there this woman will be spoken of.<sup>81</sup>
2. There is no male or female, but you are all one.<sup>82</sup>
3. Go and teach all the heathen, and baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.<sup>83</sup>
4. The light will shine over the heathen to glorify your people Israel.<sup>84</sup>
5. Wherever this gospel of the kingdom (of heaven) shall be preached, there too (this) will be spoken of in the whole world.<sup>85</sup>
- [87] 6. Whoever shall hear you and receive you, has received me; and whoever shall receive me, will receive the one who sent me.<sup>86</sup>
7. For Mary greatly loved the Lord, because she continuously heard his true word.<sup>87</sup>
8. Do not fear those who will destroy your bodies but are not able to destroy your soul.<sup>88</sup>
9. Jesus said to Mary Magdalene: 'Go, woman, and announce to my sisters and brothers.'<sup>89</sup>
10. Wherever you preach, (let it be) in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Matt. 26: 13; Mark 14: 9. But here 'this woman' has been introduced for the deed she did. Cf. saying no. 5 below.

<sup>82</sup> Gal. 3: 18.

<sup>84</sup> Luke 2: 32.

<sup>86</sup> Matt. 10: 40; John 13: 20.

<sup>88</sup> Matt. 10: 28; Luke 12: 4.

<sup>89</sup> Matt. 28: 10; Mark 16: 9-10; Luke 24: 10; John 20: 17.

<sup>90</sup> See saying no. 3 above.

<sup>83</sup> Matt. 28: 19.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. John 11.

'Having prayed to the Lord for help,<sup>14</sup> I followed the river in a westerly direction until its course turned to the east. I reached Urbnis. There I stayed for a month. In the company of merchants I came to Mc'xet'a. Arm.

'On the day of the feast of Aramazd, behind the king and all the people, I saw a man attired in a bronze breast-plate and a golden helmet, the two eyes adorned with emeralds and beryl, holding a sword in his hand like a rod of lightning. He moved this, striking

<sup>14</sup> For help: *awgnut'iwñ*, as AC, omitted in BD and V.

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When St Nino had read these sayings, she began to pray to God. She realized that this was a vision from heaven, so she raised her eyes to heaven and requested his help for the next day. Geo.

After this she set out along the river which flowed from the lake in a westerly direction. She encountered difficult and rough roads, experienced great suffering from the paths and great fear from the wild beasts, until she reached the place where the current began to flow to the east. From there on she was happy because she found there travellers with whom she reached the territory of K'art'li, a city called Urbnisi. There she saw the people worshipping gods of unknown origins, for they adored fire, stones, and wood as god. Therefore she was saddened [88] in her holy soul, and entered the quarter<sup>91</sup> of the Jews on account of (her knowledge of) the Hebrew language. She stayed there a month, and experienced the nature of that country. Then one day many people from that city set out to go to the capital city of Mc'xet'a in order to buy various provisions and to worship their god Armaz. The holy one set out with them. When they arrived at the city of Mc'xet'a, they stopped at the bridge beyond Mogut'a. St Nino saw the magism and error of those people who worshipped fire; and St Nino wept over their destruction and lamented her own foreignness.

Behold, the next day there was a great noise of the sounding of trumpets; a numberless crowd came out, like the flowers of the field, and a fearful uproar took place until the king came forth. When the hour arrived, all the men began to flee and hide as they ran to take refuge from fear. Suddenly Queen Nana came forth,

<sup>91</sup> Quarter: *ubani*, as all MSS except Mm (and the 'Life of Nino'), which read *bagini*, 'temple'. Q has adopted the latter reading; but for the context cf. Q95.

*Arm.* terror into the crowd. They trembled and said: "Woe unto us. If we have failed in sacrifice<sup>15</sup> or have sinned by speaking with a Jew or with magi, we shall be put to death by Aramazd."

'To his right stood a gold image named Gac', and to his left the silver image called Gayim.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For the addition of 'sacrifice' see M.X. ii. 86.

<sup>16</sup> For these images see above, V21, where they are both described as 'silver idols'.

*Geo.* and quietly the people came out. All the streets were decorated with many-coloured adornments and leaves, and all the people began to praise the king. Then King Mirian came forth with a fearsome appearance unbearable to the eye. [89] St Nino asked a certain Jewish woman: 'What is this?' She replied: 'The god of gods, Armazi, summons; there is no other idol comparable with<sup>92</sup> him.' Straightway St Nino went up to see Armazi. The mountains were covered with flags and with people, like fields with flowers. When St Nino reached the citadel of Armazi, she stood close to the idol on the steep wall and watched the incomprehensible wonder, inexpressible in words, the attitude of fear and terror of the sovereigns, nobles, and all the people standing in front of their idols. St Nino saw a man of bronze standing; attached to his body was a golden suit of chain-armour, on his head a strong helmet; for eyes he had emeralds and beryls, in his hands he held a sabre glittering like lightning, and it turned in his hands. If anyone approached, he resigned himself to death and said: 'Woe to me if I have neglected the majesty of the great god Armazi, or we have allowed ourselves to speak with the Hebrews or to heed the magi. Ignorant persons speak of an unknown god—let not any such spot be found (in me), or may he strike me with that sword of which all are afraid.' And in terror they worshipped it.

Furthermore, to his right was a man of gold whose name was Gac'i; [90] and to his left a man of silver whose name was Gaim. These the people of K'art'li regarded as gods. Then the blessed Nino wept and sighed to God on account of the error of the inhabitants of the northern land, which hid the light from them and kept them in darkness. For she saw that their powerful sovereigns, and all the nobles, were swallowed up alive in hell; they had abandoned

<sup>92</sup> Comparable with: lit. 'other than'.



'I recalled the saying of Yubnal, patriarch of Jerusalem, who had said to me: "You will reach the land of those who fight against the true God." Distraught, I wept and requested mercy from God for those gone astray. I said: "God of my father and mother, chastise these demonic<sup>17</sup> images and destroy them, so that they may know you alone are the true God." Suddenly there was a fierce wind, a roll of thunder, bolts of lightning, and hailstones a pound in

Arm.

<sup>17</sup> Demonic: *diwac'eal*, an addition perhaps influenced by Aa 59: demons instigate men to make idols.

the Creator and worshipped as god stones and wood, copper and thick brass; these had sinned against the creator of all.

Geo.

Then she recalled the saying which the patriarch Iobenal, the holy father, had given her as instruction: 'I send you (as) a mature man; you are to go to a foreign land and to peoples *daragewel zep'el bakadul*,<sup>93</sup> which means in the Branj language 'to men who had rebelled against God'. Then she looked up to heaven and said: 'Lord, despite your great power your enemies treat you falsely. Through your great long-suffering whatever happens may happen, and what they who are dust on earth think up. Do not overlook the fact that man is your image.<sup>94</sup> For which reason one of the holy Trinity became man and saved the whole world. So look down in pity also on these peoples. Chastise those disobedient souls who control the world and are lords of darkness; throw them into grievous places. Show yourself to me, Lord, God of my father and mother, to your handmaid [91] and their offspring, so that all the ends of the earth may see your salvation, that the north may rejoice with the south, and that every tongue may worship one sole God, through Jesus Christ your Son, to whom grace and the offering of praise belong.' When St Nino finished this prayer, in the twinkling of an eye winds and currents of air arose in the west, there was thundering and a fearsome noise, and clouds rapidly appeared with dreadful aspect. This gale from the west brought an atmosphere of noisome bitterness and fetid bile. When the crowd of people saw this about to come over them, everyone immediately fled to (his)

<sup>93</sup> These three words (with numerous variants in the MSS) have not been identified with any known language.

<sup>94</sup> Image: *xati*, as Gen. I: 26.

*Arm.* weight, a foul and impure odour, and an opaque darkness<sup>18</sup> that made the images invisible. The crowd scattered and hid.

‘The next day the king and all the people came out and sought to discover the cause of what had happened. Then some said: “The god of the Chaldaeans, [48] T’rujan, and our Aramazd have been enemies from the beginning. Once our god overcame the other with water, so now he has taken revenge.”<sup>19</sup> Others said the truth: “The great God who smote the king of Armenia and cured him again with the Armenians, it is he who performed these wonders.” I

<sup>18</sup> Opaque darkness: *xawar t’anjramac*, a common phrase in Armenian for impiety; cf. Łazar 51, Elišē 8. The invisibility of the images is reminiscent of Aa 813.

<sup>19</sup> For the Chaldaeans and Georgians as different people see above, Q17, and for the mutual enmity of their gods, below, Q107.

*Geo.* city and village. Just enough time was given for the people to take refuge in their houses, then immediately this cloud of anger reached them, bitterly fierce. Hailstones a pound in weight fell on that place, on the site of the idols. The fierce wind knocked down the idols and shattered them; it demolished the walls and cast them down into stony precipices. But St Nino stood calmly on that spot where she had first arrived.

On the next day King Mirian and all the people came out; they searched for their gods, but could not find them, for which reason fear and trembling seized them. The hard-hearted people lamented and said: ‘It’rujan, the god of the Chaldaeans, [92] and our god Armaz have been total enemies from the beginning. Indeed, the latter turned the sea back on him, so now he seeks revenge; and through him this has taken place.’ But some said: ‘The god through whose power King T’rdat was turned into a boar and through whose power he was made into a man again, that god has brought this about. For there is no other god powerful enough to do such a thing.’ They spoke thus because since King T’rdat had been turned into a boar by the grace of Christ, and by Christ’s power had again turned back into a man, thenceforth the praise of Christ was no more secretly spoken of in K’art’li, since God’s grace had begun to spread abroad in the east. On that same day of wrath, when the hail and fierce wind calmed, then St Nino went away from the rocky precipice. She found the eye of beryl, picked it up, and mounted up to the far extremity of the rock where the old

found the eye of beryl, and sat by the *brinč*<sup>20</sup> tree, which they call "the shade of king Bartam". There I prayed for six days. Arm.

'On the day of the great Transfiguration<sup>21</sup> of the Lord, when the Lord revealed the image of the Father to the chief apostles and prophets, a royal handmaid called Šušan came to me. On seeing me, she was astonished. Bringing an interpreter of Greek, she questioned me. She had pity on me as a stranger. She wished to take me to the palace, but I did not go with her. Leaving there, I found a woman called Anastu, the wife of the man who kept the royal

<sup>20</sup> *Brinč*: as ABCD, *banč* in V. This is the Georgian *brinj*, 'acacia'.

<sup>21</sup> Transfiguration: *gunap'oxut'iw*n, a rare word. The usual Armenian rendering is *aylakerput'iw*n, and the feast is generally called *Vardavar*. Mt. Tabor is not named in Matt. 17: 2 or Mark. 9: 1, but was later identified with the site of the Transfiguration; see R. W. Thomson, 'A Seventh-Century Armenian Pilgrim on Mount Tabor', *JTS*, NS 18 (1967), 27-33.

castle had been built. There stood an acacia tree, beautiful, tall, with many branches, where King Bartam had found shade and repose. She stepped under the tree, made the sign of Christ's cross, and prayed there for six days. She blessed God and requested that he look down with pity on that people who had gone astray, and that he save them from the devil. Geo.

When this took place it was the sixth hour and sixth day in the month when Emmanuel on Tabor revealed the image of his Father to his disciples and his prophets. [93] Then a royal maid of honour by the name of Šrošana, came up and saw her under the tree. She was astonished, brought a woman who spoke Greek, and asked her whence she came. St Nino explained her provenance and her situation, except that she did not mention her relatives<sup>95</sup> because she described herself as a captive. Then Šrošana took pity on her for being a stranger. Her eyes filled with tears, and she tried to compel her to come to the royal palace. But St Nino did not wish to accompany her, so Šrošana departed. Three days after this she went down to K'art'li. She crossed the Mtkuari and made for the royal garden—where now the column set up by God and the cathedral church are situated. When she reached the gate of the garden, she saw the small house of the keeper of the garden. St Nino went inside. A woman was sitting there, named Anasto.

<sup>95</sup> Relatives: *dedajmat'a* in AC, lit. 'uncles'. But according to the K'C' Nino had only one uncle, Juvenal. All other MSS read 'parents'.

*Arm.* garden. She joyfully received me, and I stayed in their house for nine months.

‘They had no children, and therefore were in great distress. A luminous man said to me: “Enter the garden, and take earth from the root of the pine tree by the rosebush, and have them eat it in the name of the Lord; and a child will be given them.” That I did, and I gave it them in the name of Jesus Christ, God of Sabaoth, who came in humility and will come in his glory to judge this world according to its merits. When they heard this, they believed in Christ and received the promised child.

‘On leaving their house I made my lodging outside the wall in groves of tamarisk trees. There I stayed for three years. Fashioning

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*Geo.* When the woman saw her, she stood up; like an acquaintance she embraced and kissed her, washed her hands and anointed her with oil, and offered bread and wine. St Nino stayed with her for nine months.

Now this Anasto and her husband were childless, and they were very distressed on account of having no offspring. Then St Nino saw in a dream a man, the colour of light, come and say: ‘Enter this garden; there is a small bush under the pine trees, [94] planted for the Lord.<sup>96</sup> Take earth from that spot, have them eat it, and they shall have a child.’ St Nino did this, and said to them: ‘By the power of Christ, Son of the God of eternities, who is enthroned with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and became man for our salvation, was crucified, was buried, and rose on the third day, ascended to heaven, is seated on the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the living and the dead—he will give you your desire.’ And she explained to them the whole true way. Then the husband and wife confessed Christ and became secret pupils (of Nino’s).

Then St Nino found outside the walls of the city a thick bramble bush, where is now situated the sanctuary of the upper cathedral church. There she made a lodging for herself; and she fashioned a cross of branches, which she set up under the leafy

<sup>96</sup> Planted for the Lord: *saup’lo sezavebuli*, a difficult expression since the verb means ‘to mix, prepare’.

a cross, I worshipped the holy Trinity before it, day and night. *Arm.* Every day I went to the Jews for the sake of (learning) their language, and in order to find information about the Lord's tunic. The priest Abiat'ar and his daughter Sidona [49] believed in the coming of Christ, and six Jewish women with them. If you ask Abiat'ar, you will learn the truth.'

On hearing all this, the wise queen was astonished and believed the report. When she heard of the great miracles which had happened to her father Trdatios, she was even more confirmed in the faith, and glorified God in his ineffable glory.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Because *Arm.* has placed the story of Nino, dictated on her deathbed, before the account of her miracles, the queen's conversion is anticipated.

bush. Continually she prayed, day and night without interruption. *Geo.* The married couple served her, and were astonished at her ascetic practices, fasting, prayer, and vigils. [95] Often she went to the quarter of the Jews for the sake of (learning) the Hebrew tongue and in order to seek out the Lord's tunic. She had heard in Jerusalem from Niap'ori to the effect that: 'The Lord's tunic has been carried off by the Jews of Mc'xet'a.' Therefore she sought out among the Jews in order to know what had become of the tunic. She found a Jewish priest by the name of Abiat'ar. To him and his daughter Sidonia she preached the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. They believed and became her disciples, they and six other Jewish women. They accepted the yoke of the teaching of St Nino except for baptism, because there was no priest who might give baptism;<sup>97</sup> and they secretly became her disciples. She worked healings and miracles by the power of Christ. She cured many paralytics as if by medical means.

In this fashion she spent three years in the city of Mc'xet'a. In those times King Mirian and his nephew,<sup>98</sup> the great king of Persia, went to Greek territory. And Constantine, king of the Greeks, put those kings to flight by the power of Christ and the guidance of the Cross; and their innumerable armies he destroyed.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. the emphasis in Agat'angelos that before his ordination Gregory could not perform baptism, Aa 792.

<sup>98</sup> Nephew: *jmisculi*, brother's son. At Q69 above it is Mirian's brother who joined in the attack on Constantine (before the latter's conversion). *K'C* has omitted any reference to a subsequent change of ruler in Persia. For Constantine's victories after his conversion cf. Aa 868.

*Arm.* [50] Then the priest Abiat'ar gave an account in the hearing of all as follows: 'In the year when St Nunē came to Mc'xet'a I was by lot a priest of my people. A letter was brought to me from Antioch (sent) by the Jews who resided there: "This kingdom has been rent into three; the Romans, Greeks, and Armenians rule over us;<sup>23</sup> our prophets have become silent, and our temple has been destroyed. We know from the scriptures that, when our fathers were sinning, God was angry and gave them into captivity; but when on experiencing the trial they repented and prayed to the Lord, God relented and turned to them, and granted mercy. Seven times this happened in the former days. However, since our fathers crucified a poor unfortunate<sup>24</sup> woman's son, the one named Christ,

<sup>23</sup> The introduction of the Armenians here may be a reminiscence of M.X. ii. 19, where Tigran's involvement in Palestine is elaborated.

<sup>24</sup> Unfortunate: *tarapeal*, for *mciri*, 'stranger', in Geo. Arm. omits a further reference below, Q98, to the mother of Christ as a 'stranger'.

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*Geo.* *Speech of the priest Abiat'ar who became a pupil of the holy and blessed Nino*

'I, Abiat'ar, was serving as priest by lot in the year when this holy and blessed Nino came to Mc'xet'a. At that same time I received a letter from Antioch (sent) by the Jewish priests, in which it was written as follows: "God has divided into three the kingdom of Israel. Behold our prophets have become silent; and whatever the Spirit called for,<sup>99</sup> all has been accomplished. We have been scattered [96] over the whole earth, and the Romans have seized our land. We shall weep with our people, because we have angered our creator God. Now let us examine the books of Moses and his saying, which was all written for us, namely: 'Whoever on earth calls himself the son of God, let him die.'<sup>100</sup> Have we then erred in the death of Jesus of Nazareth? For we see that when previously our fathers sinned against God and totally forgot him, he gave them up to a cruel ruler and captivity. But when they turned and cried out, he quickly saved them from tribulation. We know from Scripture (that this occurred) seven times. But now, since our fathers laid hand on the son of a woman who was a stranger and killed him, God has removed the hand of his mercy from us and

<sup>99</sup> Called for: *acuevda*, as Acts 18: 5 of the Spirit 'pressing' Paul to speak.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. John 19: 7.

it is now 300 years that the Lord's anger at us has been increasing. Although we implore him day and night, he does not give us a response, nor is he reconciled with us. Hence it is justified to conclude that he is the Son of God indicated by the law and prophets. So look and investigate in your wisdom from knowledge of the scriptures, how all the scriptures were fulfilled and that man was truly from heaven." Arm.

[51] 'I was in great distress for many days. Then, on investigating the scriptures, I found that the time indicated by Daniel came to completion under Augustus the Roman emperor.<sup>25</sup> While engaged in this, I saw St Nunē and learned from her mouth the words of Scripture of our prophets, and the circumstances of his dispensation in order—everything from his birth to the ascension into heaven. I believed truly that he was the hope of the Gentiles and salvation for my people Israel.<sup>26</sup>

'Then I and my child were rendered worthy of the water of the font,<sup>27</sup> that is, of Bethlehem, which David had longed for but not

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Luke 2: 1.

<sup>26</sup> The addition completes the quotation from Luke 2: 32.

<sup>27</sup> Water of the font: V reads *ĵroy Niebazoy* (sic). The *n* is the demonstrative suffix to *ĵroy*, 'water', and *iembazoy* renders *embazi*, Georgian for 'font'.

divided our kingdom. He has separated us from his holy temple, and has completely ignored our nation. Since that time 300 years and more have passed during which he has not heard our request nor given us consolation, which makes us think that perchance such providence was from heaven." The message was repeated often. Geo.

'Now when I heard this, I began to question this woman Nino about Christ, who he was and for what reason the Son of God had become man. Then St Nino opened her mouth, like a well flowing forth, and she began [97] to expound from ages past. She repeated by heart our books and explained them to me. She woke me up like a sleeper, and like one out of his mind she restored me to my senses. She made me pity our fathers, and made me believe that the law had been transformed, so that in the end I believed her words: Jesus Christ, the Son of God, his passion and resurrection, his fearful second coming when he is expected by the Gentiles.

'I and my child were rendered worthy to receive the sprinkling that purifies from sin, the water of the font, which David desired

*Arm.* attained.<sup>28</sup> The Lord remembered us his people with pleasure, and he visited us in his salvation;<sup>29</sup> and we dwelt in the house of the Lord so that we might eternally bless the Lord, because the holy David blessed us. And God will allow me to see other wonders and blessings in this city through St Nunē.’

Those listening rejoiced and said to Abiat’ar: ‘Tell us whatever you know about this.’ He said to them: ‘We have heard from our fathers what their fathers told them:<sup>30</sup> that in the days of King Herod a report reached the Jews of Mc’xet’a that kings<sup>31</sup> had come

<sup>28</sup> *Arm.* has added ‘of Bethlehem’ to explain the allusion to 2 Kgds. 23: 15 (= 1 Chr. 11: 17).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ps. 105: 4.

<sup>30</sup> For the following reports cf. above, V29.

<sup>31</sup> On Q35 above *Geo.* refers to ‘magi’, translated there in *Arm.* as ‘kings’. But in Matt. 2: 1 the ‘wise men’ are *mogk’* (*moguni* in *Geo.*), not *t’agawork’*. See just below for ‘kings’ in *Geo.*

*Geo.* but could not attain. I heard the voice of the new law, the echo of hymns which David had desired. And we were made worthy to participate in the body and blood of Christ, the Son of God, the lamb sacrificed for the sins of the world, whose taste is sweet; for this, Lord, let us leave our bodies. Furthermore, my eye saw many wonders at Mc’xet’a, accomplished in our days by St Nino.’

*Speech of the same priest Abiat’ar concerning the tunic of our Lord Jesus Christ*

‘I, Abiat’ar, relate to you this story, which I learnt of and heard with my own ears from my father and mother, and which I have also learnt from books. For [98] they had been informed and had heard it from their grandparents and parents, and passed it on: When Herod reigned in Jerusalem, then we heard that “the Persians have captured Jerusalem.” This caused lamentation and grief to the Jews of K’art’li, to those who dwelt in Mc’xet’a, the priests of Bode, the scribes of Kodis-Cqaro, the Canaanite interpreters of Sobi—all these were stirred to flight. But after a few days there arrived a herald of consolation, saying: “The Persians did not come in order to capture Jerusalem; but instead of arms they had royal gold, and myrrh that rapidly heals wounds, and sweet-smelling incense. They were seeking some new-born child, the son



from Persia and captured Jerusalem, that the priests of Buda and the scribes of Kodi-Clava and the Canaanite interpreters had fled to the east, and that all the Jews had been plunged into mourning. After a short while the good news spread that the Persians who had come<sup>32</sup> to Jerusalem had not come to wage war but to worship the son of a maiden<sup>33</sup> born from the seed of David. They had as guide from heaven a rational and wise star which they had found in the desert.<sup>34</sup> They honoured him as God, for instead of arms they had with them offerings—royal gold, and myrrh for healing, and incense as a gift for God.<sup>35</sup> After presenting these to the child, they went their way. When the Jewish people heard this account, they rejoiced with great joy.

Arm.

‘Thirty years later a letter arrived from Jerusalem, from the priest Anna [52] to my mother’s father Elios,<sup>36</sup> to this effect: “The

<sup>32</sup> Had come: *ekin*, as ABCD, omitted in V.

<sup>33</sup> Son of a maiden: *kusordi*. Arm. omits the reference to Mary as a foreigner, *mc'iri*.

<sup>34</sup> This addition is based on Matt. 2. I have found no parallel to the epithet ‘rational’ (*banakan*) for the star.

<sup>35</sup> Abulaje places a comma after ‘incense’. But this changes the sense, for each gift has a specific attribute.

<sup>36</sup> Elios: See above, V29, for the previous account of his visit to Jerusalem. It is unclear why Arm. changed ‘father’s father’ to ‘mother’s father’.

of David. They found a stranger born from a foreign woman at an inopportune time and place. And they went to worship the child and offered it their gifts.” So great joy fell on all the Jews of K'art'li.

Geo.

‘After this, when thirty years had passed, then the priest Ana wrote from Jerusalem to my grandfather Elios, as follows: “The one for whose sake the Persian kings came with gifts has grown up and [99] reached full stature, and he calls himself the Son of God. Come, all of you, to put him to death so that the commandment of Moses may be fulfilled.” Elios, the father of my father, left here, an aged man. He had a mother from the family of the priest Elia, and he had one sister. His mother begged Elios: “Depart, my son, at the summons of the king and at the prescription of the law. But do not lend your consent to what they are planning; no, my son. For he is the word of the prophets and the parable of the wise.”<sup>101</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Wise: *brjent'a*; but in T *berjent'a*, ‘of the Greeks’.

*Arm.* child Jesus who was offered gifts by the magi, on becoming a man calls himself Son of God. Come, those of you who are able, so that we may carry out against him the laws of Moses and kill him." The priest Elios, learned in the law, from the stock of Eleazar and descended from the house of Eli, went. He had a mother from the same family, who enjoined him, saying: "Do not participate, my son, in the plans of the Jews. For (he is) the message of the

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*Geo.* 'Elios of Mc'xet'a and Longinos of Karsn departed, and there they came upon the crucifixion of the Lord. When they crucified the Lord and the servant was knocking in the nails with a hammer, the mother of Elios heard it here; she cried out and said: "Farewell, O kingdom of the Jews, for you have slain your own Saviour and have become the murderers of the creator. Woe to myself that I did not die previously, so that my ears might not have heard." And with this she died.

'Now the Lord's tunic fell by lot to the people of Mc'xet'a. Elios took it away and brought it to Mc'xet'a. His sister went to meet him, bathed in tears. She fell on her brother's neck, [100] and took the garment of Jesus. She embraced it to her breast, and immediately her soul departed for these three painful reasons: because of the death of Christ, and because of her mother, and because of her brother who had shared in the Lord's blood.

'Then there was much astonishment and turmoil in Mc'xet'a. For the great king Aderki and all the multitude of the people and nobles were astounded. King Aderki desired that robe, save that because of her death he was terrified and did not wish to remove it from the hands of the dead woman, who grasped it firmly and with fervour. Elios buried his sister, who held the Lord's robe in her hands. And only the Lord knows where that place is. After many years the son of the grandson of King Aderki, King Armazael,<sup>102</sup> had a search made for the robe among the Jews, but did not find it. For they told him everything that had happened, and no one knew the spot, except that: [101] "It is near a cedar which was planted and grew at Mc'xet'a." For our mother, St Nino, often commanded that we seek out the robe. But to her too

<sup>102</sup> Cf. above, Q45.

prophets, the parable of the law, and the word of the living God."<sup>37</sup> *Arm.*

Łunkianos of Karsn accompanied him, and they happened to arrive on the day of the crucifixion. When the servant<sup>38</sup> hammered in the nails, a part of the prophecy that was in her aroused the mother of Elios, and she said: "For the peace of the Gentiles, O king of Israel, Saviour of the world."<sup>39</sup> And three times: "Woe unto you, murderers of your creator. But pardon us, Lord our God." Then immediately she died, having believed in Christ.

<sup>37</sup> B (followed by Abulaje) reads շ, 'is', for ew, 'and', before 'word', making the last phrase the subject and the two earlier phrases predicates. This addition in Arm. is reminiscent of Matt. 16: 16 (= John 6: 69).

<sup>38</sup> Servant: *pasanik*, a hapax in Armenian, transliterating the Georgian *pasaniki*. For the Iranian etymology see *HArmB* s.v.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. John 1: 49, 4: 42; 1 John 4: 14.

it was only said: "It is the place which the tongues of men will not cease from praising to God." Now the house of Elios was to the west of the city, beyond Mogut'a, by the bridge.' *Geo.*

In those days St Nino often saw a vision in her brief sleep while she was on her knees: birds of the sky, black in colour, would come and enter the river, would bathe and turn white; then they would go up to the garden, gather branches, pluck the flowers, and graciously and fervently bring them to saint Nino as if the garden were hers; they stood around and sang beautifully. St Nino told of this to her disciple Sidonia, Abiat'ar's daughter. Then Sidonia said to St Nino: 'Stranger though born here, captive yet liberator of captives, I know that through you has arrived this new time, and through your power has been heard this old report, the deed of our fathers against the heavenly man, the shedding of his innocent blood unjustly, whereby shame was created for the Jews: scattering to the extremities of the world, the loss of their kingdom, the capture of the holy temple, the calling of a foreign people, and the giving of their glory to them. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, [102] how you have spread out your wings and gathered under your wings all peoples from the ends of the world. Behold, now this woman has come who will change every custom of this country.' Again she turned to St Nino and said: 'This is your vision, because through you this place has become a garden.'

*Arm.* 'Now the woven<sup>40</sup> robe came by lot to the Jews of Mc'xet'a. Elios brought it to his house. When his sister came to meet him, he received her with a kiss and placed (the robe) on her breast. She then gave up the ghost to Christ, having three reasons: the death of the Lord, the death of her mother, and her brother's collaboration with the Jews.

'Adrik was king of Georgia. On hearing (the news) he was amazed, but did not wish to retain in his possession the robe of the dead woman. So they kept it under a cypress tree, which had been brought [53] as a planting from Lebanon.<sup>41</sup> Behold the house of Elios, which lies to the west of the bridge of Mogt'a.'

When the Jews heard all this, they were ashamed of themselves and decided to stone him. For in his powerful wisdom derived from the Old Testaments he affirmed the divinity of Christ to be

<sup>40</sup> Woven: *p'orankeal*, an addition from John 19: 23.

<sup>41</sup> An addition from the frequent association in the OT of cypress (*noč*) with Lebanon.

*Geo.* When King Mirian arrived from Greek territory, fleeing from King Constantine, and even before his arrival, St Nino had been declaring the message of Christ's religion. For she spoke out loudly: 'I found you, inhabitants of the north, in error.' She showed the cross of branches and through it worked great miracles. For she cured paralytics without medicine by the touch of the cross. And with her preached also her disciples who previously had learnt in secret: the seven women of Jewish descent, Sidonia, daughter of Abiat'ar and six others; and the married couple, keepers of the garden; and the priest Abiat'ar, the new Paul,<sup>103</sup> who fearlessly and assiduously preached the religion of Christ, who was very versed in the old law and had learnt the new law from St Nino, and who even more than Nino convinced everyone of the true religion.

Then the Jews rose up against Abiat'ar in order to stone him. But King Mirian sent his servants and rescued Abiat'ar from death, because King Mirian held the religion of Christ in favour.

<sup>103</sup> The new Paul: metaphorically. But below, V56, *Arm.* interprets this as Abiat'ar's baptismal name.

glorified with the Father and the Spirit.<sup>42</sup> The king, on hearing the tumult of the Jews, reprimanded them and ordered that this preaching not be prevented in his country, because he had heard of the miracles which had occurred among the Armenians and Romans.<sup>43</sup> Arm.

[54] Then St Nunē with her faithful disciples was emboldened to spread the faith of Christ by various signs which she performed by the sign of the cross. Three times,<sup>44</sup> as she slept on her knees, she saw flocks of black-coloured birds descending to a river; turning white, they entered a garden and fed on its flowers. Taking a few, they gave them to the owner of the flower-garden. She told her vision to Abiat'ar's daughter, who said: 'O foreign settler who have made (us) heirs of paradise and of the tree of life,<sup>45</sup> this is the

<sup>42</sup> Arm. frequently emphasizes the Trinity. Old Testaments: in the plural—perhaps a reference to the prophets?

<sup>43</sup> Arm. here anticipates Geo. below, Q103.

<sup>44</sup> Three: in Geo. only A reads 'often'. B has 'two or three times', all other MSS 'three or four times'.

<sup>45</sup> For this addition cf. Luke 23: 43; Rev. 2: 7.

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For he had heard the teaching [103] of Christ's religion from the lands of Greece and Armenia, and he did not prevent Nino and her disciples from preaching.<sup>1</sup> But the devil, that secret enemy, waged war and did not allow them to be confirmed in the confession of Christ. Queen Nana was especially hard-hearted and despised that preaching. Geo.

But St Nino prayed continuously in her dwelling-place under the brambles. The heathen were astonished at her praying and vigils; such a thing was unknown to them. They began to question her; so she explained the old and new books, made those ignorant and senseless people understand, and implanted in their hearts the love of Christ. She lived in this fashion for three years, expounding the message of Christ and making many disciples.

Then there was a certain infant suffering from a severe illness, whose mother carried it from door to door in order to find someone skilled in medicine and to effect its cure. She told this to everyone, but they could not find a means to cure the infant. The doctors told the woman: 'Your child has no remedy.' Now that

<sup>1</sup> For the equivalent section in Arm. see above, V53.

*Arm.* gospel of our fathers and the work of the heavenly man Jesus and of his innocent blood. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, spread out your wing and gather in those who have gained the heavenly one, with whom you will also gather us through this holy one who makes this place a garden of salvation.'

Then St Nunē increased daily her austerity and prayers, and the heathen were astonished at her abstinence.

In those days a certain woman was taking around her child, who was ill with an incurable malady, in the hope that she might find

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*Geo.* woman was a pagan, hard-hearted, and she continuously insulted the religion of the Christians and prevented the others from going and questioning St Nino. But when she had lost all hope from doctors, she came and fell before St Nino and begged for healing for her child. Then St Nino said: 'The healing which comes from men I do not possess. But my God, Christ, will give healing to your child who has been abandoned by everyone.' [104] St Nino ordered the infant to be placed on the cloak on which she continuously prayed, and she began to beseech God. At that very moment the infant was cured, and she restored it alive and well to its mother. Then the infant's mother confessed Christ and said: 'There is no other God except that Christ whom Nino preaches.' And she became a disciple of Nino's, following her and glorifying God.

Then Queen Nana succumbed to a severe and painful illness, which no one was able to cure. For all the expert doctors used up their remedies, yet were unable to cure her. They were at their wits' end and lost hope. Then someone informed the queen: 'Many sick people have been cured by the prayers of the captive Roman woman who is called Nino.' Then she ordered her servants to bring her. The queen's servant went and found St Nino under the bramble bushes, praying at the sixth hour. They relayed the queen's command, but St Nino said: 'It is not permitted me to go to a place where our happiness is not found. But let the queen come to my dwelling, and truly she will be cured by the power of Christ.' Her servants informed the queen what Nino had said. Straightway the queen eagerly told them: 'Prepare a litter for me and take me to her.' So her servants took her on a litter, accompanied by her son Rev and a multitude of people. When they arrived at St Nino's dwelling, they set the queen down on her cloak. St Nino began to

[55] someone able to cure the youth by medical means. She herself was of evil nature and a blasphemer of Christ, and she hindered many from the preaching of Nunē. However, when she had exhausted all means, she cast the child in front of St Nunē. The saint said: 'I do not possess human (powers of) healing save my Christ, creator of things visible and invisible.'<sup>46</sup> Placing the youth on her bed, she made the sign of the cross on him, saying: 'My God Jesus, eternal king, heal this child in the name of your power, so that the heathen may know that it is you who give life to the race of mankind, that yours are the creatures, and to you are owed worship and honour and glory for ever. Amen.' Having said this, she gave back to the woman her child healed and rendered cheerful and lively. She said: 'There is no other God save you, Christ, lord and prince of life and death.'<sup>47</sup> She departed joyfully and told everyone. Then she returned to Nunē and did not leave her. Arm.

<sup>46</sup> For this addition see Col. 1: 16. In the following prayer (only in Arm.) numerous biblical phrases are interwoven.

<sup>47</sup> Heirs of paradise: for this addition cf. Jude 4; Wis. 16: 13.

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pray and beseech God [105] for a long time. She picked up the cross which she had, touched (the queen's) head, feet, and shoulders with the image of the cross, and immediately she was cured. She rose up alive and well, and believed in Christ, saying: 'There is no other God except Christ, whom this captive woman preaches.' Geo.

From then on she made her her particular friend, and continually questioned and enquired about the religion of Christ. She was instructed by St Nino, Abiat'ar the new Paul, and his daughter Sidonia. And the queen became a believer and recognized the true God. The king asked the queen how she had been suddenly cured, so the queen told him everything that had happened to her: how she had been cured without medicine by prayer and by being touched with the cross. And the multitude of the people, who had seen it, confirmed the queen's words. Then King Mirian was astonished and began to enquire about the religion of Christ. Often he questioned the former Jew, Abiat'ar, about the old and new books, and the latter explained everything.

*Arm.* In those days Queen Nana succumbed to an incurable illness; all those expert in the art of healing confessed defeat, (saying) that that disease was unable to be cured by men. They told the queen about Nunē, so she sent to have her brought to her. They went and found her in a wooded enclosure<sup>48</sup> of tamarisk trees at prayer in front of a cross. When they informed her of the queen's words, she said to them: 'At this hour I shall not bring down my heart from my Lord. If she wishes, let her come to us.' On hearing this response, the queen said: 'Lift me up and carry me to her.' A great host of men and women followed her. They brought and set her on Nunē's bed.<sup>49</sup> Having prayed for a long time, she placed the cross over her on four sides, and immediately she sat up cured. Rising from the spot, she went to her house,<sup>50</sup> praising Christ God, with the whole crowd.

From then on, studying the truth, she learned the religion of [56] Christ from St Nunē and the priest Abiat'ar, who was also called Paul on his conversion.<sup>51</sup> King Mirian<sup>52</sup> was astonished and asked

<sup>48</sup> Enclosure: *paurkin* in ABCE; V prints *purakin*. The stem *paroyk* is also used in the sense of 'circumflex'. Above, V48 *Arm.* had used the term *prak*, 'thicket, grove', for the tamarisk trees.

<sup>49</sup> Bed: for the Georgian *kiliki*, i.e. the Greek *κιλίκιον*, a garment of coarse cloth.

<sup>50</sup> She went to her house: an addition based on the cure of the paralytic, e.g., Luke 5: 25.

<sup>51</sup> Conversion: *hawatal*, lit. 'belief'. *Arm.* interprets the metaphor of Geo. as Abiat'ar's baptismal name. Cf. the tradition that King Trdat was called John at baptism, Vardan, *Chronicle*, 43.

<sup>52</sup> Mirian: the MSS sometimes transliterate the Georgian, sometimes follow the Armenian form *Mihran*, and sometimes have a hybrid such as *Mirihan* (as here in C).

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*Geo.* King Mirian possessed the book of Nebrot', and in that book he found it written as follows: 'At the building of the tower there came a voice from heaven to Nebrot', which said: "I am Michael, who have been charged by God with the principality of the east. Depart from this city, because God protects this city. But in the last time will come the ruler of heaven, whom you wish to see (and who) is despised among the people. Fear of him will dispel the delights of the world. Kings will abandon their kingdoms and seek poverty. He will look on you in your distress, and save you.'" Then King Mirian understood that the old and new books bore witness and the book of Nebrot' confirmed it. He was possessed with a



Paul how God became man, and what were the teachings and meaning of Christianity. As best he could, he told him everything in order.

Arm.

Mirian possessed a book which related the history of the race of Nebrot' and of the building of K'alan.<sup>53</sup> He had it brought before him, and on reading it he found written<sup>54</sup> therein the following account: When they began to build the tower and the city of K'alan, there came a voice from on high, saying: 'I am Michael, prince of the eastern region. Abandon what you are building, for

<sup>53</sup> The building of K'alan: an addition to Nebrot' from Gen. 10: 11. (BD and V read K'alén.) For the book of Nebrot' see also below, V79-80.

<sup>54</sup> Written: *greal*, as ABCD, omitted in V.

desire for the religion of Christ. But the secret enemy fought against him and prevented him from confessing Christ; he infused his heart with trust in idols and fire. However, [106] the queen continually begged him to confess Christ. The king was in two minds for a year after the queen's conversion. St Nino instructed the people without ceasing. She informed nobody 'who I am or whence I come', but said that she was a captive.

Geo.

After this the chief Persian magus, Xuara by name, fell ill. He was harshly beaten by the wicked demon and came close to death. He was a prince from the family of King Mirian. Then Queen Nana and the king implored St Nino. But the king viewed the matter in a somewhat ambiguous manner.

He said to St Nino: 'By the power of which god do you perform these cures? Are you a daughter of Armazi or a child of Zaden? You came from abroad and fell among (us). You direct your favour towards them, and they grant you the power of cures so that you may thereby live in a foreign land. They are glorious for ever. But you were in our presence like a nursemaid for our children, and were honoured in this city. Do not repeat that foreign speech, the religion of the erring Romans, nor desire at all to speak of it. For behold, the great gods, the masters of the world, who spread out (the rays) of the sun, who grant rain and make grow the fruits of the earth, the gods of K'art'li, Armazi and Zaden, who examine everything hidden, the old gods of our fathers, Gac'i and Gaim—these are the ones for men to believe. If you now cure this prince, I shall make you rich and shall let you dwell in Mc'xet'a as

*Arm.* God is about to destroy it. But in the last times the heavenly king will come and complete what you desire. And you will see the uncontemtable despised among the peoples; and love for him will chase away the delight of the world. For kings will abandon their kingdoms and love poverty, and not the glory which you seek, O Nebrot'.<sup>55</sup> Having read this, the king became thoughtful and was amazed that both the inner and outer<sup>55</sup> writings bore witness to Christ. But he could not abandon the cult of ancestral custom<sup>56</sup>—the sun and fire, Aramazd and the other images.

In those days a magus related to the king fell ill. Mihran said to St Nunē: 'Are you a daughter of Aramazd or a child of Zadēn,<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Inner and outer: for this Christian terminology see Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἑσωτερικός.

<sup>56</sup> For the importance of 'ancestral custom' see above, V41 n. 68. The introduction of the sun is reminiscent of Eišē's attacks on Persian religion, e.g. p. 19, with further references in Thomson, *Elishe*, n. 9 ad loc. For the image of Armazi (Aramazd in Arm.) see above, V47.

<sup>57</sup> It is not clear whether this sentence is a statement or a question in Arm.

*Geo.* a servant to Armazi. Even if through storm and hail destruction comes upon it, their place is invincible. This Armaz of the Georgians and It'rujan, god of the Chaldaeans, [107] are total enemies. The latter stirred up the sea from the former, and he then brought upon the other such a disaster, as is the custom for masters of the world. Let this be for you sufficient instruction from me.'

The blessed Nino replied: 'O king, in the name of Christ and through the intercession of his Mother and of all the saints with her, God the creator of heaven and earth, the fashioner of everything created, of the great and glorious as well as insignificant, out of his great mercy sent me to you, like a spark from the furnace of his grace, so that you might know and understand the height of heaven and the light of the sun, the depth of the sea and the extent of the land and its foundation. Be aware, O king, who clothes the sky with clouds, and thunders with the sound of the air, and makes the earth quake in his violence. The thunder-bolts run and in their track fire is ignited through his fury. Or when the great dragon is disturbed in the sea, the whole earth shakes until the solid mountains, cliffs and rocks, tumble. Be aware, in order to understand all

who brought you here as a stranger and bestowed on you the virtue of healing so that they might render you glorious?<sup>58</sup> So heal my relative in their name, and do not proclaim the erroneous faith of the Greeks. For although T'rujan the god of the Persians<sup>59</sup> defeated and drove them off with clouds and hail, yet their region remains [57] secure and that (sort of) warfare is habitual to rulers of the world. But the old gods of our fathers exist, Gayim and Gac'im, and they are the sources of the sun and the givers of rains, and they make grow the fruits of the earth.'

The saint replied, saying: 'I am a captive woman, a creature and worshipper of the invisible and unknown divinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,<sup>60</sup> who is creator of heaven and earth. Because of his great mercy he gives to those who despise him life and nourishment and honour, as to you. For he gave you a mind and

<sup>58</sup> Render glorious: 3rd pl. in AC (followed by Abulaje), but 2nd sing. in BD and V.

<sup>59</sup> But in Geo. It'rujan is described as the god of the Chaldaeans, as also above in Arm., V47-8.

<sup>60</sup> As often, Arm. emphasizes the Trinity; cf. above, V53, and below, after the cure of the magus.

this, that God is among men; he himself is invisible to all creatures except his Son, who came forth from him and appeared on earth as a man, who fulfilled everything for which he had come, and rose to those same heights with his Father. The sole one without beginning looked down, he who is exalted yet sees the humble and recognizes the exalted from afar. O king, close is your approach to see God.

For there is in this city a marvel—the robe of the Son of God is here, and they say that the skin cloak of Elijah is here also. [108] So there are many wonders which God will reveal. And now I shall heal that prince of yours by the power of Christ my God and through the cross of his Passion, just as I cured the queen of a severe illness. Whatever I instructed her she did in order that she might make her soul shine out and draw her people near to God.'

They brought the prince, and the queen also came into the garden, under the cedars. She set him eastwards, made him raise his hands, and had him say three times: 'I renounce you, O devil, and I hold to Christ the Son of God.' Nino wept with sighs of her

*Arm.* reason so that you might know the height of heaven and the places of the stars, the depth of the sea and the extent of the earth, and through these might recognize their driver and controller.<sup>61</sup> I tell you that that grandeur is unattainable, which clothes the heavens with clouds and thunders with the sound of winds, and by means of the great whale<sup>62</sup> moves the whole earth. In his mercy he descended from on high, and having taken our nature fulfilled the time of thirty-three years.<sup>63</sup> By the senseless nation he was reviled and crucified, by his own will and not by force.<sup>64</sup> Rising on the

<sup>61</sup> Driver and controller: *karavarn ew yawrinič*'n. For God as *karavar*, 'chariotter', see Eznik 3, Eliše 34. *Yawrinič*' is less common, but see Narek 44, for this and numerous other terms applied to God as creator.

<sup>62</sup> Whale: *kitos*, rendering the Greek *κῆτος* instead of the Armenian *kēt*. It is noteworthy that *Arm.* does not render the Georgian *vešapi* by *višap* (used e.g. in Job 7: 12, for the 'whale', Greek *δράκων*). But in Matt. 12: 40, for Jonah in the 'whale', the Armenian version has *kēt* for the Greek *κῆτος*, while the Georgian has *vešapi*.

<sup>63</sup> Thirty-three: This is not in the NT. According to Luke 3: 23, Jesus was 'about thirty' when he began his ministry. In his *Chronicon* Eusebius dates the birth of Christ to the year 2015 of Abraham, and his death to 2048, thus at the age of 33.

<sup>64</sup> This addition is reminiscent of the *Teaching*, which emphasizes that Christ suffered of his own will, esp. 464, 'willingly and not by force'.

*Geo.* heart, and she requested God to help that man. Her disciples were there also for a day and two nights. Suddenly the evil spirit came out of him, and he became a disciple of Nino with his household and people. And they praised God.

#### *Report of the woman Sidonia*

who was a disciple of Nino, who saw and wrote down the conversion by miracle of King Mirian and his submission to Nino; concerning his confession of Christ, the erection of the cross, the building of churches, and the miracles at that (time).

'It happened one summer's day, on 20 July, a Saturday, that the king went out to hunt in the vicinity of Muxnari. That secret enemy, the devil, approached and infused his heart with love for the idols and fire. He decided to serve them totally and to kill with the sword all the Christians. The king said to his four counsellors: "We are worthy to be badly treated by our gods, because we have

third day he ascended up to heaven. He sent preachers to the world<sup>65</sup> so that mankind might believe in his name and live in piety, abandoning vain idols.<sup>66</sup> Him I also announce to you so that you may believe that whatever I do is in his name. Arm.

'There is hidden here a robe of his; and, as they say, the skin coat of Elijah, who saw God, is also here.'<sup>67</sup> In order that you may clearly see what I have said, bring to me the magus of Xorasan,<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Preachers to the world: Matt. 28: 19, a theme also stressed in the *Teaching*.

<sup>66</sup> An addition reminiscent of the *Teaching*, 522-6.

<sup>67</sup> Elijah left behind his *maškeak* when he ascended to heaven, 4 Kgdg. 2: 13. 'Who saw God': based on his bodily ascension? Cf. Q353 n. 98.

<sup>68</sup> Magus of Xorasan: *mogn Xorasanean*. At V56 Arm. had omitted the name Xuara. In Geo. 'Xuara fell ill' reads *Xuara sneul (iqo)*. But all MSS except AC have *xuarasneli*, which Arm. has interpreted as an adj. 'Xorasanian'.

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neglected to serve them and we have allowed the bewitched Christians [109] to preach their religion in our land. For by sorcery they perform their miracles. Now this is my decision, that we put to a cruel end all those who trust in the crucified one, and that we pursue more (zealously) the service of our gods who are the masters of K'art'li. We shall compel Nana, my wife, to recant and abandon the religion of the crucified one. And if she does not obey, I shall forget my love for her and destroy her along with the others." Geo.

'The counsellors confirmed his decision because they were fervent for this undertaking, which they had desired from the beginning but had not dared to indicate openly. The king crossed the whole district of Muxnari, and went up the high mountain of T'xot'i in order to look towards Kasp and Up'lis-C'ixe. He reached the summit of the mountain, when at mid-day the sun grew dark over the mountain and it became like the dark night (of) eternity.<sup>2</sup> The gloom covered the region in all directions, and they were scattered from each other in distress and anxiety. The king remained alone; he wandered through the mountains and forests, terrified and shaking in fear. He stood at a certain spot and abandoned hope of salvation. But when he recovered his sense, he reasoned thus in his heart. "Behold, I have called on my gods, yet I found

<sup>2</sup> Dark night, eternity: *game bneli, ukuni*. The punctuation is unclear. Brosset suggests 'une nuit comme celle des ténèbres éternelles'; Patsch 'finster wie die Nacht, eine Ewigkeit.' Just below: 'the region in all directions', lit. 'regions and places'.

*Arm.* the enemy of the truth. He will deny his heresy and will confess with faith whatever I make him say.'

When they had brought him to her in the garden, under the pine-trees, she turned him to the west and made him repeat three times: 'I renounce you, Satan.' And turning him to the east, she had him say: 'I fall towards you, holy Trinity, and I turn to you, O crucified God.' Nunē wept and made the sign of the Lord's Cross.<sup>69</sup> Then the evil spirit came out of him like smoke,<sup>70</sup> and the man was cured of the demon and of his disease, and believed in Christ with all his household. [58] The onlookers glorified the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, Amen.

After this the king went hunting at Muxnar on 20 July, a Saturday.<sup>71</sup> While they were on the way, Satan inspired the heart of the king, who said to his four counsellors: 'Why have we been indolent in worshipping the gods, so that this sorcerer<sup>72</sup> came and preached Christianity? Let us then destroy those led astray by her, including her,<sup>73</sup> and let us increase our ancestral worship.'

<sup>69</sup> West . . . Cross: The additions are from the baptismal rite; see the *Maštoc* (1839 edn.), 12. The catechumen turns to the west for the threefold renunciation, then to the east for the confession of faith in the Trinity. Signing with the cross precedes baptism and unction.

<sup>70</sup> Like smoke: as of the demons in Aa 781.

<sup>71</sup> According to the table in Grumel, *Chronologie*, 316-17, 20 July would have fallen on a Saturday in 334.

<sup>72</sup> Sorcerer: *kaxard*. For Christians as sorcerers see Eliše 42, and further references in Thomson, *Eliše*, n. 5 ad loc. Here Geo. has *grjneuli*, which is a passive adjective, not the noun *mgrjneli*.

<sup>73</sup> Including her: *novaw handerj*. It is unclear whether this refers to Nana (as in Geo.) or to Nunē.

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*Geo.* no relief. Now could I not be rescued from this distress through hope in the cross and crucified one which Nino preaches and through which she works cures? For I am alive in hell, and I do not know if this perdition has occurred for the whole land or if it was only for me. Now if this ordeal is merely for me, O God of Nino, turn this darkness into light for me and show me my dwelling. Then I shall confess your name and shall set up [110] the wood of the cross and worship it. I shall also build a house for my prayers and become obedient to the religion of the Romans."

'Once he had said this, the sun shone out brilliantly. The king descended from his horse, stood on that same spot, raised his

They were happy to hear this, and encouraged him even more to carry out<sup>74</sup> the plan. They went through the district of Muxnar and came to the mountain of T'xut', so that from its summit they might see Kasb and Up'lis-c'ixe. All of a sudden fog and gloom<sup>75</sup> fell upon them, the sun was darkened at midday, and it became night. Gripped by terror, they abandoned the king and scattered. Trembling and in despair of his life, he said: 'Jesus Christ, God of Nunē, put me in subjection to yourself and deliver me from hell; for my gods were unable to help me. I believe that you are so able, and that yours are day and night.<sup>76</sup> O crucified Lord, by your Cross save me, because I believe that this darkness has not fallen on every one but on us alone, who after the coming of the light loved darkness.'<sup>77</sup>

Arm.

<sup>74</sup> To carry out: *arnel*, as AC, for *areal* in BD and V.

<sup>75</sup> Fog and gloom: *mēg ew maraxul*. The expanded Arm. reflects Ezek. 34: 12, of a shepherd seeking his lost sheep; cf. also Deut. 4: 11.

<sup>76</sup> Yours . . . night: this addition is from Ps. 73: 16.

<sup>77</sup> After . . . darkness: this addition is from John 3: 19.

hands eastwards towards heaven, and said: "You are the God above all gods and the Lord above all lords, and God described by Nino. Your name is to be praised by every creature under heaven and on earth. For you saved me from distress and illuminated my darkness. Behold, I have realized that you desired my salvation and pardon and my approach to you, O blessed Lord. On this spot I shall raise up the wood of the cross by which your name will be glorified and this wondrous deed remembered for ever." He marked the spot and set off. The scattered people saw the light and gathered together. Then the king cried out: "Give glory to the God of Nino, because he is God from eternity and to him alone is glory due for ever." Queen Nana and all the people went out to meet the king, for they had first heard that he had perished and then that he was safely returning. They met him at K'injara and Ġart'a. Now the blessed Nino was at evening prayer in the bramble, at the hour that was her custom; and we were with her, fifty persons. When the king arrived, the city was in turmoil. In a loud voice the king shouted: "Where is that foreign woman, who is my mother and whose God is my Saviour?" When they said: "She is here in the bramble praying," the king himself and all the soldiers came. The king descended from his horse and said to Nino: [III] "Now I am worthy to invoke the name of your God and my Saviour." St

Geo.

*Arm.* When he had said this, the sun shone out in clear weather, and his soldiers found him.<sup>78</sup> Descending from their horses, they fell on their faces and worshipped the crucified one, saying: 'You are God in heaven above and on earth, and yours is light and yours is darkness.'<sup>79</sup> We bless you, Lord of lords and God of gods. And because you drew us to you in this place, here we shall set up the sign of your Cross, whereby your name is glorified through your ineffable miracles for ever.'<sup>80</sup> They turned homewards, sending messengers [59] ahead to those who were plunged in grief because of the bad news which they had previously<sup>81</sup> heard. But when they heard that he was returning safe and sound, the whole populace of the city came out in great joy to meet the king. The king said: 'Give glory with one mouth to Christ God, creator of heaven and earth.'<sup>82</sup> Where is St Nunē, my mother, because her god is my god?' They

<sup>78</sup> This change is not reflected in the account of Mirian's conversion in M.X. ii. 86, who describes him as being alone (as Geo.).

<sup>79</sup> Also from Ps. 73: 16, but less close to the biblical text.

<sup>80</sup> BD and V repeat 'your name' before 'for ever'.

<sup>81</sup> Previously: as ABCD. V omits this second *arajagoyñ*.

<sup>82</sup> The biblical additions are from Rom. 15: 6 and Acts 4: 24, but with many parallels from elsewhere.

*Geo.* Nino instructed him and told him to do obeisance straightway towards the east and to confess Christ the Son of God. Then everyone set to wailing and weeping when they saw the king and queen in tears.

The next day King Mirian sent envoys to Greek territory, to Constantine king of the Greeks, and also a letter of Nino's for Queen Helena. They informed them of all the wonders (performed) by Christ which had happened to King Mirian in Mc'xet'a, and they urgently requested priests for the sake of baptism. Now St Nino and her disciples were preaching to the people day and night, without ceasing, and were revealing to them the path of the true kingdom.'

*Report of the same (Sidonia) concerning the building of the church*  
 'After the king and all the people had eagerly turned to Christianity even before the arrival of the priests, the king said to St Nino; "I am eager to build a house of God. Where shall I build



replied: 'Behold she is praying for you in the tamarisk grove with fifty persons.' They went to her, and falling down did her obeisance. But she forced them to stand up and turn to the east. She counselled them to worship their Saviour Christ and to confess that he is the Son of the living God.<sup>83</sup> All the crowd wept on seeing the king, and they blessed the living God. Arm.

Then St Nunē wrote a letter to Helena, empress of Rome, and Mirian to Constantine the Great: 'The Lord has visited the house of Georgia with great mercy. Send us priests to give us life through water and the Spirit.'<sup>84</sup> St Nunē herself [60] did not cease from preaching with twelve<sup>85</sup> women who always accompanied her.

Then the king decided to build a church before the priests should arrive. They entered the garden, cut down the pine tree, and from

<sup>83</sup> Living: cf. Matt. 16: 16 (and many parallels).

<sup>84</sup> The elaboration on 'baptism' is from John 3: 5.

<sup>85</sup> Twelve: the number of Nunē's companions grew over time. Fifty were mentioned just above in both Arm. and Geo.; at V49, Q95 Arm. and Geo. refer to six women, plus Sidonia and Abiat'ar; at Q102 the keepers of the garden are added in Geo. (omitted in Arm.); at V55, Q105 the mother of a cured child is added in both texts; and at V57, Q108 the household of Xuara is added in both texts. 'Twelve' is given in Arm. and Geo. just below.

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it?" St Nino replied: "Wherever it is the firm decision of the sovereigns." The king said: "I like this bramble of yours, and there I wish (to build it) according to my decision. However, I shall not do it this way. I shall not spare the royal garden, not the height of its cedars or the fruitfulness of its branches or the scent of its flowers. For (in) the vision which you saw, the birds with dirty wings bathed in water and became shining white, and they perched in the trees of the garden and sang with a sweet voice—truly this material and perishable garden will be transformed for us into eternal paradise; there we shall build the house of God for us to pray in until the arrival of the priests from Greek territory." [112] Immediately he took up the line<sup>3</sup> and gave instructions to carpenters. He cut down the cedar, and from the cedar tree prepared Geo.

<sup>3</sup> Took up the line: *moiġo jali*. Only C reads *jali*, which usually means 'power, strength'; for the meaning of 'architect's device', see Abulaje, *Lek'sikoni*, s.v. If this is correct, the passage is parallel to Aa 758, where Gregory picks up the *lar*, the 'line', to lay out the foundations for chapels. However, all other MSS read *jeli*, so the phrase would mean 'he brought wood'.

*Arm.* it fashioned six pillars. They laid the foundations, and set up the six pillars. The seventh, which was the largest of all, they were unable to shift from its place, neither by force nor by mechanical means. Eventually, at the setting of the sun they abandoned it and went away in great astonishment. St Nunē with her twelve (companions) remained there for the night, and prayed with tears.

In the middle of the night there occurred fearsome happenings, earthquakes and thunderings, as if the two mountains of Armaz and Zadēn were toppling and obstructing the two rivers, the Kur and Arag, which were turning back on to the city and fortress. The women with Nune were terrified and began to flee. Then the saint said: 'Do not be afraid, for this is an illusion and not the truth. The mountains are standing firm, the rivers are running their courses,

*Geo.* seven pillars for the church. When they had built the walls from wood, they set up six pillars each in its place. But they were unable to raise up the largest pillar, which was amazing to behold and was intended for setting up in the centre of the church. They informed the king of this marvel and of their complete inability to move the pillar from the spot. Then the king came with a great crowd of people and they employed many kinds of implements; but despite their efforts, neither by skill nor by the force of the people were they able to set it up. The king and the multitude of people were amazed and said: "What is this?" When it became evening, the king went to his palace, very grieved. But St Nino and her twelve women disciples stayed beside the pillar. The blessed one lamented over the pillar and wept torrents of tears.

'When it was midnight, the two mountains Armaz and Zaden collapsed as if they had been demolished, and blocked the courses of the two (rivers). The Mtkuari swamped and devastated the city; frightful cries of lamentation and wailing arose. In like fashion the Aragvi bore down on the citadel, and awful thunderings were heard. The women were terrified and began to flee. But the blessed Nino shouted out: "Do not be afraid, my women. The mountains are standing there, the rivers are flowing there, and all the people are sleeping. What seemed like the mountains collapsing was in truth a vision for you. For the mountains of unbelief collapsed in K'art'li; and the waters which were blocked means that the blood

and the people of the city are sleeping peacefully. However, unbelief has truly collapsed like a mountain; the blood of the children offered to the idols has turned back which the rivers indicate; and the sounds of mournful wailing are the deceiving evil demons lamenting their destruction.' Saying this she exhorted them to take courage, while she herself wept copious streams of tears. Arm.

Before the cock crowed there occurred a tumult and clamour, as if a strong army had besieged the city, captured it, and was carrying out a slaughter. It was giving commands in loud tones: 'Xora, king of the Persians, commands you, and Xora-Xosrov, king of kings, gives the order: All<sup>86</sup> Jews, stand aside and separate yourselves, and do not perish.' And: [61] 'Behold Mihran the king has been slain.' Then the holy apostle<sup>87</sup> spread wide her arms and said:

<sup>86</sup> All: *amenayn*, as AC, omitted in BD and V.

<sup>87</sup> Apostle: *arakehuhi*, with the fem. suffix as in M.X. ii. 86.

of children which was offered to idols has been stopped; and the cry of lamentation is that of the host of demons. For they weep over themselves, expelled [113] from this place by the power of the All-Highest and by the cross of Christ. Turn back and pray to God." Immediately the noises ceased and nothing further occurred. St Nino stood up, raised her hands, and prayed to God, saying: "Let not this undertaking which the king has set in motion be stopped." Geo.

'Then before the cock crowed, a powerful army caused havoc at the three gates of the city. The gates were broken open, and the city was filled with a Persian army. There was a hubbub of terror, agitation, crying, and murder. The whole place was filled with blood, and a crowd came up in a clamour with swords. From fear of the others their bodies grew thin and their spirits dissipated. They were weeping for their families. Suddenly a loud shouting was heard: "The king of the Persians, the king of kings, Xuaran-Xuara commands: Spare all the Jews from the edge of the sword." When I heard this I regained my senses. But I and the ten with me remained hesitant, for the swordsmen were nearby around us, striking and killing. Then a loud voice was heard: "King Mirian has been captured." The courageous leader looked around and said: "He who cried out I know is now in great distress indeed. I

*Arm.* ‘Go to outer darkness. Behold, the crucified one has come, your slayer. Go to the northern region.’ Straightway they disappeared.

Soon, at dawn, there appeared a fiery youth, concealed in unapproachable<sup>88</sup> light, who spoke three words with St Nunē. Then he went to the column and raised it up on high. A woman named Sidina, who had accompanied Nunē, saw all this and said: ‘What is this, holy mistress?’ She replied: ‘Be silent and pray.’ Behold, they saw the column moving gently, flaming with light, and descending on to its truncated root.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Unapproachable: *anmat’eli*, an addition reminiscent of I Tim. 6: 16.

<sup>89</sup> On to its truncated root: *i hateal armatoy iwroy* (with no variants). Grammatically this is unclear. It abbreviates *monakuet’sa zeda jirsa najwisasa*, where ‘stump’ and ‘root’ are in apposition. Perhaps *Arm.* read *jirisa* (in the gen.) and rendered *monakuet’i* as a participle rather than a noun (from the verb *mokuet’a*, ‘to cut off’).

*Geo.* bless God, for this is the sign of their destruction and of the salvation of K’art’li and of the glory of this place.” She encouraged me like a skilled teacher, truly a teacher and apostle of Christ. She turned to the people who had attacked and said: “Where are the kings of the Persians, Xuara and Xuaran-Xuara? Yesterday you left the land of Saba; rapidly indeed have you arrived, and you are a great army. Forcefully you have crushed this city and put it to the sword. Depart (on) winds and tempests to the dark northern region, to the mountains and cedars. Behold, [114] he from whom you flee has come.” She made the sign of the cross with her hand, and immediately all this disappeared and there was a great stillness. The women blessed her and praised God.

‘Now when dawn showed itself all the women fell asleep. But I, Sidonia, stayed awake. And she was standing with hands raised. Behold, a young man came up to the blessed one; he was completely robed in light and covered with a cloak of fire. He spoke some three words to her, then she fell on her face. The young man put his hand on the pillar and set it upright, and raised it up on high. Astonished, I approached her and said: “Mistress, what is this?” But she said to me: ‘Bend your head to the ground.” And she began to weep from terror. After a little time she arose, stood me up, and we left that place. And when the women stood aside, they too saw the pillar, in the form of fire, come down and approach its pedestal on the stump (which was) the root of the cedar.

When it grew light the king came, accompanied by a great crowd. And they saw the flaming<sup>90</sup> column come without a guiding hand and settle on its base. Raising their voices, they praised God. Arm.

On that day many miracles occurred at that place. They led a Jew who had been blind from birth near to the column, and immediately (his eyes) were opened. Then a certain Hamazaspuni<sup>91</sup> of the royal family, 8 years old and paralysed, was brought by his mother and placed in front of the column on his bed. She implored Nunē for the child's recovery. She stretched out her hand to the

<sup>90</sup> Flaming: *hrac'eal*, as AC, for *srac'eal*, 'moving rapidly', in BD and V. Base (just below): *xarsxin* for the *sarsxin* (sic) in V.

<sup>91</sup> Hamazaspuni: Brosset's conjecture (note ad loc.) that this might be *Hamazasp anun*, 'Hamazasp by name', is unnecessary since this otherwise unattested form of a very common name is based on Geo. Royal: *t'agaworazn* renders *sep'eculi*.

'As soon as it was morning, the king arose, agitated from anxiety. He visited the garden and the church that had been begun on the site which he had decided. He saw a light like a flash of lightning shooting up to heaven from the garden. He began to run, and quickly arrived. The whole multitude of his household and all the people of the city came with him. They saw the wondrous sight: the pillar shining with light descended to its proper place, as if from heaven, and stood on its pedestal; it settled down without being touched by men's hands. Blessed was that time, for when it happened the city of Mc'xet'a was filled with fear and joy. The sovereigns shed rivers [115] of tears, as did the nobles and all the people. With sighs of their hearts they glorified God and blessed St Nino. Geo.

'On that day great miracles occurred. First, a certain Jew came, who had been blind from birth. He approached the pillar; straightway he was able to see, and he praised God. Secondly, a young prince came, named Amazaspani; he had been lying (paralysed)<sup>4</sup> for eight years. His mother brought him with faith and placed him on his bed in front of the pillar of light, of true light.<sup>5</sup> She implored Nino: "My lady, look on this son of mine who is near death. For I know that the one you serve and preach to us is the God of gods." Then St Nino stretched out her hand to the pillar, placed it

<sup>4</sup> Lying (paralysed): *idva*, as in Mark 5: 40 of the dead girl.

<sup>5</sup> Of true light: *da nandwilve nat'lisa*, lit. 'and truly of light'.

*Arm.* column, then placed it on the child and said: 'Jesus Christ who came in the flesh for the salvation of the world, help this child.' Immediately the child rose up and stood on its feet. On seeing this, the whole multitude blessed God, and awe fell on them all. The king made a cover for the column,<sup>92</sup> and they finished building the church to the glory of God.

[62] Now when the Emperor Constantine saw Mihran's envoys, he greatly rejoiced over the conversion of the Georgians to Christ and because he believed that they had totally severed themselves from union with the Persians—as did Queen Helena. And they praised God.

They despatched a bishop named John, and two priests and

<sup>92</sup> But the cover did not prevent the column from the veneration of the people and its gradual erosion; see below, V70, Q131.

*Geo.* on the child and said: "Believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who came in the flesh to save the world. Be cured henceforth and glorify him whose power cured (you)." Straightway the child stood up like a healthy person, and great awe fell on the king and all the people. All sorts of sick people came and were cured. The king made a cover of wood around the pillar and hid it from view. Even so, the people continued to touch the casing and were cured. The king immediately set to work and completed the church in the garden.

'When the envoys of King Mirian came into the presence of Constantine, King of the Greeks, and informed him of everything that had occurred, then the king and his wife Queen Helena were filled with joy. First, because the grace of God extended to all places and under their aegis<sup>6</sup> all of K'art'li was to be baptized. And furthermore, they were also joyful because they were assured by King Mirian of the complete destruction of the Persians and of his firm acceptance of their friendship. So they praised and blessed God.

'He despatched a true priest, John, as bishop, and with him two

<sup>6</sup> Aegis: lit. 'hand', but here in a general sense, not of participation in the rite as just below of Nino baptizing Mirian. Cf. also above, Q73 n. 69.

three deacons, and with them a cross and a saving image.<sup>93</sup> On arrival they illuminated by baptism the king, his wife and sons, and the nobles [63] in the place called Mokt'a; which place was then called 'illumination of the princes.'<sup>94</sup> All the Georgians were baptized save for the Mt'ewulik', and (those) in the Caucasus,<sup>95</sup> and the Jews in Mc'xet'a. Fifty of the descendants of Barabbas were baptized; the king befriended them and gave them Didi-C'ixē. But P'eroyz,<sup>96</sup> who possessed the land of Ran as far as Partaw and who was Mihran's son-in-law, did not heed the word of life.<sup>97</sup> Arm.

<sup>93</sup> It is stressed below, Q197, that Antioch, not Constantinople, had the right of consecrating the primate of K'art'li.

<sup>94</sup> Illumination of the princes: *glxaworac' lusatu* for *mt'avart'a sanat'lo*. Although *lusatu* would mean 'illuminator', it is likely that the abstract ending (probably abbreviated as *-ut'*) has been lost. For baptism as 'illumination' see above, V44 n. 91.

<sup>95</sup> Mt'ewulik' . . . Caucasus: Arm. makes two groups out of the one in Geo. *Mt'eulni*, 'those who live in the mountain (*mt'a*)', is translated correctly below, V66, as *lernakan*. But usually Arm. merely transliterates this noun and the place-name *Mt'eulet'i*.

<sup>96</sup> P'eroyz: as ABCD, but V prints *P'eroz*. The standard Armenian form *Peroz* occurs on at V69. He married Mirian's unnamed daughter.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Phil. 2: 16.

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priests and three deacons. [116] King Constantine wrote to Mirian a letter of prayer and blessings to the grace of God. He sent off a cross and an image of the Saviour with great presents. And Queen Helena also wrote a letter of praise and encouragement. Bishop John arrived at Mc'xet'a, accompanied by the priests, deacons, and envoys. The king and queen and all their people were filled with joy, because they were all eager for baptism. Then King Mirian immediately issued an order summoning to his presence everyone, including the *erist'avis*, generals, and all persons in the royal service. Rapidly they all arrived at the capital. Then the king was baptized at the hands of St Nino, and afterwards the queen and their children at the hands of the priests and deacons. Following this they blessed the river Mtkuari, and the bishop prepared a place at the approach to the bridge by the gate of Moguet'i, where the house of the priest Elios was. There he baptized the nobles individually, and he called the place "illumination of the princes". Below this at the edge of the river, in two places the two priests and the deacons baptized the people. The people jostled each other in their haste and (each) begged the priests to Geo.

*Arm.* Mihran despatched Bishop John accompanied by a nobleman to Constantine. He requested many priests and a piece of the Lord's Cross and stonemasons to build churches. He sent everything that he had requested, and also the support for the Lord's feet, the nails for his hands, and other furnishings<sup>98</sup> for the church, and money so that they might build a church in his name in the land of K'art'li.

The bishop arrived in the land of Ušet',<sup>1</sup> laid the foundation<sup>2</sup> of a church, and deposited there the nails, leaving builders and

<sup>98</sup> Furnishings: *spass*, an addition reminiscent of Aa 882, which describes Constantine's gifts to Trdat and Gregory.

<sup>1</sup> Land of Ušet': *erkirn Ušet'*; the *Er* of Erušet'i has been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Foundation: *Arm.* emphasizes in this paragraph foundation (*himn*) rather than construction, just as Aa 831 did of Gregory's laying 'foundations' throughout Armenia.

*Geo.* baptize him first. The people were so eager for baptism because they had heard the preaching of St Nino, who said: "No one who is not baptized will gain eternal light." Therefore they were all anxious to be baptized.

'In this fashion all the people and the multitude of K'art'li were baptized, save that the mountain people of the Caucasus did not receive baptism; they did not come to the effusion of light, but remained for some time in darkness. Nor were the Jews of Mc'xet'a baptized, except that the household of Barabbas,<sup>7</sup> fifty persons, were baptized and became true Christians. [117] For that reason they were honoured by the king and he conferred on them the village which is called C'ixe-didi. Nor was P'eroz baptized, the son-in-law of King Mirian who controlled Ran as far as Barda as a grant from King Mirian; nor were his people baptized, but they merely served King Mirian in secular affairs.

'Then King Mirian sent Bishop John accompanied by a nobleman to King Constantine. He requested a piece of the Tree of Life which at that time had been revealed to the pious Queen Helen. He also asked for many priests in order to send them to every city and district so that they might baptize the people, that every person of K'art'li might rapidly be baptized. He also requested stone-masons for the building of churches. When they came into the presence of

<sup>7</sup> Household of Barabbas: *BarabiantÆa*; for the form cf. above, Q64 n. 55.



money. Going on to Manklis, he laid the foundation of a church and deposited there the holy (foot-)support. When the king heard of this, he was upset at the placing of relics elsewhere and not in the royal capital and because the messengers had not come there first.<sup>3</sup> But St Nunē said: 'Do not grieve, O king, for it is right to sow the name of the Lord in all places. There is here an important holy object and memorial of the Lord—the holy robe.' When the king had heard from Abiat'ar all the details of the robe, he praised Christ, saying: 'Blessed is the Lord God who removed it from the Jews who hated him, and bestowed it on us distant ones in his mercy.'

Then, on the arrival of the bishop, the stonemasons began to build a church outside the city, which is now the episcopal

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aa 817, where King Trdat waits a whole month for Gregory to return from Greek territory, while the latter fills other parts of Armenia with churches.

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the emperor Constantine, he happily bestowed on them a piece of the tree of life and the planks on which the feet of the Lord had been nailed, and the nails of his hands. He dispatched very many priests and masons. For King Constantine during his reign built 500<sup>8</sup> holy churches, temples of God. He gave valuable treasure to Bishop John and commanded him: "Wherever it seems appropriate in the regions of K'art'li, build churches in my name. And settle these gifts in the cities of K'art'li."

'The bishop set out with the envoy. When they arrived at the place which is called Erušet'i, they left (there) masons to construct a church. He left treasure and the nails of the Lord, then departed. At Cunda he left masons [118] and treasure; and as soon as he had begun the church he departed and came to Manglisi, where he began the construction of a church. He left there the planks of the Lord. Then King Mirian was upset because they had not first come to the capital city, but had begun to build churches in other cities and places, and had left the relics (there). However, St Nino came before the king and said: "Do not grieve, O king, for it is right thus that wherever they go they should sow the name of God. Furthermore, in this city is the praiseworthy garment of the Lord." Then the king summoned the priest Abiat'ar and many Jews with

<sup>8</sup> Five hundred: as AC, omitted in all other MSS.

*Arm.* (church).<sup>4</sup> As the work began, St Nunē said: [64] ‘O Christ, Son of God who grants glory, you have come in your fulness and power to the race of David; and from an only-begotten<sup>5</sup> mother you were born only-begotten God, light of all, image of the Father, who like a needy<sup>6</sup> person received baptism of water and the Spirit. You were crucified and buried in the heart of the earth;<sup>7</sup> you arose on the third day, ascended to heaven, and you will come as judge of the living and the dead.<sup>8</sup> Be a protection and fortification for all those who hope in you. And to you be blessing for ever, Amen.’

<sup>4</sup> Episcopal (church): *episkoposaran*. By itself the term normally refers to the episcopal see; at V68 the word ‘church’ is expressly added.

<sup>5</sup> Only-begotten: *miacin*. Although usually referring to Christ, this can mean simply ‘only child’. The *NBHL* cites only one reference to Mary as *miacin*, in an unidentified hymn.

<sup>6</sup> Needy: *karawt*. This adaptation of ‘servant of the law’ in Geo. was perhaps influenced by *karawt* in Heb. 5: 12.

<sup>7</sup> Heart of the earth: an addition from Matt. 12: 40.

<sup>8</sup> Judge . . . dead: an addition from 2 Tim. 4: 1.

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*Geo.* him, and he questioned them about the robe. They told him everything which is written above. Then King Mirian raised his hands and said: “Blessed are you, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God. For from the first you were pleased to save us from the devil and from the place of darkness. Therefore you brought this holy robe of yours from the holy city of Jerusalem from the Hebrews who did not recognize your divinity, and you bestowed it on us from among foreign nations.”

“The king and all the city firmly supported Christianity. The masons began to build a church outside the wall, over the brambles—St Nino’s dwelling—where is now the episcopal church. Then St Nino said: “Blessed is the Lord God Jesus Christ and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who sent his holy Word from heaven on high. He descended from his powerful throne to this humble earth, was born indubitably from the seed of David, only-begotten from a woman pure and spotless. He was pleased with this cause—the cause of our salvation; he who illuminated everything under heaven and saved the believers, he was born as a man, the light of all, the image of God the Father. And like a servant of the law he was baptized by water [119] and the Spirit. He was crucified, buried, and rose on the third day; he ascended to the height

At that same time some people informed the bishop that at the foot of the small mountain there stood a beautiful and sweet-smelling tree; and from it were effected cures for deer who had been wounded by hunters, when they ate its fallen leaves or fruit. He said to them: 'Truly this land has always been cared for by the Lord before it recognized him.' Arm.

Taking the king's son Rēv, the bishop went and cut down the tree with its branches. They brought it to the city on 25 March, a Friday.<sup>9</sup> It was covered with leaves, and they stood it at the door

<sup>9</sup> According to the table in Grumel, *Chronologie*, 316-17, 25 March would fall on a Friday in 337.

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with his Father, and will come again in glory. To him belong all glory, honour, and worship, with the Father and the holy Spirit." ' Geo.

*Concerning the setting up of the revered cross*

'When the king, the queen, their children, and all the people were baptized, at that time there stood a tree in a certain place, on a rock on a steep hill. This tree was very beautiful and fragrant, and miracles were worked by this tree; for a deer wounded by an arrow, which came and ate its leaves or its fruit, would escape death, even if it were badly wounded in a mortal spot. This seemed exceedingly wondrous to the former heathens, and they informed the bishop John about the tree. The bishop said: "Behold, truly this land has been preserved by God from of old for his service. For this tree grew by virtue of God and was preserved for this time; because now the grace of God has spread in K'art'li, and from this tree it is right to make a revered cross which all the population of K'art'li shall worship."

'Rev, the king's son, the bishop, and the crowd of people went out and cut down the tree, and brought it back with its branches. It was carried by ten groups of ten men, who bore it to the city with its branches and leaves. The people gathered to see its green-coloured foliage in wintertime, when every other tree was bare; yet its leaves had not fallen, it was sweet-smelling and beautiful to see. [120] They set the tree up on its roots at the door of the church, on the south side where a gentle breeze blew and the leaves of the tree moved and its branches swayed. The sight of this plane tree

*Arm.* of the church. For thirty-five<sup>10</sup> days it remained without fading, as if (still growing) from its own root. On 1 May they prepared three<sup>11</sup> crosses. When they set up one of them in the church,<sup>12</sup> in the sight of all the people there descended from heaven a luminous cross, crowned with stars, which covered the wooden<sup>13</sup> one until morning. Then two stars ascended, one soaring to the east and one in a westerly direction.

St Nunē said: 'Go up to high places and observe where the stars are going.' They went up to see, and said: 'One star is shining at

<sup>10</sup> Thirty-five: as ABCD. But V prints 37, 'correcting' the text from the Georgian. In Armenian 5 and 7 (*e* and *ē*) are easily confused.

<sup>11</sup> Three: *Arm.* makes this explicit from the sense of what follows.

<sup>12</sup> In the church: as AC, omitted in BD and V.

<sup>13</sup> Wooden: *p'aytelēn*, as emphasized by M.X. ii. 86.

*Geo.* was beautiful, as we have heard. They cut it down on 25 March, a Friday; yet the tree remained in the same condition for thirty-seven days and its foliage did not change colour, as if it had been set on its root over a source of water, until all the trees of the forest were clothed with leaves and the fruit-bearing trees were covered with blossoms. Then on the 1st of the month of May they made the crosses, and on the seventh of the same month set them up with the help of the sovereigns, to the joy and delight of all the people of the city. They were (placed) in the church. Every day all the people of the city saw that a cross of fire descended from heaven, surrounded as it were by a crown of stars, and it stood over the church until dawn. In the pale light of morning two stars separated from it; one went eastwards and one to the west. The cross itself, shining just as brilliantly, very gently moved along the Aragvi and stood over a rocky hill, over the place near the fountain which had sprung up from the tears of St Nino; and from there it ascended to heaven. In this fashion all the people frequently saw the saving sign<sup>9</sup> of our God. Then they began to question the blessed Nino: "What is this, that a brilliant star comes forth; one going to the east and one to the west?"

'She said: "Send men into the high mountains to the east, [121] as far as the mountain of Kaxet'i, and to the west as far as the outskirts of this city. And when these luminaries shine out, let them

<sup>9</sup> Saving sign: *mac'xovreba*, lit. 'act of salvation'.

the summit of the mountain of T'xot', going towards Kasp; the other (is going) to the land of Kaxet', to Dab.<sup>14</sup> They brought the two crosses and erected them in the places which the Lord had

Arm.

<sup>14</sup> Dab: Arm. has again taken *dabi*, 'village', as a place-name; cf. above, V46. Confusion between Kaxet'i and Kuxet'i is easier in Armenian than in Georgian.

observe where they stop, and let them erect these crosses of Christ right there." Then the king did that, and had the summits of the mountains watched continuously. That day was a Friday; and (when) Saturday dawned the same miracle occurred. It took place in the same fashion as had happened before. On the next day there arrived the men from the west who had been standing on the mountains of the Summit of the Caves.<sup>10</sup> They informed the king: "The star set out, rose up, and came on to the mountain of T'xot'i at the pass of the Kasp. It stopped at a place and then totally disappeared." Likewise they came from the mountain of Kaxet'i and said: "We saw the star coming hither, and it stopped at the village of Bode in Kuxet'i." Then the blessed Nino gave orders: "Bring the two crosses and set up one at T'xot'i, where God revealed his power to us; and give the other to Salome, the handmaid of Christ, and let her set it up in the city of Ujarma. For they should not prefer Bode, a village of Kuxet'i, to the royal city since there is a host of people in it. The village of Bode in the future will see itself a place agreeable to God." And they did just as their mistress had ordered.

Geo.

'Now after this miraculous vision from heaven they picked up in their hands the revered cross in Mc'xet'a and came to the base of the hill. By the spring they kept vigil that night and prayed to God. The blessed Nino mingled her tears with the spring, and great healings and miracles were performed. The next day they went up on to the rock. The blessed one also came on to the hill, fell down on the stones, and wept—she herself with the sovereigns and nobles and the whole multitude of the people, so that the mountains echoed. [122] She put her hand on a stone and said to the bishop: "Come, because you must inscribe the cross on this stone." He did

<sup>10</sup> Mountains . . . caves: *mt'at'a zeda k'uabt'a t'avisat'a*. This is not clear. Brosset (note ad loc.) takes *k'uabt'a t'avi* to be a place-name; Patsch omits the troublesome *k'uabt'a*.

*Arm.* indicated through the shining stars. The main cross they set up [65] on the rock opposite the city.<sup>15</sup>

They established as feast-day of the cross the eighth day of the great Easter, for the whole house of K'art'li.<sup>16</sup> A few days later the cross again flamed with shining light, on a Wednesday, having at its head a crown of twelve stars. On seeing these wonders, all the heathen were converted to the Lord and baptized. The believers, even more confirmed in the faith, gave blessing to God by adoration of the holy cross. For like sparks from a furnace angels of God went around the cross and rose above it.

<sup>15</sup> Opposite the city: an addition based on the account in M.X. ii. 86.

<sup>16</sup> House of K'art'li: Cf. above, V15 for the use of *tun*.

*Geo.* so, and there the cross was set up with praise from the sovereigns. The numberless crowd prostrated themselves and worshipped the cross; they confessed the crucified one as the true Son of the living God, and believed in the glorious triune God. The great nobles did not leave the holy church, the column of light, and the living cross, because they saw unparalleled miracles and ineffable healings.

'On the Sunday of the completion of Easter it happened that King Mirian and all Mc'xet'a offered sacrifice. On that day they celebrated the worship of the cross and the fulfilment of Easter, which all K'art'li (celebrates) to this very day. Some days later, at the end of Pentecost, they saw a most awesome wonder, on a Wednesday. Behold, a column of light in the form of a cross stood over the cross, surrounded by twelve stars in the shape of a crown, and the hill gave off a sweet smell. Everyone saw this miracle, and many of the ungodly were converted and baptized on that day; while the Christians became even stronger believers and praised God. Again they saw another miracle of the cross: a flame stood on top of it, seven times more brilliant than the sun. It stopped above it, and as it were sparks from a furnace rose up. In such fashion did the angels of God ascend and descend upon it. The hill shook violently; and when the miracle ceased, then too the trembling stopped. When they saw this wonder, they were all astonished and praised God all the more. Since these miracles occurred yearly, all the people would come in fear and trembling; they zealously came to worship.

In those days the son of Rēv, who was heir to the kingdom, fell ill and was near death. His father brought and placed him in front of the cross, and immediately he was cured. So they gave glory to God. The child's father built over the cross a marble canopy, and came each year to worship the cross with gift-offerings. Arm.

A man blind in both eyes came and fell down before the holy cross, and gained his sight after seven days. A woman who had been afflicted by demons for eight years was brought on her bed,<sup>17</sup> and they lay her down at the feet of the cross. Twelve days later she went home<sup>18</sup> cured. A mother brought her dead child and set it beside the cross. Everyone said to her: 'Take him away and bury

<sup>17</sup> On her bed: an addition from the cures in the NT, e.g., Matt. 9: 2-7 and parallels.

<sup>18</sup> Went home: *gnac' i tunn iwr*, as ABCD (V omits *iwr*); cf. above, V55 n. 50, for this biblical reminiscence.

[123] 'At that time Rev, the king's son, had a young child who fell ill and was near to death; he was their only child. He brought and placed him in front of the cross, and with tears said: "If you allow this child to live for me, I shall make a canopy to cover you." Immediately the child was healed, and he was led away cured and restored to health. He came back to fulfil his vow, and made his gift of thanks with great joy. Rev, the king's son, zealously constructed a canopy for the cross of Mc'xet'a; year by year he came and carried out his vow of offering. From then on all the infirm and sick came in ever greater numbers; they were healed and joyfully praised the holy cross of Christ. Geo.

'There was a certain young man who was blind in both eyes. He sat down in front of the cross of Christ, and seven days later his eyes regained their sight. He was able to see and glorified the honourable cross. There was also a certain woman who was continuously afflicted by an evil spirit so that she lost her strength and mind for eight years; she used to tear her clothing. When they brought her to the honourable cross, after twelve days she was cured and walked away on her own feet. She praised God and worshipped the honourable cross. Again there was a certain small child who suddenly fell down and died. His mother brought the child and placed the corpse in front of the cross from morning to evening. With tears his mother prayed before the cross, but the

*Arm.* him, and do not be arrogant.' But she did not give up her hope. At the evening hour the child arose, and his mother took him to her house. When the crowds saw this they blessed the crucified God. The grace of healing was bestowed not only on those who approached, but also on distant persons who invoked the name of the holy cross of Nunē. Therefore many sterile women bore children from the gifts of the cross.

In those days the emperor Constantine<sup>19</sup> sent a deacon bearing

<sup>19</sup> The additional references to Constantine and the great works of God performed in Armenia are reminiscent of the relationship between that emperor and Trdat as described in Aa 872 ff. The 'sun of righteousness' (Mal. 4: 2) as Christ is emphasized in the *Teaching* §§ 565, 797.

*Geo.* others said: "Take him away, woman, and bury him, for he is dead; and do not bother (us) any more."<sup>11</sup> However, she did not give up hope, but wept and prayed all the more piteously. At the evening hour he revived and opened his eyes. [124] Seven days later he was cured; his mother took the child away restored to life, and praised God. When they saw the miracles and healings of the all-holy cross, many childless people came and begged for fertility. They produced many offspring, then made alms and thank-offerings. Not only those who came themselves received healing, but also those who prayed to the holy cross from a distance straightway received grace by its assistance. They overcame their enemies, and rapidly came to offer thanks. Furthermore, many godless persons who had fallen into distress, when they invoked the holy cross, were immediately delivered from their troubles and came to worship the honourable cross. They were quickly baptized, and praised the honourable cross. Many more, plunged into great misfortune, by the power of the honourable cross were cured of their diverse torments. They rushed to pray and were immediately cured, even up to this very day. And they praised the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.'

#### Letter

which the patriarch of Rome and the king of the Branj  
wrote to Nino and to King Mirian and to all the people  
of K'art'li

<sup>11</sup> Do not bother (us) any more: *nuğara acqineb*. The prefix *a-* indicates a transitive, not a reflexive verb.



a letter from the nation of the Branj̄, [66] who had been illuminated by her father. For they had heard that among the Armenians and Georgians the sun of righteousness had shone forth with glittering rays and great works of God had been manifested to them. They sent in writing the rejoicing of their hearts, and wished to be more informed through the Branj̄ deacon: he was to write down everything accurately and bring it to them, whatever had happened in Armenia and Georgia to the glory of God. When the deacon had learnt it, he wrote it in a book and brought it to his own country to the Branj̄.

Arm.

At that time King Mirian planned to convert P'eroz his son-in-law and the Mt'euli to the faith by force of arms. But St Nunē prevented him, saying: 'The Lord did not come with sword and bow,<sup>20</sup> but with Cross and Testament.' So the bishop went with Nunē,

<sup>20</sup> With sword and bow: See Matt. 26: 52 for the sword. The addition of 'bow' (*alēti*), is puzzling since none of the many references in the Bible to 'sword and bow' seems apposite. It may be a rhetorical expression to parallel the expansion of Cross 'and Testament'.

In those days there came a letter of the holy patriarch from Rome for Nino and the king and all the people of K'art'li. He also sent a deacon of the Branj̄ in order to [125] greet and give his blessing, and to bring back from the blessed Nino prayers and to share in her grace. He also had with him a letter of the king of the Branj̄, because the country of the Branj̄ had been baptized by her father. All this had been learnt from Jerusalem and from Constantinople: that the sun of righteousness had been spread in the land of K'art'li. For that reason he wrote the friendly letter in order that the people there might be informed about the miracles of the column and of the bush and about the mighty cures. The deacon of the Branj̄ saw all this and learnt of the miracles which had taken place at Mc'xet'a. Astonished, he praised God. He took the letters and departed.

Geo.

Then the king said to St Nino and the bishop: 'It is my wish that we compel and convert by the sword the mountain people and my son-in-law P'eroz, and that we serve the Son of God and worship the honourable cross.' Then they said: 'It is forbidden by the Lord to take up the sword, but we should show through the gospel and the honourable cross the true way that leads to eternal life; and the grace of God will illuminate the darkness of their hearts.' St Nino

*Arm.* accompanied by a prince,<sup>21</sup> to Coben, Čart'al, T'xela, Cilkasn, Goramañr. But they did not accept the word of the Lord. Then they descended to Jalet' and Ercoyt', and preached there. The people heard and were baptized. The P'xac'ik' abandoned their own land and went to T'awset'; and many of the mountain people<sup>22</sup> remain in idolatry up to today.

St Nunē went to the land of Ran in order to preach to P'eroz. She stayed close to the borders of Kuxet'i, where she fell ill. Rēv, the king's son, and Sołomē his wife, who lived in Ujarma,<sup>23</sup> came to see her. [67] The king heard, and sent the bishop to bring her to

<sup>21</sup> Prince: *išxan* for *erist'avi*; cf. above, V16 n. 71.

<sup>22</sup> Mountain people: here *mt'euli* has been translated; see above, V63 n. 95.

<sup>23</sup> In Ujarma: cf. above, Q71.

*Geo.* and the bishop John set out, and the king sent with them an *erist'avi*. They arrived and stopped at Coben. Summoning the mountain people, men who lived like beasts, the Čart'aleli, P'xoeli, Cilkaneli, and Gudamaqreli, they preached to them the true religion of the Christians, which leads to eternal life. But they did not wish to be baptized. Then the king's *erist'avi* briefly raised his sword against them, and by force destroyed their idols. [126] They went down from there, stopped at Žal'eti, and preached to the Erco-T'ianeli. These accepted (the gospel) and were baptized. But the P'xoeli left their land and went down to T'ušet'i. The other more numerous mountain people were not converted, so the king imposed a heavy tax on them as long as they did not wish to be baptized. Nevertheless they were recalcitrant in their error. Finally, Abibo the bishop of Nekresi<sup>12</sup> converted some; but the rest of them persisted in paganism until today.

St Nino set out to go to Ran in order to convert P'eroz. When she came close to Kuxet'i (and reached) the village of Bode, she stopped there for some days. People came from Kaxet'i and questioned her, and a multitude of people confessed her teaching. Then she fell ill there. When Rev, the king's son, and Salome his wife, who lived in Ujarma, learnt (of this), they came to Nino and informed the king and queen. They sent the bishop John to bring

<sup>12</sup> Abibo Nekreseli was one of the 'Syrian Fathers'; see Q208 in Appendix, no. 9. He was buried at Mc'xet'a; see Q229.

Mc'xet'a; but she did not wish to go. Then the king and his wife came to her, and also Pelušavr of Siunik' and a crowd of people. Sitting around her, they wept. But she looked towards heaven with unblinking eyes, full of vigilance. Then the royal women said to her: 'Holy mother,<sup>24</sup> as we have heard from you, there were multitudes of prophets to the Son of God, and he had twelve apostles and seventy-two<sup>25</sup> disciples. Yet none of these was sent to us, save only your own holy person. So tell us the circumstances of your birth and upbringing and the mode of your life and mission to us.'<sup>26</sup>

Arm.

The saint replied: 'Why do you wish to be informed about this wretched handmaid of Christ, who now is summoning me to him and to my mother in eternal (rest)? I have given a brief account in

<sup>24</sup> Mother: as above, especially with regard to Nino's baptismal activity. In Geo. *dedop'ali*, 'queen', 'mistress', was a title given to Nino by her disciples, e.g. Q114.

<sup>25</sup> Arm. changes '70' to '72' following the tradition expounded in the *Teaching*, 503 (further references in Thomson, note ad loc.). It is noteworthy, however, that in Geo. only APd read '70'; EMRTbm have '72', and BC omit the number.

<sup>26</sup> And the mode . . . us: as AC, omitted in BD and V.

back St Nino, but St Nino did not consent. So then the king came in person with a crowd of people. A host of notable persons gathered around her. For all the people saw Nino's face (shining) like the face of a heavenly angel. They tore off the edge of her garment, implored and embraced her with faith. Forcefully all the royal women, standing around her, made supplication. The tears ran down from their eyes on account of their separation from their teacher and guide, skilled in curing the sick. Salome of Ujarma and Perožavri of Siunik' spoke to her, [127] and the *erist'avis* and nobles with them questioned her: 'Who are you who have come here to this country to save us? Where were you raised, O queen? Tell us about yourself. Why do you speak about captivity, blessed one who liberate captives? For behold, we have learnt from you that there were prophets before the Son of God, and afterwards twelve apostles and another seventy. But God sent us no one except you. How do you say that "I am a captive," unless as a stranger?'

Geo.

Then St Nino began to speak and said: 'Daughters of the faith, my royal ladies beside me, I see you are like those former women all (intent) on faith in Christ, and you wish to know the paths of

*Arm.* the hearing of Sołomē, daughter of the Armenian king, concerning the manner of my coming here.<sup>27</sup> Have paper and ink brought, and write it down from her mouth. You yourselves know that which<sup>28</sup> you have heard and seen. May the peace of the Lord be with you. I entrust you to the priest Jacob, who will become bishop after John at the call of the Spirit.<sup>29</sup> Then she had the bishop John celebrate a liturgy, and she communicated in the holy mystery. Entrusting herself to the heavenly king, she died in Christ, and was buried in that same spot,<sup>30</sup> in the 332nd year of the Lord's ascen-

<sup>27</sup> Cf. above, Q72.

<sup>28</sup> That which: *zayn . . . zor*, as ABCD. V prints *zayln*, 'the rest', which Abulaje follows in his translation (*sxva*).

<sup>29</sup> See below, V70, for this episcopal succession.

<sup>30</sup> *Arm.* emphasizes the burial, yet omits to mention Bode!

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*Geo.* me a poor handmaid. Now I shall inform you, for behold my soul has reached my throat, and I shall sleep eternally with the sleep of my mother. But take pens and write down my poor and worthless life, so that your children may know your faith, and my welcome, and the miracles of God which you have seen.' Straightway Salome of Ujarma and Perožavri of Siunik' took up pens. St Nino began to speak, while they wrote. She narrated everything which we wrote down above—the life of the holy and blessed one. She asked the king that the priest Jacob should become bishop after John. Then John the bishop celebrated the liturgy and communicated to St Nino the body and blood of Christ. She offered her soul to the Lord of heaven in the 14th year from her coming to K'art'li, in the 338th year from the ascension of Christ, and in the 5838th year from creation.

[128] Then these two cities, Mc'xet'a and Ujarma, and all K'art'li fell into turmoil at the departure of Nino. They came there and buried her body, clothed in victory, at that same spot in Kuxet'i, in the village of Bode. For she herself, in the sight of God, had asked the king to be buried there. The saint had done this out of humility, because the place was insignificant. The king and all the nobles were saddened at her being buried there, but they did bury her there in order to carry out her command and testament. When King Mirian, endowed with divine wisdom, had accom-

sion, [68] and the 5832nd year from Adam's departure from paradise, in the fifteenth year of her coming to K'art'li.<sup>31</sup> Arm.

Then King Constantine wrote a letter to Mirian and released his son Bahk'ar, who had been with him as a hostage, saying: 'I, Constantine, autocrator,<sup>32</sup> new servant of Jesus Christ through whom I have been freed from captivity to Satan, have sent to you Mirian, king of Georgia, your son. For our Lord will be surety<sup>33</sup> between us that you will remain subject<sup>34</sup> to us, and he will expel

<sup>31</sup> The year 332 (338 in Geo.) does not correspond to 5832 (5838 in Geo.); see Grumel, *Chronologie*, 241. The 'Life' puts her death in the 25th year of her coming. For a detailed discussion of the dates see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 374-7. His conclusions are that Nino arrived in Georgia in 324 and began preaching in 328, Mirian was converted in 334 and baptized in 337, and Nino died in 338.

<sup>32</sup> Autocrator: *ink'nakal*, rendering exactly *t'wit'mpqrobeli*. 'Emperor' in Geo. is *keisar*; 'king' is *mep'e*, the Armenian *t'agawor*.

<sup>33</sup> Surety: *erasxawor*, as Heb. 7: 22 for Greek *εγγυος*. This is not an exact rendering of *suamdgomeli*, 'mediator, one who stands between', as 1 Tim. 2: 5.

<sup>34</sup> Subject: *ihnazandut'iwon*, as ABCD; *hnazandut'eamb* in V. It is noteworthy that Arm. changes the friendship of brothers in Geo.

plished all this, all K'art'li and Heret'i were strengthened in belief in the holy Trinity, in the consubstantiality of the eternal God, creator of all. And they were confirmed in the complete faith. Geo.

Then King Constantine sent back with great gifts the son of Mirian, who was called Bak'ar and who had been a hostage with the emperor Constantine. And he wrote a letter thus: 'I, King Constantine, autocrator, new servant of the Lord of heaven, formerly held captive by the devil then liberated by the creator, write to you endowed with divine wisdom and a neophyte like me, to the believing King Mirian. May peace and joy be with you. Since you have recognized the consubstantial Trinity, the eternal God, creator of all, I no longer need a hostage from you, but Christ is sufficient as a mediator between us—the Son of God, born before time, who became man for our salvation—and also his honourable cross which has been given as guide to us who have hope in it. Through the mediation of God the creator let us be like brothers in friendship. I have granted you your son back; see him and rejoice. May the angel of peace sent by God be with you always. And may God the Creator expel the deceiving devil from your

*Arm.* the obstructive<sup>35</sup> demon from your borders.' Then Mirian made great rejoicing with Nana, the boy's mother, and with the whole country to the glory of God. After this he completed the church of the episcopal see,<sup>36</sup> and filled it with ornaments. In those days Rēv his son died, aged 34.<sup>37</sup>

That same year King Mirian fell ill and summoned his son. Putting the crown on the cross, and then removing it, he placed it

<sup>35</sup> Obstructive: *xap'anič'*. It is unclear why Arm. changed the Georgian, which reflects Rev. 12: 9. For various names applied to the devil see *Teaching*, 278–9.

<sup>36</sup> Episcopal see: *episkoposaran*, as above, V63.

<sup>37</sup> Aged 34: The year is 361; Toumanoff, *Studies*, 377. Geo. had not given a date for his birth or elevation to royal status; for his apanage in Ujarma see above, Q71. Akldama (as Acts 1: 19) is not mentioned elsewhere in *K'C'* or in *Wakhoucht*.

*Geo.* borders.' [129] Bak'ar, the son of King Mirian, and the envoy of King Constantine arrived at Mc'xet'a. King Mirian and Queen Nana were filled with joy, and they blessed God, the bestower of perfect gifts. Then King Mirian completed the episcopal church, and celebrated its dedication with much magnificence. In the twenty-fifth year from the conversion of King Mirian his son Rev died, the son-in-law of T'rdat king of the Armenians, to whom the rank of king had been given while (Mirian) was alive. They buried him at Akldama, which he himself had built.

In that same year King Mirian fell ill, and he too died. He summoned his son Bak'ar and his wife Nana, and said to Nana: 'Behold, I am going whence I came, and I thank the most compassionate God, creator of heaven and earth, who delivered me from the captivity of the devil and from the mouth of hell, and made me worthy (to sit) on his right. You, Nana, if you have the time, after my life (is over) divide our royal treasure into two and give (a half) to the tomb of Nino, our illuminator, in order to preserve it over time, lest that place collapse in the future. For it is the abode of kings, although she is a stranger.'<sup>13</sup> Likewise he also asked the bishops to increase the magnificence of the place, 'because it is worthy of reverence.'

Then he said to his son: 'My son, my darkness has been changed into light and my death into life. To you I have given the crown of my kingdom. May God, the creator of heaven and earth,

<sup>13</sup> Stranger: *mcir*, as of Mary above, Q96, 98.

on his head, commending to him religion and piety.<sup>38</sup> He said to his wife: 'Go and dwell at the tomb of St Nunē, and live there. Build a church and honour the place; and distribute our possessions to the poor, having divided them into two. Behold, I am going whence I came. And I thank God who turned my darkness into light, death into life, and left into right. Take courage and destroy the remaining idols. And may the almighty Lord be with you.' Having said this, he fell asleep. The next year Queen Nana died in the Lord. Arm.

<sup>38</sup> This sentence reflects the Georgian text of the following pages.

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strengthen you in the perfect faith. Learn fully the commandments of the Son of God, and remain completely within them. In the name of Christ death will seem to you life, whereby you will gain [130] life that passes not away. Where you find those abominations, the idols of fire(-worship), destroy them by fire and make those who hope in them drink the ashes. Instruct your children likewise, because I know that (the idols) will disappear among the Caucasians. But do you pursue this with all your heart and devote yourself to the Son of God—born before time, who became man and suffered for the sake of our salvation. With the guidance of the honourable cross you will overcome our enemies, as customarily happens for those who hope in it in their heart. Revere the living column set up by God, and let your full hope be directed towards it. Then you will enter into eternal rest in faith in the Trinity.' He had brought the cross of St Nino, which she had had from the beginning, and on the cross he hung the royal crown. He summoned his son Bak'ar, and on his head made the sign of the cross. Then he took the crown from the cross and placed it on his son's head. King Mirian died and was buried in the upper church, to the south of the central pillar on the northern side. In that pillar is a fragment of the pillar set up by God. The next year Queen Nana died, and she was buried to the west of the same pillar where King Mirian had been placed. Geo.

*Arm.* [69] However, the Armenians did not permit Bahk'ar to reign, because they wished to make king the son of Trdat's daughter. Then Bahk'ar took refuge in Persia, ceding to them the land; and to Peroz he gave (the territory) from Šamsōyt as far as the entrance to Ašoc'.<sup>39</sup> Likewise he addressed entreaties to the Greeks. They gathered forces from all regions, gave battle to the Armenians in Ĵavaxet', and expelled them. [70] So Bahk'ar reigned by the support of Greeks and Persians.<sup>40</sup> He received a letter<sup>41</sup> from Solomē

<sup>39</sup> For the reign of Bak'ar (363–4) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 25–6. The unnamed shah of Persia was presumably son of the unnamed third brother of Mirian (see above, Q95), hence the nephew of Bak'ar's father.

<sup>40</sup> After 'Bahk'ar reigned' ABCD add 'and'. Abulaje thus takes the following phrase with the next sentence, as Geo. But since Arm. reverses the sense in that sentence, having Solomē and her son write the letter, not Bahk'ar, the punctuation in V seems preferable. Arm. is wrong in giving Solomē just one son; see Toumanoff, loc. cit.

<sup>41</sup> He received a letter: *gir ǵar*, as AC; BD read *grē ar*, 'he wrote to', but then the following ablatives make no sense.

*Geo.* *Twenty-fifth, King Bak'ar, son of Mirian, a descendant of Xosro*

His son Bak'ar was installed as king. He was a believer, like his father, and converted most of the Caucasians whom his father had not been able to convert.<sup>14</sup> There occurred enmity between him and the Armenians, because the Armenians wanted as king of K'art'li Bak'ar's nephew, the son of Rev, the child of the daughter of T'rdat, king of the Armenians. This Bak'ar came to terms with the king of the Persians, his father's nephew, and made an alliance. He exchanged with his brother-in-law P'eroz<sup>15</sup> the territory which he held, Ran as far as Bardav, which had been given him by Mirian; in return he gave him the lands from Samšwilde up as far as [131] the entrance to Aboc'i. At that same time P'eroz and his people were baptized. Joined by a force of Xosro's men, they attacked the Armenians in Ĵavaxet'i. They defeated the Armenians and put them to flight. Then King Bak'ar, through the mediation of the king of the Greeks and the king of the Persians, wrote a letter to his nephews and to their mother Salome in these terms: 'As long as there will be a descendant of Bak'ar who will be strong enough

<sup>14</sup> See below, V70, for the corresponding section in Arm.

<sup>15</sup> P'eroz was the husband of Bak'ar's unnamed sister. So the text of v (=Vaxušt's *History*) is preferable to the 'son-in-law' of the MSS.



and her son to the effect that as long as the race of Bahk'ar was not extinguished, they would not seek the kingdom. So he gave them Kuxet', and made (them) princes of Riša. Arm.

He himself was firm in the faith, and converted many of the Caucasians to Christ.<sup>42</sup> He built a church in Cilkan, and increased the number of priests and deacons. He died peacefully and was buried with his brother.<sup>43</sup>

His son Mihrdat succeeded as king.<sup>44</sup> Following Bishop John, Jacob became bishop.<sup>45</sup> After him Nersēs the Catholicos of the Armenians ordained his deacon Iob as bishop of Georgia and sent him (there).<sup>46</sup> Now King Mihrdat was a man who believed in God,

<sup>42</sup> For the equivalent section in Geo. see above, Q130.

<sup>43</sup> For Rev's burial at Akldama see above, Q129. In Geo. Bd read 'father' for 'brother'.

<sup>44</sup> For Mihrdat's reign (365-80) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 27.

<sup>45</sup> As requested by Nunē, above, V67.

<sup>46</sup> Arm. has twisted Geo. to put the initiative into Armenian hands. Iob: as AC and Geo., *Yakob* in BD and V. No Iob or Jacob, deacon of a Nersēs, is mentioned in early Armenian sources as a bishop of Georgia. Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, in his list of Georgian Catholicoi, p.247, begins with John, then Jacob, Yob, Elia.

to occupy the throne, the kingdom will be his. Never should the descendants of Rev seek the kingdom.' At the same time he summoned his nephews and gave them Kuxet'i. He settled them at Rust'avi as *erist'avis*. Geo.

Bak'ar spent all the days of his life in great faith, and multiplied the priests and deacons in order to serve the churches in all K'art'li and Ran. He built the church of Cilkan. He died and was buried with his brother.

*Twenty-sixth, King Mirdat, son of Bak'ar, a descendant of Xosro*

His son Mirdat succeeded as king, and reigned in great faith. He built the church in the castle of Tuxarisi, because there was no church in the valley of Klarjet'i. And there he established priests in order to instruct the Klarj'ni. He increased the adorning and building of churches in Erušet'i and Cunda. Then during the reign of this Mirdat the Georgians began to remove fragments from the living pillar and to make them into crosses. For great miracles and healings took place wherever a fragment of the living column might be. King Mirdat did not hinder the removal of fragments,

*Arm.* and a builder and adorer of churches. In his days they began to take away fragments of the pillar that we mentioned above,<sup>47</sup> and the king did not prevent it.

Mihrdat died, and his son Varza-Bak'ar succeeded to the throne.<sup>48</sup> He took two wives: the daughter of Rēv<sup>49</sup> and the granddaughter of P'eroz. The latter bore him P'arsman, while the daughter of Rēv gave birth to Mihrdat and Trdat.<sup>50</sup> [71] Varza-Bak'ar

<sup>47</sup> See Q115.

<sup>48</sup> For the reign of Varaz-Bak'ar (380–94) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 27.

<sup>49</sup> *Arm.* has missed a generation, omitting here the son of Rēv and Solome, Trdat, who was the father of this wife of Varaz-Bak'ar. For Trdat's reign, as an 'old man', see below, Q137.

<sup>50</sup> Only later, Q137, is it indicated that P'arsman was the eldest.

*Geo.* because the true bishop Jacob indicated that it was right to do so, saying: 'It has been granted by the Lord, and it is appropriate to make (the fragments) of this pillar set up by God into the form of the cross.' So pieces of the living pillar spread into all regions of K'art'li. [132] Then King Mirdat made a number of crosses from that same pillar. As for what remained of the living pillar, he surrounded it with masonry<sup>16</sup> and raised up the masonry to the same (height) as the original column. On top of the column he erected the cross, the life-giving wood. He spent all the days of his life without disturbance in great faith. In his time Bishop Jacob died, and was succeeded by Iob the Armenian, deacon of the Catholicos Nerses.<sup>17</sup> Then King Mirdat died.

*Twenty-seventh, King Varaz-Bak'ar, son of Mirdat, a descendant of Xosro*

Varaz-Bak'ar, his son, succeeded as king. He married two wives: one was the daughter of Trdat, son of Rev, grandson of Mirian; the other was the granddaughter of P'eroz, the offspring of Mirian's daughter.<sup>18</sup> [135] The granddaughter of Rev bore him two sons, whose names were Mirdat and Trdat. The granddaughter of

<sup>16</sup> Masonry: *kvitÆkiri*, as above, Q13, 28.

<sup>17</sup> See below, Q137, for confusion in the MSS between Iob and Jacob.

<sup>18</sup> Here follow 'interpolations' from the Life of Peter the Iberian. For the translation see below, Appendix, nos. 5–6.

himself was weak in the faith<sup>51</sup> and ignoble; he accomplished no deed worthy of record.<sup>52</sup> Arm.

In those days there came a Persian general<sup>53</sup> with a great army to the regions of Armenia and Georgia, in the days of Xosrov king of Armenia, a son of the valiant Trdat.<sup>54</sup> He demanded tribute from the Armenians and Georgians. Xosrov ordered the king of Georgia to bring the inhabitants of the Caucasus, the Leks and Ossetes, to fight against the Persians. That effeminate<sup>55</sup> Varza-Bak'ar, filled with terror, hid in the valley of Kuxet'.

<sup>51</sup> Weak in the faith: *t'eri i hawatoc'n*, rendering *urcmano*. Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 27 n. 103, notes that the Georgian term implied 'a pro-Iranian political orientation'; cf. the use of *anawrën* in Elishë and Łazar.

<sup>52</sup> No deed worthy of record: *oc' inč' gorc arzani yišataki*, an addition which is a verbal reminiscence of M.X. ii. 64, describing the last Tigran.

<sup>53</sup> General: *zawraglux* for *erist'avi*; see above, V16 n. 71.

<sup>54</sup> Xosrov, son of Trdat, reigned 330-8 (?); see Garsoïan, *EH* 429-30. But these events belong later in the century, and may refer to the partition of Armenia in 387; see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 27. This addition to Arm. may refer to the Xosrov who was the first king of Persian Armenia after that division.

<sup>55</sup> Effeminate: *knamardi*; cf. M.X. iii. 65, where it is used to insult the Sasanians.

P'eroz bore him one (son), who was called P'arsman. This King Geo. Varaz-Bak'ar was an impious man and a hater of religion. But because of the people he did not dare reveal his hatred of religion, for K'art'li had been converted, and the nobles and all the people of K'art'li were imbued with great faith. [136] From fear of them Varaz-Bak'ar could not reveal that he had abandoned religion. Nowhere did he build a church, nor did he increase their constructions, and in every way he behaved impiously.

In his time the king of the Persians sent an *erist'avi* with a large army against the Armenians and Georgians in order to impose tribute. Then the Armenians dispatched an envoy to Varaz-Bak'ar, suggesting that they join forces, add troops from the Greeks, open the passes of the Caucasians, bring down Ossetes and Leks, and oppose the Persians. His nobles also urged opposition to the Persians. But he heeded neither the Armenians nor his own nobles, because he was timid and fearful. He withdrew to the valley of Kaxet'i, and built the fortress of Hidari. He strengthened the fortified cities, and commanded everyone to hide the crosses.

*Arm.* The Persians came and built a fortress at the passage<sup>56</sup> to Tp'xis, opposite Mc'xet'a. When the Georgians requested peace, he demanded Ran and Movkan. 'For', he said, 'they are Persian; sufficient for you is K'art'l, where you were born, sons of a handmaid.<sup>57</sup> Pay tribute to the descendants of Xosrov.' Which indeed they did. Abandoning Ran and Movkan to the Persians, they submitted to tribute. Then the Persian army returned. At the same time the Greeks raided and seized for themselves T'uxark' and Klarjk', from the sea as far as Asrion. There remained to Varza-Bak'ar only K'art'l and Heret' and Egris. A few days later he died, leaving small children.

<sup>56</sup> Passage to: *durn*, lit. 'gate, pass'. There are numerous variants in Geo. (Q163, ll. 12-13). The sense seems to be that opposite Mc'xet'a another fortress was built to protect the passage down the main road to Tp'ilisi. For the forts that defended Mc'xet'a see above, Q19, Q55.

<sup>57</sup> See above, V42, for Mirian's mother not being of royal Persian blood.

*Geo.* The Persians came first to Armenia. They ravaged Armenia and then entered K'art'li. The Persian *erist'avi* built (a fortress) between the passes of Tp'ilisi opposite the fortress of Mc'xet'a. Then Varaz-Bak'ar decided to submit and asked for peace. But the Persian *erist'avi* said: 'First give me Ran and Movakan, for they are Persian territory and belong to those who are the real descendants of the Persian kings and sit on the throne of their fathers. For you K'art'li is sufficient. You are the offspring of a handmaid; so you will have K'art'li and pay tribute to the kings descended from Xosro.' King Varaz-Bak'ar was unable to respond. Out of his great fear he gave up Ran and Movakan and submitted to tribute. The Persian *erist'avi* handed over the fortress of Tp'ilisi and departed. From then on the Armenians and Georgians were tributary to the Persians. After this the Klarjni rebelled against Varaz-Bak'ar and joined the Greeks. [137] The Greeks seized T'uxarisi and all Klarjet'i, from the sea as far as Arsiant'a. There remained to Varaz-Bak'ar K'art'li, except for Klarjet'i and Heret'i and Egrisi. The same Persian *erist'avi* led off as captives the sons of P'eroz, the offspring of the daughter of Mirian the pious king. Their land, bordering K'art'li, he gave to Varaz-Bak'ar. Varaz-Bak'ar died, leaving three young sons who were unable to take control of the kingdom.

[72] The princes installed as king Trdat, son of the daughter of Trdat the Great, king of the land of Armenia.<sup>58</sup> (He was) a good man, strong in the faith and wise, who stopped the Persian assaults,<sup>59</sup> built churches, and increased all blessings both spiritual and corporeal. He liberated Riša and built churches there. After the death of Bishop Jacob,<sup>60</sup> he appointed Elia in his place. He built Nekrisi, and died in good repute. Arm.

Then P'arsman reigned.<sup>61</sup> Gaining support from the emperor, he resisted the Persians. Shortly thereafter he died.

<sup>58</sup> For the reign of Trdat (394-406) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 27. Princes: *išxank'*, rendering *carc'inebulni*. Arm. emphasizes the maternal, Armenian, line of Trdat. Geo. calls him 'elderly', *moxuc'ebuli*; Toumanoff, loc. cit., reckons he was not over 58 years old.

<sup>59</sup> Arm. omits the reference to paying tribute.

<sup>60</sup> Both texts pass over Iob, for whom see above, Q132.

<sup>61</sup> For the reign of P'arsman (406-9) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 27.

*Twenty-eighth, King T'rdat, father-in-law of Varaz-Bak'ar, a descendant of Xosro* Geo.

Then the nobles of K'art'li took counsel and installed as king the father-in-law of Varaz-Bak'ar, the son of Rev, grandson of Mirian, an elderly man by the name of T'rdat. To him were entrusted for instruction the sons of Varaz-Bak'ar who were the offspring of his daughter. However, the other son, who was named P'arsman, (child) of the second wife, was brought up by the *erist'avi* of Samšwilde. This elderly T'rdat reigned well. He was a pious man, wise and intelligent. Through his wisdom he pacified the Persians, brought out the crosses, and adorned the churches. In his time Bishop Jacob died, and Elia succeeded to his place. He paid tribute to the king of the Persians. He recovered Rust'avi, and built a church (there); he also built the church of Nekrisi. He reigned without turmoil, and died in deep faith.

*Twenty-ninth, King P'arsman, son of Varaz-Bak'ar, a descendant of Xosro*

There succeeded as king the son of Varaz-Bak'ar, the great-grandson of P'eroz, called P'arsman. For he was the eldest of the brothers. Bishop Elia died, and Suimon succeeded him. This P'arsman was a pious man, a resolute warrior.<sup>19</sup> [138] He came to terms with

<sup>19</sup> Warrior: *mhedari*, lit. 'cavalryman'.

*Arm.* Mihrdat, grandson of Rēv, reigned,<sup>62</sup> an arrogant and feeble-minded man who did not pay tribute to the Persians. The Persian king sent the general<sup>63</sup> Up'rib against him. Mihrdat went to Gardaban to oppose him, but was captured by him and his army was defeated. The Persians entered K'art'li, razed the churches, and set up fire-temples<sup>64</sup> in every place.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> For the reign of Mihrdat (409–11) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 27.

<sup>63</sup> General: *zawraglux*, as above, n. 53.

<sup>64</sup> Fire-temples: *krakatur*; cf. above, V41. *Arm.* often renders the more general 'fires, fire-worship' of *Geo.* by a more explicit reference to 'fire-temples'. See also below, V72, V75.

<sup>65</sup> *Arm.* does not indicate that Leonti Mroveli's chronicle ends here and that by Juanšer begins. The chapter-divisions of V, and Abulaje's more elaborate titles, have no manuscript authority.

*Geo.* the king of the Greeks and asked him for help. The emperor fulfilled his request. Then he rebelled and gave no more tribute to the Persians. He multiplied crosses, renewed churches in K'art'li, and built the church of Bolnisi.<sup>20</sup> He reigned for a short time and died.

*Thirtieth, King Mirdat, brother of King P'arsman, a descendant of Xosro*

There succeeded as king his brother Mirdat, offspring of the daughter of T'rdat, son of Varaz-Bak'ar—descended from Bak'ar on his father's side, and on his mother's side from Rev, and on both sides a descendant of the sons of Mirian. This Mirdat was a good<sup>21</sup> man, an intrepid warrior, without belief in or fear of God, insolent and arrogant, confident in his prowess. He did not serve God, nor did he build churches, nor did he increase those built. Through his insolence he became an enemy of the Greeks and of the Persians: from the Greeks he sought Klarjet'i, as Georgian territory, while to the Persians he paid no tribute. Then the Persian king sent an *erist'avi* called Up'rob with a powerful army to attack Mirdat. The latter in his arrogance did not keep his distance from the Persian host, but encountered them with a small army in Gardaban and gave battle. He fled and was captured by the Persians. They entered K'art'li, took control of K'art'li, and

<sup>20</sup> The church at Bolnisi is particularly famous for having the oldest surviving dated inscription in Georgian (493/4); see Abulaje, *Nimušebi*, 7.

<sup>21</sup> Good: *k'ueli*, as of P'arsman above, Q50. The following lines indicate that this was interpreted more as a military than a moral virtue.

## JUANŠER, HISTORY OF VAXT'ANG GORGASAL

Arm.

Three years later, the Persians being occupied in warfare against their enemies from eastern regions, the Georgians raised their heads and made Mihrdat's son Arč'il<sup>1</sup> king over themselves.

He removed the fire-temples from the land, trusting in the holy cross. He expelled the Persians and waged war against Persia with the assistance of the Greeks. Therefore the Persian governor<sup>2</sup> who was in charge of Ran [73] and Movkan and Atrpatakan attacked

<sup>1</sup> Arm. makes Arč'il son of Mihrdat. In Geo. only ACM have the reference to '(son of) Trdat, nephew (of Mihrdat)'; all other MSS agree with Arm. If ACM are correct, this Trdat, presumably brother of Mihrdat, soon faded from memory. For the reign of Arc'il (411-35) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 27. Here ABCD read *Varc'il*, but elsewhere correctly *Arč'il*. For the name see Justi 35, no. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Governor: *kotmnakal*. For the various renderings of *erist'avi* see above, V16 n. 71.

destroyed the churches. However, the descendants of the kings remained in the valley of Kaxet'i, in the company of Bishop Suimon. They led Mirdat to Baghdad,<sup>22</sup> and there he died. Geo.

## [I39] JUANŠER: LIFE OF VAXT'ANG GORGASALI

of his parents and then of the great and God-loving king himself, who was the most famous and renowned of all the kings of K'art'li

When the Persians had captured Mirdat, king of the Georgians, in the battle, they led him off to Baghdad and there he died. The Persians took control of K'art'li and destroyed the churches, while the Georgians hid their crosses. In all the churches of K'art'li the Persians lit fires for the fire-worshippers. However, the descendants of the Georgian kings remained in the valley of Kaxet'i. Three years later the king of the Persians was preoccupied, because enemies attacked him from the east. Then the Georgian nobles conspired together, brought the son of T'rdat named Arč'il, the nephew of Mirdat, the king who had been taken prisoner, and installed him as king in Mc'xet'a.

<sup>22</sup> For 'Baghdad' as the Sasanian capital see above, V41 n. 74.

*Arm.* him with a large force. Then Arč'il went to oppose him with a strong army at Berdahoj; he defeated and expelled them by the power of the holy cross. Entering Ran, he ravaged it<sup>3</sup> and returned with great joy.

He sent messengers throughout the country saying: 'Not by our own power or wisdom, but by the name of the holy Trinity and by the power of the cross of Christ our God have we defeated the Persians. So be strengthened in the faith and glorify the great God.'

<sup>3</sup> Ravaged it: *gereac' znosa*. The verb *gerel*, like *motquenvay* in Georgian, can mean 'to capture (prisoners)' or 'to ravage'. It is unclear whether *Arm.* means he took captives from Ran, or whether the plural object is a misunderstanding of the *n* in *motquena* as the plural object-marker.

*Geo.* [140] *Thirty-first, King Arč'il, son of King Mirdat, a descendant of Xosro*

This Arč'il married a wife from Greek territory, a descendant of King Jovian by the name of Mariam,<sup>1</sup> and declared enmity towards the Persians. He brought out the crosses and adorned churches. He eliminated or expelled all the fire-worshippers from the borders of K'art'li. He joined forces with an army from Greece, and under the guidance of the cross began to wage war on the Persians. Then the *erist'avi* of the Persian king, who governed Ran and Movakan up to the reign of Arč'il and under whose administration K'art'li also fell, gathered an army from Ran, Movakan, and Adarbadagan, and attacked Arč'il. The latter, with hope and confidence in God, met him on the borders of K'art'li and Ran. There he defeated him on the river Berduji; through the power of the honourable cross he annihilated them and took prisoners. He entered Ran, ravaged it, and went back victorious.

He sent messengers through all K'art'li and said to everyone: 'Not through our own strength or courage or wisdom, nor by the multitude of (our) troops did we defeat the enemy, but through the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who gave us his honourable cross to guide and protect us. Now do all you Georgians praise the consubstantial Trinity, the God without beginning, the Creator of all. Offer thanksgiving, and let your hearts be strengthened in faith in the holy Trinity.' All the

<sup>1</sup> Miriam, descendant of Jovian, is not attested elsewhere.



On hearing this, they all blessed the holy Trinity in his glory, and restored the churches. Arm.

Now because the Persian king was waging war against the Indians and Sinds and Habašes,<sup>4</sup> he was incapable (of dealing) with the Georgians. Arč'il's son Mihrdat, a spirited and skilful man, was ravaging Persian territory but was unable to capture castles or cities.

<sup>4</sup> Habašes: *Habasik'*, the Georgian *Abasni*. These are not the Abyssinians south of Egypt, but inhabitants of a region between Persia and India, as below, V89. At Q184 they are linked with the Elamites. (For Abyssinia as on the coast of the Red Sea see V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Alām*, 2nd edn. (London, 1970), 473-4.) Sinds: *Sidac'i* in ABC.

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Georgians offered thanksgiving to God, and restored the churches. Geo. Then King Arč'il built the church of Saint Stephen at Mc'xet'a, at the defile<sup>2</sup> of the Aragvi, where were situated the strong military bastions<sup>3</sup> which he had also constructed.

Arč'il had a son whom he named Mirdat. This Mirdat grew up and reached the age of manhood. Mirdat was a believer and a worshipper of God, like [I41] his father. He was a good man and a warrior. He began even more to wage war on the Persians, to attack and ravage Ran and Movakan. For at that time the king of the Persians was preoccupied with a war against the Indians and Sinds and Abašes, and could not dispatch a large army. So the Georgians overcame the troops of Ran, Movakan, and Adarbadagan. Mirdat led his father's soldiers, and continuously ravaged Ran and Movakan. At that time Barzabod was in Ran as *erist'avi*. He never offered any resistance but fortified the castles and cities. When the Georgians entered Ran, wherever the Persians attacked detachments of the ravaging Georgian troops, they were continually defeated.

Now Barzabod had a daughter, elegant and beautiful, who was called Sagduxt. They described her beauty to Mirdat, son of Arč'il; on hearing of her beauty, Mirdat became desirous of her. He reminded his father: 'I beg your majesty, grant me as wife Sagduxt, daughter of Barzabod, and let us make peace between us. Although through the power of Christ we are victorious, yet we are

<sup>2</sup> Defile: *kart'a*, lit. 'gates'. Cf. the use of *durn* in Arm., above, V71 n. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Bastions: *koškni*, as ACMm, but *kuboni* in all other MSS. *Kubo* is 'canopy', above, Q123. *Košk* is Persian and can mean 'palace' or 'citadel'.

*Arm.* Then the general of Aran, Barzabawt',<sup>5</sup> gave his daughter in marriage to Mirdat, and they made peace between themselves. Arc'il gave Šamšoytē to his son with all its territory.<sup>6</sup> Mirdat's wife believed in Christ and was baptized. She built the holy Sion<sup>7</sup> in Šamšoytē. Her name was Sakduxt.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Barzabawt': for the name see Justi 65. General: as V72 n. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Territory: *t'em*, rendering *saerist'o*, the territory held by an *erist'avi*. *T'em* is the Greek *θέμα*, more often used in Armenian of ecclesiastical than of secular jurisdiction; see *NBHL* s.v.

<sup>7</sup> Sion: *Siovn*, a standard term in Georgian for the main church of a town, but not used in that sense in Armenian. Cf. below, V91 n. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Sakduxt: for the name see Justi 271.

*Geo.* unable to capture the castles and cities of Ran. Lest the king of the Persians find an opportunity and seek revenge on us, and they ravage our churches and borders, let us now set aside the enmity between us. For whatever he may report<sup>4</sup> about us to the king of the Persians, the latter will heed. In that way we shall keep the borders of K'art'li firm and secure, the religion of Christ will be strengthened in K'art'li, and the Georgians will feel no doubt or hesitation with regard to Persian insolence against the religion of Christ.' Mirdat said all this because of his love for the maiden. [142] Then King Arc'il carried out his wishes. He sent an envoy to Barzabod and requested his daughter as wife for his son. Barzabod rejoiced with great joy because his country had been devastated and was in distress. He asked for an oath and a covenant for peace, and they gave the oath. So he gave over his daughter with a large dowry. They brought her to Mc'tex'a, and celebrated the marriage (with) jollity and festivities for many days. The king gave Samšwilde with its principality to his son; and there Mirdat and Sagduxt resided. This Queen Sagduxt was instructed in the religion of Christ. For her husband summoned men expert in religion and they explained the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. They convinced her that Christ is the true God, who was made man for our salvation. Then Sagduxt understood and recognized the true religion; she abandoned fire-worship, was baptized, and became a believer. She built the Sion at Samšwilde.

<sup>4</sup> Report: In A the verb is first person, thus referring to Mirdat; in all other MSS it is third person, referring to Barzabod.

Yunan<sup>9</sup> held the episcopate after Elia, and following him Gregory, and after him Basil, and following him Mušid,<sup>10</sup> who was a Persian by race. He was not a sincere fearer of the Lord, but in secret practised magism. He did not preach or urge the people to piety, but wrote books of the teaching of the sect of magism. Arc'il and his son were unable to discover this. When he learnt of it later on, Bishop Michael burnt (them).<sup>11</sup> Arc'il died piously in Christ. Arm.

Mirdat his son reigned with virtue like his father's. He had a daughter named Xoranjē, [74] and they begged the Lord for male offspring.<sup>12</sup> After four years they had a son, who was called Varan-

<sup>9</sup> Yunan: AM of Geo. read *Iona*, but the other MSS have *Ioane*. Elia was mentioned above by both texts, but Arm. omits his successor Suimon.

<sup>10</sup> Mušid: for the confusion between *b* and *s* in Georgian *xuc'uri* script see above, V16 n. 69. 'Mobidan' is a title, *mōbedān* (*mōbēd*) (chief magus), rather than a personal name; cf. also below, Q184.

<sup>11</sup> Burnt: *ayreac'*, an emendation by Abulaje for *greac'* 'wrote' in ABCD. See further below, V90, for Mik'ael's confrontation with King Vaxt'ang.

<sup>12</sup> For the reign of Mirdat (435-47) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 28. For the name Xuaranje see Justi 181-2, no. 1.

In the time of Arc'il passed away the three bishops: Iona, Gregory, and Basil. After Basil Arc'il appointed a bishop named Mobidan. He was a Persian by race, and professed the orthodox faith. But (in fact) he was an impious magus and subverter of church order. However, King Arc'il and his son were unaware of Mobidan's impiety and thought he was a believer. He did not reveal the preaching of his religion out of fear of the king and the people; but secretly he wrote books of total deceit. After his time all his writings were burned by the true bishop Michael, who was deposed because of his presumption against King Vaxt'ang. King Arc'il spent all the days of his life in faith in the holy Trinity and in the construction of churches. In all K'art'li he multiplied priests and deacons and ministers for the churches. Then he died. Geo.

[143] *Thirty-second, King Mirdat, son of King Arc'il, a descendant of Xosro*

His son Mirdat succeeded him as king; he reigned like his father in great piety. Queen Sagduxt conceived and bore a daughter, who was called Xuaranje. Then King Mirdat and Queen Sagduxt begged God to give them a son. Four years later Sagduxt conceived and bore a son, who was called in Persian Varan-Xuasro-

*Arm.* Xosrov-T'ang in the Persian tongue, and Vaxt'ang in Georgian.<sup>13</sup> They made great rejoicing, distributed alms to the poor, and gave thanks to God. When the child grew up the *spayapet*<sup>14</sup> Sayurmak educated him. When Mihrdat died, Vaxt'ang was 7 years old.<sup>15</sup>

His mother Sakduxt was fearful of her father that he would take

<sup>13</sup> For the name Vaxt'ang see Justi, 343 no.1.

<sup>14</sup> *Spayapet*: For this hybrid form based on Georgian cf. above, V40 n. 61. The usual Armenian is *sparapet*, for which see Garsoian, *EH* 560-1.

<sup>15</sup> For the reign of Vaxt'ang (447-522) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 28-9, and in greater detail id., *Studies*, 362-72.

*Geo.* T'ang, but in Georgian he was called Vaxt'ang. His parents were filled with joy at the birth of this child Vaxt'ang. They sent messengers to all the *erist'avis*; they took out valuable treasure, gold and silver, and divided it amongst the poor. And they offered thanks to God with prayers and vigils over many days. After this the king summoned all his nobles to the city. For many days he organized banqueting and celebration, and they all prayed to God for the upbringing of the child Vaxt'ang. The *spaspet* Saurmag requested the king with great insistence that he be tutor for Vaxt'ang. The king granted his request and gave his son Vaxt'ang to Saurmag the *spaspet* as tutor. For it was the tradition that the sons of the kings were raised in the houses of the nobles.<sup>5</sup> In the sixth year after this Sagduxt bore another daughter, who was called Miranduxt.<sup>6</sup> The *spasalar* of Kasp asked to be her tutor, and the king gave her to him. She was taken to the city of Kasp and raised there. The next year after this king Mirdat died, leaving Vaxt'ang a child 7 years of age.

[144] *Thirty-third, King Vaxt'ang, son of Mirdat, a descendant of Xosro*

Then Queen Sagduxt was worried about her father Barzabod: 'Lest my father take vengeance for the conduct of my father-in-law and my husband who inflicted so many evils on him, and lest he take

<sup>5</sup> This is a reference to the extensive custom of having a young man (*san* in Armenian) brought up by a tutor (*mamamjuje*, *dayeak* in Armenian) in another family; see above, V35 n. 20, cf. Q62.

<sup>6</sup> Miranduxt: For the name see Justi 216. *Arm.* does not mention Mihranduxt until V75 below.

vengeance 'for my abandoning magism',<sup>16</sup> and for the ravaging of Persia by her husband Mihrdat. Entrusting the child (to Sayurmak), she went to her father in order to appeal to him to forgive her for past events. Arm.

Barzabawt' said to her: 'I absolve you from responsibility for everything. Return to your house. I shall impose the Persian religion on Georgia, yet permit each person freely to make his own choice: either ours or the Georgians.'

<sup>16</sup> Arm. is generally more explicit than Geo. about the nature of Persian religion; here *mogut'wn* for *sjuli*.

revenge on me for abandoning my religion, and he put my son to death, ravage K'art'li, and eliminate the Christian religion.' All this she thought about and fell into great distress. She prayed to God and decided to go before her father and throw herself (on his mercy). She summoned all the *erist'avis* with the *spaspēt*, and with bitter tears entrusted her son to the *spaspēt* and all the *erist'avis*. Then she set out for Bardav to her father. She bared her head, threw herself on her knees, bared her breasts, fell on her face, and placed her face on his feet. With her tears she wet her father's feet. She begged him for mercy and that he would forget the conduct of her father-in-law and her husband, and forgive her abandoning her religion. She implored that he would not force her to abandon the religion of Christ, because he is the true God. And she asked that her son keep his patrimony, and that he be his protector with regard to the Persian king. Then Barzabod, although prepared to do harm to the Georgians, took pity on his daughter. He did not force her to give up her religion, and he carried out all her requests. With regard to her religion he said as follows: 'I shall not make you force any Georgian to give up the Christian religion. But I shall send fire-worshippers to your city, and they will act there as overseers<sup>7</sup> of our religion over them. If any Georgian [145] of his own will chooses our religion, you will not prevent him.' Then Sagdux̄t obeyed her father out of her great fear, and she promised with confidence in God. Then she returned to K'art'li. Geo.

<sup>7</sup> Overseers: *episkoposni*, 'bishops', as of Bink'aran just below. The Greek term *ἐπίσκοπος* was used of secular officials as well as ecclesiastical ones; see LSJ and Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v. (Cf. also the Georgian use of *χωρεπίσκοπος*, Q254 n. 8 below.) But it is rare in a non-Christian religious sense. Arm. avoids the term; see above.

*Arm.* Straightway he sent a minister of fire to Mc'xet'a, and a chief-priest called Bink'aran.<sup>17</sup> They came and settled at Mogt'a. Sakduxt governed the kingdom according to her father's wishes until he died. Then his son Varza-Bakur, Sakduxt's brother, took the principality. The *spayapet* Sayurmak also died, and Jewansēr took his position.<sup>18</sup>

Now the chief-priest attempted to convert the Georgians to his religion, but no one heeded him save a few insignificant<sup>19</sup> men who

<sup>17</sup> For the name Bink'Ēaran see Justi 68. Minister of fire: *paštawneay kraki* (sing.) well renders *c'ec'xlis msaxurni* (pl.). But the Armenian term implies someone who is in charge of a cult rather than the body of worshippers. 'Fire-worship' just below is *c'ec'xlis-msaxureba*. Chief-priest: *k'rmāpet* for *episkoposi*. In Armenian *k'urm* (from the Syriac *kūmrā*) always refers to a pagan priest. For *k'rmāpet* cf. M.X. ii. 12. 55, John Catholicos 15 (p. 90). For *episkoposi* see Q144 n. 7.

<sup>18</sup> The name is not uncommon in Armenian; its spelling fluctuates between *Juansēr* and *Jewansēr*. See Ačatean, *HANJB* s.n. (9 examples), and Justi 123, no. 2 for this Juanser. Position: *patiw*, 'rank'.

<sup>19</sup> Few: Although Geo. here says 'many', just below it contradicts itself and reads 'few'. Insignificant: *annšan* for *curili*, 'small, tiny'.

*Geo.* Then Barzabod sent fire-worshippers to Mc'xet'a, and over them (he appointed) as overseer Bink'aran. They resided at Mogut'a. Queen Sagduxt governed the kingdom with the support and help of her father. Barzabod, Sagduxt's father, died and in his place the Persian king appointed his son Varaz-Bakur, brother of Queen Sagduxt. The *spaspet* Saurmag, Vaxt'ang's tutor, also died. Then the king appointed another *spaspet*, who was called Juanšer.

Now Bink'aran, overseer of the fire-worshippers, taught his religion to the Georgians; but none of the nobles heeded him, though many common people were converted to fire-worship. So fire-worship spread among the lower people in K'art'li, for which Queen Sagduxt was distressed. But she did not dare to do anything because of the tyranny of the Persians. Then a true priest was brought from Greek territory by the name of Michael. She appointed him bishop of the upper church,<sup>8</sup> because Bishop Mobidan had passed away. This Bishop Michael opposed the deceiver Bink'aran, because he taught the true religion to all the Georgians. He kept all the nobles of K'art'li and the majority of the people in the faith; but a few of the lower people were converted to fire-worship.

<sup>8</sup> Upper church: *aemo eklesia*. The same term is used above, Q129, for the church where King Mirian and his wife were buried.

lost their salvation.<sup>20</sup> In those days the bishop Mušid<sup>21</sup> died and Michael took his place. He was a Greek, who through his assiduous effort kept the nobles in the true faith. Arm.

[75] At that time the Ossetes came through the gates of Darband<sup>22</sup> and ravaged all K'art'li, from the source of the river Kur as far as Xunan. They entered Movkan and Ran, devastated them, and led away Vaxt'ang's sister Mihranduxt. The Greeks also

<sup>20</sup> Lost their salvation: an addition reminiscent of Luke 17: 33 and parallels.

<sup>21</sup> Here ABCD read *Muš*; the name was correctly given above, V73.

<sup>22</sup> Geo. does not give here the route by which the Ossetes entered K'art'li; the normal way was through the Darial pass. Arm. has taken Darband from the Ossetes' return route. The raid occurred when Vaxt'ang was nine, since he was six years older than Miranduxt (above, Q143), thus c.449.

When Vaxt'ang was ten years old, innumerable Ossete troops came down and ravaged K'art'li, from the source of the Mtkuari as far as Xunan. They devastated the plains, but left untouched the fortified cities, except for Kasp. The city of Kasp they destroyed and ravaged, and they led away Vaxt'ang's sister Miranduxt, a girl 3 years old. [146] They left unharmed the valleys of K'art'li, Kaxet'i, Klarjet'i, and Egrisi. They entered Ran and Movakan, ravaged them, and went through the pass of Daruband because its inhabitants gave them passage. Then they returned victorious to Ossetia. At that same time the Greeks came out from Ap'xazia—for the Greeks held all the region below the river Egri—and seized control from the river Egri as far as the castle of Goji. Then mourning and distress fell on all the Georgians, and they said: 'We have multiplied our sins against God, and we have not kept well the Christian religion or the tradition established by John.<sup>9</sup> Rightly has our God brought his anger upon us, since he has given us over as pillage to foreign peoples, and has taken our land from us by the Greeks, just as he took away Klarjet'i from King Varaz-Bak'ar.<sup>10</sup> Now that happened because of the sins of Varaz-Bak'ar, because he did not keep well the Christian religion. But this did not occur because of the sins of our kings but from the sins of the people. Our king is now a child, and we have no leader who can lead us with hope in Christ and the guidance of the Cross, so that we may first seek vengeance on the Ossetes and then recover the

Geo.

<sup>9</sup> John: Ioane, the first Catholicos; see above, Q116.

<sup>10</sup> For the loss of Klarjet'i see above, Q137.

*Arm.* advanced and seized (the land) from below the river Eger as far as the castle of K'uj. The entire house of the Georgians was plunged into dreadful woe and they said: 'Because of our sins evils have been multiplied upon us. For we did not keep the tradition of Christianity as did our fathers.'

Now the young Vaxt'ang was fervent in the Christian faith, and was deeply wounded that a fire-temple<sup>23</sup> had been established in K'art'li: 'Truly these afflictions have beset us.'

He was 15 years old.<sup>24</sup> Gathering around him all the magnates, he consoled them, saying: 'In his paternal desire God has warned us [76] for our salvation and improvement. So henceforth turn away from each one's wickedness, then the Lord will turn to us in

<sup>23</sup> Fire-temple: *tun kraki*; see above, V72 n. 64.

<sup>24</sup> Thus c.454-5. Vaxt'ang was 16 by the time the expedition against the Ossetes began, below V77, Q151.

*Geo.* territory of K'art'li from the Greeks.' All the Georgians said this, and were plunged into great distress.

Vaxt'ang grew up and was instructed by Bishop Michael in all the Lord's commandments. From the days of his childhood he loved the religion of Christ more than all the kings of K'art'li. He was saddened on account of the fact that fire-worship was spreading in K'art'li from the ravaging and occupation of the borders. He was ever more concerned in his mind about religion, though he did not dare to reveal it because of the tyranny of the Persians.

[147] When Vaxt'ang was 15 years old, he summoned all the nobles of K'art'li and assembled them at the city. The king prepared a house and sat on a high throne. The *spaspet* Juanšer and the two bishops also sat on thrones; all the other *erist'avis* sat on chairs, while the *at'asist'avis* and *asist'avis* and all the people stood up. Then the king, like an old and wise man, and like one raised among philosophers, began to counsel them in a loud voice, saying: 'On kings and peoples fall trial and tribulation from God because of their sins. When the faithful neglect the service of God and transgress his commandments, he brings on them such tribulations as now have fallen on us. As when a good father instructs his son well in good deeds; but if he does not carry out well the instruction of his father, his father punishes him with blows and precepts so that he may learn all the good and practise doing



pity. Although you have not seen in me any good, because I am a child, none the less remember the benefits of my fathers. Do not despair of the Lord because of my youth. For the Lord our God will help us for the sake of his name<sup>25</sup> and the prayers of our fathers.' Arm.

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<sup>25</sup> An addition based on a common biblical theme, e.g., I Kgds. 12: 22.

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good—in this same fashion God, the Creator of heaven and earth, has instructed us. Therefore we must bless his mercies.' Then they all gave thanks to God. Geo.

Once more King Vaxt'ang began to exhort them, saying to all the nobles: 'Hear my voice. Although I am a child and you do not anticipate any good from me, yet it is to my ancestors that you owe the great benefits and honours in which you have been established in your principalities. Now if God grants us life you will gain benefits and honours which you never saw from my ancestors. Now as for what I am telling you, although this trial has fallen equally on me and on you, [148] yet suppose that it has not fallen on you but only on me. Then the suggestion will not be in my heart that they will act for the sake of winning vengeance for the trials which fell on them, but I shall look on all these as for my service and I shall repay you well for it all. I shall not endure the insult of the Ossetes, but with hope and trust in God, the consubstantial Trinity without beginning, and with the guidance of the honourable Cross, which has been given us as guide and armour to those who hope in it with their hearts, I shall seek vengeance on the Ossetes. If this had been inflicted on us by the king of the Persians or by the king of the Greeks, perhaps we would endure it. But since this befell us as a result of Ossete insults, it is impossible to bear. It would be better for us to die.'

Then the *spaspet* Juanšer stood up and said: 'Live, O king, for ever in glory, inflicting your will on your enemies. You have declared the truth: through our sins this trial has befallen us, and rightly has God punished us, for we have multiplied our sinning before him. It is worthy for us to bless God, because we have become worthy of great punishment and not the modest one which has fallen upon us. The Most Compassionate has not brought on

*Arm.* He sent to his mother's brother Varzabak to request aid against the Ossetes. The latter despatched 12,000 armed men.<sup>26</sup> Vaxt'ang himself summoned all the Georgians and gathered 160,000 cavalry

<sup>26</sup> Armed men: *vareals*, not an exact rendering of *mhedari*.

*Geo.* us a punishment equal to our sins, but has disciplined us with this tiny punishment. So we, inhabitants of K'art'li, must therefore offer great thanks to God. For you—the best of all the kings of K'art'li and superior to your fathers, in all respects perfect, like unto the giant Nebrot—he has made you manifest as our leader, and you have been given (to us) by God to expel our tribulations, [149] both old and new. If our sins were not so strong, we should have expected from you the sweeping away of all our afflictions and the greatest expansion of our frontier of all time. For none of our fathers was comparable with you.

'Live, O king, for ever. Since this has been inflicted on us by the Ossetes for these five years, we have been plunged into great distress. Because you are a child and have not acquired the military skill or leadership in battle or the direction of internal administration, so now, O king, although you are perfect in wisdom and power, in courage and stature, yet you lack the fulness of days for warfare. I see your wisdom even though you are a child, and you are able to administer the kingdom. But the time has not come for you to engage in warfare or direct a battle. This is my advice: that in your wisdom and with the counsel of your mother you choose one of us to lead our army. Put us all under him, and we shall obey him like your father. And by the strength of the Trinity, the substantial deity, we shall go forth and seek vengeance. But you stay at home and govern the kingdom. If because of our sins we are defeated by the Ossetes, your kingdom will remain unharmed. But if again through our sins you were defeated in person, then our land would be completely destroyed because there is no substitute for you in the country.' Thus spoke the *spaspet* Juanšer; and all the nobles and *erist'avis* affirmed his counsel.

Then the king said: 'You have expressed everything, Juanšer, as befits your perfect wisdom and loyalty. But I am not in agreement with this advice of yours, [150] because since this trial befell us all the days of my life have been passed in distress as if in solid dark-

and infantry. For seven days he prayed with fasting and vigils, giving alms to the needy. He entrusted the kingdom to his mother and said: 'If I am killed in this war, let Mihran, Trdat's grandson,<sup>27</sup> take over the kingdom after marrying my sister Xoranjē.'

Arm.

<sup>27</sup> Vaxt'ang's father was Mihrdat (V), who was a descendant of Rev, the son-in-law of the Armenian king Trdat. However, the Trdat in Arm. was a son of Rev (see above, Q132), and his grandson was Mihrdat IV. So Arm. has confused two Mihrdats and jumped two generations. See the table in C. Toumanoff, *Manuel de Généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de la Caucasic chrétienne* (Rome, 1976), 385-6.

ness. Pity for my sister tears my heart like a fiery sword, and I should prefer death to life. So with trust in God and with the guidance of the honourable Cross I shall advance in person. I hope in his many mercies; he will not abandon me, but will give me victory.' Since they were unable to change his mind, all the nobles bore witness, saying: 'Live, O king, for ever. May your counsel be carried out. May God the Creator send his angel to strengthen you, and may he overthrow all your enemies and confirm your rule.'

Geo.

#### *The beginning of the war on Ossetia*<sup>11</sup>

They confirmed (the decision) to wage war on Ossetia, and all dispersed to their own homes to make preparations. King Vaxt'ang sent an envoy to his mother's brother Varaz-Bakur, the *erist'avi* of Ran. He informed him of the war on Ossetia and asked him for help. The latter happily promised (to help) because his land had been ravaged by the Ossetes. Vaxt'ang summoned all the troops of K'art'li. They all assembled and encamped at Muxnar and Xerk, on either side of the Aragvi: there were 100,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry. Varaz-Bakur dispatched his own troops: 12,000 cavalry. King Vaxt'ang left the city of Mc'xet'a, completed [151] his troops' preparations, and fitted them for the campaign. He was pleased by their multitude, their good mounts, and their fine array. He saw them all imbued with joy and excitement, because they had been filled with a spirit of revenge against the Ossetes. He was filled with joy and blessed God. He entered the city and spent a week in prayer, fasting, and vigils. He divided a valuable treasure among the poor, and left as regents of his kingdom his mother Sagduxt and his sister Xuaranje. Then he wrote a will in the following

<sup>11</sup> This title is found only in Bdp.

*Arm.* Then he went to T'ianet'. Fifty thousand inhabitants<sup>28</sup> of the Caucasus came to him. He set off, passed through the pass of Darial, entered the plain of Ossetia, and camped on this side<sup>29</sup> of the River Arag. The Ossetes joined forces with the nation of the Xazars, and came and camped on the other side of the river for seven days.

On either side the champions<sup>30</sup> tested each other. The seventh day one of the Xazars, T'arxan by name,<sup>31</sup> came forth and sum-

<sup>28</sup> Inhabitants: *bnakic'k'* for *mhedari*. It is not very likely that *Arm.* read *mkwidri*; no variant is attested in Q.

<sup>29</sup> This side: *yayskoys*, as ABCD. V reads *yaynkoys* here and in the next sentence. The Aragvi on the other side of the Darialan is better known as the Terek.

<sup>30</sup> Champions: *menamartik* for *bumberazi*; see above, V28 n. 77.

<sup>31</sup> T'arxan: Golden, *Khazars*, i. 210-13, notes '*Tarqan/Tarxan* is both a name and a title much in use among the Khazars. It is attested in a great variety of sources.'

*Geo.* terms: 'If I should not return alive, my sister Xuaranje should marry Mirian'—who was related to Vaxt'ang as nephew of his father, a descendant of Rev the son of the Mirian who was the son-in-law of T'rdat king of the Armenians. 'Let him marry my sister and control the kingdom.' This written document he gave to his mother, but he informed nobody else. Mirian, his father's nephew, he left at Mc'xet'a.

Vaxt'ang set out and stopped in T'ianet'i. There all the kings of the Caucasus joined him, 50,000 cavalry. He advanced in the name of God and crossed the pass of Darialan. On his entry into Ossetia Vaxt'ang was 16 years old. Then the kings of Ossetia assembled their troops and were joined by a force from Xazaret'i. They met him on the river which flows from the Darialan and descends into the valley of Ossetia. This river is also called Aragvi, because the source of them both flows from the same mountain: the Aragvi of K'art'li and the Aragvi of Ossetia. The two armies encamped on either side, for on both banks of the river there were steep rocks, islands, and flat land on the banks of the river. They watched each other, guarded the paths through the rocks, and stayed in this fashion for seven days.

There for seven days took place combats of champions along the river. Now the Ossetes had Xazar auxiliaries, among whom was a giant [152] by the name of T'arhan. This Xazar T'arhan came forth, shouted out in a loud voice, and said: 'I address you, all

moned whoever from Vaxt'ang's army might be strong enough. Arm. They chose a Persian who had demonstrated many acts of valour, and had killed many lions.<sup>32</sup> When they encountered each other, T'arxan struck him on the skull and sliced him in two: his name was P'arsman-P'axur.

King Vaxt'ang was much grieved. Entering his tent, with tears he invoked God that night.<sup>33</sup> As morning dawned, T'arxan came out again, insulting<sup>34</sup> and vilifying Vaxt'ang. No one could be

<sup>32</sup> And . . . lions: omitted in BD and V. For the killing of lions as a mark of courage cf. above, Q52, of Jumber.

<sup>33</sup> With . . . night: *kardac' artasuawk' zAstuac zgišern*. For *zAstuac AC*, followed by Abulaje, read *zamenayn*, 'he invoked all night'; but since *kardacÆ* in this sense would normally require an object, and the *z* before *gišern* would not normally be repeated after *zamenayn*, I have followed BD. The abbreviations *a* (all) and *ac* (God) are easily confused.

<sup>34</sup> Insulting: *naxatelov*, as AC; *naxatel* in BD and V.

Vaxt'ang's troops. Whoever among you is the strongest, let him come out to fight me.' King Vaxt'ang had Persian auxiliary troops, among whom was a man called P'arsman-P'arux. No one could stand up to him in battle, for he had caught with his hands many lions. He came forth to do battle with T'arhan. They both shouted out and rushed on each other. At the first encounter (T'arhan) brought down his sword on the helmet of P'arsman-P'arux, and split his head down to his shoulders. Geo.

Then Vaxt'ang and his troops were grieved, because there remained no one among them like P'arsman-P'arux. All the troops were terrified and filled with distress. The day turned to night. Vaxt'ang entered his tent and prayed. With tears he besought God, and until dawn he did not relax from praying. He requested help from God, and with trust in God desired himself single-combat with T'arhan. For he was as fearless as one incorporeal,<sup>12</sup> and he had hope in God and in his own strength. When day dawned, once more T'arhan came up to the edge of the river. Again he proffered insults and threats. No one among the troops of Vaxt'ang was found to do battle with him. Then Vaxt'ang said to his troops: 'I have no confidence in my own strength and in my own valour. But with trust in the God without beginning, in the consubstantial

<sup>12</sup> The same simile as used above, Q51.

*Arm.* found eager at heart to do combat with him. [77] So then Vaxt'ang fell on his face and wept before the Lord.<sup>35</sup> Rising up, he put on arms and sealed himself with Christ's cross.<sup>36</sup> He did not heed those who tried to prevent him as being young and inexperienced, but said: 'Assist me by your prayers; for battle is the Lord's,<sup>37</sup> and he is my hope and trust, and the skill of my hands.'

Rushing on T'arxan, he struck his midriff with his lance. It pierced all the way through his cuirass and body to the other side.

<sup>35</sup> An addition reminiscent of Ps. 94: 6, where the Armenian version agrees with the LXX against the Hebrew 'kneeling'.

<sup>36</sup> For making the sign of the Cross before battle cf. Łazar 130, 152. At V84 below *Arm.* elaborates on the brief allusion to the Cross in *Geo.*

<sup>37</sup> An addition from David's address to Goliath, 1 Kgds. 17: 47.

*Geo.* Trinity Creator of all, I go forth in single-combat against T'arhan.' Then the nobles were astonished; they restrained Vaxt'ang, and in many ways attempted to prevent him from fighting. For Vaxt'ang was a child, and they did not know his experience. [153] Vaxt'ang did not heed them but strengthened his resolve to fight. He descended from his horse, fell to the ground, worshipped God, raised his hands, and said: 'O Lord, creator of all, who makes the good prosper and raises up those who hope in you, be my helper. Send your angel to strengthen me; cast down this impious one; and put to shame those who blaspheme you. For I do not trust in my own strength but in your mercy.' Vaxt'ang turned around, mounted his horse, and said to his troops: 'Pray to God and fear not.' Vaxt'ang advanced, and his troops stood to his rear. Fearful and filled with distress, they prayed to God each according to his religion.<sup>13</sup>

*Here is the combat of Vaxt'ang and T'arhan, and the slaying of T'arhan by Vaxt'ang*<sup>14</sup>

Then Vaxt'ang descended the hill and stood on the bank of the river. In his hands he held a lance. T'arhan saw him and said: 'I am one who fights with giants and tried heroes, not with youths. Yet even to you shall I humble myself.' They shouted out and fell on each other. At the first encounter Vaxt'ang struck his lance at (T'arhan's) belt. His strong armour was unable to protect him; it

<sup>13</sup> i.e. the Christian Georgians and the fire-worshipping Persian auxiliaries.

<sup>14</sup> This title is found only in *ACMm.*

Falling from his horse, he expired. Vaxt'ang fell on his face at the spot and said: 'Blessed are you, my Lord, Christ God, who sent your angel and slew those who blasphemed you.'<sup>38</sup> Cutting off his head, he brought it to his army—in the sixteenth year of his age.<sup>39</sup> Arm.

<sup>38</sup> The prayer in Geo. is based on Hannah's prayer in 1 Kgs. 2: 78. BCD and V make 'angel' plural. The addition concerning blasphemers is reminiscent of Lev. 24: 16.

<sup>39</sup> Vaxt'ang's age was given earlier in Geo., Q151.

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came out through his back and he died. The Georgians, encouraged and filled with joy, shouted out with a fearsome cry and offered thanks to God. On that same spot Vaxt'ang dismounted from his horse and fell to the ground; he worshipped God and said: 'Blessed are you, O Lord, who sent your angel and overthrew my enemy. You elevate those who hope in you; you raise up [154] from the ground the poor man, and you lift out of the slime the one who has fallen into it.' He cut off T'arhan's head, remounted, and rode off to join his troops. Raising their voices, all the troops praised Vaxt'ang and blessed God. Geo.

*Here is the combat of Vaxt'ang and the Ossete Baqat'ar, and the slaying of Baqat'ar by Vaxt'ang<sup>15</sup>*

The next day another champion came forth from among the Ossetes; he was called Baqat'ar. He was a giant, and since the time he had begun to engage in combat no one had been able to resist him in battle, and he had killed all his adversaries. For the length of his bow was twelve palms, and his arrow was six palms. This Baqat'ar stood on the bank of the river and shouted in a loud voice, saying: 'O King Vaxt'ang, do not be proud of your killing T'arhan. He was not one of the giants and therefore he was slain by a youth. Now if you also come out to do battle with me, you will receive from me a violent clash of arms from which you will not escape. Otherwise, let one of your troops come forth; for him too I am ready.' Then Vaxt'ang replied to Baqat'ar, saying: 'Not through my own strength did I overcome T'arhan, but through the strength of my Creator. I am not afraid of you any more than of a dog. For the power of Christ is with me, and his honourable

<sup>15</sup> This title is found only in ACMm. For Ossete traditions about Baqatar and his eight brothers see Brosset, 158 n. 3. Another Ossete of the same name is mentioned below, Q261. Cf. the name Bagatur in Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 155-6.

*Arm.* The next day a gigantic man crossed over the river and asked for Vaxt'ang. By the power of Christ him too he made roll on the ground as a corpse.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> He made . . . corpse: *diat'awal yerkir 'nkenoyr*, a common Armenian expression, e.g. Elišē 117.

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*Geo.* cross is my armour.' Vaxt'ang disposed his troops and stationed them in readiness. He mounted his horse, which was covered with chain-armour; he took up his shield of tiger-skin, which a sword could not cut; then he descended the hill and stood close to the river. He shouted to Baqat'ar, saying: 'I shall not cross the river because I am a king. Nor shall I approach the army of Ossetia because by my death all my army will be destroyed. But you are a slave, and by your death the troops of Ossetia [155] will not be harmed, any more than by that of a dog. Cross the river to my side.' Then the Ossete Baqat'ar did what he asked, and said: 'I, your executioner, will cross the river. You stand back from the bank of the river three stades.'<sup>16</sup> Then Vaxt'ang stood back.

Baqat'ar crossed the river and began to shoot arrows. By the sharpness of his eyes, the keenness of his mind, and the agility of his horse Vaxt'ang avoided the arrows. For he saw from afar the arrow coming; he would jump away and nimbly run forward. On both sides the sound of trumpets and drums arose from the troops. Both armies, Georgian and Ossete, shouted out with a mighty cry, from which the mountains and hills shook. Baqat'ar was not able to shoot more than two arrows at Vaxt'ang's shield, and he did not hit it. Then he shot another arrow at Vaxt'ang's horse, which penetrated it. While his horse was still falling, Vaxt'ang rushed on Baqat'ar, brought his sword down on his shoulders and penetrated to his heart. At that moment Vaxt'ang's horse fell. He quickly put out his hand and grasped Baqat'ar's horse. First he fell to the ground, worshipped God, and blessed him even more than before. Then he mounted Baqat'ar's horse, rode up close to his own troops, and said in a loud voice: 'Be courageous and take strength, because God is on our side.'

The troops advanced in readiness: the cavalry in chain-armour

<sup>16</sup> Stade: *utevan*. This is equal to the Armenian term for a day's journey, *awt'ewan*. However, in the Georgian NT (Matt. 14: 24, etc.) it renders *σταδίων*, the Armenian *asparēz*.



Then the armies attacked. They defeated the Ossetes and Xazars,<sup>41</sup> and decimated them with the sword. They entered their land, its villages and towns, plundered and took captives. They entered Baĵanet' and Ĵik'et', which is below Ap'xazia, which they

Arm.

<sup>41</sup> Xazars: an addition from the context.

and helmets were in the vanguard; after them came the infantry; and they were followed by a host [156] of cavalry. In this fashion they attacked the Ossetes. The Ossetes stood on a cliff and shot arrows, like a heavy rain. King Vaxt'ang was posted to the rear of his army with select cavalry. He shouted out, encouraged and inspired his troops. Then the vanguard of armed cavalry mounted the path up the rocks. They reached the level ground, followed by the infantry and then by the mass of cavalry. A fierce struggle ensued between them. If Vaxt'ang fought on the right-hand side, on the left there was consternation. And if he fought on the left, there was terror on the right. Vaxt'ang made his voice known to such a mass of troops as if it were the voice of a lion. He was accompanied by two mounted warriors: Artavaz (his) foster-brother, son of the *spaspet* Saurmag, and the prince Bivritian. They too fought bravely. Then the Ossetes were defeated and their army fled. They were annihilated and taken captive. Most of the Ossete fugitives were taken alive, for the purpose of ransoming those Georgians who had previously been led off captive by the Ossetes. When they returned from the pursuit, they encamped at the same camp. For three days they rested and offered thanks to God. Then they dispersed in order to pillage Ossetia. They broke into their cities and took off captives and immeasurable booty.<sup>17</sup>

Geo.

They went on to P'ačaniket'i, because at that time P'ačaniket'i bordered Ossetia on the far side of the river of Ossetia. Ĵik'et'i was also in the same area. A long time later [157] the P'ačaniks and Ĵik's were expelled by the Turks. The P'ačaniks went off to the west, whereas the Ĵik's settled at the far end of Ap'xazet'i.<sup>18</sup> Vaxt'ang ravaged P'ačaniket'i and Ĵik'et'i, then returned to Ossetia. The kings of the Ossetes had fled to the strongholds of the

<sup>17</sup> Here Tkn add an 'interpolation' in which the Kipchaks are mentioned. For the translation see below, Appendix, no. 7.

<sup>18</sup> For the P'ačaniks and Ĵik's as allies of the Ossetes cf. above, Q45. Other references to the Turks before Q318 are to traditions familiar through the Iranian epic.

*Arm.* seized and ravaged. The kings of Ossetia fled to their castles, then sent messengers to Vaxt'ang (asking him) to make a treaty and to restore the Ossete captives in return for those of K'art'li. He heeded them, gave back 30,000 Ossetes, and received 350,000 of his own and also his sister Mihranduxt.<sup>42</sup> [78] These he despatched by the route of the Darial.

And he sent back to their own country the Persian and Caucasian<sup>43</sup> troops with much booty. For three years he himself with his army waged war on the provinces of Ap'xazia and captured all the fortresses; for King Leo<sup>44</sup> was preoccupied on the Persian side. Then he returned to Mc'xet'a in cheerfulness and joy.

<sup>42</sup> Mihranduxt: first mentioned in Geo. above, Q143.

<sup>43</sup> Caucasian: *Kovkasac'*, as ABCD, *Kovkasay* in V.

<sup>44</sup> Leo I, emperor 457-74.

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*Geo.* Caucasus. He sent up envoys among them, and they made peace. In exchange for his sister the Ossetes asked from Vaxt'ang 30,000 Ossete captives, all the nobles whom the Ossetes mentioned by name. So Vaxt'ang gave up 30,000 captives for his sister, and she was brought back. As for the Georgian prisoners who had been held by the Ossetes for the past six years, he liberated them all individually, one for one. He took hostages from the Ossetes, and for the hostages he gave another 30,000 captives. The number of the Georgian captives whom he brought back was 350,000. And apart from those released there remained a further 650,000 Ossetes, not including the P'ačaniks and Jik's. All this was accomplished in four months.

Then the king with great gifts dismissed the Persian auxiliaries and the kings of the Caucasians. He sent off his sister Miranduxt and all the captives by the road of the Darial. He himself with a large army of Georgians advanced along the road to Ap'xazet'i. Patiently but fearlessly he began to attack the fortresses of Ap'xazet'i. For the king of the Greeks, Leon the Great, was preoccupied by war with the Persians and was unable to send any troops to Ap'xazet'i. For three years he ravaged all the strongholds of Ap'xazet'i as far as C'ixe-Goji. Then he returned home, to the capital Mc'xet'a. There came to meet him his mother, his sisters, and the multitude of the city. Men and women [158] spread their sleeves and garments beneath his feet; at his head they threw drams

He celebrated a feast of thanksgiving to the glory of Christ our God, giving alms to the poor. He despatched presents to the king of Persia—20,000 horses and 10,000 slaves—through the chief priest,<sup>45</sup> and requested his daughter in marriage. To his mother's brother (he sent) 2,000 horses and 1,000 slaves. Arm.

When the Persian king saw his success, he gave him his daughter Balenduxt,<sup>46</sup> and put the mountain of the Caucasus under his orders.<sup>47</sup> He composed the introduction<sup>48</sup> of his letter in the following terms: 'From Ormizd Šahijan<sup>49</sup> to Vaxt'ang Varan-Xosrov-T'ang,

<sup>45</sup> Chief priest: *k'rmāpet* for *episkoposi*, as above, V74.

<sup>46</sup> Balenduxt: The origin of the name is unclear, see Justi 492. Vaxt'ang later married a Greek wife from the house of Zeno; see below, V91, Q198.

<sup>47</sup> Arm. omits reference to Armenian subordination to Vaxt'ang!

<sup>48</sup> Introduction: *naxergan*, as AC (pl. in BD and V), for *patruc'ag*. Abulaje, *Lek'sikoni*, notes only this one reference to the Georgian word.

<sup>49</sup> Šahijan: a corruption of *šahnšah*, translated here in Geo. as 'king of all kings', and usually rendered in Armenian as 'king of kings'.

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and *drakans*. With loud voices they sounded his praises, because no other king had waged such a valiant feat of arms. Then King Vaxt'ang offered thanks to God with much prayer and vigils and alms to the poor. He gave presents to his people and ennobled those cavalry who had served bravely and had been tested in the campaign against the Ossetes. Out of the booty he sent gifts to his mother's brother Varaz-Bakur: 1,000 slaves, 1,000 cavalry horses, 1,000 breeding horses. In addition he sent to the king of Persia 10,000 slaves, 10,000 cavalry horses, and 10,000 breeding horses. All this he presented to the Persian king through the overseer Bink'aran. And he requested from the king of Persia his daughter as wife. Geo.

Then the king of Persia gave him his daughter to wife; she was called Balenduxt. He gave over Armenia and all the Caucasian kings as dowry, and wrote therewith a letter, in which the introduction runs as follows: 'From Urmizd, king of all kings, to Vaxt'ang, Varan-Xuasro-T'ang, the (most) valiant king of the ten kings, greetings.' And he described the war with the emperor, because the emperor had embarked on a war with the Persians. Then Vaxt'ang reviewed all his troops and all the kings of the Caucasus. They gathered and took up positions on both sides of the Mtkuari, about 200,000. [159] Varaz-Bakur, his uncle, the

*Arm.* the (most) valiant of the ten kings, greetings. I have done what you requested. So be strong and valiant in opposing the Greeks, taking your uncle<sup>50</sup> with you.' Vaxt'ang reviewed his army, 200,000 strong.

Then he went through Armenia, for they too had received the same command. The Armenian nobles accompanied them:<sup>51</sup> Trdat Aršakuni, Arew lord of Siunik', Juanber of Vaspurakan,

<sup>50</sup> Uncle: Varaz-Bakur was the brother of Sagduxt, Vaxt'ang's mother.

<sup>51</sup> Nobles: *naxarar* for *erist'avi*, also rendered by *išxan* just below. Trdat is called an Arsacid below in Geo. This Arew and Juanber (i.e. Juanšēr) are not attested elsewhere. It is surprising that the allusion to Gregory the Illuminator has been misunderstood. Geo. below calls him a 'builder of churches', as elaborated in Agat'angelos, the principal one in Taron, and first church in Armenia, being at Aštīsat.

*Geo.* *erist'avi* of Ran, joined them at the orders of the Persian king, with the army of Adarbadagan, of Ran, and of Movakan, with about 200,000 cavalry.

At that time Vaxt'ang was 22 years old. He was taller than men of that time, more handsome of face, and more powerful in strength. In armour and on foot he could catch a deer, seize its horn, and kill it. He could lift an armoured horse on his shoulders, and go up from Mc'xet'a to the fortress of Armazi. He was the only son of his father. One of his sisters, Xuaranje, was also strong and beautiful. From among the descendants of the pious King Mirian there remained Vaxt'ang and his sisters. They were descended from Bak'ar, son of Mirian. Now Mirian and Gregory were descended from Rev, also the son of Mirian. They held Kuxet'i and lived in the fortified city of Rust'avi, for they had been reduced by mutual slaughter. From King Mirian down to King Vaxt'ang had passed eight generations and ten kings, and 157 years. Eight bishops had succeeded canonically; but the others had violated the statutes.

*Here is the attack on Greece by Vaxt'ang Gorgasali*

Vaxt'ang set out to enter Greek territory. They came to Armenia; and at Peroža-kap'a, where P'eroz mentioned (above) had built a fortress, the *erist'avis* of Armenia joined him: Arew of Siunik', Juanšer of Asp'uragan, Amazasp of Taron from the city built by Gregory, Trdat from the family of the great Trdat. They besieged the fortified city which was called Karaxpola but is now called the

Hamazasp of Taron, Gregory, and others. They went to Karaxpula,<sup>52</sup> and left there two lords with 12,000 cavalry to attack it, [79] that is, the city of Karin. Then they went through Anatolia as far as Pontos, and captured three cities. Arm.

Vaxt'ang ordered his army not to kill as if infidels any of those

<sup>52</sup> Karaxpula: not attested elsewhere, hence various spellings in Geo. For Karin see *AON* 287-9.

city of Karin. [160] They attacked but were unable to capture it because it was (protected) by three high walls. So they left two *erist'avis* with 12,000 cavalry to attack the city. Vaxt'ang marched on to the Pontus and ravaged on the way three cities: Anjoret'i, Eklec'i, and Steri.<sup>19</sup> For three months they waged war, and their army reached as far as the city of Constantine. Geo.

The Persians slew whatever ministers of the church they found; but King Vaxt'ang ordered the Armenian troops and all the Persians not to slay anyone from among the clergy, but to take them prisoner. And he said to them: 'When my grandfather Mirian brought the king of the Persians, his nephew, to wage war on the Greeks, they treated the clergy and the ministers of the church in that manner. But their numberless troops were severely defeated by a small army. From then on the Greeks took from us Georgians the frontier to the east of the sea. Now the battlefield of our earlier kings was in Anjianjor, where is now the tomb of the great teacher Gregory, whence our kings fled.

'We have marched a journey of ten days and have turned to the north. We share in the religion of the Greeks, confessing Christ who is the true God of all. Have you not heard of the miracles which were performed for King Constantine through the guidance of the cross, or of those wonders performed in the land of the Greeks on King Julian the idolator—how an arrow from heaven killed him?<sup>20</sup> The Greek troops assembled and elected as king Jovian, but he did not agree until the idols had been destroyed,

<sup>19</sup> Steri seems to be a mistake for Speri; no such place is attested elsewhere.

<sup>20</sup> Julian was slain by a spear; see G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 116, and Ephrem, *Hymns against Julian*, iii, st. 14. For the tradition of an arrow see *The Julian Romance*, 198, which also indicates that a crown descended on Jovian after he worshipped the cross (p. 214), and that he and the shah became friends (pp. 226 ff.).

*Arm.* who were worshippers<sup>53</sup> of Christ like us. 'For when my grandfather<sup>54</sup> marched with the Persian king to Greek territory and they reached Anjianj, where the tomb of St Gregory is,<sup>55</sup> and they laid hands on the young men of the church, they were defeated and returned in shame, a few survivors out of many.

'Having made a ten-day journey we have today reached Constantinople,<sup>56</sup> where the emperor Constantine, having believed in Christ, conquered many myriads by the sign of the Cross. And the great Trdat, king of Armenia, after being punished by the Lord for tormenting the holy Illuminator and the saintly women and having recognized Christ, was not defeated by any man.<sup>57</sup> You valiant Armenians know how that gigantic Trdat, most renowned among all nations, carried on his back (blocks of stone) and built a house of God.<sup>58</sup> You know that the foul Julian was slain in Persia and that Jovian succeeded to the throne. The Lord said to

<sup>53</sup> Worshippers: *erkrpagu*. The Georgian *msaxuri* (Q160) is ambiguous, since it means 'servant' in a general sense (cf. Q301 n. 11) or 'minister' in an ecclesiastical sense. The Armenian translator understood it of Christians in general. *Moceset'a* in Q just below means 'clergy'. 'As if' renders *partn*, of uncertain meaning here. The editor of V suggests *anpartsn*, 'innocent'.

<sup>54</sup> Grandfather: *haw* for *mamis mama*, i.e. 'ancestor', for the two were separated by six generations.

<sup>55</sup> i.e. Gregory Nazianzenus, the 'Theologian'. For Mirian's defeat by Constantine see above, V42, Q70. Young men: *mankuns*, normally used in a secular sense. But cf. Heb. 2: 13-14; and the *NBHL* notes that it is used of ascetics.

<sup>56</sup> Constantinople: a curious error. Below, Q170, Geo. indicates that the city was five days' journey north of Sper, so it was presumably Trebizond.

<sup>57</sup> Aa 123 (echoed by M.X. ii. 82), refers to Trdat's victories before his conversion, not after it. <sup>58</sup> Aa 767.

*Geo.* crosses erected, and they had dedicated on these the royal crown. [161] The angel of the Lord raised up the crown and placed it on the head of Jovian, the true king. There came a voice from heaven, which said to the Persian king Xuasrot'ang: "Cease from warring on Jovian, because through the power of the cross he is invincible." From then on the king and Xuasro became friends until they both died. Have you not remembered, you Arsacid inhabitants of Armenia, *patiaxšes* descended from Biwrit,<sup>21</sup> the deeds of Gregory the Parthian and the resistance to him of Trdat the Arsacid king—how he was cast down from his pride and was turned into a boar?

<sup>21</sup> After *biwritiant'a* A adds 'Bagratids', a term not used again until Q218 below. For this propaganda see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 335 n. 143. *Patiaxš* is a common variant of *pitiaxš*.

the Persian king: "Do not do battle with Jovian, for I shall not give him into your hands." Arm.

'And you inhabitants<sup>59</sup> of Georgia and of Persia, you know how it is written of Nebrot' the first of all kings, that on foot he captured a lion and a wild goat and all (kinds of) deer and wild animals. Therefore all nations were subject to him. He built a tower of golden columns, and placed foundations of silver bases,<sup>60</sup> [80] surrounding it with tar and bricks. In the windows he set translucent gems, hyacinths and emeralds, so that it would not be dark deep inside it or in the halls and rooms which they built within. Concerning its height they say that it was a three-day journey from the top of the stairs to the entry door. They raised the summit up so high that they passed beyond the life-bearing air and came out

<sup>59</sup> Inhabitants: *bnikk'*, 'natives', for *mkvidri*, which would be literally *bnakič'k'*.

<sup>60</sup> Bases: *xarsxoy*, as A, for *sarsxoy* in BCD and V.

But Gregory converted him, and from then on he became a builder of churches; and Trdat constructed a large church with (the strength of) his own back, because he was a giant. Geo.

'You, O inhabitants of K'art'li, kin to the kings of K'art'li, today stand in the rank of *mt'avari* (appointed) by us kings who are descended from the giant Nebrot', who before all (other) kings became renowned on earth. With his strength he led a lion as if it were a kid; on foot he captured wild asses and gazelles. For his strength became so great that all the descendants of Noah obeyed him, so that he was able to build a city in which he used gold for the stones and silver for the bases. He surrounded it with bricks and mortar; the tops of the gates and windows he fashioned from rubies and emeralds, from whose light the night could not become dark. Within it he built palaces and pavilions which it is impossible for us to conceive, and the skill which he devoted to each detail is incomprehensible. Finally he raised it up to a height of three days' journey; he constructed steps in the walls by which to ascend, since he wished to go up [162] to the sky and see the inhabitants of heaven. But when he had gone through the zone of the air and had entered the zone of the stars, the builders were no longer able to build because the gold and silver melted. For in those regions the force of the fire of the ether is such that it flames from the powerful turning of the firmament. He heard there the conversation of

*Arm.* in the suffocating and harmful abode of the stars, where the place burns from the circulation of the ether, and the gold and silver which they were bringing up the middle (of the tower) began to melt, and the builders were scorched. There they comprehended the wisdom and meaning of the seven spheres<sup>61</sup> of the stars and the great intelligence that prevented them vainly from attaining to God.

‘Then there came a voice in the Persian language to Nebrot’, saying to him: “I am Michael who am speaking to you at the Lord’s behest. Up and depart from here, because this construction of yours has reached opposite paradise. Only this mountain where I am standing separates it from paradise, from whose base comes forth the sun and through which flow the rivers Nile and Pison.<sup>62</sup> The Gihon brings sweet-smelling perfumes and verdant plants, which are mixed with musk and which men prepare into sweet fragrances to deceive for the nose. Now if you really desire to ascend to the heights of heaven in order to see God, go back and remain within the confines of your nature in humility of mind and upon

<sup>61</sup> Spheres: *kamark’*. For Armenian ideas concerning the spheres see R. W. Thomson, ‘A Medieval Armenian View of the Physical World’, *REArm* 23 (1992/3), 153–70. The first Armenian author to adopt this story of the tower was Vardan Arewelc’i; see his *Chronicle* 11. But here *Arm.* has changed *Geo.*, which refers to companies (*gund*) of angels.

<sup>62</sup> See *Gen.* 2: 13 for the Gihon and Pison; the Gihon and the Nile are identified in *AŠX*, s.v. *Libya* 5.

*Geo.* the seven companies of heaven, of which the sons of Adam were terrified. Each man with his own family became a speaker of his own language; no more did they mutually comprehend their neighbour’s speech, so they departed.

‘Then he said to Nebrot’ in the Persian language: “I am the angel Michael, who have been appointed by God over the principality of the east. Depart from this city, because God will hide this city until the manifestation of paradise, which is located close to this building of yours. Between them is this mountain, from which rises the sun and from which flow out two rivers, the Nile and the Gihon. For the Gihon brings out of paradise a scented tree and a herb which blends with musk. Now go hence and dwell between the two rivers Euphrates and Jīla; let these kinsmen (*go*) as each may wish, because they are sent by the Lord. Your kingdom will rule over all kings. But in the last times will come the ruler of heaven, whom you wish to see,



(the earth) whence you were created, and dwell between the rivers Euphrates and Jilas,<sup>63</sup> and let your people go whither they wish provided they do not depart from the God of heaven.<sup>64</sup> At the appropriate time your Lord will come to you in humility; he will be among peoples who mock and rave, and hated by them he will die. He will come and find you in hell, in Tartaros, and will draw you thence.<sup>65</sup> Rising up from death, he will build for you a tower and stairway leading up to God."<sup>66</sup> Having said this, he cast around them the odour of paradise; they inhaled, lost their senses, and were consoled. They forgot their plans [81] and the languages they had known previously—seven tongues<sup>67</sup>—and they adopted foreign languages according to their number.

<sup>63</sup> Jilas: the Tigris.

<sup>64</sup> Of heaven: as AC, omitted in BD and V.

<sup>65</sup> Arm. here anticipates the reference to hell, V81, Q163. For Christ in hell cf. Acts 2: 31.

<sup>66</sup> The tower and stairway leading to heaven are important themes in the *Teaching*.

<sup>67</sup> The seven languages (enumerated in Geo. just below) do not correspond with the six languages supposedly known in K'art'li, above, V18. Although Arm. adds T'orgom just below, Armenian is curiously absent from the original tongues! For the virtues of Armenian compared with Greek, Persian, etc., see R. R. Ervine, 'Yovhannēs Erzncac'i Pluz's, "Compilation of Commentary on Grammar"', (Ph.D. diss., Columbia, 1988; UMI DA8827567), 178.

among a despised people. Fear of him will dispel the delights of the world; kings will abandon their kingdoms and seek poverty. Then God will see you in distress and save you." Geo.

'So they all left the city and departed. And he left the speakers of Indian to India, the Sinds to Sindet'i, the Romans to Rome, the Greeks to Greece, [163] Ag and Magug to Maguget'i, the Persians to Persia. Now the first language was Assyrian, and these were the seven languages which were spoken up to Nebrot'. Therefore I tell you that our fathers kept this book hidden. But divine zeal gave me the strength to relate this, whereby also our father Mirian accepted the gospel of Christ through Nino. Did not our fathers receive tribute up to the coming of Christ? But from then on we have become weak, and behold the Greeks wage war against (us). He (Christ) saw Nebrot' in hell and saved him. He is the first of all kings; and Daniel also bears witness that Michael was appointed to support the Persians.<sup>22</sup> All you Georgians saw the miracles

<sup>22</sup> Dan. 10: 13.

*Arm.* 'Abandoning the city and tower which they were building, they went to their own countries: T'orgom to the T'orgomids, Sidon to Sidet', the Berjeank'<sup>68</sup> to Berjank', the Greeks to Greece, Ag and Mag to Agmaguget', the Persians to Persia, and the others elsewhere. This account was not clearly divulged, but was written down and kept in secret, like a mystery. And I related it to help you, so that you Persians might also know that you are not strangers to our Christ. Your ancestor Bēl, who is Nebrot', also called Kronos,<sup>69</sup> was freed from hell by Christ our God. So spare all those who exalt his holy name, and do not destroy his holy temple lest his anger be kindled against us.'

Having said this, he gave orders that those hidden should come out openly in every place; and that Christians should not fear the sword, but that they should give their possessions as ransom and receive the prisoners. He himself clothed and liberated many of the

<sup>68</sup> Berjeank': i.e. Georgian for 'Greeks', which Arm. here uses for Geo.'s 'Romans'.

<sup>69</sup> The addition identifying Nebrot' with Bel and Kronos is reminiscent of M.X. i. 7.

*Geo.* which Nino worked, or do you think that God abandoned the Greeks? Did they not destroy most of the lands of the Persians and unite them (to their own)? Today it is six months since the sound of our soldiery has been heard. The emperor has turned because he heard of our advance, and now he has approached to give us battle. Now let all peoples serve the Lord God and cease from harming the churches.'

When he had said all this, he sent out a herald (to declare) that all clergy should leave their hiding-places, and that they should allow the captives to depart wherever they might wish. A multitude of priests and deacons, of coenobitic monks and encratites<sup>23</sup> left the caves and mountains, and most people from the city of Pontus, because the city had been under attack for four months already. Among these were two men, the priest Peter from among the disciples of Gregory the Theologian, because he served at the latter's tomb, and the monk Samuel. [164] They came before Vaxt'ang to thank him for releasing the captives and for freeing the churches

<sup>23</sup> Coenobitic monks: *moceset'a monazoni'a*, i.e. monks who belonged to a community (*mocese* can also mean 'clergy'), as opposed to the *enkratist'a*.

captives, especially ecclesiastics, giving them each three *dahekans*.<sup>70</sup> *Arm.* He kept with him the priest Peter and the monk Samuel, who had been disciples of Gregory the Theologian. To Peter he said: 'Ever since I entered Greek territory, I have not laid hand at all on the buildings of God's temples.' Peter said: 'The church of God is his rational flock,<sup>71</sup> which after putting them to death neither you nor any one else can restore. Whereas it is easy for whoever wishes (to restore) buildings. Do you not know that all sins were cleansed by the flood? Yet the blood of Abel still cries out before the Lord.<sup>72</sup> All the wickedness of the Jews [82] he obliterated; and the blood

<sup>70</sup> *Dahekan*: a unit of currency, variously rendering δραχμή, δηνάριον, or νόμισμα.

<sup>71</sup> For the rational (*banawor*) flock cf. Lazar 2.

<sup>72</sup> Gen. 4: 10.

and priests. When they had made their speech, the king was pleased and looked (favourably) on them. He ordered all the captives and clergy to be clothed, and also the infirm released by him, because all the infirm had left the city. He gave donkeys to the infirm, and to the children three *drakans* each, then dismissed them. But he obliged the priest Peter and the monk Samuel (to stay) with him. *Geo.*

When the troops had gone to their tents, the king came in to dine. The king said to Peter: 'Does this deed of mine please God, that I have protected the churches and released the captives?' Peter said: 'May your servant speak frankly before you, or should he give you false praise?' The king said to him: 'Speak, for I seek nothing save the discovery (of the truth) so that we may be saved from falsehood.' Peter said: 'Churches of (living) bodies are more (important) to God than churches of stones. Whenever a church of stones is destroyed, they build it up again with the same stones. But when churches of (living) bodies are destroyed, no one is able to restore it, neither doctor nor king. Now, how many bodies of righteous men have been laid low, for which it is said concerning the blood of Abel: "All blood was purified by the flood of Noah." And as for the blood of Zechariah, son of Berechiah, it brought every insult on the Jews—as Isaiah says: "Remove and destroy every child of theirs"—by Titus and Vespasian. Have you not read from the books of Moses, when the Israelite (people) fornicated with a foreign race, how many souls perished for the sake of one

*Arm.* of Zechariah, son of Berechiah, he said was being sought from them.<sup>73</sup> How much innocent blood has been shed by your hands!

Vaxt'ang said: 'You have shown me to be guilty; and I have sinned against the Lord.' The priest said: 'If you have opened the way for my words, he forgave you your sins. Fight no more with the sons of God, and you will extinguish the fire that was kindled by you.'

<sup>73</sup> Luke 11: 51; cf. Matt. 23: 35.

*Geo.* fornication?<sup>24</sup> But now how many virgins, the temples of God,<sup>25</sup> have been polluted by your soldiers!

[165] The king said: 'Do you not see how Jovian was with the impious Julian for the sake of preserving the churches? And if a man would stumble, is it better to fall completely?' Peter said: 'I do not cast you down if you have stumbled, but raise you up from falling, just like David from his deceit of Uriah. I do not wish that you become like the man who destroys with his left hand what he does with the right, or like those who bless with their mouths but curse and revile in their hearts, but rather like the kings of good memory who ruled this world and did not lose the kingdom (of heaven): David, Solomon, Constantine, Jovian, and all those like them. But you do not resemble Jovian. Who is lord over you? Whose sword was upon your neck, like Julian's over Jovian? Or where did you suffer like Jovian from Julian? Or whom does God see who was lord over you and had to answer for your righteousness before God? Did I not make you lord over them all and set them all under you? Therefore God will ask (an account of) every evil deed from your hands, and he will requite you unless you repent.' The king said: 'I wish to justify myself, yet rightly did you condemn my injustice.' Peter said: 'Since you prepared the way to lay blame, your sin will depart from you. Now I shall reveal to you your desire. It was not ignorance that moved you to wage war against the sons of God, but it was so that your people should aid the Persians. Do you not know that the Greeks are the people of God because of his promise, when he called them sons of God<sup>26</sup> and gave them the seal by which he destroyed hell—and that is the Cross?' [166] The king said: 'What do you wish?' Peter said to him:

<sup>24</sup> Num. 25: 1-9: 24,000 died.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 3: 16-17.

<sup>26</sup> Rom. 8: 14.

Vaxt'ang said: 'Ask God that on this night I see God's pleasure.' *Arm.* Peter said: 'This is beyond me, but let us entrust it to the saints.' Then Samuel was angry and said: 'Do you not know the love of Christ, who said to Polycarp: "If the angels would not have been in doubt and afflicted, I would have been crucified in all cities and villages in order to save everyone."<sup>74</sup> What did God say to the impious Ahab? "Seek for yourself a sign from the Lord your God in the depth or in the height."<sup>75</sup> And Christ said: "Whatever you ask in my name I shall do for you."<sup>76</sup> So do you, O king, join us in prayer, and it will occur as you wish.'

<sup>74</sup> This remark by Christ does not appear in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*.

<sup>75</sup> V corrects Ahab (ABCD) to Ahaz, following Isa. 7: 11. <sup>76</sup> John 14: 13.

'I wish that you extinguish this fire kindled by you, and that you become a friend of the emperor as you were of the Persians up to today.'

The king replied: 'This is my wish, that through your prayers you reveal to me tonight the emperor and myself meeting, and the conversation between us on making friendship. Then I shall know that Christ is pleased with this conversation of yours to me.' Peter said: 'This request of yours weighs heavily on me, because this is (only possible) for elect men who are like angels through their perfect conduct. There are (such) among these rocks, and for one of them it is possible to do such a thing as you request. Give me time that I may go and ask them and relate your command; and through their prayers your proposal will be accomplished. But we deem ourselves insignificant, because we are sinful men, lest God regard (us) as presumptuous.' The monk Samuel became angry and said: 'Priest, you are speaking of an affair of God as if it were a matter for men. Have you not read how God said to Polycarp: "If the angels would not have been scandalized, for the good of men I would have been crucified in all cities so that I might save everyone?" Or is Ahab, a king of Israel, more (significant) than a king of the Christians to whom Isaiah said: "Ask for a miracle on high or in the depth," and for him declared: "A virgin shall conceive"<sup>27</sup> Or who said to Israel: "Whatever you ask in my name will be given

<sup>27</sup> Isa. 7: 14.

*Arm.* At the evening hour the king fell asleep at his prayers, but Peter and Samuel kept vigil all night. The king saw St Nunē in a vision saying to him: 'Arise and come forward, for behold the kings of heaven and earth are coming to you.' Raising his eyes upwards, Vaxt'ang saw the city<sup>77</sup> of Byzantium and in it two thrones. On these were sitting a youth and a mature man. The man was Gregory the Theologian, and he was saying to him: 'Wicked man, why did you strike the armies of the Lord and slaughter his sheep? Now if I had not cared for St Nunē, you would have suffered the punishment of your fire-worshipping fathers.'

<sup>77</sup> City: *Arm.* read *k'alak'isa*, with *ACMm*, for *k'alisa*, 'young woman', of the other *MSS*, hence the addition of 'Byzantium'.

*Geo.* you."<sup>28</sup> Joshua said to the firmament of heaven: "Turn back", and it turned back three notches.<sup>29</sup> Now the speech of your humility is good, Peter, but it is scandalous for men of little faith. But do you, O king, help us a little by (your) faith, because the prayer of this distressed city will effect your desire.' And the holy ones went off to their abode.

[167] The king prayed for a long time, then lay down. In his sleep, behold there came a woman, who was St Nino, and said: 'Arise, O king, and come forward with attention, because two kings of heaven and of earth are coming to you.' When he looked, he saw first (that) the face of the young woman was that of Constantine. He rapidly came up and saw two thrones: on one a youth was sitting in armour, crowned. On the other throne he saw an old man sitting in a white robe; on his head was placed a crown of light, not of gold, and at his feet sat Nino. Vaxt'ang's right hand was held by the priest Peter, and the left by the monk Samuel. Samuel said: 'Fall down before Gregory, the great prince of heaven.' He went up and did obeisance. Then Gregory said: 'What is the evil you have done, O man? For you have ravaged my flock and allowed wild beasts to eat my cattle. Were it not for the two who stand at your side, and for the sake of this woman Nino who continuously intercedes with Mary on your behalf, I would take

<sup>28</sup> John 14: 13 (and parallels). *Q* prints *israitelsa*, but gives only forms of *israel/israil* in the apparatus.

<sup>29</sup> In Josh. 10: 13 the sun stood still all day; according to 4 *Kgds.* 20: 8-11, Isa. 38: 8 it turned back 10 degrees in the time of Hezekiah.

Nunē said to Vaxt'ang: 'Come fall at the feet of the king.' And he did so. Then he sat him beside him, and put into his hands a ring [83] that was set with a luminous gem. Peter and Samuel were standing as surety for Vaxt'ang, that he would sin no more. There was also there a glorious cross, and a crown on top of it. Vaxt'ang saw the emperor take the crown from the cross and place it on his head, saying: 'Behold, a third crown for you.' Having seen all this

Arm.

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revenge on you as on your fathers who trusted in the burning fire and not in the brilliance which illuminates all things.' He gave him his hand, kissed him, made as if to touch the crown of light and as if to give a similar crown to Vaxt'ang, then said: 'Put this on Peter.' Peter took from the same crown as it were an inferior one, and put it on the monk Samuel.

Geo.

Then Nino said to Vaxt'ang: 'Now come before the king and receive your gift.' He went to the king, they embraced each other, and he placed him by his throne and sat him beside him. He gave him a ring from his hand in which was a very bright gem, and the emperor said: 'If you wish that I give you a crown, promise the one who stands above us that you will fight his enemies, [168] then you will receive a crown from him.' Vaxt'ang looked and saw a cross, on the arms of which was a crown. The sight of the cross caused him even more terror, because its awe was very fearsome, so he kept silent. Nino stood up and looked towards Peter and Samuel; with one mouth they said: 'We are guarantors, O invincible cross, that he will be the most successful of all.' The emperor stretched out his hand, took the crown from the cross, and placed the crown on Vaxt'ang's head. They began to withdraw when the bishop cried out three times, saying: 'Vaxt'ang, Vaxt'ang, Vaxt'ang! You will be the most faithful of all among the nation of the Persians.' And the second time: 'Churches will be built by you, and bishops and an archbishop appointed.' And the third time: 'You will receive the crown of martyrdom.' He went out, and in his dream summoned Peter and Samuel. Still in his dream he related the vision, and they explained it: 'The one you saw on the throne crowned with light is the great teacher Gregory. He it is who on giving me (a copy) of<sup>30</sup> the crown conferred the rank of archbishop on me. And my giving

<sup>30</sup> A copy of: rendering -gan.

*Arm.* in a dream, just as he had requested, he then woke up and glorified God. In the morning he turned back towards Armenia, and ordered that they should harm no one.

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*Geo.* (a copy) of my crown to my colleague means his being made bishop by me. The one you saw with the crown of gold (and) armed is the emperor. And his giving you a ring means he will give you his daughter to wife;<sup>31</sup> and he will restore to you all the territory of K'art'li confiscated by him. Now the crown which he gave you from the cross (represents) the extensive struggles you will endure with the help of the Holy Cross. As for our teacher calling out to you three times, he has requested for you three gifts from God so that the truth may be confirmed by you and by the Catholicoi and bishops of K'art'li. And you will conquer your enemies until the day of your death. On your death you will receive the crown of martyrdom in battle,<sup>32</sup> but you will not fall into the hands of your enemies. All this will be accomplished before you grow weak and aged.'

[169] When King Vaxt'ang awoke, he blessed God who had revealed all this to him. He quickly summoned Peter and Samuel and said: 'What did you see?' They said: 'Speak, O king. We stood one to your right and one to your left when you stood before those sitting on the thrones, the emperor and the Theologian. Furthermore, this same mistress of ours was pacifying the teacher in his rage, and she was presenting you into his hands.' The king said to them: 'Be silent, holy ones, because you saw everything with me. Now what do you wish to be done to this city which has reached the point of destruction? Or what shall we do for these captives in our hands, who are more than a thousand myriads? Now let a herald rapidly go hence (to announce) that the king of the Persians has set out against the land of Ĵaziret'i and is passing through Palestine on the track of the emperor. The latter ravaged the land of the Persians, and the Persian king was unable to do battle with him. But as soon as the emperor knew that we had come to their land, he made haste to oppose us. And we see that the king of the Persians is coming to our support. And we know that the troops of the Persians are more numerous than the troops

<sup>31</sup> See below, Q177, 198.

<sup>32</sup> For Vaxt'ang's death in battle see below, Q202-3.



of Armenia and K'art'li. There is no truly faithful one among us. As for those whom our father Mirian, or Trdat my relative on my mother's side, planted, we know that the faith of all these is replete with falsehood. If this deed of mine becomes known, my mother's brother will be angry; we shall fight each other and become a laughingstock for all our enemies. But this I shall do: when our troops arrive and inform us of the emperor's advance, we shall retreat before him. [170] We shall first announce this action when the emperor comes and is close upon us. Then, as your holiness advises, so shall we act, and not a single one of the captives will be lost.'

Peter went to the emperor, while Samuel remained with the king. The next day arrived a supposed messenger, and announced to the king that the Greek troops had entered Constantinople. King Vaxt'ang summoned his mother's brother and all the kings, and said: 'What do you say? For you know the multitude of the Greek troops, their ability in manœuvres and their dexterity in boats on the seas. Behold, they have entered Persia, the land of heroes and of giants, who were unable to resist them. Now I am afraid lest their troops come by ship, seize the approach to our (land), and destroy us as in a pen. But let us go hence and camp to the south of the sea, so that we may have a path (either) to distress or relief.'

The army around the city broke camp; they went a five days' journey to the south, and stopped in the vicinity of Sper.<sup>33</sup> The inhabitants of the city, who had reached the point of expiring, came out and thanked Vaxt'ang. They gave him as gifts 1,000 pounds of gold and 500 pieces of silk; and the people went out in peace to their trade and business.

When Peter came before the emperor and had explained everything to him, the emperor greatly rejoiced. Everything that he had seen in the vision he gave him at Vaxt'ang's wish. He dispatched the priest Peter, and declared with strong promises and oaths that he (Vaxt'ang) should be equal with his majesty; furthermore, that both armies should attack the Persians who were with Vaxt'ang, that they should not exceed their orders until Vaxt'ang and he joined forces. While Peter and [171] the ambassadors were on their way to Vaxt'ang, the emperor entered Constantinople and sent off

<sup>33</sup> This implies that the unnamed city of Pontos was Trebizond.

*Arm.* However, the Greek emperor pursued him with 9,000 men, and put some of the Georgian troops to flight. Seeing this, his Persian nephew<sup>78</sup> said to Vaxt'ang: 'Serpent, offspring of a viper,<sup>79</sup> what is

<sup>78</sup> Nephew: *k'erordi*, an error for *k'eri*, which correctly renders 'mother's brother' just below. Varaz-Bakur is intended.

<sup>79</sup> Matt. 23: 33. Here *Arm.* has changed the 'asp' of *Geo.* to the regular biblical text.

*Geo.* 500 vessels containing 500 men each. And he ordered that they should approach Vaxt'ang, but stop without fighting. The emperor marched along the road to Pontos with 800,000 men. When those troops came near to the sea, the Persians wished to engage them in battle; but the king prevented them and did not allow them to fight.

When the emperor's envoy and Peter presented the gifts, he had both a secret message and also a public one. Openly he said: 'Do not flee; remain until my arrival, so that the Persians who are with you and have escaped our incessant attack on Persia we may exterminate as well.' But secretly they presented him with a cross and a crown as warranty, and a robe of his size, and he said: 'When we join forces, I shall give you the fortress of Tuxarisi and the border territories of K'art'li.' King Vaxt'ang responded publicly, saying: 'Not for any other cause have we come here except to do battle with you. Now come hither. If not, we shall go to Constantinople.' But secretly he declared: 'It is not appropriate for your piety that you compel another (to do) what you will not do yourself, because treachery is not right for honourable men. If I now give the Persians over to you, will not my reputation be compromised? Many among them have greater love for Christ than we, but out of their fear they cannot declare it. Now command that we accomplish this affair in peace, like Jovian and all the Persians. But after this, when we have arranged our affairs, more conveniently shall I deliver them into your hands. Let nothing unseemly be done or any disturbance caused by you, lest your people fall to the sword. For your people vaunt themselves [172] as excelling the Persians. However, the Persians are not at all fearful, but rather for envy of you are anxious to fight. Either they will die, or they will seek vengeance for their blood. If these troops of yours fight, I am innocent.' Thereupon Varaz-Mihr, brother of his tutor, accompanied

this that you have done? As I have heard, the mother of your father was a Greek, and that pestilential seed has brought you to the same (persuasion), and to love of the dead Jesus; behold you have destroyed the Persians. This will not be (advantageous) for you.<sup>80</sup> Vaxt'ang said: 'The crucified one is my God, and he will save me. Do you invoke fire and fight against those Greeks.'

Arm.

He himself stood aside with the Armenians and Georgians. So

<sup>80</sup> The meaning of this last phrase, *č'mnay k'ez ayd*, is not clear to me.

by the monk Samuel, set out as envoys. However, the emperor had arrived at the city of Pontos, and the inhabitants of Pontos had gone out to meet him. They offered praise and thanks that King Vaxt'ang had kept away from them and not given them over to death. When the envoys of King Vaxt'ang entered the city, they presented to them as gifts 1,000 *mut'akal*<sup>34</sup> of musk, 500 of amber, and 1,000 pounds of aloes.

Geo.

The army of King Vaxt'ang had gone out to plunder, and the Greek infantry fell upon them, as well as the cavalry of the valleys and cities who had joined them,—some 300,000 strong. King Vaxt'ang prevented them from arresting the troops engaged in pillaging until the brother of his mother, *erist'avi* of the Persians,<sup>35</sup> arrived and angrily said to Vaxt'ang: 'O snake and offspring of an asp, do you not know that the mother of your father was a Greek, a descendant of Jovian?<sup>36</sup> The nature of your father's mother has conquered you, and love for the man who died on the Cross has taken hold of you. You wish to put us into the hands of the Greeks.' But Vaxt'ang said: 'Aha, you and the Greeks, you will see the strength of that dead man and of the fire<sup>37</sup> in which you trust.'

They sounded the trumpet, and all the Armenians, the Persians, and the king of Daruband set out. However, King [173] Vaxt'ang and the Georgians went to watch and stopped. The king sat on a white elephant, while they engaged in battle on the edge of the lake at a forested, rocky island.<sup>38</sup> Before his arrival 27,000 Persian

<sup>34</sup> *Mut'akal*: the Arabic *mitqal*, a measure less than five grams.

<sup>35</sup> Of the Persians: Only C correctly reads 'of Ran'. <sup>36</sup> Cf. above, Q140.

<sup>37</sup> Fire: *c'ec'xlisa*, as AC and Arm. All other MSS in Geo. read *c'oc'xlisa*, 'of the living one'.

<sup>38</sup> Edge . . . island: *zǵwis kidesa mas, romel ars čalaki riqe xert'visisa*. Although *zǵwi* is more usually 'sea', the action here seems to be on land because the fleeing soldiers (Q176) reach the sea. The passage is not entirely clear.

*Arm.* the Persians and Caucasians fought against the emperor and were defeated by them. Vaxt'ang's uncle was killed, and 25,000 Persians, and Aĵaj king of the Leks, and all their eminent warriors.<sup>81</sup> The general of Ran was also killed.<sup>82</sup> And this was a dreadful disaster for the Persian side.

Then, descending from his chariot, (Vaxt'ang) worshipped Christ, saying: 'Yours is victory, Lord,<sup>83</sup> and not for the fire-worshippers and the haughty.'

To Peter he said: 'Bring the cross and set it here, and let all those

<sup>81</sup> Eminent warriors: *naxamartikk'*. The term is usually used in the sense of 'champion', but it can mean 'leader of the army', as the Georgian *erismt'avari*, 'general'.

<sup>82</sup> *Arm.* has not noticed that this was Vaxt'ang's uncle, whose death was mentioned in the previous sentence!

<sup>83</sup> 1 Chron. 29: 11. For the 'haughty' cf. Luke 1: 51.

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*Geo.* troops were killed by the forces of the Greeks. The battle waxed fierce, and Vaxt'ang's uncle, the Persian *erist'avi*, was killed. Also killed were Ipajaj, king of the Leks, and many *erismt'avaris*. The army of the east was defeated. There was a Greek general, Polykarpos the logothete, the king's<sup>39</sup> nephew, a mighty man; he killed the valiant warriors of the Persians, and he it was who slew the *erist'avi*. Then King Vaxt'ang descended from his chariot and said: 'It is not our wish, but rather God wills that we speak of peace. The insolence of the Persians has offended God; so God took vengeance and killed the *erist'avi* of Ran. Therefore all Persia will mourn as if for the devastation of Persia. Now the insolence of the Persians has been humbled. Bring the cross and let us be led (thereby), so that we may conquer through that by which they also were defeated, and become sons of heroes. Let none of us fight each other for other (reasons), nor let us seek to defeat our enemies. But let your hands, like my hands, be directed that we be not completely defeated. Not just here will we pursue them, but as far as Adarbadagan—like ravens followed by their young.'

The priest Peter brought the cross, and the king said: 'Stand facing the enemy and our people. And say to them all: "Worship the cross, and [174] we shall overcome the enemy." Kill whoever does not worship it.' And he ordered Demetre, his *erist'avi*, and the *spaspet* Juanser to accompany the cross. A herald shouted out

<sup>39</sup> King: i.e. the Roman (Byzantine) emperor.

who are with me worship it. Whoever does not obey<sup>84</sup> shall die.' *Arm.* Barzaw,<sup>85</sup> the king of Movkan, despised the cross and Vaxt'ang's order, so Juanber the Georgian *spayapet*<sup>86</sup> slew him. He said to all the troops: 'This is our strength and victory.' They were all terrified, and said: 'If this cross will give us victory, we shall despise all our cults and worship Christ who dwells in it.'<sup>87</sup>

At that same time a Greek advanced, Polykarpos by name, the emperor's nephew, and demanded single combat [84] with one of Vaxt'ang's troops. No one dared come forward, because he was the one who had killed the Persian general. Then Vaxt'ang said: 'A lion does not oppose a fox;<sup>88</sup> but in order that the power of Christ's cross be demonstrated, I shall go out against him.' He

<sup>84</sup> ABCD read *hnazandi*, for *hnazandesc'ē* in V.

<sup>85</sup> Borzo is only mentioned here in the K'C'. For the name see Justi 74, s.n. *Burzoe*, no. 2.

<sup>86</sup> *Spayapet*: as ABCD. For the form see above, V36 n. 28. V prints the standard Armenian form *sparapet*.

<sup>87</sup> Who dwells in it: *or kay i dma*. Although the theme of the Cross is important in early Armenian literature, I have found no clear parallel to this addition.

<sup>88</sup> *Arm.* has changed the metaphor, perhaps influenced by P'.B. iv. 54, where Vasak Mamikonean compares himself to a lion and a fox.

loudly: 'Whoever does not worship the cross, let him die.' All the people came, worshipped it, and stood in front of the cross. But King Borzo of Movakan said: 'I shall not abandon the burning fire; and I shall not worship a piece of rotten wood that is adorned with gold and rubies.' The *spaspet* Juanser gave him a blow with his lance and struck him down as a corpse. Thereafter no one dared to blaspheme the cross, and the people promised King Vaxt'ang: 'If the cross gives us aid, we shall have no other god except the crucified one.' The king descended and worshipped it, and all the people with him. The king said: 'Show your strength to this people that does not believe in you, so that it may be led to faith, O Lord God. Those who believe in you, even if they die, yet are alive;<sup>40</sup> and those who live in you take strength from you, the living one.'

The Greek troops went forth like lightning. Polykarpos, like a wolf sated with blood or like a raging lion, shouted out and disdained those troops. The king said: 'What man is there among you

<sup>40</sup> Cf. John 11: 25.

*Arm.* sealed himself with the sign of the cross, worshipped and kissed it,<sup>89</sup> then went to fight Polykarpos, saying: 'Since you knew that my army worshipped the cross of Christ, yet you still ask to do battle with us, let your blood be on your own head.'<sup>90</sup> He came close, struck him, and sliced him in two. Then he returned to his own men, glorifying Christ.

<sup>89</sup> For crossing oneself before battle cf. above, V77.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Matt. 27: 15; Acts 18: 6.

*Geo.* who will fight him and become equal to my majesty?' Twice the herald went out, but no one dared to say anything at all.

*Here is the combat between Vaxt'ang Gorgasali and Polykarpos the Greek general, and the killing of Polykarpos by Vaxt'ang<sup>41</sup>*

Then King Vaxt'ang said: 'A man is not strengthened by (his own) force, but God gives him strength. I trust in your strength, and like David I go forth with the sign [175] of the cross. Give me strength, as (you did) to David against Goliath; for this man has abusively and disdainfully attacked your cross. When he saw the cross set up to strengthen us, he did not flee from it but with confidence in his own strength came to do battle.' And he added: 'Look, God, on the haughty one and humble him. Again, look on the one in distress and save him. Him I disdain and fear not, because great is the strength given by you, whereby I shall defeat him. But of you I am afraid, since you hear the voice of the humble;<sup>42</sup> and I call on you to help me.' He drew his sword and touched the cross. Then he went among his warriors and said: 'A lion does not fight with an ox. For I am a king and you are a slave. Yet I have submitted humbly for the sake of this people, in order that they might believe in the strength of the cross.' Polykarpos rushed on him, but Vaxt'ang cautiously<sup>43</sup> and deliberately approached. They both shouted out with a fearsome cry of warriors, and there was a noise like the sound of thunder, from which the ground shook. With his lance Polykarpos smote Vaxt'ang's shield, which was of tiger-skin; it penetrated the shield about a cubit, for the thickness of the lance

<sup>41</sup> The title is found in all MSS except ACMm.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Ps. 9: 12.

<sup>43</sup> Cautiously: *msumriad* in C, *msmriad* in A. The word does not appear in dictionaries. All other MSS have *saomrad*, 'for battle'. Pätšch renders 'langsam', and Cylaja 'stepenno' (steadily).

Again the Greeks began to draw up their line, but Vaxt'ang put them to flight as far as the sea. After this the two sides reviewed their forces: of the Greeks 72,000 had fallen, and on Vaxt'ang's side 42,000.<sup>91</sup> They gathered together the Greek prisoners, and counted them up: 780,000. They sent them all to the emperor in the charge of the lords Nersēs and Atrnerseh. Arm.

<sup>91</sup> And on Vaxt'ang's side 42,000: as ABCD, omitted in V. 2 and 3 (b/g) are more easily confused in Armenian minuscule script than in Georgian.

was that of a man's arm. The king left his shield to the lance and rushed forward face-to-face. He struck his sword on (Polykarpos') helmet and sliced his head in two down to his shoulder-blades. He put out his hand and took the half of his head; placing it before the cross, he said: 'Let such be the lot of all who rebel against you.' Geo.

Vaxt'ang's troops rushed on the Greek soldiers and put them to flight. [176] They cut them down, division by division, and slaughtered them by the edge of the sea. None escaped, save for those who gained the sea and fled by boat. On that day 43,000 of Vaxt'ang's troops perished; while from among the Greek troops 72,000 died, and 125,000 of them were taken prisoner. When Vaxt'ang's troops returned and came upon the body of Varaz-Bakur, the uncle of Vaxt'ang, they lamented, embalmed it with aloes and myrrh, and brought it to Bardav. Then King Vaxt'ang summoned all the troops and commanded them to bring up all the prisoners. They were led up for a total of 780,000 men and women. He handed them all over to the emperor through Nasar and Adarnase, his *erist'avis*. He wrote a letter as follows: 'The wisdom of God is unattainable, and the will of God overcomes the wisdom and desire of men. I know that this which was done by Polykarpos was not your will; nor was it my will what my uncle did. Misfortune caught up with both evildoers. Therefore God did this in order to lead these neophytes to faith and awe of him, just as for the prodigal son he prepared a joyous event.<sup>44</sup> But you are first-born sons of God and are continuously his. Now as for this grief over my uncle, I have been consoled through your nephew when I sought vengeance on his murderers. So do you be consoled with these people whom God has saved, 780,000 persons. If you wish to see me, hurry. Otherwise, [177] manage affairs with us through an

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Luke 15: 25.

*Arm.* When the emperor saw them, he rejoiced. He came to Vaxt'ang, and they swore a mutual pact. The emperor gave up T'ułars and Klarjet', which he had taken from the Georgians,<sup>92</sup> and promised

<sup>92</sup> Which . . . Georgians: an addition based on the passage at Q137 above. See Q168 for the marriage settlement. For the historical significance of this border agreement see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 365.

*Geo.* envoy. For our remaining (here) is a burden for this ravaged land.'

Until the arrival of the envoys the emperor was very sad. But when they informed him that all the captives first taken and the captives from among the people who had fled had been released in their entirety, then he greatly rejoiced and they all forgot their grief. The king boarded a ship and came with 300 vessels; reaching the shore without difficulty, he summoned Vaxt'ang. They exchanged mutual promises and oaths, and arranged the matter of the betrothal. The emperor returned the border territory of K'art'li, the fortress of T'uxarisi and all of Klarjet'i, from the sea as far as Arsiant'a, and the valleys which are beside Ġado. The emperor enquired about the Greek border, the land on the seashore which is Ap'xazet'i, and said as follows: 'From the river of Egris as far as the river of Lesser Xazaret'i: this has been the border of Greek territory from (the time of) Alexander's expedition.<sup>45</sup> Now you have taken it from us by force, and you will restore it to us. But when you take my daughter as your wife, then I shall give you some of this territory.' So he assigned as dowry the land between the river of Egrisi and Klisura. Vaxt'ang returned the rest of Ap'xazet'i to the Greeks.

Vaxt'ang set out on the road to Klarjet'i, and left his troops (to proceed) along the road to Armenia. When he arrived at T'uxarisi, on seeing the fortress he liked it and said: 'Truly, you are a fortress.'<sup>46</sup> After he had gone on his way he saw among the cliffs in Klarjet'i a place called Artanuĵi. He summoned Artavaz, his foster-brother, and appointed him *erist'avi*. He ordered him to construct the fortress of Artanuĵi; and he also ordered him to seek out

<sup>45</sup> From . . . expedition: *alek'sandrobot'gan*. The abstract noun in *-oba* indicates Alexander's 'geste'.

<sup>46</sup> Truly . . . fortress: *t'u xar ſen c'ixe*, providing an etymology! *T'u* here means 'indeed, truly'; cf. below, Q231 n. 24.



to give his daughter to Vaxt'ang. Vaxt'ang returned home with great joy. *Arm.*

[85] When the king of Persia heard of his pact with the Greeks, he was exceedingly angry. He marched in person to Greek territory

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a place in the valley for a monastery, and to build a church and *Geo.*  
[178] construct a monastery just as he had seen monasteries in Greece. He said to Artavaz: 'If the Persians are victorious over us, here we shall make our stand.' Artavaz built the fortress of Artanuĵi, and the monastery which is Opiza, and three churches: (in) the villages of Meri, Šindobi, and Axizi. He restored the fortress of Axizi, and fashioned it with a cave. When Vaxt'ang had gone on and reached his own city of Mc'xet'a, there was great joy and giving of thanks to God; because he had returned in peace, and he gave much largesse to his people.

When the king of the Persians learned that Vaxt'ang had turned to the side of the Greeks, he went back to Persia and died. His son succeeded as king; and until he came of age there passed an interval of three years. Now his wife bore twins to king Vaxt'ang, a son and a daughter; but Queen Balenduxt, daughter of the Persian king, died in childbirth. Vaxt'ang gave his son the name of Darč'il in Persian, Dač'i in Georgian. Then King Vaxt'ang did not have time to marry the daughter of the Greek king<sup>47</sup> or to bring a Catholicos and bishops, because he was expecting the Persian king to attack. He fortified the castles and cities, equipped cavalry, and prepared to fight the Persians. Then he put in prison Bink'aran the impostor, the bishop of the fire-worshippers, and eliminated and expelled all the fire-worshippers from the boundaries of K'art'li.

After the passage of three years the Persian king set out to attack Vaxt'ang. He reached Indabriant'a and camped there. Vaxt'ang sent (word) [179] to the king of the Greeks and informed him: 'Behold, this is the day on which I promised that I would deliver the Persians into your hand for destruction. See, I have led them within the boundaries of K'art'li, and the total of those in their company is about 300,000.' For he thought that his (the Persian king's) troops had been augmented from Armenia and by the kings

<sup>47</sup> For the marriage see below, Q198. This, and the bringing of a Catholicos and bishops, were foreseen in Vaxt'ang's dream, Q168 above.

*Arm.* with a numerous army, and was killed there.<sup>93</sup> His son succeeded as king, and attacked Vaxt'ang.

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<sup>93</sup> Here is a rare contradiction between the two texts. For the passage see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 365–6, where he disentangles the historical errors.

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*Geo.* of the Caucasians. But they had not dared to join him, because some of them had hope in the Crucified One; while others, the kings of Daruband, were overcome by the devil and did join. 'Now the promise which I made has been fulfilled. For wherever a house of fire has been found I have extinguished it with urine,<sup>48</sup> and the magi and their supporters I have afflicted with cruel tortures. The impostor Bink'aran I had cast into prison and condemned to death; it was he who brought the Persians into K'art'li. I appointed Michael, a believer, as bishop. But Bink'aran died when he reached the borders of K'art'li. Now quickly lead your troops here so that they may exterminate all the enemies of the cross and remove from you all your enemies. But if we are defeated and they triumph, then they will enter your territory by the route of Šimšat.'

Before the envoys of King Vaxt'ang arrived, the emperor had set out for the land of Xazaret'i, hence he did not have the time to go to K'art'li. Then Vaxt'ang strengthened the fortifications of his city. He took with him the most elite warriors of his people, about 100,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry, and stationed them from Digomi as far as the entrance to K'art'li. The Persians encamped above C'xenis-Terp'i.

[180] *Here is the entrance of the Persians into K'art'li to wage war on Vaxt'ang Gorgasali*<sup>49</sup>

Then Vaxt'ang widened the bridge of Moguet'i to some sixty cubits<sup>50</sup> for the passage of troops. The king and the *spaspet* Juanser stayed at Mc'xet'a, and he put Nasar and Mirdat in command of the troops of Armenia and of K'art'li who were stationed around Armazi. Were the Persians to attack from the direction of Armazi, they would leave Mc'xet'a; and if the army were to come from the

<sup>48</sup> As also in Łazar 136.

<sup>49</sup> This title is found in BDERTbds; all except D add 'and Vaxt'ang's victory over them'.

<sup>50</sup> The implication is 'to 60 cubits', rather than 'by 60 cubits'.

For four months they did battle with each other, until there arrived from the emperor an army 80,000 strong with gifts. When the Persian king learned of this he requested a treaty from Vaxt'ang saying: 'Why do we fight about religion?<sup>94</sup> If the fire is God, he himself will take vengeance from the Crucified one.'

<sup>94</sup> Religion: *den*, normally used in Armenian for a non-Christian religion; see Thomson, 'The "Maccabees" in Early Armenian Historiography' *JTS* NS 12 (1975), 117-38.

direction of Mc'xet'a, they would fight on the Aragvi. If they should cross the ford of the Mtkuari, then they would give battle at the ford of Tp'ilisi. And one day one side prevailed, and another day the other side. Now King Vaxt'ang had had made a helmet of gold; on the front it had a wolf, and on the back a lion. On whichever side the Georgians were being defeated, there he would advance and destroy the Persian troops, like a lion (slaying) onagers. Therefore the Persians were quite unable to fight him because they recognized him, on whom the wolf and lion were inscribed. And when they saw Vaxt'ang, they would say: '*Dur az Gorgasal'*, which means: 'Flee the head of the wolf.' Hence King Vaxt'ang was named Gorgasal.<sup>51</sup>

The struggle between them extended over four months. Then an envoy arrived from the emperor; he presented gifts to Vaxt'ang, and handed over 80,000 cavalry from the Greek army. (The emperor) had written to Vaxt'ang as follows: 'I have returned from war with the Xakan,<sup>52</sup> and have sent to you 80,000 cavalry, and have written to Leo: "If you ask for troops, you have access to (those) from Melitene as far as Lame and beyond, up to the city of Karin." And I have ordered Leo to be at your disposition.' [181] The Greek army had arrived at Javaxet'i when the Persian king learned of the coming of the Greeks to help them. He began negotiations with Vaxt'ang, gave instructions to his envoy, and said: 'Why should we fight each other? We are brothers, descendants of

<sup>51</sup> Gorgasal is derived from *gorg(-a-)sar*, Persian for 'wolf-head'. The helmet is a later development, and 'lion', *āslān*, was confused with *sar*'; see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 369 n. 48. Arm., V86 at n. 1, mentions only the wolf and the lion. *Dūr az* means 'away from' (in Persian), as *i bac'* in Armenian V86.

<sup>52</sup> Xakan: This is the title of the supreme Xazar ruler; Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 192-6.

*Arm.* Vaxt'ang said: 'Behold you know that all kings used to pay tribute to you until they believed in the Crucified one. Then strengthened by him, they defeated you who worship fire—which I have extinguished here in my country, and whose chief priest I have sent back to you.<sup>95</sup> Now Christ is my god, and let fire be your god if you wish. I am a descendant of Nebrot'; but because<sup>96</sup> you have [86] his throne, I shall obey you as a father.'<sup>97</sup> In this fashion they acted. Giving each other gifts, they visited one another.

<sup>95</sup> For the corresponding passage in Geo. see above, Q179.

<sup>96</sup> Because: *zi*, as ABCD, omitted in V.

<sup>97</sup> This refers to the quarrel between Mirian and his brothers over the throne of Persia; see above, Q67.

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*Geo.* Nebrot'.<sup>53</sup> If the fire is God, let him help himself. But we shall stand by the friendship of our fathers. Let each of us worship what pleases his own heart.' When the envoy arrived and told King Vaxt'ang all the Persian king's message, it pleased Vaxt'ang and all his people.

King Vaxt'ang gave him a gift and sent back the envoy, saying: 'You have seen the power of the Cross. For you imposed tribute on all kings until the appearance of the Crucified One. When he appeared, he made all his worshippers victorious before him. The Greeks, who paid you tribute, henceforth wage war on you and ravage the sanctuaries of fire. Now if you fight us to make us abandon our religion, we shall die for it, just as he died for us; and he will raise us up again. But if you carry out your promise, and fire will no longer be your god but Christ will be your God, then I shall call you father and lord. Although we are the first-born, yet you may sit on the throne of our father.' When they relayed Vaxt'ang's speech, he accepted it and dispatched to Gorgasal significant gifts, including a crown of rubies. They set a time for meeting. The Persian king started off and withdrew to Rustavi. They set out in the morning and stopped at the plain of Kala. For the countryside of Tp'ilisi and Kala too had been devastated at that time. King Vaxt'ang stopped at Jaču, and both kings met at that same plain.

<sup>53</sup> i.e. by Persian descent. For Nebrot' as ancestor of the Persians see above, Q161. Vaxt'ang's mother was Sagduxt, daughter of the *erist'avi* of Ran. More significantly, his ancestor King Mirian was the son of the Persian king 'K'asre, the Sasanian Ardašir'; see above, Q64.

[182] They greeted each other and made binding promises according to each one's religion. Geo.

That same day Gorgasal invited the Persian king with his army to Tp'ilisi. Gorgasal gave him 1,000 handmaidens, 500 servants, 500 pieces of brocade embroidered with gold, 500 bezants and drachmas, 10,000 war horses, 500 pack horses, 300 mules, 4,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep. On the third day Gorgasal came to see him bringing Leo, the emperor's proconsul, and they held discussions. The proconsul advised Gorgasal to make peace between the emperor and Xuasro. For the Greeks were afraid lest the Persians enter Greek territory and ravage it, since all the Greek troops were in Xazaret'i. Xuasro said to Gorgasal: 'Ask of me whatever you wish for yourself, or what you wish for someone else.' But Gorgasal replied: 'I wish that there be peace between you and the emperor.' Said Xuasro: 'Your request is onerous for me, because when the Greeks find an opportunity against us they do not treat us kindly. Thus I have become friendly with you so that I might enter Greek territory and seek vengeance from them. Behold, it is ten days since an envoy of the king of the Xazars has arrived, yet you did not know the cause of our enmity. But now I shall describe for you their insolence against us, and then I shall fulfil your wish, since I promised you with a strong oath that I would not do what you do not desire.' And he said: 'You know that this side of the sea is our territory since the division of Noah, yet now he fights me for Jazira and Šam, and those cities are devastated. Šam belongs to our kingdom. But half of Jazira, as ordained by our fathers,<sup>54</sup> is your portion and the Greeks have seized it. [183] So I shall come in order to take it back. Now as for the portion which belongs to your fathers, divide it as you and the Greeks decide. But let the Greeks give me the rest of Jazira and what I have asked of you.'

When Leon the proconsul heard this, he greatly rejoiced, did obeisance to both kings, and said: 'Let the five cities of Jazira in your region be yours; for we shall restore to you half of Sikilia<sup>55</sup> which we took from you. And let there be peace between you and him.' The king said: 'Who knows if the king of the Greeks will

<sup>54</sup> See above, Q67, for the division of the borderlands in the time of Mirian.

<sup>55</sup> Sikilia: This place-name was unknown to the scribes, hence there are many variants including *sikudili*, 'death!' Brosset, note ad loc., suggested 'Tigris'. But the reference remains obscure.

Geo. agree to our action?' Leon said: 'When he sent me to the support of this monarch, a certain monk, wise in things divine, said to our king that it is God's will that these three kings be at peace. And so it has happened. Now the emperor commanded a secretary<sup>56</sup> and he wrote a treaty. And behold, here is his written text.' When he had said this, they read the text, where it was written with an oath: 'Apart from what the Persian king gave to Jovian, I shall seek nothing from you.' The Persian king summoned the envoy of the king of the Xazars and explained the rancour of the Persians against the Greeks. Then the Persian king took the paper, and in his own hand signed the treaty of friendship with the king of the Greeks and of the demarcation of the frontiers and of the restoration of Sikilia. He gave over Palestine with the territory of Jerusalem, and said: 'Jerusalem is the city of your religion.' And he gave as a present to Gorgasal: 3,000 pounds of aloes, 500 pounds of amber, 500 pounds of musk, 3,000 gelded horses, 1,000 royal<sup>57</sup> garments, and 3,000 sables.

Vaxt'ang returned home. On the next day the king sent to Vaxt'ang Barzaban, [184] his personal *mobed*,<sup>58</sup> and said to Gorgasal: 'Whatever you wish from me I shall now do. Administer your property as you wish. Send officers<sup>59</sup> and take over your cities which I have given to you and to the emperor. I have commanded Barzaban to go to the emperor to hand over your lands and cities. You know that the Persian elders are angry with us over this affair, because they thought that Greece would be destroyed by me. But today I have given as a present two of my royal territories. Now this is my request, that you give me your sister to wife, and you come with me to our ancestral land in order to visit your relatives, and that you assist me in person against my enemies, the Abašes and Elamites,<sup>60</sup> the Indians and Sinds. For they have caused the worst evil and humiliation for my kingdom. Now when you come to me I shall tell my elders and *marzpan*s that I have made an alliance with my friends, because such was the desire of my brother

<sup>56</sup> Secretary: *mcignobari*, or 'scribe'.

<sup>57</sup> Royal: *xuasrovani*, an adj. derived from Xuastro.

<sup>58</sup> *Mobed*: 'chief magus', *mobidani* being a title not a personal name; cf. V73 n. 10. Cf. above, Q142, for a bishop so called.

<sup>59</sup> Officers: *dasturni*, the Persian *dastūr*, which means either 'permission' or 'special counsellor'.

<sup>60</sup> The Elamites are only mentioned here in the *K'C*. The area intended is Gilan; see below, Q187.

Vaxt'ang gave his sister Mihranduxt in marriage to the Persian king Xosrov, because his other sister Xoraznē was betrothed to the *patiašx* of the Armenians.<sup>98</sup> Vaxt'ang acted as intermediary between the Greeks and Persians and made peace between them; while

Arm.

<sup>98</sup> Arm. here has *patiašx* for the standard Armenian form *bdeašx*; i.e. Bakur was her husband, see V92. Of the Armenians: i.e. of the border province Somxet'i, that is, Gogarene, not of the whole of Armenia; see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 262.

King Vaxt'ang. With the assistance of the lands which I have given them we shall impose tribute on our enemies. Thus we shall calm their fury against the Greeks. But I want you to support me in person, whereas your troops should remain in their place.' Then Vaxt'ang summoned his counsellors. Leon the proconsul advised him as follows: 'Great is your kindness to the Greeks, greater than that of the (other) kings who sat on their thrones. For you have saved the city of Pontos from ruin, and you have spared 780,000 souls, and today you have granted Jazira and Palestine, of which no Greek king gained control by peaceful means. Xuasro is right; if you do not do what he wishes, [185] his people will regard him as worthless. Although he has not told you, we shall win the victory,<sup>61</sup> because this is perfect friendship. I shall give you 10,000 armed men from among my soldiers, and I shall accompany your envoys to the emperor's presence. From there I shall join you in Jazira with a powerful army.' So spoke Leon the proconsul. His advice pleased King Vaxt'ang and all his nobles.

Geo.

King Vaxt'ang gave his sister called Miranduxt as wife to the Persian king; she had been taken captive by the Ossetes and Vaxt'ang had liberated her.<sup>62</sup> Xuaranje he did not give for the reason that she had been betrothed to the *pitiaxš* of the Armenians. Vaxt'ang brought his son, who was called in Persian Darē'il, but Dač'i in Georgian; he was 5 years old. He crowned him, left him as king, and left with him his seven nobles: first, the *spaspet* Juanšer, governor of Inner K'art'li and chief of all the *erist'avis*; Demetre, *erist'avi* of Kaxet'i and of Kuxet'i; Grigoli, *erist'avi* of Heret'i; Nersaran, *erist'avi* of Xunan; Adarnase, *erist'avi* of Samšwilde; Samnağir, *erist'avi* of Inner Egrisi and of Suanet'i;

<sup>61</sup> We shall win the victory: It is not clear if this is a statement (by Leon), or reported speech after 'told you'.

<sup>62</sup> See above, Q145, 157 for Miranduxt's captivity and release.

*Arm.* Xosrov abandoned Jerusalem to the Greeks.<sup>99</sup> Vaxt'ang's wife bore two children—male and female—then died herself. They called the boy Dač'ē. On top of his golden helmet Vaxt'ang fashioned an image of a wolf and of a lion. Therefore in the hour of battle when they saw and recognised him, they would say: 'Let us remove ourselves from the wolf and lion.' So he was called Gorgasal—that is, 'wolf-lion' in the Persian tongue.<sup>1</sup>

After this, urged on by his love of Christ, Vaxt'ang went to

<sup>99</sup> In this paragraph *Arm.* recapitulates several pages of the preceding text in *Geo.*

<sup>1</sup> For the etymology of 'Gorgasal' see above, Q180. Let us remove ourselves: *i bac' eteruk'* adds a verb to the Persian *dur az* of *Geo.*

*Geo.* Bakur, *erist'avi* of Margvi and of T'akueri. To these he entrusted his son Dač'i; and he ordered them to restore Ujarma and to bring up King Dač'i there, because he recognized that it was suitable for game and sheep. He took with himself four of his nobles: Artavaz, *erist'avi* of Klarjet'i; Nasar, *erist'avi* of Cunda; Biwritian, *erist'avi* of Ojrhe;<sup>63</sup> [186] Saurmag, his grand chamberlain;<sup>64</sup> and with them 10,000 élite cavalry from his army. The *ant'ipati* Leon also left (with him) 10,000 Greek troops from his army, and went in person to the emperor. King Vaxt'ang sent with him as envoy Artavaz, *erist'avi* of Klarjet'i. And he entrusted to him for the emperor all the gifts which King Xuasro had given him, save that he set aside for himself the textiles and the geldings. All the rest he entrusted to Artavaz, and ordered him to join the proconsul Leon in Ĵazira.

Vaxt'ang's mother and his sister Xuaranje begged him to take them with him to pray at Jerusalem. He took them, and King Vaxt'ang and Xuasro set out along the road of Adarbadagan. From there Vaxt'ang, his mother, and his sister set out for Jerusalem, while Xuasro waited at Antioch. They arrived and prayed at the (church of the) Holy Resurrection. They made a pilgrimage to all the holy places, made vows at the Holy Resurrection, left valuable offerings, and set out for Antioch. But

<sup>63</sup> Here nine *erist'avates* are listed, compared to the eight supposedly established by P'arnavaz, above, Q24. The only difference is that Heret'i is listed separately instead of being included with Kaxet'i and Kuxet'i. For the earlier list see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 446 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Chamberlain: *eĵibi*, the Arabic *hāĵib*, rendered in Armenian by *hečup*, below, V88. Cf. *AG* 269.



Jerusalem, taking with him his mother and sister.<sup>2</sup> After paying their respects to the holy places, they returned in great joy and he came to Antioch. Arm.

The Persian king honoured him (and asked) that he come to Persia [87] with his mother and sister in order to celebrate the wedding of his sister, whom he had given in marriage to Xosrov. They went to Babylon<sup>3</sup> and were received with great honour. They celebrated for six months, and with magnificent gifts sent on her way Vaxt'ang's mother.

<sup>2</sup> Arm. has Vaxt'ang deliver Jerusalem from the Persians, below, V88.

<sup>3</sup> Baghdad was founded in 762 by the caliph al-Manşūr. Geo. frequently uses the name anachronistically for the capital of pre-Islamic Persia. Arm. follows Geo. at V41 above; but here and on V98 reverts to Babylon as in both texts on V18, 27. The reference to Baghdad in Arm. below, V106, is an error for Bardav.

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Leon, the emperor's proconsul, and Artavaz, Vaxt'ang's *erist'avi*, set off with 20,000 élite cavalry. They offered to Xuasro the immeasurable gifts from the emperor, and to Vaxt'ang an incalculable present. The emperor had ordered his envoys to rejoice and give thanks to God, and to praise and thank Vaxt'ang immeasurably. And he informed Vaxt'ang: 'I have commanded Leon to treat you with the same respect and obedience as me.' There gathered under Vaxt'ang's command 50,000 élite cavalry, Greek, Georgian, and Armenian. Geo.

[187] Then the Persian king declared to Vaxt'ang: 'How much have your mother and sister endured up to now! Let them also come to my kingdom, so that together we may complete our joy. If they later wish to return to K'art'li, let them go by the road of Ran. But if they wish to wait for you, let them wait in the city of Urha.' Xuasro's invitation pleased Vaxt'ang, so he took them with him and they set out. The Persian king sent an envoy to all the nobles of Persia, and informed them of everything. They rejoiced with great joy, because like fire they were burning for war against the Indians, Sinds, Abaşes, and Jorjans.<sup>65</sup> They entered Baghdad and were greeted by all the nobles of Persia with great joy. They celebrated the royal marriage with festivities and immeasurable feasting for six months. After the marriage he gave a precious gift to Vaxt'ang's mother and sister, and they set off for Urha. All the

<sup>65</sup> Jorjans: for the Elamites of Q184.

*Arm.* Xosrov took Vaxt'ang and went to Ĵurjanet', where the capital city is Gelan.<sup>4</sup> They depopulated it of the original inhabitants and settled there Persians. They are tributary to the Persians until today.

From there they went to India and plundered that extensive territory, except for the cities on the sea.<sup>5</sup> There Vaxt'ang slew twelve champions.<sup>6</sup> They took as tribute 1,000 litres each of musk and amber, perfumes, ships, and gems,<sup>7</sup> a ship's load of emeralds and

<sup>4</sup> Where . . . Gelan: The *AŠX* 35 notes that Gelan is in Media.

<sup>5</sup> On the sea: *i veray covun*. Mm in Geo., just below, read *zġudet'a šina*, 'within walls'. But all other MSS have *zġuat'a šina*, lit. 'within seas'.

<sup>6</sup> Twelve champions: in Geo., only C has '12' for '15'. Here Arm. has *embiš* for *bumberazi*, and just below *axoyean*. See V28 n. 77 above for other translations.

<sup>7</sup> The 'and' here seems to be a rare example of Arm. misunderstanding the Georgian.

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*Geo.* people of Persia honoured Vaxt'ang as much as Xuasro, their king. Then they set out against their enemies.

*Here is the assistance of Vaxt'ang Gorgasali to the Persian king against the Indians, Sinds, Abases, and Ĵorjans; and the success of Vaxt'ang over them all*<sup>66</sup>

First they entered Ĵorjanet'i, subdued it, and completely depopulated it. They installed in their place inhabitants of Persian descent. Since then the Ĵorjans have become peasants, who are now tributary to the Persians.

[188] *The attack on India by Vaxt'ang Gorgasali, and Vaxt'ang's success over them*

From there they entered India, where occurred strenuous battles and single combats. It was the custom there that the army of whichever of them was defeated would flee before (the conqueror). Now King Vaxt'ang slew there fifteen champions who had overthrown many Persian heroes. The war in India lasted for three years, and they captured innumerable Indian territories. But they were unable to reduce the fortified cities because they were situated within walls. They exacted from the king of India tribute: 1,000 pounds of musk, the same of amber, ten ships of aloes, one ship of rubies and emeralds, and therewith sapphires of every kind, 100 camel (loads) of gold, 500 camel (loads) of silver.

<sup>66</sup> This and the two following titles are in all MSS except ACMm.

rubies, 100 camel's loads of gold of Sop'er,<sup>8</sup> 500 loads of silver; for *Arm.* they remained there three years.

From there they went to Sind. The king of Sind came out to oppose them, and slew many of the Persian soldiers. However, the Christian troops put them to flight, and they took refuge in the castle and fortified city of Sinda. The king of Sind came out every day in person [88] as a champion, and promptly slew all those who opposed him in combat. He also tried to entrap Vaxt'ang.

One night he made concealed ditches at the city gate and hid inside them ten élite warriors;<sup>9</sup> then he sent one champion to

<sup>8</sup> Of Sop'er: *Sop'eray*. *Arm.* has interpreted 'sapphires', *sip'eroni* in *Geo.*, as the gold 'of Ophir' (*i. Sovp'eray* in the Armenian Bible) with which David built the temple, 1 Chron. 29: 4.

<sup>9</sup> Elite warriors: *ayr'ntir*. Perhaps *Arm.* thought the ditches (*getnap'ors*, pl.) not large enough for cavalry!

### *The attack by Vaxt'ang Gorgasali into Sind and Vaxt'ang's success*

*Geo.*

From there they entered Sind. Then the king of the Sinds divided his people among the castles and cities. In whichever region the Persians came plundering, the Sinds came out of their castles and cities and inflicted great losses on the Persians; a countless number of Persians were massacred. But through the power of Christ nowhere were any of Vaxt'ang's troops defeated; they showed themselves completely victorious over their enemies. Vaxt'ang's four nobles and the Greek Leon acquitted themselves as valiant fighters, for they slew many champion warriors of the Sinds who fought bravely. Now the king of the Sinds was in the city of Sindia. So with all their strength they attacked Sindia, and fierce battles occurred there. Every day the king of the Sinds came out in person, [189] because he was a brave and resolute warrior. He was accompanied by the cavalry of Sind, and encounters between champions took place. On one day one side was victorious, and on another (day) the other (side). The king of the Sinds overcame personally all the champions who attacked him. But he and Vaxt'ang did not come to grips in the war for many days.

Then the king of the Sinds dug by night a deep ditch on the plain at the gates of the city, in order to conceal cavalry inside. He adroitly left exits, and posted there ten élite cavalymen. In the morning he sent out a champion; and on that day it was the turn

*Arm.* challenge Vaxt'ang (to single combat). At the appropriate moment the men were to rise up and seize Vaxt'ang. When the champion advanced and challenged Vaxt'ang, the latter's chamberlain<sup>10</sup> Sayurmak went out to him and slew him. But on his return the men lying in ambush arose and killed him. Vaxt'ang was greatly distressed and wept for him as for a beloved brother, because they had been raised together.

After this the king of Sind came out on the wall<sup>11</sup> and said: 'Listen to my words, O king of the Georgians, for I shall tell you

<sup>10</sup> Chamberlain: *hečup*; see above, Geo. n. 64.

<sup>11</sup> Wall: *parkapn* in AC, *parpak* in BD and V, for *kart'a* in Geo. Neither Armenian word is attested elsewhere, so the editor of V suggests *parisp*.

*Geo.* of Vaxt'ang to guard the gates. This champion came up and challenged him to single combat, as if to gain repute and be superior to their cavalry. Then Saurmag, Vaxt'ang's chamberlain, came forth and said: 'You cannot be so bold as to fight a king, but I shall fight you, servant against servant', and he rushed on him. But the Sind retreated and Saurmag pursued him according to his habit, for often had he fought on the plain. When he had gone past the hidden cavalry, they came out behind him, and the one fleeing turned around. Saurmag struck his lance at the one in front of him, and killed him; but the (other) ten slew Saurmag. Then King Vaxt'ang himself rushed on them, accompanied by his three nobles—Artavaz, Biwritian, and Nasar, and with Leon the Greek. The Sinds fled, and Vaxt'ang with his companions pursued them up to the gates of the city. The Sinds took refuge in the city. Then Vaxt'ang returned, filled with grief, and mourned over the body of Saurmag as over a beloved brother. For he had been raised with him, being the nephew of his (Vaxt'ang's) tutor, (who was) the father of Artavaz, and was sincere, loyal, and brave.<sup>67</sup>

[190] *Parable of the king of the Sinds*<sup>68</sup>

Then the king of the Sinds stood outside at the gates of the city and shouted out in a loud voice: 'O King Vaxt'ang, you resemble

<sup>67</sup> Brave: *k'ueli*: see above, Q138 n. 21, for this term implying martial prowess. This Saurmag was the nephew of an earlier Saurmag; it was the latter who was Vaxt'ang's tutor (Q143) and father of Artavaz (Q156); his death is mentioned at Q145.

<sup>68</sup> This title appears only in D; Bbdp have merely 'parable'.

whom you resemble. You are like a crow which has taken up a hawk deprived of its plumage by its other companions, and has nourished it in his nest, bringing it small worms and snakes. But after the latter had somewhat recovered, it seized the crow and ate it, saying: "I cannot grow strong on such food so long as I have not eaten a bird." So you give feathers to the one deplumed by us and others, in opposition to your Christian faith.' *Arm.*

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a stupid crow who found a hawk wounded and torn by an eagle, which could not fly and was near to death. The crow did not act as is customary for a crow. For if another crow were to see a hawk, it would start to make a loud clamour. And when the others heard it, a multitude of crows would descend on the hawk in order to chase it away from their dwellings so they could live their days without fear. For even the animals know their own advantage. The crow did not act thus, but pitied the hawk as if it were his benefactor. He allowed it to be raised with his own young, and continuously collected for it locusts and snakes—because a crow cannot gather anything else—and therewith nourished the hawk. When its wings had grown the hawk said to itself: "For many days I have been fed like this on locusts and snakes, but I have not gained the strength of my parents because I do not grow strong on locusts. Perhaps I might be able to catch birds and nourish myself with them. So I shall seize this crow who raised me; I shall eat him and rest for two days. It will give me strength and I shall begin to hunt in the fashion of our fathers." So he carried this out, seized the crow and ate it. From then on he began to hunt birds large and swift. He did not praise the crow for his pity, but regarded it as ignorant and suicidal. Nor should blame be imputed to the hawk for its lack of mercy and its ingratitude, because this is [191] the character and habit of a hawk. It would be exhausted and die from locusts, so it acted in accordance with its character and was saved from death. But the crow did not act in character, and therefore was killed. *Geo.*

'Now the Persians, who from the beginning until today and for all the future are enemies of those who worship the cross, at one time through weakness flatter and make friendship; but when the time changes, they do not provide mercy or gratitude. This has occurred myriads of times, as we have heard from books. When

*Arm.* Vaxt'ang said to him: 'You are a stupid mouse-like mole that has no sight, living underground, not sharing in the beauty of heaven and earth or in the sun's rays, yet happy with its life. Likewise you are blind in your mind, and you do not see what I have done.'

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*Geo.* you saw the Persians reduced by me, you did not do what you should have done: offer joy and thanks to your God, enter negotiations with other nations, stir up their enemies against the Persians, and assist the enemies of Persia. You did not do this; but you abandoned the domain of your fathers, you became the leader of a large Christian army from Greece, you travelled a two-year journey, and you have ended by fortifying the Persians so that they grow strong, destroy, and exterminate you and your land, and annihilate all the worshippers of the Cross. Truly you have prepared this for yourself and all the worshippers of the Cross. Why did I tell you the fable of the crow? Because you are an independent and heroic king, yet of your own will you have given yourself up to your enemies as a slave. Why should I not call you senseless?

*Parable of Vaxt'ang Gorgasali*

Then Vaxt'ang said: 'You thought that you had advised wisely and perceptively, but these words of yours are false. I shall explain and indicate to you the truth. Senseless one, you resemble a burrowing mole who has no eyes and [192] whose dwelling is underground. It does not know the shining of the sun or the beauty of the fields. It is satisfied with its life because it supposes that the life of all living things is similar to its own life. It does not desire to see the light and beauty of the sky and earth. Likewise you are blind in the eyes of your mind, and you are deaf in the ears of your mind. You see not, neither do you hear, nor do you know the life of the spirit. You do not desire to enter eternal life, the light without end, the glory that cannot be understood or comprehended. You do not recognize God the creator of all, by whom everything was made. I did not make my entrance into this country for the sake of the glory of this world, nor to serve the Persian king, but in order to serve the God without beginning, the consubstantial Trinity, the creator of all things, for the sake of eternal and unending glory

'You rejoice at not seeing what I have done—sowing my faith in a house of fire,<sup>12</sup> establishing Christianity in the province of Persia. From the Persians I have taken Jerusalem, the place of Christ's glory, the place of my God's footsteps. But I have not come to seek glory or worldly and perishable goods under which you are buried like a mole underground. Because our wisdom bids us to lay down

<sup>12</sup> House of fire: *tun hroy*, not a fire-temple, *tun kraki*, but *tun* in the sense of 'country'. This and the following phrase make explicit what is understated in Geo. Vaxt'ang's deliverance of Jerusalem is a curious exaggeration of his pilgrimage, described above, V86. The intimation is perhaps that Vaxt'ang foreshadowed the triumphs of Heraclius.

hereafter. For by my coming here, first I delivered Jerusalem, the holy city, where trod the feet of our Lord Jesus Christ and where he accomplished everything for the salvation of our souls. And then I rescued all Christendom from ruin, because the time was coming for the king of the Persians to subjugate all Christendom.

'Although my land was protected by the power of Christ and by the valour of my troops, yet the Greeks were preoccupied and were unable to offer resistance. It is right for us who hope in Christ that for the sake of a single companion of ours we lay down our lives.<sup>69</sup> Now by my coming here myriads of souls have been saved. [193] For this reason I acted thus, so that God the Creator might accept my service and my sins might be lightened for me. As for what you said, that "when the Persians are angered, they become enemies of the Christians": through the power and help of Christ at this very hour I have saved the Christians from great tribulation, and in the future God the Creator will once more bestow his mercy on those who hope in him. Although the reason was not the salvation of Christians, yet I came here in person to succour the Persians. This was indeed right, first because of (my) kinship, and then for this purpose, that although the Persians are not in the true religion yet they know God the creator and believe in the spiritual life. But you are completely ignorant of God and do not understand, like horses and mules. So how should God the Creator of all not accept my service? Your mind is detestable even with regard to affairs of this transitory world. For you praise the conduct of the treacherous hawk who ate the crow that had nourished him. But it is our

<sup>69</sup> Cf. John 15: 13, where the Georgian text has *megobari*, 'friend' for *moquasi*, 'companion, neighbour', here.

*Arm.* our lives for brothers, I have carefully protected my country and its holy churches, [89] delivering myself to servitude for the remission of my sins. And if in this I die, I shall pass from death to life.'

The king of Sind said to him: 'If you believe that, then come out and I shall make you pass from death to life like your noble who went as your precursor.' Vaxt'ang said to him: 'Come forth, and first I shall send you to outer darkness by the power of my Christ, who will also transfer me to life at the hour he knows.'<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> An addition based on Matt. 24: 36 (with many parallels).

*Geo.* nature that we lay down our life for our benefactor, and that we receive grace from God, find eternal life, and gain in this world praise from men. If we die for the name of God and for the sake of his commandments, we are immortal, and we shall pass from death to life.'

Then the king of the Sinds said: 'This long discussion between us is in vain. As for what you said, that "if I die for the name of God, I am changed from death to life," well then, if a man knows glory and well-being will befall him, it is right that he hasten to gain that kingdom. Now if you truly know that you will enter the kingdom, come forth to fight me, so that through me you may pass today from death to life. For I have dispatched that noble of yours as your precursor so that he may prepare your lodging.'<sup>70</sup> [194] Vaxt'ang said: 'Death right now does not bring me joy because I am a sinner and I have not fully carried out God's commandments, nor have I totally annulled my sins through repentance. But through the power of Christ I am not afraid of being killed by you. For he is my defender, by whom I am totally protected. God the most merciful, through the great power that derives from him, will slay by me his servant the one who blasphemes him; and your soul will go to outer darkness, inextinguishable fire.'<sup>71</sup>

Then the king of the Sinds came forth, and Vaxt'ang said to his companions: 'Pray to God and protect me from behind.' Vaxt'ang went out, and both of them held lances. They began to run with a circular motion, and each was seeking a way to stick the point of his lance (in the other). Then the king of the Sinds seized an oppor-

<sup>70</sup> A sarcastic allusion to John 14: 2.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Matt. 25: 30, 41.



The two of them rushed on each other. Vaxt'ang struck the Sind with his lance and toppled him from his horse, mortally<sup>14</sup> wounding him. Taking him by the feet, he dragged him before the Persian king. There was great rejoicing, and he received praise from everyone. They brought a skilful man to heal him of his wounds. When he had revived a little, they released him to his own people, who took him away. Two of his sons they took as hostages, and they imposed tribute double that of India. All of this was given to Vaxt'ang, plus many gifts. Arm.

Having made a treaty, they went to Habašet', to the land of the K'uš, the neighbours of Persia,<sup>15</sup> after the four years which they

<sup>14</sup> Mortally: *i mah*. But the addition is misleading since the king was cured! Arm. omits the reference in Geo. to his later deposition.

<sup>15</sup> For the Habaš cf. above, V73. Geo. explicitly places them contiguous (*sazg'vart'a zeda*, Arm. *sahmanakic'*) to Persia. Here Arm. equates Abyssinia with the land of the K'ušac'ik', as Michael, 11, 54. Vardan, *Geography*, places the K'ušac'ik' in Iran.

tunity to avoid the tip of Vaxt'ang's lance, and rushed up in order to strike him with his lance. But with a brave and adroit manoeuvre Vaxt'ang turned aside the lance and attacked. Like a whirlwind he went around him and struck his lance into the left shoulder-blade of the king of the Sinds. His strong armour was unable to protect him, and he was severely wounded; for it came out in front a cubit's length. The king of the Sinds was brought down; Vaxt'ang went up to him, stretched out his hand and seized his foot, and dragged him in front of the Persian king. Then the whole army with a loud voice praised Vaxt'ang. The king of the Persians and all his camp were filled with joy, and all the nobles came before King Vaxt'ang with gifts and presented them to him. Then the Persian king summoned a skilful doctor and instructed him to cure the king of the Sinds of his wound, so that he might receive all Sind from him. But the Sinds installed in the place of their king his son. Geo.

[195] Then King Vaxt'ang advised the Persian king to release the king of the Sinds, and to impose tribute and hostages, because they would not be able to occupy Sind. The advice of Vaxt'ang pleased the Persian king. He released the king of the Sinds, took from him twice as much tribute as he received from the Indians, and also two sons as hostages. All this tribute of the Sinds the Persian king presented to Vaxt'ang. Then the king of the Sinds made a friendly

*Arm.* had spent in India and Sind. The nation of the Habašes dwelt in muddy areas of reeds, where it was impossible for quadrupeds to walk or ships to navigate. However, by some means they dammed the water, captured them, and made a slaughter. One thousand households they brought out with them, and they scattered them to various places. These are the nation of the Kurds and K'ušans,<sup>16</sup> which are different.

<sup>16</sup> No earlier Armenian text offers such an origin for the K'ušans, who are often mentioned in Armenian historians and whose king P'.B. even claims was an Arsacid (v. 7, 37); see Garsoïan, *EH* 384 for bibliography.

*Geo.* treaty with Vaxt'ang. First, because when he had fallen into the hands of Vaxt'ang, he did not kill him but brought him alive before the Persian king; and then because he had been liberated from captivity by Vaxt'ang as well. So he presented to Vaxt'ang gifts of incalculable value. They departed from Sind in the fourth year of their attack on Sind, and they left unravaged the cities of Sind: Sindila, T'op'or, Kimra.

*Here is the attack by the Persian king and Vaxt'ang Gorgasali on Abašet'i, and the subjection of Abašet'i by them*<sup>72</sup>

From there they went to Abašet'i. Now the Abašes dwelt in a land which was surrounded by water and reeds, in which neither ships nor even quadrupeds could move. It is on the borders of Persia. For a long time they waged war, because they diverted the water that flowed there and burned the reeds with fire. They subjected all Abašet'i. The Persian king divided the Abašes into two (groups): he left half in their place, while the other half, about one thousand households, he led away and scattered in various places. These are the Kurds, and the tribes whom he led off captive from among the Abašes.

[196] Vaxt'ang returned to Persia in the eighth year of his expedition, as far as Antioch. He went to Urha. The Persian king pressed upon Vaxt'ang a wife from his own royal kin, but Vaxt'ang said: 'It is not right for me to take two wives, since I have as wife the emperor's daughter.'<sup>73</sup> This angered the Persian king, but he

<sup>72</sup> This title is found in all MSS except ACMm.

<sup>73</sup> For the marriage see below, Q198.

They came to Armenian and Greek territory. And<sup>17</sup> Lewon the Greek general was accompanying them with many troops. He went to his own land, taking with him envoys [90] so that they might bring the emperor's daughter to Vaxt'ang in marriage, and ordain Peter as Catholicos of Georgia and Samuel as bishop. The emperor and patriarch of Constantinople sent the priest Peter and the monk Samuel to Antioch in order to receive ordination there. 'For,' they said, 'that see is yours.' Carrying out the request, they despatched them to Georgia.<sup>18</sup>

King Vaxt'ang went to K'art'l, and there came to meet him Dač'e his son and all the Georgian nobility.<sup>19</sup> On his entry into Mc'xet'a they made a great celebration. However, when Bishop Michael learned that a Catholicos and a bishop were coming to

<sup>17</sup> ABC and V add here *zi*, 'because', which does not fit the grammar of the passage.

<sup>18</sup> Arm. here anticipates the Georgian text of Q197 below. The only other references to the authority of Antioch in the Georgian text of the *KÆC'* occur in 'interpolations'; see Appendix, nn. 13, 15. But Arm. adds on V95 a reference to a new Catholicos being installed without the permission of Antioch. The authority of Antioch is an important issue in the *Life of George the Hagiorite*; see the commentary in P. Peeters, 'Histoires monastiques géorgiques', *AB* 36-7 (1917-19), 1-317 at 113-19.

<sup>19</sup> Nobility: *p'arawork'*, lit. 'glorious ones'. Although a common word, this is not a technical term for any particular rank either lay or ecclesiastical.

said nothing. Then Vaxt'ang found his mother and sister in good health. They went on as far as the border of Greece and Armenia. Leon the Greek and his army departed for Šimšat. Vaxt'ang sent an envoy to bring his wife, and concerning Peter (as) Catholicos and Samuel as bishop.

Vaxt'ang set out for K'art'li. He was met by his son Dač'i, accompanied by all the *spasalars* and with them the bishops. When the bishop learnt that the king had sent an envoy in order to introduce a Catholicos and bishops, he was vexed at that and began to stir up trouble and to make accusations. He sent word to the king: 'You have abandoned Christ and have placed your trust in fire.' But Vaxt'ang sent a message: 'Through the power of Christ I have attacked, and have returned safely also through the power of Christ. And I am innocent, God knows! However, I did send an envoy in order to bring a Catholicos and bishops.' When the

*Arm.* Georgia against his will, he was vexed. He rebuked Vaxt'ang on the pretext that he had worshipped fire. But the king swore an oath and protested: 'Christ is my true God; do not vainly accuse me.' The bishop did not heed him, but anathematized and excommunicated<sup>20</sup> him. The king said: 'Although I am innocent of that charge, yet I have other transgressions before the Lord; for that reason it is right for me to kneel before you.' He went and fell at the bishop's feet, kissed them, and requested forgiveness. But he took back his foot, kicked the king's mouth, and knocked out one of his teeth. The king picked up his tooth, saying: 'This act was the result of my sins and of Satan, who raised you up against me. For it is not your command that says: "You will not strike the broken reed nor extinguish the flickering match."<sup>21</sup> You were envious of Peter's glory<sup>22</sup> and repeated the jealousy of Judas.'

<sup>20</sup> Anathematized and excommunicated: *anĕc ew arar 'nd baniwk'*, an elaboration of *krul go*.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Isa. 42: 3.

<sup>22</sup> Peter's glory: as AC, for 'Peter' in BD and V.

*Geo.* bishop heard this, he accepted it. But he thought that by causing trouble he might prevent this affair and their arrival, so he excommunicated the king and all his troops. The king said: 'Although we are innocent, humility befits us.' So the king came and dismounted from his horse in order to kiss the bishop's feet. But he moved his foot away, hit the king's mouth with his heel, and broke his tooth. The king said: 'This insolence is a result of pride and a deceit of the devil. [197] Even if the multitude of my sins aroused your ire, you do not have the authority to do evil but to forgive, as the gospel says: "You will not extinguish the burning lamp, nor break the bruised reed." But you thought that through your treachery you would remove us from the love of Christ. You showed it clearly when you heard of one better than you being brought to K'art'li. Then you were inflamed with wicked jealousy, like Judas (against) Peter. For you are like Judas, while the church is like Peter. You love silver, because you are the purse-holder of Christ.<sup>74</sup> Now I shall send you to the patriarch in Constantinople, and he will punish you as will be fitting.'

He gave him over to envoys, and with him his tooth, and sent word that they should promptly send a Catholicos and twelve

<sup>74</sup> Like Judas; see John 12: 6, 13: 29.

He sent him to the patriarch of Constantinople, followed by the knocked-out tooth, so that he might make judgment impartially. When the patriarch saw Michael, he said to him: "Through avarice you fought against the church like Judas, and you spilt blood — and that with your feet—from the king's mouth, and you destroyed God's building.<sup>23</sup> So you will not be worthy of the priesthood, because you are guilty against your lord. Why did you not heed Paul who said: "Obey [91] the king," and who said: "Pray for him,

<sup>23</sup> An addition reminiscent of 2 Cor. 5: 1.

bishops. Among them was to be Peter as Catholicos and Samuel as bishop, and as others whoever they pleased.<sup>75</sup> When Bishop Michael arrived, the patriarch said to him: 'Since you spilt blood on the earth you are no longer worthy to be a bishop; and because of your presumption against the king you should pay the penalty of death, as it is said: "Obey kings, because not in vain are they girt with a sword. For his rule is from God, like a lion among lambs."' They exiled Bishop Michael to the monastery of the Watchers.<sup>76</sup>

They sent Peter the priest and Samuel the monk to Antioch. The king and the patriarch of Constantinople wrote to the patriarch of Antioch as follows: 'First, at the beginning of the conversion of K'art'li by the Roman lady Nino, a bishop was sent from here because there was turmoil between the Persians and the Greeks, and thus it was not possible to arrange the matter in accordance with the requirements of the law. For we know that K'art'li and the east and the north belong to your holy see, as the apostles ordained in the gospel what the order of precedence should be.'<sup>77</sup> And they described [198] the whole affair of the great king Vaxt'ang as follows: 'We have deposed the bishop who was

<sup>75</sup> But below it is clear that the Catholicos Peter and the Bishop Samuel (for Mc'xet'a) were *in addition* to twelve other bishops, whose sees are listed below, Q198-9.

<sup>76</sup> The Watchers: *mg'wijaret'a*, i.e., the 'vigilant, awake'. This renders the *Akoimētoi*, 'Sleepless ones' at the monastery of Stoudion in Constantinople in the time of Vaxt'ang.

<sup>77</sup> There is no reference (in the four canonical gospels) to such orders of precedence! Antioch was not mentioned above in the story of Nino, when Ioane came to K'art'li as first bishop. For the general question see the references in V90 n. 18.

*Arm.* otherwise you will realise that it is not in vain that he is girt with a sword”<sup>24</sup> Straightway Michael was sent into exile.

Now when consecrating Peter as Catholicos the patriarch of Antioch also created for him twelve bishops. First they went to Constantinople; then, taking many gifts and the emperor’s daughter Helen, in that manner they went to Vaxt’ang. The land rejoiced.<sup>25</sup> The Catholicos was installed in the church of Mc’xet’a, the Sion which Vaxt’ang had built; while Samuel resided in the episcopal see of Mc’xet’a.<sup>26</sup> One bishop was established<sup>27</sup> in

<sup>24</sup> The first quotation is from Peter (not Paul), 1 Pet. 2: 13; the second from Rom. 13: 4, where AC read ‘him’ for the repeated ‘king’ of BD and V. ‘Like a lion among lambs’ in Geo. is not from the NT.

<sup>25</sup> For the betrothal see above, Q178. *Arm.* often adds a reference to the land’s rejoicing when the king returned; cf. above, V89. The relationship of Helen to the emperor as ‘daughter’ should not be taken literally; see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 367 n. 40.

<sup>26</sup> *Arm.* implies that Vaxt’ang had built a new church called ‘Sion’, whereas Geo. states that the Sion had collapsed and Vaxt’ang enclosed its site in his ‘church of the Apostles’. No church called ‘Sion’ at Mc’xet’a was mentioned above, although the term is common in Georgian for the main church of a town. Two churches had been begun by Mirian at Mc’xet’a: the church in Nino’s garden, the *Sveti C’xoveli* (Q112), and the church outside the wall, later called the ‘episcopal church’ (Q118). Mirian and Nana were buried in the ‘upper church’, where there was a ‘fragment’ of the ‘living pillar’; this must be the ‘episcopal church’. The Cross set up on a hill outside the city was given a canopy by Mirian’s son Rev (Q123); the site was later surrounded with waist-high masonry by Mirdat (Q132), and later still the church of Juari would be completed (below, Q223, 228). Vaxt’ang did not build a new church but expanded (or rebuilt?) the *Sveti C’xoveli* and dedicated it to the Apostles. This remained the church for the Catholicos and is called ‘Sioni’ on V98; while the bishop had the ‘episcopal’ church.

<sup>27</sup> Was established: *edaw*, as AC, for *nstaw*, ‘resided’, in BD and V. *Dasua* in Geo. is transitive rather than intransitive.

*Geo.* appointed by them. Today recognize K’art’li as a true neophyte. Now consecrate these two requested by them; and consecrate another twelve, whoever you wish. Then let them come to us so that we may dispatch them with gifts and everything necessary.’

The patriarch of Antioch consecrated the twelve bishops and Peter as Catholicos. They went to Constantinople, and the king gave them valuable gifts. He also handed over his daughter, named Elene, for King Vaxt’ang and sent her with a large army as far as the borders of Armenia. There King Vaxt’ang met them, and the Greek troops returned, while (the others) went on to Mc’xet’a. At Mc’xet’a King Vaxt’ang built the church of the Apostles, the Living Pillar, and enclosed in the Pillar on the south the place

Klarjet'; one in Artahan; one in Jawaxet'; one in Manglis; one in Bolnisi; one in Riša, one in the (place) called St Nino above the gate of Ujama; one in Jeram; one in Č'elt'; one between the two churches;<sup>28</sup> one in Xornoboĵ; one in Agarak facing Xunan. Arm.

Vaxt'ang built a church at Nik'oz above the martyrrium of Ražden,<sup>29</sup> the Persian who had raised Vaxt'ang's first wife. He had believed in Christ and was condemned by the Persians for his faith. But he did not deny Christ, and they had killed him with a good confession for the glory of Christ God. And on the site of his martyrrium was established the cathedra of the bishop. Helen bore to

<sup>28</sup> This error in Arm. is based on a misreading of *k'alak'i*, 'citadel' rather than 'city' here.

<sup>29</sup> Ražden is only mentioned here in the *K'C'*; see further P. Peeters, 'S. Ražden le Persan', *AB* 33 (1914), 294-317. Arm. refers to his martyrrium, the *vkayaran*, i.e. a structure already existing before the church was built. Vaxt'ang's first wife was Balenduxt, daughter of the Persian king.

where the church which is the great Sion had collapsed. There they installed Peter as Catholicos and Samuel as bishop of the episcopal see of Mc'xet'a. As bishops he established one in Klarjet'i, at the church of Axizi; one at Artan in Eruset'i; one in Jawaxet'i at Cunda; one at Manglisi; one at Bolnisi; [199] one at Rust'avi; one at Nino-cmida, at the gate of Ujarma, which was built by Gorgasali; one at Čerem, also his own construction, and there he built a citadel between the two churches, which he had also constructed; one at Č'elet'i, which he built in the middle of the village; one at Xornabuĵ; and one at Agarak, which is in the direction of Xunan.<sup>78</sup> Geo.

After this he built the church of Nik'oz at the hearth of a fire(-temple), and installed a bishop where was buried the body of St Ražden, who had been martyred by the Persians in the war with Vaxt'ang. This Ražden was the guardian of Vaxt'ang's wife, the daughter of the Persian king whom he married first. He had converted to Christianity and became a strong believer. He was valiant in combat, but the Persians captured him and tried to force him to renounce Christ. However, the saint chose the unfading glory, and was martyred for Christ's sake. Vaxt'ang had from his Greek wife

<sup>78</sup> All these places had been mentioned before except Nino-cmida, to which this is the only reference in *K'C'*. There are twelve churches for the twelve bishops consecrated in addition to Peter and Samuel.

*Arm.* Vaxt'ang three sons and a daughter.<sup>30</sup> Vaxt'ang resided in Uĵarma, having given the larger part of the country to his eldest son Dač'ē. He gave his eldest sister Xoranjē [92] in marriage to the *bdeašx* of Armenia, Bakur.<sup>31</sup>

At that time Xosrov the king of Persia died and his son, of the same name as his fathers, succeeded to the throne. He sent to Vaxt'ang (requesting) that he act as guide in a war against the Greeks.<sup>32</sup> Vaxt'ang had laid the foundations of the city of Tp'xis and was vigorously building it.<sup>33</sup> The king responded, saying: 'There is a proverb that says:<sup>34</sup> Smith, sharpen your sword so that

<sup>30</sup> There is some confusion in *K'C'* about the number of Vaxt'ang's children. Dač'ē was his son by Balenduxt. Of Helen's children only Leon and Mirdat are named, but it is stated that he had three sons from this Greek wife. For Vaxt'ang's offspring and their descendants see the table in Toumanoff, *Studies*, facing p. 416.

<sup>31</sup> See above, V86 at n. 98 for the betrothal.

<sup>32</sup> The reference is to the succession of Kawad in 488. See the discussion of the political situation (misleadingly reported in the *K'C'*) in Toumanoff, *Studies*, 368.

<sup>33</sup> Although Tp'ilisi was often mentioned before, it was as a site with a fortress (Kala). After Vaxt'ang's death it became the royal residence, below, Q205. See in general V. Minorsky, 'Tiflis', *EI* iv. 752-63.

<sup>34</sup> Proverb that says: *arak* or *asen* (sic). The plural verb is due to the impersonal 3rd pl. in Geo.—unless *asēn* is intended, with the sing. verb and dem. suffix.

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*Geo.* three sons and two daughters. To the first-born son of his first wife, Dač'i, he gave the cities of Čerem and Nekresi, and the city of Kambeč'ovani, which is Xornabuĵi, and also all the territory east of the Mtkuari. Vaxt'ang himself resided at Uĵarma, and he embellished it with enormous buildings. His sister Xuaranje he gave in marriage to the *pitiaxš* of Armenia, Bakur.

When a certain time had passed for this, Xuasro, the Persian king, died and in his place his son Xuasro reigned. The Persians had become strong because they had subjected all their enemies through the expedition of Vaxt'ang. (Xuasro) attacked the Greeks in war, and sent an envoy to Gorgasal, saying: [200] 'My father has died, and all his people made me king on his throne. My elders have ordered me to come to you and submit to your command, and you are to guide me, O king, as our leader in our attack on Greece. Give me your daughter in marriage, so that I may become like one of your sons.' When the envoy arrived in the presence of King Vaxt'ang, the latter was building the city of Tp'ilisi, and the foundations had just been laid. When the envoy had told him King Xuasro's message, the king said: 'In this regard there is a saying:



I may cut off your head.' He added: 'Go and tell him who sent you to me: first fight with me and then with the Greeks. For we befriended you and made you a protection for us.' Arm.

In those days Dač'ē, taking his nephew, passed through Kuxet'<sup>35</sup> into the land of Lawpat, to the rough and rocky area of caves whose inhabitants were a great horde of barbarous peoples, worshippers of fire and water. The whole land prepared for defence. Vaxt'ang, his wife and sons, went to the valley of Ujarma,<sup>36</sup> away from the Persian king; for they had heard that he was coming to attack them.

<sup>35</sup> Kuxet'i: confusion between *u* and *a* is much easier in Armenian script than in Georgian.

<sup>36</sup> The *K'C'* had just indicated that Ujarma (about 20 miles east of Mc'xet'a) was Vaxt'ang's residence. Arm. here follows the MSS A and C of Geo., which have Gorgasali in the nom. case. All other MSS read as printed in Q and translated here. What is meant by 'forward citadel' (*cina c'ixe*), is unclear, unless it is one of the fortresses protecting Mc'xet'a and the passage down the Mtkuari to Tp'ilisi.

Smith, sharpen your sword so that it may quickly pierce your limbs.' At that time Vaxt'ang had reached in age about sixty years, and he said as follows: 'Tell King Xuasro: first prepare to fight me, and then attack Greece, because the mighty things which have occurred have all been done through the power of the cross. Let our life now be led with faith in the Crucified One.' Geo.

He dispatched heralds so that they might abandon the villages and cities which were not fortified and flee to the people of the Caucasus and to Kaxet'i, because Kaxet'i was forested and was impenetrable by enemies. So King Dač'i and his nephew withdrew to Kaxet'i and settled in the valley of Lopoti, a land surrounded by cliffs. The people of this land were worshippers of fire and water, and the valley was filled with a multitude of inhabitants as far as Nosori. The wife and children of Gorgasali (stayed) in the valley of Ujarma. He himself went to the forward citadel, accompanied by Juanser and Adarnase. At Mc'xet'a he left Demetre, Nerse, and Biwritan; while he sent off an envoy and informed the emperor.

*Arm.* Indeed he arrived straightaway and destroyed the city of Kambej and the castle of Ceram. On reaching Kuxet' they encamped on the river Ori.

Vaxt'ang marched out with 240,000 men against 740,000<sup>37</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Reading *hazar aranc'n* with C (*hazar arac'n A*, *hazarac' BD*) for the meaningless *hazaraworac'n* in V.

*Geo.* [201] *Here is the attack of the Persians on K'art'li to wage war on Vaxt'ang Gorgasali, and the slaying of the Persian king's son Bartam by Vaxt'ang*<sup>79</sup>

King Xuasro advanced and destroyed the city of Kambeč'oan, the fortress of Ācerem, and Velis-c'ixe. When they reached Kaxet'i, they encamped on the Iori, while Vaxt'ang's troops stayed in the valley around the fortified city, at the place called Darp'aka. They came to grips on the Iori, and for three whole days they fought. From both armies an incalculable number fell. Then Vaxt'ang summoned the Catholicos Peter and said: 'Know that they do not wage war on us for the sake of imposing tribute, but to make us abandon Christ. Now this is my opinion, that death for the name of Christ is better than my life, in order that we may obtain the kingdom promised for those of whom it was said: "Whoever loses his life for my sake shall find it."<sup>80</sup> The Catholicos Peter said: 'You have seen things which no other of your kin has seen, the occasions of help from Christ. For your wisdom knows that the Enemy our tempter contests with God for us, as for Job. For God permits those who hate him to perish, but those who love him to become divine. Become as God advises you; although you will not die, we shall die.'<sup>81</sup> With these words he indicated that he would not survive the battle, and he added: 'Not only K'art'li will be delivered over to corruption, but also Jerusalem, which is the parent of all the children of light.'<sup>82</sup> The king said: 'Stay in the church of St Ražden which I built in the suburb<sup>83</sup> of Ujarma. I think that all the cities around Ujarma [202] will survive, because we have furnished them

<sup>79</sup> This title is in all MSS except ACMm. <sup>80</sup> Matt. 10: 39 (and parallels).

<sup>81</sup> You will not die: 'we shall not die' in Bs. We shall die: 'we shall not die' in d, omitted by Am. The first phrase is to be taken in a spiritual sense 'those who love him will become divine', as just stated.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Eph. 5: 8; 1 Thess. 5: 5.

<sup>83</sup> Suburb: the Arabic *rabād*, the area just outside a city.

Persians in the twilight. He made a slaughter as far as the Persian king's royal tent, and killed his son Bartam; but the Persian king escaped. However, a Persian gravely wounded that valiant Vaxt'ang in the flank. But taking heart, he victoriously left the battle having slain 130,000 of them, and went to Ujarma. Arm.

At that time the Greek emperor died [93] and his son Zeno

with fortified and strong walls.' The Catholicos did so, and all the holy bishops gathered around him. Geo.

The army of Vaxt'ang was 240,000 strong, whereas that of the Persians was 740,000. Vaxt'ang divided his army into three: he posted the infantry by the cliffs, he sent to one side the *pitiaxs* and the *spaspet*,<sup>84</sup> while Vaxt'ang himself advanced with about 100,000 troops to where the Persian king was. As the dawn cleared the mists of night Vaxt'ang fell on the Persians. He said to all his people: 'Every man who escapes death and does not bring back either a head or a hand of one of our enemies will be put to death by us.' When the day dawned, he attacked and penetrated as far as the king's royal tent.<sup>85</sup> He entered the king's tent, but the king forestalled him (by mounting) his horse. He slew his son Bartam and cut off his head. Meanwhile a certain Persian shot an arrow at Vaxt'ang's breast. The battle lasted until midday. Vaxt'ang defeated the Persians and slew about 130,000 of them, whereas by the Persians about 28,000 of Vaxt'ang's men were slain. They carried off as booty about 100,000 horses, but (the enemy) were not completely routed because of their number. The Persian king retreated from there and stopped at Rust'avi. Vaxt'ang's wound became more serious because the arrow had penetrated his lung. He went to Ujarma, and ordered the generals of K'art'li to remain in their places. When the Persians discovered that Vaxt'ang was suffering from his wound, they ravaged Tp'ilisi and Armazi (in) K'art'li. But they were unable to capture Mc'xet'a, save that they

<sup>84</sup> The *pitiaxs* is Bakur, the *spaspet* Juanšer.

<sup>85</sup> Royal tent: *palat*, in both Geo. and Arm. The only other occasions it is used in the K'C' are in 'interpolations' referring to the royal palace at Constantinople (Q133, 215 = Appendix, nos. 5, 11). Here a complex larger than the king's private tent, *karavi*, is intended.

*Arm.* succeeded to the kingdom.<sup>38</sup> He came to help Vaxt'ang. On arriving at Sper he heard the grievous news that Vaxt'ang had been mortally wounded, so returned to the city of Karin. The Persian king ravaged Tp'xis and Armaz and the surroundings of Mc'xet'a, then went to attack the Greeks. The Persians and Greeks did battle with each other, and the contest remained (undecided) on both sides. So the Persians returned through K'art'li.

Vaxt'ang died after issuing many orders—to his son Dač'ē, to whom he gave the kingdom, and to all the troops concerning the

<sup>38</sup> Zeno (emperor 474–91) was the son-in-law (not son) of Leo I (457–74). *K'C'* does not explicitly state that this was the emperor whose daughter (= relative) Helen Vaxt'ang had married, but the chronology fits; see above at n. 25. However, the *K'C'* now describes Vaxt'ang's death, which occurred in 522; so this Byzantine–Iranian conflict would be that of Justin I (who succeeded Anastasius in 518) and Kavad (488–531), whose accession was mentioned above at n. 32. For the compression of these events in Juanser's heroic history of Vaxt'ang see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 368–70.

*Geo.* ravaged whatever was outside the walls and the region from Muxnar and the island of the Aragvi.

[203] Now the king of the Greeks, Vaxt'ang's father-in-law, died and Zeno, his son, reigned as king. He came to Sper in order to enter K'art'li. But when he learned of Vaxt'ang's serious condition, he stopped at Karnu-k'alak'i. Xuasro advanced there, and Xuasro and the emperor came to grips at Karnip'ora. On both sides there was such a massacre that a river of blood was created, hence that place was called Karnip'ora, that is 'stomach of blood'.<sup>86</sup> Neither side was able to defeat the other because both armies were massacred. So Xuasro returned along the road to K'art'li.

When Vaxt'ang realized that he was dying, he summoned the Catholicos, his wife and sons, and all the nobles, and said: 'Behold, I am departing to my God, and I bless his name because he did not exclude me from his holy elect. Now I command you to remain firm in the faith and to seek death for Christ's sake in his name, so that you may gain the glory that passes not away.' To all the nobles he said: 'You, inhabitants of K'art'li, remember my good deeds, because first from my house you received eternal light, and

<sup>86</sup> Karnip'ora: the etymology is not Georgian; *-p'or* means 'stomach' in Armenian, and *Karni-* may be related to Karin. The site is not mentioned in Armenian sources, but is identified by Cylaja as a fortress in Kola.

Christian faith and loyalty. He was buried in Mc'xet'a. And the Persian king returned to his own land. Arm.

[94] Dač'ē ruled over the Georgians;<sup>39</sup> he restored all that the Persians had destroyed. The Catholicos Peter died, and Samuel

<sup>39</sup> For the reign of Dač'ē (Darč'il, 522-34), son of Balenduxt, see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 29.

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I honoured you my kin with temporal glory. Do not despise our house, nor abandon the friendship of the Greeks.' He said to his own son Dač'i: 'You are my first-born son; to you have I given the crown of my kingdom. As their portion I have given to your brothers (the territory) from Tasis-kari and Cunda as far as Armenia and Greece. The border of Ap'xazet'i which lies between the Egris-Cqali and Klisura, this belongs to your own brothers [204] on your mother's side.<sup>87</sup> Let them hold it and be under the authority of your family as your *erist'avis*. He summoned Nasar, the *erist'avi* of Cunda, and Artavaz, the *erist'avi* of Klarjet'i, and Biwritian, the *erist'avi* of Ojrhe; to them he entrusted his wife Elene and his children,<sup>88</sup> called Leon and Mirdat, and he consigned them to these three *erist'avis* with tears and glances to God. It was then for the nobles and all the people a day of judgement. They all wept and poured ashes on themselves, and all wished for their own death. The earth trembled from the sound of their weeping and lamentation. The faithful people envied the king because he had died for Christ's sake. So Vaxt'ang died and was buried at Mc'xet'a, in the cathedral church by the pillar in which is enclosed the pillar raised by God.<sup>89</sup> Geo.

*Thirty-fourth, King Dač'i, son of Vaxt'ang Gorgasali, descendant of Xosro*

His son Dač'i sat on his throne. The three *erist'avis* led off Vaxt'ang's wife and two (other) sons, and they took control of western K'art'li, [205] which Vaxt'ang had bestowed on them. In

<sup>87</sup> This was Vaxt'ang's dowry from his imperial father-in-law; see above Q177.

<sup>88</sup> Children: *švilni*. Earlier it was stated that Elene bore three sons and two daughters; see Q199. Only Leon and Mirdat are actually named.

<sup>89</sup> i.e. the cathedral of Sveti C'xoveli, which Vaxt'ang himself had constructed (expanded?); see above, Q198. Here all MSS except ACMm add: 'On his tomb is depicted his image (*xati*), life-size.' And T adds: 'Now (nothing) is clear beyond his armour and clothing.'

*Arm.* took the throne. After him T'ap'ejan held the see, followed by Č'imak'. King Dač'ē died, and his son succeeded to the kingdom; and after him his son P'arsman reigned.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> For the reigns of Bakur (534-47) and P'arsman (547-61) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 29; and for Georgian involvement in the renewed Byzantine-Iranian conflict *id.*, *Studies*, 378.

*Geo.* the summer they resided at the city of Cunda; while in the winter they were at Ojrhe. They were not called 'king', but '*erist'avi'ta-mt'avi*';<sup>90</sup> and they were subject to their brother King Dač'i. This King Dač'i began to restore K'art'li, because all the valleys of K'art'li had been ravaged, with the exception of Kaxet'i and Klarjet'i and Egrisi. He completed the walls of Tp'ilisi and, as Vaxt'ang had ordered, he made it the royal residence.<sup>91</sup> The Catholicos Peter died, and Samuel succeeded. The king installed him at Mc'xet'a, because thus had King Vaxt'ang commanded. This King Dač'i invited the mountain people of Kaxet'i to confess Christ, but they refused; and all the people of Nopat rebelled. Leon, one of Vaxt'ang's two sons born from his Greek wife, died; so only Mirdat was left. With this Mirdat his brother Dač'i made a bargain:<sup>92</sup> the king exchanged territories—he took from Mirdat (the land) between the Egris-Cqali and Klisura bordering on Greece, which had belonged to Mirdat's mother; and he gave him in return Javaxet'i from P'aravan to the Mtkuari. So Mirdat, Vaxt'ang's son, controlled (the land) from P'aravan and Tasis-kari as far as the sea of Sper, and there he ruled as *erist'avi*. He was subject to king Dač'i, his brother. He built in Javaxet'i the church of Cqaros-t'avi. Then King Dač'i died.

<sup>90</sup> *Erist'avi'ta-mt'avi*: 'chief *erist'avi*, arch-duke.' For this title see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 388.

<sup>91</sup> Vaxt'ang's command was not mentioned above when he 'was building the city of Tp'ilisi', Q200.

<sup>92</sup> Made a bargain: *daevačra*, from the stem *vačar*, 'trade.' For the political significance of this exchange of territories see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 373: Dač'i, son of Vaxt'ang by his Persian wife, was concerned about the pro-Roman orientation of his half-brothers born from Vaxt'ang's Greek wife. For Mirdat's mother's dowry see above, Q177.

In his days the Ossetes attacked and ravaged K'art'l.<sup>41</sup> Since the Greeks were too preoccupied in the west to help P'arsman, he requested aid from the Persians, (promising) that he would submit to them with tribute, provided that they would not do violence to the faith or the church. The Persians heeded him, and they were not molested as regards their faith.<sup>42</sup> Arm.

After the death of P'arsman another P'arsman, his nephew,

<sup>41</sup> The motivation for this change in Arm., involving an Ossete attack which prompted an invitation to the Persians, is unclear. Armenian writers would not normally hesitate to describe what to them might appear unprovoked Persian aggression. The troubles in 'the west' are identified by Toumanoff, *Studies*, 378, as the war of Totila (542-54).

<sup>42</sup> Since 'their' in Arm. is the reflexive pronoun *iwreanc'*, not *noc'a*, it is clear that the verb *nelein* is to be taken as intransitive: '(the Armenians) were not molested', and not as transitive: '(the Persians) did not molest (the Armenians)'.

[206] *Thirty-fifth, King Bakur, son of King Dač'i, a descendant of Xosro* Geo.

His son Bakur succeeded as king; and Bakur died.

*Thirty-sixth, King P'arsman, son of King Bakur, a descendant of Xosro*

His son P'arsman succeeded as king. The Catholicos Samuel died, and T'avp'ec'ag succeeded as Catholicos. T'avp'ec'ag died, and Č'ermag succeeded as Catholicos. From Vaxt'ang down to this time the kings were at peace, and the sons of Mirdat served the sons of Dač'i.

In the reign of this P'arsman the Persians came and ravaged K'art'li and Ran. Then P'arsman, the Georgian king, requested the Persian king not to ruin the churches and (to permit) K'art'li to remain in the religion of Christ. For at that time the Greeks were preoccupied: from the west enemies had risen up against them, so they were not able to help the Georgians and oppose the Persians. Then the Persian king heeded his request and spared the churches. P'arsman (promised) in writing to be subject to him and to serve him. So the Persian king departed. [207] From then on the descendants of King Vaxt'ang divided. For the sons of Dač'i were subject to the Persians, while the sons of Mirdat remained subject to the Greeks.

*Arm.* succeeded [95] to the throne.<sup>43</sup> He was a benevolent man, a builder and adorer of churches.

The Catholicos Č'imak' died, and they installed Saba as Catholicos without (the permission of) Antioch.<sup>44</sup> Henceforth the Georgians themselves appointed Catholicoi from the ranks of the nobles. Thus after Saba was installed Yelat'i. In his days John came from Mesopotamia to Georgia, a holy man and a wonder-

<sup>43</sup> For the reign of this P'arsman (561-79?) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 29. Toumanoff and the editor of Q make him P'arsman VI, beginning the numbering from the first king of that name, P'arsman of Armazi, who is listed as joint-king with Kaos as the 12th sovereigns of K'art'li, above, V31. But Juanšēr, below, Q215, lists P'arsman V as 'the second', since he is counting from King Mirian; and *Arm.* refers to 'the third P'arsman', since there is confusion between the last P'arsman and his uncle (nos. 36 and 37 in K'C').

<sup>44</sup> Without Antioch: it is noteworthy that *Arm.* stresses the role of Antioch, elaborated above at V90, but not mentioned again in the text of K'C' (except in 'interpolations').

*Geo.* P'arsman died and was succeeded as king by his nephew, who was also called P'arsman.

*Thirty-seventh, King P'arsman, nephew of King P'arsman, a descendant of Xosro*

He was a believer like his father's brother, and he increased the embellishment of churches.<sup>93</sup>

The Catholicos Č'ermag died, and this King P'arsman installed Saba. Henceforth no more did they bring a Catholicos from Greece, but Georgians were installed—kin of the nobles. The Catholicos Saba died, and the same king installed Evlat'i as Catholicos. In the time of the same P'arsman came John from Mesopotamia, who was called Zedazadneli. He illuminated K'art'li, purified religion, and built churches. He and his disciples worked miracles and many wonders, and amazed all the Georgians. Their lives and miracles have been written down and placed in the churches of K'art'li.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Here Bbp add a brief 'interpolation' concerning the right of the emperor to appoint the Georgian Catholicos. For the translation see below, Appendix, no. 8.

<sup>94</sup> Here BPRtbcd give abbreviated versions of the lives of the following saints: Iovane Zedazadneli, Davit', Šio, Ise Cilkneli, Antoni. These are followed in Bbp by short descriptions of: The Rebellion of the Xaskuns (from the *Life* of Šio); the Fifth Ecumenical Council; the Conversion of the Ap'xaz (by Ep'rem Mc'ire). For the translation see below, Appendix, nos. 9-11.



worker. Both he and his disciples performed many miracles. These deeds were written down and placed in the churches of K'art'li.<sup>45</sup> Arm.

From King Mihran down to the third P'arsman are 200 years.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> For the 'Syrian' Fathers see Tarchnišvili, 107–9, and B. Martin-Hisard, 'Les "Treize saints Peres"', *REGC* 2 (1986), 75–111.

<sup>46</sup> Mirian died in 361; see above, V68, and Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 23. The second P'arsman after Mirian (V) died in 561, and was succeeded by another P'arsman (VI). So Geo. and Arm. can both be interpreted correctly, depending on the understanding of the one's death or the other's succession. BMBmp in Geo. read 250 for 200, which is inconsistent with the chronology of K'C'.

[215] From the reign of King Mirian down to the second P'arsman there elapsed 200 years. Fourteen kings passed away; and from Vaxt'ang eight Catholicoi died. Then P'arsman died, and his son Bakur succeeded as king. Geo.

*Thirty-eighth, King Bakur, son of King P'arsman, a descendant of Xosro*<sup>95</sup>

This Bakur was pious and a builder of churches. He multiplied churches and priests in his kingdom and K'art'li was purified of all impiety. The Catholicos Eulabius died, and this same king appointed the Catholicos Macarius. At the same time there reigned in Persia (a king) who was called Urmizd.<sup>96</sup>

[216] At that same time there was in Armenia a certain man, son of nobles, by the name of Vask'en.<sup>97</sup> He had a wife, of noble descent, who was called Šušanik, daughter of Vardan. Now this Vask'en was ruled by a demon, and he decided to convert to fire-worship. He presented himself before the Persian king, abandoned

<sup>95</sup> For the reign of Bakur (III of that name, ?–580) see Toumanoff, 'Chronology', 29.

<sup>96</sup> This must be the Hormizd IV, shah 579–90.

<sup>97</sup> For Vask'en and Šušanik see the long discussion and presentation of texts in Peeters, 'Sainte Šušanik I, martyre en Arméno-Georgie', *AB* 53 (1935), 5–18, 245–307. It is noteworthy that this episode has been misplaced by a whole century (for Šušanik died in 475), probably because of confusion between Ormizd III and IV; see the discussion in Toumanoff, *Studies*, 262–3. Although there is a gap here in Arm. (see n. 47 to Arm.), this episode was probably not in the translator's Georgian text since he would have noted the Armenian connections. However, Šušanik and Vask'en were not often mentioned by Armenian historians, despite the popularity of the story in hagiographical and liturgical texts. Šušanik was the cousin of Łazar's patron, and he glosses over the episode rapidly, *History* 118; Uxtanēs, ch. 67, refers to the account of her martyrdom. But most Armenian historians ignore the episode.

*Geo.* the religion of Christ, and became a fire-worshipper. Then the king of the Persians sent him with great gifts to be *erist'avi* of Ran. When he arrived and his wife Šušanik learned from her husband that he had abandoned the religion of Christ, she no longer obeyed him as a wife. She forgot her love for her husband, and with all her heart undertook to carry out the commandments of Christ. Then Vask'en pursued her in many ways: at first with flattery and entreaties and by giving presents; then he persecuted her with severe torments. The sufferings of St Šušanik I shall not describe because of their length.<sup>98</sup> Her husband Vask'en, *erist'avi* of Ran, killed her. Then Bakur, king of the Georgians, summoned all his *erist'avis*, secretly gathered his troops, and unexpectedly attacked Vask'en.<sup>99</sup> The latter was camped in a plain on the bank of the Mtkuari, where the river of Anakerti joins the Mtkuari. He attacked and captured Vask'en. They cut him in pieces and hung the fragments on a tree. The body of St Šušanik they brought back with great respect, and buried it in C'ortavi. Then King Bakur sent an envoy to the king of the Persians; he informed him of everything and requested his forgiveness. Then the king of the Persians considered in his mind and said: 'If I blame the Georgians, they will unite with the Greeks.' So he chose to forgive them. He sent back Bakur's envoy with a favourable response. For he placed all the blame and fault on the slain Vask'en, and exonerated Bakur [217] for his death. He sent to Ran and Movakan another *erist'avi*, who was called Darel; and he ordered him to be a good friend to the Georgians.

The Catholicos Macarius died, and the same king appointed Simon as Catholicos. Then Bakur died; he left young children who could not govern the kingdom. Then the king of the Persians Urmizd gave Ran and Movakan to his son, who was called K'asre Ambarvez.<sup>1</sup> He came and resided at Bardav, and began to confer

<sup>98</sup> The account of Šušanik's martyrdom by Jacob of Curtavi is generally considered the earliest literary composition in Georgian; see Tarchnišvili 83-7.; but the text as known may not be the original version, see Rayfield 32.

<sup>99</sup> The earlier Łazar, p. 118, states that King Vaxt'ang put Vask'en to death. Since that occurred in 482, the reference here to Bakur is due to the misplacement of the whole episode.

<sup>1</sup> For the name Aparvez see Justi 19 no. 2. The son of Hormizd IV, he ruled 590-628.

with the *erist'avis* of K'art'li. He promised great benefits, and set in writing their ancestral rights<sup>2</sup> as *erist'avis* from son to son. In this way, by flattery he seduced them; so the *erist'avis* rebelled, and each separately paid tribute to K'asre Ambarvez. Bakur's sons remained in the mountainous territory of Kaxet'i. The descendants of Mirdat, son of Vaxt'ang, who governed Klarjet'i and Javaxet'i, remained in the rocky area of Klarjet'i. All the rest of K'art'li, Armenia, and Asp'uragan was held by the Persians; and they waged war on the Greeks.<sup>3</sup>

A few years after this there were great troubles in Persia. For the king of the Turks invaded Persia. The Greeks came, defeated the Persians in Mesopotamia, expelled them, invaded Persia, and began to ravage Persia. Then K'asre Ambarvez abandoned Ran and K'art'li, and went to assist his father. While the Persians were pre-occupied in this manner, then all the *erist'avis* of K'art'li, those of Upper and Lower (K'art'li), conferred. They sent an envoy to the king of the Greeks, and asked that he choose a king from among the descendants of the kings of K'art'li, and that the *erist'avis* be (confirmed) without change each in his own principality. [218] Then the emperor carried out their request. He gave them as king<sup>4</sup> the nephew of Mirdat, son of Vaxt'ang from his Greek wife, who was called Guaram and who governed Klarjet'i and Javaxet'i.

*Thirty-ninth, king of K'art'li, Guaram Bagratoani curopalates*<sup>5</sup>

The emperor gave to this Guaram the rank of *curopalates*, and sent him to Mc'xet'a. [219] The sons of King Bakur, descendants of

<sup>2</sup> Ancestral rights: *mamuloba*, as also below, Q305. For the abstract suffix *-oba*, cf. *alek'sandroba* above, Q177 and *goliat'oba*, Q32.

<sup>3</sup> For this and the following two paragraphs see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 381-6, with translation and commentary.

<sup>4</sup> As king: *mep'ed*, omitted in A. After the death of Bakur in 580 the kingship was not continued, but authority was held by 'presiding princes' (*erist'avt'a mt'avar'i*); see above Q205 n. 90 and Toumanoff, *Studies*, 384-9. *Mep'e* is thus not used here in a literal sense; cf. David, *Curopalates of Tayk'*, called 'greatest of all the kings (*mep'et'a*) of Tao', Q273.

<sup>5</sup> This is the first reference to Bagratids in K'C', save for an addition in A (Q161, l. 6), above, where to *biwritiant'a*, i.e. 'descendants of Biwrit', A adds *bagratoni-ant'a*. The origin of the Georgian and Armenian Bagratids is a major theme in Toumanoff's *Studies*; see esp. pp. 306-60. Here all MSS except ACMm add: 'Now this Guaram was a Xosroid from his mother, but a Bagratid from his father. And the Bagratids are grandsons and descendants of this Guaram.'

*Geo.* Dač'i, son of Vaxt'ang, to whom had been given the kingdom of King Vaxt'ang, these remained in Kaxet'i. They controlled Kaxet'i and Heret'i from the Iori, and resided in Ujarma, subject to Guaram *curopalates*. Then the emperor gave much treasure to Guaram *curopalates*, and ordered him with this treasure to lead down troops of the North, combine them with the Georgian army, and send them to Persia. Guaram did so. He brought down Ossetes, [220] Durjuks, and Didos, and put Georgian *erist'avis* in command over them. They entered Adarbadagan, began to ravage it, and inflicted such troubles and distractions on the Persians.

Then there appeared in Persia a man who was called Baram Č'ubin. He attacked the Turks who had invaded Persia, as is clearly described in the *History of the Persians*.<sup>6</sup> He killed Saba, the king of the Turks, and routed their army. The Greek troops who had entered Persia turned back and set out for home; while the Northerners despatched by Guaram *curopalates* also returned. For since the Persians had been freed of the Turks, they were fearful—as the Georgians also were afraid and nervous—of the Persians. Guaram *curopalates* began to fortify castles and cities. Once more God had mercy on the Christians, and cast another dispute on to Persia. For this same Baram Č'ubin rebelled against the king of the Persians, and they burnt [221] the eyes of the brothers of the wife of King Urmizd.<sup>7</sup> Č'ubin and K'asre began to wage war. K'asre was put to flight by Č'ubin and went to Greece. The Emperor Maurice gave his own daughter as wife to K'asre, provided him with his army, and despatched them against Č'ubin. Č'ubin was expelled from Persia, and K'asre took control of Persia.

Then the Emperor Maurice interceded with K'asre on behalf of the Georgians and said: 'Since the Georgians have abandoned idol-

<sup>6</sup> The Georgian historian here combines traditional tales known from the Iranian epic with information of greater historical accuracy. For the death of Sava, king of the 'Turks' (i.e. Xazars), see Levy 344. For the chronology of these events and the involvement of Georgia in the next phase of Iranian-Byzantine conflict see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 383 ff.

<sup>7</sup> All MSS except ACMm read: '... blinded king Urmizd and his wife's brothers'. Cf. Q223. For the blinding of the shah in the Iranian epic see Levy 345; and for the historical circumstances, Goubert 127. 'K'asre' is Xusraw II; cf. Q217. These events are omitted in Arm.; the long war between Iran and Byzantium is the focus of the *History* by (or attributed to) Sebeos.

(...) a good memory behind him.<sup>47</sup> In his<sup>48</sup> days died the Catholicos Samuel, and Bartholomew took the throne. Arm.

<sup>47</sup> Arm. here has four words: *yišatak bari zkni nora*, 'a good memory behind him', before continuing in the reign of Step'anoz, son of Guaram. There is therefore something missing, though how much of the intervening section was included in the Armenian translator's original version is impossible to say. But from the context the 'good memory' seems to apply best to Guaram Curopalates.

<sup>48</sup> Since the previous words in Arm. refer to a 'good memory' and probably apply to Guaram, it is not clear whether there is another gap in the text (so that 'his' refers to Step'anoz) or whether the translator still had Guaram in mind.

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worship,<sup>8</sup> henceforth they are subject to the Greeks. For at the time of your tyranny K'art'li was oppressed, let alone that you have no rights over K'art'li. Now, by the command of God, since you and I are in perfect friendship, let K'art'li be autonomous in peace between us. I am the supporter and patron of all Georgians and of all Christians.' Then the king of the Persians agreed with the emperor, and the Georgians were autonomous. This Guaram *curopalates* remained in subjection to the Greeks. He was a pious man, a builder of churches. He began the church of the honourable cross. Up to then the cross was on ground level, and he built the church up to waist height.<sup>9</sup> He ruled well and without trouble. He did not remove the *erist'avis* of K'art'li from their principalities, since they held seals for the inheritance of their principalities from the king of the Persians and the king of the Greeks. But they were subject to Guaram *curopalates*.<sup>10</sup> Geo.

[222] The Catholicos Simon died and Samuel was installed. Then the Catholicos Samuel died, and they appointed another Samuel. This Guaram *curopalates* passed away, the founder of the Sion of Tp'ilisi.<sup>11</sup> For the descendants of the pious King Mirian were all builders of churches. Then Guaram *curopalates* died.

<sup>8</sup> It is noteworthy that the Georgian historian avoids here a reference to 'fire-worship'. For after the death of Nino the main obstacle to Christianity (according to the *K'C'*) was not idolatry but the cult of fire associated with a pro-Iranian orientation.

<sup>9</sup> This is the church of Juari, on top of a hill facing Mc'xet'a across the Aragvi. For the completion of the church see below, Q227.

<sup>10</sup> The independence of the *erist'avis* and their dealings with the shah and the emperor had been stressed above. Here all MSS except ACMTm add: 'Guaram Curopalates had sons: the first was called Step'anoz, and the second Demetre.'

<sup>11</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm add: 'After this Guaram they completed the building of the Sion of Tp'ilisi: half by a certain widow, and half by the whole people, in the time of the first *mt'avari* Adarnase. And this Adarnase assisted its construction.' Adarnase is given a more prominent role in the text below, Q227-8.

*Arm.* In those days the [96] emperor Maurice was killed by Phocas, a soldier, who then reigned over the Greeks. When K'asrē, king of Persia, heard the sad news of his father-in-law, he was angered and marched to the land of the Greeks. He ravaged many provinces, and captured Jerusalem and the Lord's Cross. Step'anē, prince of the Georgians, turned to submission to the Persians out of fear of them.<sup>49</sup> He resided in Tp'xis.

Then Heraclius, a relative of Maurice, killed Phocas and reigned over the Greeks. Gathering a very large army of Turks from the west, he set out to seek [97] the life-giving Cross. After marching through Armenia he came to Bznunik', and from there went up to Tp'xis.<sup>50</sup> Step'anos did not abandon his submission to the Persians,

<sup>49</sup> For the pro-Iranian policy of Step'anoz see the comments in Toumanoff, *Studies*, 390. Jerusalem was captured by the Persians in 614. 'Prince' is *išxan*, rendering *mt'avari*.

<sup>50</sup> Heraclius' 'Turks' were Xazar allies. For his expeditions against Iran see Sebēos 124–32, and Movsēs Dasxuranc'i ii. 11–12. A more fanciful account is given in the Ps.-Sapuh 53–71. But none of these mentions the emperor coming to Bznunik'; the source of that addition in *Arm.* is unclear.

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*Geo.* Fortieth, Step'anoz erist'avt'a-mt'avari of K'art'li, son of Guaram cucropalates, a Bagratid

His son Step'anoz succeeded. He did not dare (to adopt) the royal title for fear of the Persians and Greeks, but they called him *erist'avt'a mt'avari*.<sup>12</sup> The Catholicos Samuel died, and this Step'anoz appointed Bartholomew as Catholicos. However, Step'anoz was impious and did not fear God; he did not serve God, nor did he increase religion and (the building of) churches.

[223] In his time there occurred great turmoil in Greece. For a soldier Phocas rebelled against the Emperor Maurice; the soldier Phocas killed the Emperor Maurice and his children, and seized Greece. Then the emperor's son-in-law, K'asre the Persian king, began to seek (vengeance for) the blood of his father-in-law and his wife's brothers by attacking and ravaging Greece. He overcame the Greeks, and the Emperor Phocas was unable to resist him. Now Step'anoz, *mt'avari* of K'art'li, feared the Persian king; so he rebelled against the Greeks and turned to the Persians. At that time the same King K'asre captured Jerusalem and took away the

<sup>12</sup> Royal title: *mep'oba*, lit. 'kingship'. For the title *erist'avt'a-mt'avari* see above, Q205 n. 90.

but closed the city. He did battle with the emperor, making forays outside daily; but he was killed by the valiant Greeks. Arm.

After killing him they took the city, except for the citadel, from which the commander of the fortress<sup>51</sup> insulted the emperor,

<sup>51</sup> Commander of the fortress: *awag berdin*. This is an unusual use of *awag*, 'senior', rendering here *t'avi*, 'head, chief'.

Wood of Life. After this God removed the hand of his mercy from K'asre. His own son seized him and put him in prison; and he died of a dreadful disease.<sup>13</sup> In the time of this Step'anoz Mc'xet'a declined, while Tp'ilisi became more important; Armazi became deserted, while Kala grew prosperous.<sup>14</sup> The brother of Step'anoz, by the name of Demetre, continued building the church of the Venerable Cross. For he had a severe disease and was not able to leave the precinct of the church.<sup>15</sup> Step'anoz was *mt'avari* over all K'art'li; he resided in Tp'ilisi and was subject to the Persians. Geo.

Some years after this there appeared in Greece a man related to the Emperor Maurice, by the name of Heraclius. He slew the Emperor Phocas and seized Greece. He grew powerful, and brought Turks from the west. He gathered [224] innumerable troops, and attacked Persia in order to seek out the Wood of Life. First he came to K'art'li.<sup>16</sup> Step'anoz did not wish to rebel against the Persians. So he fortified the citadels and took up his position in Tp'ilisi. King Heraclius arrived and laid siege to Tp'ilisi. But Step'anoz was a valiant and resolute warrior. Daily he made forays out of the city gates and fought the Greeks. Then in one encounter they cut down Step'anoz and killed him.

So the emperor seized Tp'ilisi. But in the fortress of Kala there remained some men who did not submit to the king. The commander of the fortress insulted the king, calling down from the fortress: 'You have the beard of a billy-goat, and you have the

<sup>13</sup> According to Arm., V97 below, K'asre was killed by his son. Sebeos describes his death (p. 127), and this is followed by Moses Dasxuranc'i, ii. 13. But Xusraw II was killed in 628, so the episode is misplaced here.

<sup>14</sup> Kala is the fortress of Tp'ilisi; see just below.

<sup>15</sup> For the completion of the church of Juari see below, Q227. 'Precinct' here renders *kari*, 'gate'.

<sup>16</sup> Here Bbcp add a brief 'interpolation' concerning the apostle Andrew, the image of Acqueri, and the church built there by Heraclius. For the translation see below, Appendix, no. 12.

*Arm.* saying: 'Up and depart, you smelly goat.'<sup>52</sup> For you do not resemble a king, but you have the neck and beard of a goat.' When the emperor heard this he rejoiced at heart, and had the book of Daniel brought. He opened it and looked for the place where it is written: 'The wild goat which comes from the west will be strong, and in its great power smite the ram in the east.'<sup>53</sup> And he said to his troops: 'Although that man despised me in his heart, yet he applied these words to me.'

He summoned to his presence Atrnerseh, of the family of Dač'ē, who was in Kuxet', and gave Tp'xis to him. Leaving with him the general Jibla, he himself marched into Persia. They captured the citadel. And when Jibla had seized the one who had insulted the emperor, first he filled his mouth with gold: 'For', said he, 'the

<sup>52</sup> Smelly: *hoteal*, as ABCD, for *haseal*, 'arrived', in V. There is a similar insult in Zenob 47. In the version of this attack in Movsēs Dasxuranc'i, ii. 11, the Georgians caricature the 'king of the Huns' by drawing his features on a pumpkin; this was Jibla, mentioned just below, for whom see P. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1980), i. 187-90.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Dan. 8: 3-10.

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*Geo.* neck of a he-goat.' The king commanded: 'Although this man scornfully calls me a he-goat, yet his remark is not false.' He took the book of Daniel, and found in it written thus: 'The goat of the west will come forth, and he will destroy the horns of the ram of the east.' Then the king rejoiced, and was convinced that everything would succeed for him against the Persians.

[225] Then the emperor summoned the son of Bakur king of the Georgians, a descendant of Dač'i the son of Vaxt'ang, who was *erist'avi* of Kaxet'i, named Adarnase. He gave him Tp'ilisi and the principality of K'art'li. He left with him an *erist'avi* who was called Jibga, and ordered him to attack Kala. The king himself marched off to wage war on the Persians.<sup>17</sup>

*Forty-first, the erist'avi of K'art'li, Adarnase, son of Bakur, a descendant of Xosro*

Within a few days they captured Kala and seized its commander. The *erist'avi* first filled his mouth with drachmas, since the emperor

<sup>17</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm add: 'This Adarnase, *mt'avari* of K'art'li, and the *erist'avi* Jibgu began to attack the fortress of Kala. And the emperor set out for Baghdad.'



emperor rejoiced at the saying of your mouth.' Then he flayed off his skin and sent it to the emperor for having insulted him. Arm.

K'asrē's son killed him;<sup>54</sup> and making peace with the emperor, he gave him the Lord's Cross. Heraclius returned after five<sup>55</sup> years and came to Mc'xet'a. He seized from Monkli and Erušet' the Lord's foot-rest and the nails given by [98] Constantine to King Mihran.<sup>56</sup> These he brought with him, not heeding the complaints

<sup>54</sup> For the death of Xosrov cf. above, Q223, where Geo. states that his son put him in prison and he died of disease. Geo. is not necessarily self-contradictory, for 'K'asre' is Shah Xusraw, while 'Xuasro' is a general term for the shah. Although Heraclius did not kill the shah, Kawad died within six months, and was followed by his young son Artasir. But the general Xorean killed Artasir, only to be promptly slain himself. He was succeeded by Xusraw's daughter Bor. The details are given in Sebeos, 128–30. It was Xorean who restored the Cross to Heraclius. However, John Mamikonean 57 and Kirakos 52, state that Heraclius killed Xusraw. The legendary account in Ps.-Sapuh 59–63 states that Heraclius captured 'K'asre', found the Cross in his treasury, and made a pact with him.

<sup>55</sup> Five and seven (e/ē) are easily confused in Armenian.

<sup>56</sup> For the relics cf. above, V63.

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had been pleased at his words. But afterwards he flayed off his skin, and it was sent back to the emperor at Gardaban. For his presumption against the king he was slain. [226] By such a death perished Step'anoz and his adherents. God destroyed the *mt'avari* Step'anoz, because he did not live with trust in God. He was an enemy to the faithful, and loved the impious.<sup>18</sup> Then the Greeks took back the frontier of K'art'li: Sper and the edge of Klarjet'i, the sea-coast. The sons of Step'anoz remained in the cliffs of Klarjet'i. Adarnase, son of Bakur, controlled all the rest of K'art'li as *mt'avari*; he too did not dare (to adopt) the royal title. The *erist'avis* dwelt each in his own domain without change, and were subject to the *mt'avari* Adarnase.<sup>19</sup> Geo.

[227] King Heraclius entered Persia and slew King Xuasro. He captured Baghdad and took away the Wood of Life. He returned along the same road to K'art'li in the seventh year since he had set

<sup>18</sup> For 'impious' meaning 'pro-Persian' cf above, Q222.

<sup>19</sup> For this paragraph see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 391–2. Here all MSS except ACMTm add: 'The Catholicos Bart'lome died, and Adarnase appointed Ioane as Catholicos.' Then Bbkp (with a variant form in T) add an 'interpolation' on the consecration of the Georgian Catholicos in Antioch and his eventual autonomy. For a translation see Appendix, no. 13. Following this, all MSS except ACMTm continue: 'And after a short time the Catholicos Ioane died, and Adarnase appointed Babila.'

*Arm.* of Atrnerseh and the tears of the whole land of Georgia. After the death of the Catholicos Bartholomew John took the throne, and after him Babelas, and after him T'ap'or. Following the death of Atrnerseh his son Step'anos succeeded to the principality<sup>57</sup> of Georgia.

He was a man firm in the faith and observant of festivals, who established Friday as the perpetual festival<sup>58</sup> of the Cross with a large gathering in front of the Holy Cross, and had Thursday celebrated at the Holy Sion at the Catholicosate,<sup>59</sup> and Tuesday as

<sup>57</sup> Principality: *iṣxanut'iwñ*. *Iṣxan* renders *mt'avari*, as for Step'anē, see above, V96.

<sup>58</sup> Perpetual festival: *mišt tawn*, as AC; omitted in BD and V.

<sup>59</sup> The Holy Cross is the church of Juari outside Mc'xet'a, while the Holy Sion is in Tp'ilisi. This is the first explicit reference in K'C' to the Sion there as the church of the Catholicos—whose formal residence remained Mc'xet'a, 'for thus had King Vaxt'ang commanded' Q205.

*Geo.* out. The church of the Venerable Cross and the Sion of Tp'ilisi had been completed by Adarnase, *mt'avari* of K'art'li.<sup>20</sup> Then King Heraclius took away from Manglisi and Eruset'i the foot-rest [228] and the nails of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had been given by Constantine to Mirian. Adarnase, *mt'avari* of K'art'li, importuned and begged the emperor not to remove these gifts from God. But the emperor did not heed his request and took them away. In the time of this Adarnase three Catholicoi passed away: John, Babila, and T'abor. Adarnase died, and his son Step'anoz succeeded.

*Forty-second, the mt'avari of K'art'li, Step'anoz, son of Adarnase the mt'avari, a descendant of Xosro*

This Step'anoz was the most pious of all the kings and *mt'avaris* of K'art'li, a purifier of religion and a builder of churches. He added the walls<sup>21</sup> of the church of the Venerable Cross, built a palace, and decreed a gathering every Friday. All the bishops and priests of that place [229] and region gather with the Catholicos in front of the Venerable Cross; they celebrate Friday like Good Friday. There are gatherings in the (church of the) Catholicosate every Thursday, and they celebrate (at) the holy Sion as on Holy

<sup>20</sup> For the inscriptions and sculptures of the three princes Step'anos, Demetre, and Adarnase, who were involved in the building of Juari see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 395–7. On the church see Alpagó Novello, *Art and Architecture*, 386–9.

<sup>21</sup> Added the walls: *moadgna zğudeni*, i.e. the outer walls of the enclosure.

the feast of the protomartyr Stephen and of all the martyrs. And he said that no distinction should be made between Friday and Thursday and the Friday and Thursday of Holy Week. Arm.

Around those times appeared Mahmet, the leader and legislator<sup>60</sup> of the Saracens and race of Arabs, who ruled over many lands. For twenty years he held power, then died.<sup>61</sup> Abubak'r took his place; with a large force he entered Persia; and because their kingdom had declined he held them<sup>62</sup> in subjection. Entering Babylon<sup>63</sup> he made them abandon fire-worship and converted

<sup>60</sup> Legislator: *awrēnsdir*, a very common title for Muḥammad in Armenian, used earlier for Moses and the law of the Old Testament. For Armenian descriptions of Islam see Thomson, 'Muhammad', and for this term *ibid.* 832 n. 11.

<sup>61</sup> Twenty years: this addition is reminiscent of T'ovma Arcruni 104. The earlier Sebeos does not give a length of rule, nor does he mention Abū Bakr. Died: *meraw*, as ABCD, rendering Geo. But V has *satakec'aw*, 'was slain'.

<sup>62</sup> Them: *znosa*, as AC; omitted in BD and V, which thus imply that the kingdom is the object of the verb.

<sup>63</sup> See above, V87 n. 3 for 'Babylon' rendering 'Baghdad'. Sebeos 137, had referred to the fall of Persia and the capture of Tizbon (i.e. Ctesiphon).

Thursday with the mystery of the body and blood of Christ. At Mc'xet'a there is a gathering every Tuesday at the episcopal (church) and a memorial of the protomartyr Stephen, and of all the martyrs for the great resistance to the Persians to which they bore witness, and of bishop Abibo Nekreseli, who converted innumerable mountain people east of the Aragvi.<sup>22</sup> They placed his revered body at Mc'xet'a, in the episcopal (church) in the burial place of the bishops. On his feast-day they gather and glorify God more than on all (other) feast-days. Geo.

In those times appeared Mahamad, a descendant of Ismael, teacher of the religion of the Saracens. He conquered all Arabia and Yemen. He died, and Abobik'ar succeeded in his place. The latter invaded Persia, because since the time that King Heraclius had attacked Persia that country had been in disorder, and there was no one to oppose him in Persia. So this Abobik'ar the Hagarene conquered Persia, entered Baghdad, and by force compelled innumerable people to abandon fire-worship, converting them to the Saracen (religion). He died and was succeeded by Omar, who became even more powerful.

<sup>22</sup> For Bishop Abibo's missionary activity see above, Q126. In Appendix, no. 9, he is named as one of the 'Syrian' fathers.

*Arm.* them to the religion of the Saracens. On his death Omar took power.

They informed Heraclius that the Saracens wished to enter Šam and Ĵaziret', which is the land of Mesopotamia. So the emperor marched to the land of Palestine, and saw there a man of God, a solitary, who said: 'Flee from the one expelled by Sarah—as the Saracens are indeed called, which means 'servants of Sarah.'<sup>64</sup> For the Lord gave the north and east and south to their nation.'<sup>65</sup> [99] They are the planets, who rule over the fixed (stars).<sup>66</sup> Prognosti-

<sup>64</sup> Servants of Sarah: There are numerous etymologies for 'Saracen' in Christian sources, which saw 'Sarah' in the first syllable. Here Geo. interprets -κηνός as κύνas, 'dogs'. The more usual interpretation was κενός, 'empty', referring to Hagar being sent away into the desert, Gen. 21. The unusual etymology offered by *Arm.*, 'servants, caray', is derived from the NT, Gal. 4: 22–31, where Paul contrasts Sarah and Hagar as an allegory. The former was free, the second was in bondage, *carayē*. 'From the one expelled by Sarah': *i paxuc'eloyñ Sarayi*. *Paxuc'eal* is an ambiguous form, a participle either causative (as I take it here) or passive. But 'flee from the fugitive Sarah' cannot be correct, since it was Hagar who fled. *Arm.* is not consistent in rendering the various names for Muslims in Geo. The translator may render 'Saracens' by 'Hagarites', or vice versa. 'Ismaelites', 'foreigners' (*aylazgi*), and 'followers of Kafart' (see V104) are also found.

<sup>65</sup> *Arm.* adds 'north' to the prophecy, probably because of the extensive quotations from Daniel in Sebēos 141–2, which refer to the various regions overrun by the Ismaelites. 'Northern regions' is also a common expression for Armenia; see R. W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i, History of the Armenians* (Cambridge, Mass, 1978), 85 n. 5, on i. 10.

<sup>66</sup> This addition seems to be based on the ambiguity of the word *molor*, 'wandering'; it is used of planets (as opposed to fixed stars) and of nomads. It also means those 'in error'.

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*Geo.* [230] They informed King Heraclius that the Hagarenes had invaded Šam and Ĵaziret'i, which is Mesopotamia. Heraclius set out for Palestine in order to do battle there. But there was there a certain monk, a man of God, and he said to the king: 'Flee, because the Lord has given the east and the south to the Saracens, which means "the dogs of Sarah".' The astrologers and expert soothsayers reported these words of the monk to King Heraclius. King Heraclius erected a pillar and inscribed on it: 'Farewell, Mesopotamia and Palestine, until seven weeks have passed.' Concerning the week, they found the period of time defined in the books of the philosopher Hermes Trismegistus with regard to the Saracens: it is 250 years. From the year of Alexander down to the

cations about them are found in the books of the philosophers *Arm.* Hermitron and Ijintos:<sup>67</sup> On the great date 5814 appeared the son of the handmaid from the righteous nation<sup>68</sup> in 615, and he will endure five times seven sevens minus five, which is 240 years.<sup>69</sup>

King Heraclius made a circuit again to K'art'li. He said to the Persian people who had taken refuge in the northern regions from the Ismaelites: 'Behold, your kingdom has come to an end, and the Saracens have grown strong. Up, and come to us.' They left their

<sup>67</sup> The two names are a misunderstanding of the legendary Hermes Trismegistos. References to Hermes and texts attributed to him in Armenian authors have been studied by J.-P. Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Egypte*, ii (Quebec, 1982).

<sup>68</sup> Righteous nation: *yazgēn ardarut'ean*. *Ardarut'iwn*, 'righteousness', refers to Hagar's Jewish origin. Brosset ad loc. proposed *agarut'ean*, but an abstract noun from a personal name is not standard in Armenian, nor is such a word attested.

<sup>69</sup> These dates do not coincide. 5814 of the Byzantine era is AD 305/6, and of the Alexandrian era AD 321/2. And 615 of the Seleucid era is 5812 of the Byzantine era, but AD 303/4. Samuel of Ani, 78, dates the appearance of Muḥammad to 615 of Christ, 62 of the Armenian era (26 June 613–25 June 614), but indicates that other (unspecified) sources give Armenian 65 or 68. Armenian 65 (25 June 616–24 June 617) coincides briefly with Seleucid 927 (1 Sept. 615–31 Aug. 616). For the prophecy of 250/300 years see below, Q239.

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appearance of Mahamad was 927 years of the Alexandrian *Geo.* (era).<sup>23</sup>

Then all the noble families of the Greeks buried their treasures in the ground, so that after they had departed they might recover their treasures, and might not have the trouble of taking them away and bringing them back again. [231] The Emperor Heraclius advanced on the road to Ran, and again entered K'art'li. He said to the Persian people who had taken refuge from the Saracens: 'You know then<sup>24</sup> that your kingdom has been destroyed; abandon the north and come to us.' They left this country and buried their treasures. Some went away, while others remained. They placed deeds with all their treasure; and when they wrote a deed they put down their family and the land. They deposited these so that, when

<sup>23</sup> The editor of *K'C'* assumes that this final sentence is a later addition, though it is found in all the MSS. 927 of the Seleucid era is AD 615/16, one year divergent from *Arm.* 'Hermes' and 'Trismegistus' are much garbled in the MSS.

<sup>24</sup> You know then: *uket'u ucqit'*. *Ucqit'* could also be 1st pl., 'we know'. *Uket'u* would normally mean 'if', but the editor of *K'C'* suggests that the form was originally *ukue*, 'indeed'. Cf. above, Q177 n. 46, where *i'u* in the supposed etymology of T'uxarisi does not mean 'if', but 'indeed', or 'that'.

*Arm.* treasures in secret places, bringing the deed<sup>70</sup> of the treasure with them, and followed Heraclius. The Greeks would (be able to) come with that deed and find (the treasures).

Now Stepanos, prince of Georgia, had two sons named Arc'il and Mihr.<sup>71</sup> To them he gave all his possessions, which they buried in various places out of sight of Ismael. Then they fled to Egris.

<sup>70</sup> Deed: *gir*, writing, rendering *gujari*, 'written document'. Sebeos 137, notes that the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled to Constantinople with the Cross; but he gives no indication that anyone—in Palestine or elsewhere—hoped to return later to reclaim their lands. See B. Martin-Hisard, 'Les Arabes en Georgie occidentale au VIII<sup>e</sup> s.', *BK* 40 (1982), 105–38 at 110–11, for the motive behind this tradition.

<sup>71</sup> Juanšer has jumped to events of the 8th c. For Arc'il and Mihr see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 389, and for these events *id.*, *Studies*, 399 ff.

*Geo.* the Greeks came, through these deeds they should be able to find their families and distribute to each its land and treasure.<sup>25</sup>

[232] Step'anoz had two sons: Arc'il and Mihr. He divided all the wealth of his kingdom, the treasure of gold and silver and precious stones. He brought half to the land of Egrisi, taking also his first-born son Mihr. Half of his possessions he gave to Arc'il, his younger son. Arc'il [233] buried most of his treasure in the valley of Kaxet'i; the vessels of gold and silver in the valley of Ujarma; while he deposited the treasures of K'art'li and Javaxet'i at the hill which Heraclius himself had designated for the hiding of those treasures which they did not take away with them. The name of the hill is Tont'io, which means 'mountain of gold'.<sup>26</sup> On it he placed a talisman so that no one could remove (the treasure). But he buried the treasures of all the churches of K'art'li in the shadow<sup>27</sup> of the great cathedral at Mc'xet'a. A little time later Arc'il also came to Egrisi.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Bbp add here an 'interpolation' concerning the Sixth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople, taken from Ep'rem Mc'ire. For the translation see below, Appendix, no. 15.

<sup>26</sup> Tont'io: not a Georgian word. It is mentioned once again, Q290 below.

<sup>27</sup> Shadow: a literal translation of *ač'rdili*, which I take to mean 'vicinity'. But Brosset, note ad loc., interprets this as the space between the inner and outer domes. The 'cathedral' (Sioni) is Sveti C'xoveli; cf. *Arm.*, V91 n. 26.

<sup>28</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm add: 'While residing there Step'anoz, the *mt'avari* of K'art'li, died; and in his place his son Mir became king.'

For Mruan, son of Mahumad, who was called Xul (deaf), had attacked them and K'art'l.<sup>72</sup> He had seized the Pass of Darial, and had ravaged the inhabited areas of the Caucasus mountain. When he heard that the lords of K'art'l had fled to Egris and from there to Ap'xazet', he pursued them and captured the fortress of Egris. Arm.

He descended on the castle of Anakop'os, in which was kept the image of the Lord's Mother, not made by (human) hands. No one knew its origin because it had been found at the summit of the

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<sup>72</sup> This is Murvan's campaign of 736. Arm. has correctly translated *gru* as *xul*, 'deaf'. Marwān ibn Muhammad was later caliph (744–50), the last of the Umayyad line in Damascus. Esim (in Geo.) is Hisham, caliph 724–43. For Marwan's campaigns in Armenia cf. Lewond, ch. 21 ff.

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*Forty-third, King Mir,*<sup>29</sup> *son of Step'anoz the mt'avari, a descendant of Xosro* Geo.

There arrived in K'art'li the Hagarene emir who was called Murvan Qru (deaf), son of Momadi; he had been sent by Esim, *amir-mumin* of Baghdad, son of Abdal-Melik', a descendant of Amat'. He was nicknamed 'deaf' because he did not pay attention to the words of his counsellors.<sup>30</sup>

All the *mt'avaris*, *pitiaxšes*, and the relatives of the *erist'avis* and nobles took refuge in the Caucasus and hid in the forests and caves. Qru came to all the Caucasus; he seized the Passes of Dariel and of Daruband, and destroyed all the cities and innumerable fortresses in every region of K'art'li. When he learnt that the kings of K'art'li and all their relatives had gone away to Egrisi and from there had passed on to Ap'xazet'i, he pursued them [235] and destroyed all the cities and fortified places of the land of Egrisi. He destroyed the fortress of 'triple walls', which is C'ixe-Goji, and penetrated the wall which is the border of Klisura. At the time of his arrival T'abor was Catholicos.

When Qru attacked Klisura, which at that time was the border

<sup>29</sup> K'C' reintroduces the title of 'king' (*mep'e*), although Mir's ancestors were but *mt'avaris*. Just below Arm. uses 'lord' (*ter*) for the Georgian 'kings'.

<sup>30</sup> In Tk there are frequent 'interpolations' from the *Life* of David and Constantine, for which see Tarchnišvili 412–13. The whole text has been translated by Martin-Hisard, 'Les Arabes', 127 ff., so I have not included the extracts in the Appendix below. *Amir-mumin* is '*amīr al-mu'minīn*', 'Commander of the Faithful', a title given to the Caliph.

*Arm.* mountain of Gori.<sup>73</sup> In that castle were living Arč'il and Mihr following [100] the death of their father. The Greek general<sup>74</sup> Lewon entered the castle of Subała at the entrance to Ossetia, where he fortified himself.

The brothers said to each other: 'If we remain here they will take this fortress and will leave no record for us. The treasure which Mihran, crowned by Christ,<sup>75</sup> and Vaxt'ang, granted wisdom by

<sup>73</sup> Gori: This is not Gori (famous in modern times as the birthplace of Stalin), but Guria, as n. 80 below. However, here it may be a misunderstanding of Georgian *gora*, 'hill'.

<sup>74</sup> General: *zawraglux* for *erist'avi*; cf. V16 n. 71. For Leo, imperial duke of Ap'xazia, see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 401 n. 45.

<sup>75</sup> Crowned by Christ: a deliberate alteration in *Arm.* In *Geo.* only AC read *ǰmert'iv-ganbrjnobilisa* for both Mirian and Vaxt'ang. For the first reference all other MSS have *ǰmert'iv-ganbrqinvebulisa*, 'made brilliant by God'. *Mm* have the same for the second reference, but all other MSS (except AC) read *ǰmert'iv-ganjlierebulisa*, 'made powerful by God'.

*Geo.* of Greece and Georgia,<sup>31</sup> he destroyed the city C'xumi of Ap'silet'i and besieged the fortress of Anakop'i, in which is the image of the all-holy Mother of God—not painted by a human hand but from on high. No one knows its origin; it was found finished on top of the mountain which is bounded on the south by the sea and on the north by a marshy island. In it at that time were the kings of K'art'li, Mir, and Arč'il. But their father had passed away and was buried in Egrisi. The emperor's *erist'avi* Leon had entered the fortress of Sobgi, which is at the pass of Ossetia. No one was able to give battle to Qru, because his troops were more numerous than the forests of Egrisi.

[236] Then Arč'il said to his brother Mir: 'This fortified city is about to be destroyed. If they capture us they will question us about all the hidden treasures which we buried in our land—the possessions of Mirian who was given wisdom by God, also of Vaxt'ang the king rendered wise by God, and of all their offspring

<sup>31</sup> Georgia: This is the first use in *K'C'* (except in 'interpolations') of the word *sak'art'velo*, not used again until Q319 below with reference to the 11th c. Meaning 'the land of the K'art'velians', it is normally used of the united kingdom, not of eastern Georgia, K'art'li proper. See Toumanoff, *Studies*, 59. The fortress of Anakopi is frequently mentioned below as disputed between Georgians and Byzantines.



God, collected will be destroyed and disappear, as well as what Heraclius left here, the description of which we placed with the two crowns of emeralds. Arm.

'So, taking heart in God, with the intercession of Peter and Paul,<sup>76</sup> and through the power of the Image of the Lord's Mother

<sup>76</sup> A striking addition: Peter and Paul are not often invoked in Armenian texts. Moses Xorenac'i greeted their tombs in Rome on his travels, iii. 62. Cf. also Kirakos 119.

who begat us. He will also request what King Heraclius hid, of which we wrote down the whole description, with the two crowns of emerald and of purple ruby, which our father the great King Vaxt'ang brought from India and Sind.<sup>32</sup> We buried them at Ujarmo near the space between the two unguarded towers. And all this is inscribed in my mind. Do you take away the two crowns of gold and ruby, one King Mirian's and one Vaxt'ang's which the Persian King presented to Vaxt'ang, with all the gold and silver which he loaded on to 500 (beasts of) burden and 2,000 porters. You and our father left this at K'ut'atisi and C'ixe-Goji, whereas I separately deposited my crowns and the deeds (written) on skin. Now if we die all this treasure will remain unknown. And when the Greeks come the emperor will seek (vengeance) for our family and will give them (back) the kingdom and also that treasure. Let us not become a cause for the devastation of K'art'li and of Greece, but let us go forth and do battle on the hill beside the sea. And if God wishes, through one he will make a thousand flee, and through two, ten thousand.<sup>33</sup> [237] They came before the holy image of the all-holy Mother of God; they fell down and worshipped it, and said: 'We go forth with hope in your Son and our God, who was born from you. Offer him intercession on our behalf, and let your mercy accompany us.' There was with them a small group from their court and relatives of the *erist'avis* and *pitiaxšes*, only 1,000, and 2,000 warriors from among the Ap'xaz troops. Geo.

Before dawn God sent his anger upon the Saracens, a hot wind from the south.<sup>34</sup> And he struck them with a bloody flux. That

<sup>32</sup> Two crowns: Vaxt'ang brought back a crown of rubies, Q181; for Mirian's crown cf. Q129.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Deut. 32: 30, a phrase popular in the *K'C'*.

<sup>34</sup> Hot . . . south: *xoršaki bğuarisa*; see Luke 12: 55.

*Arm.* which is with us here, let us fall on them in an assault from the side of the sea.' They attacked with 3,000 men. The Lord caused a very great slaughter: 35,000 died of disease (inflicted) by the Lord, and 3,000 perished by the sword of men. Of the Christians sixty men were lost, and Mihr was wounded.

One of the Saracens said to his army: 'God gave us ten victories, as he had told Abraham and Hagar; but not against godly men or temples of his name.' So they departed from there and camped above the two rivers of Eot'naknean (Seven Sources).<sup>77</sup> Unexpectedly the river<sup>78</sup> rose from severe torrents; it swept away 23,000 of

<sup>77</sup> Eot'naknean: The reference to 'seven' (*eot'n*) may be a misunderstanding of the Georgian *msgep'sa*, 'week', which is found in all MSS except AC for *msgavsad*, 'as'.

<sup>78</sup> ABCD and V have a singular noun and verb here, which Abulaje 'corrects' to a plural in order to match Geo. However, if *Arm.* here follows AC in Geo., 'as one', the introduction of 'seven springs' just above is more difficult to explain.

*Geo.* night an angel of the Lord appeared to Arč'il, and said to him: 'Go forth and attack the Hagarenes, because I have sent upon them a terribly destructive affliction, from the men to the animals. When you go out you will hear from their camp the sound of wailing and tears. But do you be valiant and strong with trust in God.' When dawn broke, the sound of crying and lamentation was heard from their camp.

Then they went forth with trust in God in order to attack them. They engaged battle, and the Lord gave the victory to the small group of Christians. From the dysentery there died 35,000 Saracens, but by the sword 3,000. Mir was wounded in the groin by a lance. But of the Christians there were killed on that day sixty men. The horses of the Saracens fell like trees; and they threw them all into the sea.

[238] Then a certain Hagarene saw a vision in which their supposed apostle said: 'God has given us power down to the death of ten kings, as God said to Abraham and to Hagar. But spare the holy churches and the men who serve God, as I commanded you in my Koran.'<sup>35</sup> Immediately they decamped and retraced their steps. When they had reached C'ixe-Goji, they encamped on the two rivers (which were) as one. There fell a heavy rain and the rivers rose fearfully. The smaller river came up to the army of the

<sup>35</sup> Not a quotation from the Koran!

the Habaš troops who were with them, and 35,000 horses. Thenceforth because of that accident the first river was called Jxenis-clal,<sup>79</sup> and the second Habašis-clal. The survivors marched along the Gori<sup>80</sup> road, crossed into the province of Sper, and went their way. Arm.

The liberated Christians glorified God and sent information about what had occurred to the emperor. On hearing (the news),

<sup>79</sup> i.e. 'horse-river' in Georgian.

<sup>80</sup> This is the only occasion where Guria in Geo. also occurs in Arm. Cf. above, n. 73.

Abaš and carried away 23,000 of their infantry; while the larger river came up to the cavalry, whose camp was out of the forest. Some fled from the spot and others rushed towards the trees. But 35,000 horses were carried away. Thenceforth the two rivers were named: the one C'xenis-cqali, and the other Abaša. He left there, took the Guria road, and crossed into Sper. From their multitude the loss was not apparent. Previously they had cut the tails of their horses, because they were unable to make progress due to the clay. Geo.

Now at that time the lands of K'art'li, Armenia, and Ran had been devastated, and there were no dwellings nor food at all for men or beasts. Mir, Arč'il, and Leon, the *erist'avi* of Ap'xazet'i, sent an envoy to the Greek king and informed him of everything that had been caused by God through their hands. He sent two crowns and a document to Mir and Arč'il, and inscribed thereon: 'You had sovereignty, valour, and wisdom in K'art'li. Now although you are persecuted with us for serving the Cross, on our return, as God promised us, you will be glorified with us. But remain in your fortifications until their 300 years will have passed. For in the 250th year their kingdom will be divided; and at the completion of the 300th year power will be restored to our kingdom and we shall destroy the Hagarenes.<sup>36</sup> All whom they have elevated will be humbled, and those humbled with us will be raised up.'

He wrote to Leon in this fashion: 'The territories of K'art'li have been totally damaged by us, although their kings gave us adherence and support. This is now the third service and support they have offered the throne of this kingdom. First, [240] they received

<sup>36</sup> For this prophecy see above, Q230.

*Arm.* he rejoiced in the Lord; and the king sent the two brothers letters of encouragement.

However, Mir died from his wounds. He was buried in Mc'xet'a.

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*Geo.* baptism under our auspices.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, they saved from destruction the great city of Pontos, and made peace between us and the Persians. For that same Vaxt'ang undertook the enterprise, and through his sword restored to this kingdom Palestine and both parts of Jaziret'i.<sup>38</sup> Now if God had not blocked the wicked enemy through them, he would have reached Constantinople. God has made them outstanding among the descendants of Nebrot', because there did not lack in their nation wise men, understanding and warrior-like as this written document informs us, on which are inscribed the kings and nobles by their family and lands. I have conferred on you the erist'avate of Ap'xazet'i, on you and your children and your descendants for ever. But honour well the kings and people of K'art'li; and henceforth do not allow any harm to befall them or their lands of Egrisi, while they are there or (when) they will depart thence.'

Now Mir was afflicted by his wound unto death. He said to his brother Arc'il: 'My brother, behold I am departing to our fathers. Take and bury me in the tomb of our fathers. I shall show you the place where our treasures are buried. I have no male child as heir, but I have seven daughters.<sup>39</sup> Now you are heir to our royal house of King Mirian. You yourself know that we have not given a daughter, our own child, as wife to our *erist'avis*, but we gave them either to kings or to some relative of kings who came from Persia, such as [241] Peroz to whom King Mirian gave his daughter in marriage.<sup>40</sup> But we have been humbled, for you are without a wife and I have no son. Now since our fathers took as wives the daughters of our *erist'avis*, give them my daughters and divide among them the lands of K'art'li. Half (for) you, and half for them. What I possess as elder (brother) I give to you, and you will have the elder's lot: Egrisi, Suanet'i, T'akuveri, Arguet'i, and Guria. But give Klarjet'i and Inner Mt'iulet'i to my daughters so that they may live there in these evil times. Our father died during this trouble and we

<sup>37</sup> Auspices: lit. 'hand', as of the sponsor at baptism.

<sup>38</sup> See above, Q182-3, for the two disputed halves of Jaziret'i.

<sup>39</sup> See the table in Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 389.

<sup>40</sup> For Peroz, a relative of Mirian, see above, Q68.

were not able to bring him to Mc'xet'a. Transfer his bones and bury them in the church of Xut'at'isi, so that it may be the testimony of our inheritance. And you remain here and be friends with the Greeks, until this gloom is dissipated.' Mir died, and they brought him to Mc'xet'a and buried him in the Upper Church at the threshold of the door.<sup>41</sup>

*Forty-fourth, King Arc'il, son of King Step'anoz and brother of King Mir, a descendant of Xosro*

Arč'il summoned the *erist'avis* of K'art'li and gave them his nieces:<sup>42</sup> the first he gave to his father's nephew, son of Guaram *curopalates*, who held Klarjet'i and Javaxet'i; the second he gave to the *pitiaxš*, descendant of Peroz, who was *mt'avari* in T'rialet'i, Tašir, and Aboc'; the third he gave to Nerses Nersiani, who was a noble of King Vaxt'ang; [242] the fourth he gave to Adarnase Adarnasiani, and between them both he divided the Upper land, which is K'art'li; the fifth he gave to Varzman, to whom he gave (the territory) from Kotman as far as K'urdis-Hevi. This Varzman was a descendant of the Persian *erist'avi* of Bardav, who had been the father of King Vaxt'ang's mother.<sup>43</sup> The sixth he gave to Juanšer Juanšeriani,<sup>44</sup> who was a descendant of King Mirian from the offspring of Rev. To him he gave Juari, Xerki, and all Mt'iulet'i, the valley of Manglisi, and Tp'ilisi. The portion of Arč'il was formed from parts of all these valleys. And when they saw that he had given a larger portion to Juanšer, the others were somewhat irritated. He dismissed these *mt'avaris* with their wives to each one's place.

Then Arč'il summoned Leon and said: 'May you be blessed by the Lord, because you took such good pains to show us hospitality and you gave us (refuge) peaceably in your territory. But now I know that my territories beyond Klisura are flourishing. I shall

<sup>41</sup> Mirian and Nana were the first sovereigns to be buried in the 'Upper' church, Q129. Here all MSS except ACMTm add: 'And his brother Arč'il ruled as king in his stead.'

<sup>42</sup> Mir reigned 738–86. For this passage on the marriage arrangements see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 401 ff., esp. n. 46.

<sup>43</sup> King Vaxt'ang's mother, Sagdux, was the daughter of Barzabod, the *erist'avi* of Ran. Her brother was Varaz-Bakur, who succeeded Barzabod. For 'father' ABdp have 'brother', a reading preferred by Toumanoff, loc. cit.

<sup>44</sup> Juanšer was the author of this section of the *K'C*; see below, Q248.

Arm. The land was quiet for twelve years.

In those days a certain noble from the house of the prophet David, [101] Adrnas by name, came to Arč'il.<sup>81</sup> He had been in Armenia, was taken captive with his sons by the Muslims,<sup>82</sup> and

<sup>81</sup> For the introduction of the Bagratids into Georgian history see the extensive discussion of this passage in Toumanoff, *Studies*, 412–16. Moses Xorenac'i is the first Armenian historian to mention the Jewish origin claimed by the Bagratids; but not until John Catholicos ch. 4, does King David appear in Armenian sources.

<sup>82</sup> Muslims: *aylazgik*, 'foreigners'. It is a standard expression, based on its use in the OT for Philistines. See above, n. 64 for the various terms used to describe Muslims.

Geo. depart and restore C'ixe-Goji and K'ut'at'isi. So ask for yourself whatever you wish from me as a reward for your good service.' Leon said: 'The emperor gave me this land in inheritance through your noble valour. Henceforth this is patrimony for me, from Klisura as far as the river of Greater Xazaret'i where the extremity of the Caucasus reaches. Add me to your servants, whom today you made worthy to be your sons and brothers. I do not wish a portion from you, save that this of mine be yours.' Then he gave to Leon as wife his niece Guaranduxt, and the crown which [243] the king of the Greeks had sent for Mir.<sup>45</sup> And they made a promise and a fearsome oath that there would not be enmity between them, but that Leon would obey Arč'il all his days. Arč'il went away and inhabited Egrisi up to Sorapan. He administered all the castles and cities, and built a fortress on the border of Guria and Greece.

In this twelve years passed, and K'art'li began to prosper; but Mc'xet'a ceased<sup>46</sup> as the (royal) residence. Arč'il came down from Egrisi, and stopped at the fortress of Hidari.

Then there came to him a *mt'avari* who was from the family of the prophet David, by the name of Adarnase, the nephew<sup>47</sup> of Adarnase the Blind, whose father was related to the Bagratids. He had been appointed by the Greeks as *erist'avi* of the regions of

<sup>45</sup> Mir: as AC, but 'Mirian' in all other MSS. For the two crowns, sent to Mir and Arč'il, see above, Q239.

<sup>46</sup> Ceased: *ganrqunil iqo*, lit. 'was destroyed'.

<sup>47</sup> Nephew: *jmisculi*, 'brother's son', but 'sister's son' in Mm and *jisculi*, 'grandson', in A which is the reading adopted by Toumanoff, *Studies*, 345–6. Adarnase the Blind is Ašot III; see *ibid.*, 346–54, for these events. Lewond, ch. 26, describes his blinding.

having escaped from there requested from him a place to dwell. He gave him Riša and Štuer and Atonē. Arm.

There also came three brothers from Taron, and at Arč'il's command they settled as far as Gałgał. Arč'il's wife was the daughter of Gorom *curopalates*, a descendant of King Vaxt'ang.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Arm. has inverted the order of this paragraph compared with Geo.

Armenia, and during the invasion of Qru he had taken refuge with the sons of Guaram *curopalates* in Klarjet'i. There he had remained. He requested Arč'il: 'If you wish, make me like an heir of yours; give me land.' And he gave him Šlavveri and Artani. After this Arč'il went to Kaxet'i; he bestowed Kaxet'i on all the members of his court, and made them *aznauris*. He built a church at Sajmori, and married as wife the daughter of Guaram *curopalates*, who was one of the descendants of King Vaxt'ang and his Greek wife. He stopped at Cuk'et'i and built a castle,<sup>48</sup> and he built a fortress in the valley of Lakuasti. At Cuk'et'i he found the *mt'avaris* on whom King Vaxt'ang had bestowed Cuk'et'i. At that time there ruled as *erist'avi* over the T'uš and Xunz and all the heathen of the mountain one by the name of Abuxuasro. He did not wish to take Cuk'et'i from him, [244] so he built a citadel at Nuxpat between the two rivers. Previously the people of Nuxpat had been pagans and savage by nature, but the majority of them had been killed by Qru. By force Arč'il baptized them. The Saracens had become strong in the land of Ran. They had seized Gaziri and Armenia, and Maslama was waging war on the Greeks.<sup>49</sup> Geo.

The nephews of Adarnase the Blind, who had burnt their uncle's eyes, came from Taron to Šakixi, three brothers, and settled there at the command of Arč'il. For all the extent of the Caucasus around Ran had become uninhabited.<sup>50</sup> However, Heret'i and Kaxet'i had escaped (damage) because of the islands and forests. These three brothers settled as far as Gulgula. At the same time

<sup>48</sup> Castle: *kasri*, the Arabic *qasr*, rather than a place-name. It is used only here and just below with reference to Cuk'et'i.

<sup>49</sup> Gaziri is not mentioned elsewhere in *K'C*; Jazira in C. Maslama's attack on Constantinople in 716-7 is described by Lewond, ch. 20.

<sup>50</sup> Uninhabited: *umkvidro*, 'without a mkvidri'. The Georgian word means 'inhabitant' or 'heir'. Martin-Hisard, 'Les Arabes', 127, renders 'sans maître', taking the second meaning.

*Arm.* [102] No one can set down in writing the calamities of the Christians that they endured from the Saracens, who for a time were also called K'atart'ians; as divine scripture says: 'The tongues of K'atart' will be drunk from the blood of the innocent.'<sup>84</sup> For K'atart' was the source of that nation's growing powerful; he was chief of a few of the surrounding Ismaelites. In his days a certain prince of Mesopotamia, Sargis by name, was robbing the possessions of Ismaelite merchants. K'atart' begged him to give back what had been taken and not to do that any more, but he did not heed him. The latter angrily gathered a large crowd of his own people; they went and seized their own possessions and theirs.<sup>85</sup> Then they waxed strong. In those same days they found Mahmet, expelled by his own people. He had been a pupil of a certain Arian monk and of the heresy of Cerinthus, who professed the resurrection as involving suffering and corporeal<sup>86</sup> and by bodily desire. Joining him to themselves and making him their general, they fought against the whole world. The measure of the sins of the Christians was full—of Greeks, and Armenians, Syrians, Aħank',

<sup>84</sup> This quotation seems to be an adaptation of Sir. 12: 15–16, with *k'alc'ar*, 'sweet', altered to *k'atart'*.

<sup>85</sup> Theirs: i.e. of Sargis and his followers.

<sup>86</sup> And corporeal: as BD and V, omitted in AC.

*Geo.* some *pitiaxses* had not been acceptable<sup>51</sup> in Klarjet'i; half of them went elsewhere and took control of a cliff in Tao, which is called Kalmaksi and built it into a fortress.<sup>52</sup> The other half went to Arc'il in Kaxet'i. To one of them he gave as wife a descendant of Abuxuasro, because she had been widowed and did not have a husband. He bestowed (on him) Cuk'et'i with its fortress and castle.

In those times the Saracens ceased attacking K'art'li up to the fiftieth year from Qru's invasion.<sup>53</sup> Up to that time they had not attacked, but received tribute from the *erist'avis*. Arc'il had two sons: Juanser and Iovane; and four daughters: Guaranduxt, Mariam, Miranduxt, and Šušan.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Had not been acceptable: *ara seesunes*, i.e. they did not 'fit in'.

<sup>52</sup> Kalmaksi is not to be confused with Kamax; see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 454 n.

64.

<sup>53</sup> Qru's invasion was in 736; see above, Q233.

<sup>54</sup> Arm. gives these names below, V104.



and Georgians. So they prevailed and seized for themselves the sceptre of the Persians, whereby they subjected all nations.<sup>87</sup> *Arm.*

LEONTI MROVELI, *THE MARTYRDOM OF ARČ'IL, KING OF  
K'ART'LI*

[103] Now twelve<sup>88</sup> years after the coming of the emir Xul, there arrived Čičnaum, son of Mahadi.<sup>89</sup> The nobles resisted him and did

<sup>87</sup> This addition in Arm. describing the origin of Islam is based primarily on Samuel of Ani 78 ff., though he puts K'alart' 32 years after Muḥammad. Samuel is the first Armenian author to refer to Sargis and to claim that Muḥammad had been influenced by the ideas of Cerinthus and Arius. For further details see Thomson, 'Muhammad'.

<sup>88</sup> It is unclear why '50 years' (i.e. from 736 to 786, the date of Arč'il's death) has become '12' in Arm. The 50 years of quiet were stressed in Geo. just above.

<sup>89</sup> This is Khuzayma ibn Khazim; see Lewond, ch. 40, for his activity in Armenia, and Toumanoff, *Studies*, 409-10, for his campaign in Georgia.

[245] LEONTI MROVELI: *THE MARTYRDOM OF ARČ'IL,  
KING OF K'ART'LI*<sup>55</sup>

*Geo.*

When fifty years had passed, there came again Čičnaum, the son of Mohamedi. He ravaged and destroyed all the inhabited area of K'art'li, and advanced to attack Kaxet'i in order to ravage and totally depopulate it. Great fear fell on the kings, the *mt'avaris*, and all the people, and they were impotent to resist. For since the time the land had been ruined by Qru, although much time had passed in peace, yet it had not been restored to its previous condition. St Arč'il made the decision in the braveness of his heart that he would go and visit (Čičnaum), and would request from him peace for the land, and that he would not permit the churches to be overthrown or encourage apostasy from their religion. With trust in God he chose to sacrifice his life for the deliverance of the Christians. So he arose and went to Čičnaum, who was called Asim.<sup>56</sup> When he learnt of his arrival, he met him in a friendly way and greeted him with much honour. They passed that day together. He praised his elegance, liked his handsome figure and especially the beauty of his face. After a few days he began to address him in flattering words. He promised him gifts, and invited him to

<sup>55</sup> Before this title AMTm add: 'Leonti Mroveli composed this *Martyrdom of Arč'il*, and the *History of the Kings*, and the *Conversion of K'art'li by Nino*'.

<sup>56</sup> i.e. Khāzim.

*Arm.* not allow him into Klarjet'. Some of them went to the land of Tayk'; finding a rock, they built it up as a fortress, and named it Kamax.<sup>90</sup> However, King Arč'il decided to go to the tyrant<sup>91</sup> so that perchance he might make things easier for the Christians, because they were tributary to them. When he arrived, he (Čičnaum) came out to greet him, honoured him, praised the beauty of his face and the elegance of his figure, and held a banquet<sup>92</sup> for him. After a few days he tried to force him to convert to their religion. But when he received a very harsh response from him, the tyrant ordered that he be placed in iron bands.

Then a renegade prince, Gardambēl by name,<sup>93</sup> came forward and said to Čičnaum, who was also called Asim: 'That man is a

<sup>90</sup> *Arm.* has taken this from *Geo.* Q244, but has changed the motivation.

<sup>91</sup> Tyrant: *brnawor*, a standard term in hagiography for the persecutor.

<sup>92</sup> Banquet: *xraxut'iwñ*, lit. 'festivity'.

<sup>93</sup> *Arm.* has misinterpreted the adj. *gardabaneli* as a personal name.

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*Geo.* abandon the religion of Christ and to convert [246] to the Saracen religion. But St Arč'il did not at all submit to his folly, and with firm mind responded, saying: 'Let it not be that I heed your words or abandon Christ the living god, who is the true God, who for our salvation endured death in the flesh. If I were to obey you, know that I should die a death by which I should be tormented for ever. But if you kill me, I shall rise up like our God and shall be glorified with him.' When the impious one heard all this and saw his irrevocable firmness, he was greatly astonished and ordered his arrest and imprisonment, so that he might cause him to convert by some means. For he did not want him to die because of the beauty of his face and the gracefulness of his figure. When they had cast him into prison, he blessed God and asked for his help, so that through his mercy he might become worthy to obtain and inherit eternal light with all the saints who had gained immortality through death for God's sake.

Then a *mt'avari* of Gardaban presented himself before Asim; he was a convert to the Saracen (religion) whose uncle had been killed by the Canars.<sup>57</sup> His murderers had taken refuge safely with King Adarnase, the grandfather of Arč'il. For this reason the Gardaban-

<sup>57</sup> This is the first reference in the *K'Č'* to the Canars. T'ovma Arcruni, iii. 10, describes their defeat of Bug'a in the following century.

descendant of great kings, is lord of valuable treasures, and also controls the treasure of the Greek emperor.' When he heard this he rejoiced. Summoning him to a tribunal, he said: 'Show me the treasure of the emperor and of your ancestors and convert to my religion, then I shall grant you what is yours, you will retain your principality, and I shall make you general of all K'art'li.' Arč'il replied, saying: 'When Heraclius passed through our land, I was a child.<sup>94</sup> And the treasure which they stored is lying in the citadel of the fortress from which the emir Xul retreated and which the Greeks now hold. What you seek has not come into my possession. Nor shall I change my faith for the whole universe, because my Lord God is Christ, the Son of the Living God.'

*Arm.*

The tyrant looked at him and said: 'Was it you who defeated the

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<sup>94</sup> Since Heraclius was last in Armenia more than 150 years before Arč'il's death, this cannot be taken literally! Geo. stresses the handsomeness of Arč'il, though in 786 he was more than 50 years old, his father Step'anoz having died in 736.

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ian sought vengeance, and he said to Asim: 'Do you not know who this Arč'il is? He is the son of Step'anoz, a descendant of the great King Vaxt'ang, who was from the family of Mirian, son of K'asre. He was with his father when they buried the royal treasures of K'art'li. And he knows where King Heraclius buried his treasure. For Heraclius showed him where he buried them.' When Asim had heard all this, he summoned Arč'il again and said: 'You previously caught my eye because of your handsomeness, for you are very elegantly formed. [247] Now they tell me about you that you are a descendant of the great Xosroid kings. But you will become even greater in my presence if you heed me, and your kingdom will also be restored to you, and I shall present you with the treasures of your fathers. First, show me the treasures of the Greek kings, convert to my religion, and become a Saracen. I shall then make you general over the land of K'art'li, and king and lord over the peoples of K'art'li.' Then St Arč'il replied, saying: 'Know well that I was young in age when King Heraclius crossed this land. My father and brother placed all their treasures in the fortress from which the emir Qru retreated. Now it is in the possession of the Greeks. But I shall not abandon the Lord my God, nor sell the imperishable glory for that which quickly passes away.'

*Geo.*

Asim replied and said: 'Were you in Ap'xazet'i when the Saracens were defeated?' St Arč'il said: 'I was there when God

*Arm.* Saracens in Ap'xazet'?' Arč'il said: 'I was there when God smote them.' Asim said: 'Did God strike us?' The saint replied: 'Yes, Christ God, our hope, who came to earth to save us; he helped those who had hope in him.' Then the tyrant passed sentence of death<sup>95</sup> [104] on the noble king, saying: 'Let him whose God has died, die also in the name of him whom he chose.'

Taking him outside, they cut off his head while he was giving thanks and praying to God. He exchanged this mortal kingdom for the unfading kingdom of heaven. Having received the martyrs' crown, he stands before the holy Trinity in joy without sorrow. The people of Goderj and Tbe<sup>96</sup> and other nobles with them came by night and secretly removed his body. They took and buried it at

<sup>95</sup> Of death: as AC, omitted in BD and V.

<sup>96</sup> *Arm.* interprets Goderj as a place-name: *Goderjec'ik'n ew Tbec'ik'n*, whereas in *Geo.* *goderjianni* means the companions of Goderj, for which the Armenian suffix *-eank'* would have been an appropriate rendering.

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*Geo.* defeated them.' Asim said: 'Which God defeated the Saracens?' St Arč'il responded and said: 'The living God, who is the creator of heaven and earth, and who came from heaven to earth for the salvation of the race of men, and by his death raised us up and granted us immortality. He defeated and humbled them.' Then Asim said to St Arč'il: 'He whose God is mortal and who puts his hope for life in a mortal, is himself worthy of death.'

So he ordered his head to be cut off and St Arč'il to be killed. He neither spared his beauty nor took into account the splendour of his glory. They led him outside and cut off his head on the twentieth of the month Mirkan, which is March.<sup>58</sup> [248] He entrusted his soul to his Creator, preferring death to a deceitful escape from death; he exchanged this brief and short-lived kingdom for eternal joy; he became worthy of being ranked among the saints and of standing with the heroic martyrs in the presence of God; and crowned with them he rejoices in the presence of the holy Trinity. When the holy martyr had died, there came that night Goderj's people from Tbet'i, accompanied by other nobles of Mame. They secretly removed the body of the holy martyr Arč'il, took it away and embalmed it with great honour. They buried it at Notkor in

<sup>58</sup> The months of the Georgian year were: *ahalclisa* (later fixed as September), *st'uclisa*, *tiriskani*, *tirisdani*, *apani*, *surcqnisi*, *mihrakan*, *igrika*, *vardobisa*, *mariali*, *t'bisa*, *k'uel't'obisa*.

Nutkara in the church he himself had built. His wife gave gifts to those who brought his relics, and (assigned) villages and towns for his sepulchre. Arm.

This abbreviated history<sup>97</sup> was found in times of trouble and placed in this book called *K'art'lis C'xoreba*, which means 'History of K'art'li'.<sup>98</sup> Juanber found it composed up to King Vaxt'ang, and himself continued it up to this point. The future he entrusted to those who will see and experience (events) at that time.

THE BOOK OF K'ART'LI

Now the martyr of Christ, Arč'il, left two sons, Juanber and Ivanē, and four daughters whose names were: Goranduxt, Mariam,

<sup>97</sup> This is the first version of Arč'il's martyrdom; for the later expanded version see Tarchnišvili 415.

<sup>98</sup> Arm. gives in transcription the standard title for the Georgian collection of chronicles: *K'art'lis C'xovreba*. However, here Geo. reads *K'art'velt'a C'xovreba*, 'history of the K'art'velians', not 'of K'art'li'.

the church which had been built by him. To those who had brought the body of St Arč'il his wife donated villages in Kaxet'i with hereditary rights. Geo.

This book of his martyrdom was found set down in brief in this fashion, since in the times of trouble no one was able to compose it fittingly. Now this book of the *History of the Georgians* down to Vaxt'ang was composed at various times. From King Vaxt'ang down to here it was composed by Juanšer Juanšeriani, husband of a niece of St Arč'il,<sup>99</sup> a descendant of Rev, son of Mirian. After this generations still to come will write down (events) as they see them, and future time will make them known to their understanding given wisdom by God.

[249]

THE BOOK OF K'ART'LI

*Forty-fifth, the mt'avaris of K'art'li, Iovane and his brother Juanšer, sons of the holy martyr King Arč'il, descendants of Xosro*  
Following this, when the holy martyr Arč'il had been killed, there remained two sons of his—Iovane and Juanšer. Iovane went to

<sup>99</sup> See above, Q242, for Juanšer's marriage.

*Arm.* Mihranduxt, and Šušān.<sup>1</sup> The king of the Xazars heard that this Šušān was beautiful, so he sent and requested her in marriage. He promised to deliver her land from the hands of the K'afart'ians.<sup>2</sup> But her mother and brothers did not wish to give the lamb over to the wild beast.

Three years later the *xak'an* despatched his general Buljan<sup>3</sup> with a strong army along the road to Leket'. He came and passed into Kaxet' and besieged the castle where Juanšer and Šušān were residing. After a short while he captured the fortress and made the sister prisoner with her brother;<sup>4</sup> he also took Tp'xis and all the land of K'art'l, then departed. Saint Šušān said to her brother: [105] 'I shall die in virginity of body and faith, and not become

<sup>1</sup> These names were given earlier in Geo., Q244. For the change *š* to *b* in Juanšer see above, V16 n. 69. For parallels to the story of Šušān and the Xakan, and other sources for this Xazar invasion, see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 411 n. 24.

<sup>2</sup> K'afart'ians: See above, V98 n. 64, for various renderings of 'Saracen'.

<sup>3</sup> For Bluč'an see Golden, *Khazars*, i. 171-3. This invasion took place in 799/800.

<sup>4</sup> He captured . . . brother: as AC, omitted in BD and V.

*Geo.* Egrisi, taking with him his mother and two sisters; while Juanšer and his (other) two sisters remained in the land of K'art'li and Kaxet'i. His youngest sister was beautiful of figure; and the *xakan*, king of the Xazars, had heard of her beauty. He sent an envoy and requested Šušān for wife; and he promised to help him against the Saracens. When the *xakan's* envoy arrived, Juanšer informed his brother and mother. But they were unwilling, and said: 'If our situation becomes untenable, it is better that we go to Greece and join the Christians, rather than our offspring be polluted by heathens.' Šušān too despised the king of the Xazars.

Three years after this the *xakan* despatched his general Bluč'an. He took the Leket'i road and entered Kaxet'i. He stopped at the castle in which were Juanšer and his sister Šušān, and in a few days captured it and made them prisoner. He took Tp'ilisi and ravaged K'art'li and all the land. [250] As he was marching off along the road to the Darialan, one day Šušān said to her brother: 'It is better for me to die so that the Lord may render me worthy (to be included) among the holy women, than that I be polluted by the heathen.' She had a ring; she removed the precious stone and pressed it to her. Now under the stone was a mortal poison, and she died on the spot. Bluč'an went to the *xakan*, taking Juanšer, and informed him about the death of the latter's sister Šušān. He

prey for a wild beast.' Taking off her ring, she removed the precious stone. Underneath it was a mortal poison. This she put in her mouth, and she died unsullied before the Lord. Her brother then buried her. When Buljan returned to the *xak'an* and informed him about the maiden, he was greatly angry that he had not carefully protected her and had not even brought her corpse to him. He attached a rope to his neck, and ordered two horsemen to pull in opposite directions until the head of that evil destroyer of Holy Church came off.<sup>5</sup> Seven years later Juanber was released with gifts, and he came back to his own land.

Arm.

He found the Saracens encamped at Tp'xis and in many places.<sup>6</sup> He himself submitted and paid them tribute. He took as wife the daughter of the Bagratid Atrnerseh; she was called Latawri.

<sup>5</sup> Golden, as n. 3 above, quotes parallels for this form of punishment.

<sup>6</sup> For the Muslim control of Tp'ilisi see Minorsky, 'Tifis'.

was angry that he had not brought her body, which he had longed to see. They seized Bluč'an, tied a rope around his neck, and had two horsemen pull from either side. Thus they cruelly removed his head. When Juanšer had been there seven years, the *xakan* released him with great gifts and sent him back to his own land.

Geo.

From then on the kingdom of the great Xosroid kings began to decline. First, the rule of the Saracens increased, and thenceforth this whole country was subjected from time to time to plundering and devastation. Second, there was a host of *mt'avaris* in the land of K'art'li; they devoted themselves to quarrelling and became mutual enemies. If among the descendants of Vaxt'ang anyone appeared who was worthy to be king, he was put down by the Saracens. For the Hagarenes had captured the city of Tp'ilisi and had made it their own residence. They extracted tribute from the land, which they called *ḥarāj*. For by God's permission on account of the multitude of our sins the race of Hagarenes grew mighty.<sup>1</sup> [251] This Juanšer married as wife a Bagratid, the daughter of Adarnase, by the name of Latavri. His mother blamed him for

<sup>1</sup> Here Bbkp add: 'The preaching of the impious Mahmad spread, and many people followed it. After this the Persians came out and raided as far as Pontos, and they seized all Cappadocia in 766 (as b).' Bkp interpret *g'yv* as *g'vt'iv* 'by God's (will)'.

*Arm.* After a while Xosroydis<sup>7</sup> came; he was governor<sup>8</sup> of Armenia and had restored Tp'xis, which had been ruined by the Xazars. A certain Leon, son of the daughter of the king of the Xazars, assumed a crown and controlled Ap'xazet' and Egris as far as Lixk'.<sup>9</sup> Arč'il's two sons, Ivanē and Juanber, died.

<sup>7</sup> This curious rendering of Xuasro derives from the reading *Xuasrodisa* in C of the Georgian text. Most MSS read *Xuasro odes*, the latter word being the adverb 'when', which in the context makes little sense.

<sup>8</sup> Governor: *ostikan*, for the verb *mt'avrobda*. For this title see Laurent-Canard 408 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Leo II reigned 766/7 to 810/11. For a list of rulers of Ap'xazia see C. Toumanoff, 'Chronology of the Kings of Abasgia and Other Problems', *LM* 69 (1956), 73-90.

*Geo.* taking her as wife. She was not at all aware that they were descendants of the prophet David, who was called the father of God in the flesh. But when she saw his wife, she loved her, blessed her, and wished her well.<sup>2</sup>

After an interval of many years there came a Hagarene amir who governed Armenia, K'art'li, and Heret'i, by the name of Xuasro. He restored Tp'ilisi, which had been devastated by the Xazars. When the Greeks grew feeble, the *erist'avi* of the Ap'xaz by the name of Leon, nephew of Leon the *erist'avi* to whom Ap'xazet'i had been given as inheritance, rebelled against them. This second Leon was the offspring of the daughter of the king of the Xazars. With their support he rebelled against the Greeks, seized Ap'xazet'i and Egrisi as far as Lixi, and took the title of king of the Ap'xaz. For Iovane had passed away, and Juanšer had grown old. And after this Juanšer also died. While Juanšer was still alive, Adarnase the Bagratid had acquired a third of Klarjet'i, Šavšet'i, Ačara, Nigali, Asisp'ori, Artan, and Lower Tao, and those fortresses which the descendants of King Vaxt'ang possessed.<sup>3</sup> Adarnase came to Klarjet'i and died there.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For the Bagratid rise to power, and this interpretation of an impediment to the marriage, see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 412-15; and 'Bagratids', 10-11, for Adarnase and Latavri. She is not mentioned in other Armenian texts; see *HANJB*, s.n.

<sup>3</sup> For these Armeno-Georgian marchlands see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 485.

<sup>4</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm add a short extract from the *K'roniki* of Sumbat. In the following pages there are numerous quotations from this source, printed by Q sometimes in the apparatus, sometimes in the text. Those sections included in the text of *K'C'* have been translated in the Appendix, nos. 16-18, 20-3, 25-8.



The *curopalates* Ašot took their place. The emperor honoured him, because the Hagarenes had declined.<sup>10</sup> Then after the death of Leon, his son T'eodos took his place.<sup>11</sup> Some days later the emir Xalil came and slew Ašot.<sup>12</sup> He himself was killed in Ĵawaxet'.

<sup>10</sup> For the line of succession see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 116, and for Ašot's promotion in 813 id., *Studies*, 353, and 'The Bagratids of Iberia from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century', *LM* 74 (1961), 5-42 at 11-12.

<sup>11</sup> This is Theodosius II, 810/11-836/7; see Toumanoff, 'Abasgia', 82.

<sup>12</sup> Khalil ibn Yazid was governor of Arminiya several times; see Ter-Ghewondyan 28. For the death of Ašot in 830 see Toumanoff, 'Abasgia', 85.

[252] *Forty-sixth, the curopalates of K'art'li, Ašot, son of Adarnase, a Bagratid*

After the death of Adarnase the Lord increased the authority of Ašot *curopalates*. He ruled over K'art'li and its borders. For in those same times Maslama had attacked Greece, and returned defeated and ashamed.<sup>5</sup> Then the king of the Greeks appointed Ašot to the rank of *curopalates*. While the Saracens declined, Ašot *curopalates* waxed mighty. None of the Saracens remained at Tp'ilisi, except Ali, son of Šuab.<sup>6</sup> And Grigol was *mt'avari* in Kaxet'i. At that time Ašot *curopalates* set out on a campaign. T'ewodosi, king of the Ap'xaz, son of the second Leon, who was the son-in-law of Ašot *curopalates*, gave him assistance. Grigol left Kaxet'i; he was assisted by the Mt'iulni, the Canars, and the amir of Tp'ilisi. Ašot and Grigol gave battle on the K'san. They turned back Grigol, [253] *mt'avari* of Kaxet'i, and seized the territory he had taken from K'art'li. So Ašot occupied (the land) from Klarjet'i as far as the K'san.<sup>7</sup>

After this Xalil, son of Izid, the Arabian, came forth and seized Armenia, K'art'li, and Heret'i. They killed Ašot *curopalates* at Gardaban, in the church. And his blood, which was then shed, is seen today as if fresh. [254] Once more the Saracens ruled over K'art'li. When Xalil marched off he left as amir Ali, son of Šuab. At that time the Gardabanians agreed to elect Dač'i, son of Iovane K'uabulisje, as *k'orepiskopos*;<sup>8</sup> and after him they appointed

<sup>5</sup> The chronology here is confused. Maslama's attacks on the Byzantines in the first half of the 8th c. had been mentioned above, Q244.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ali ibn Shu'aib; see Minorsky, 'Tiflis', 753, and Laurent-Canard, 439.

<sup>7</sup> For Ašot's holdings see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 486.

<sup>8</sup> This is the first occurrence in K'C' of this term, often abbreviated to *k'orikoz*. It is used in a secular sense and was common among the Canars. See further Laurent-Canard, 62-3.

*Arm.* Two hundred and nineteen years after the first Mahmet,<sup>13</sup> Buğa came and afflicted the land of Armenia. On reaching Tp'xis, he killed the emir Sahak, because he would not submit to him. [106] Coming to Mt'elet', he took 300 hostages from them. He wished

<sup>13</sup> Buğa's invasion of Armenia took place in 852. The *PV* states, V98, that Muḥammad ruled for 20 years; if 20 is added to the stated year of the Hijra, then AH 239 corresponds to AD 853, the year that Tp'ilisi was taken. Buğa's invasion is described at length by T'ovma Arcruni 172 ff. See also Minorsky, 'Tiflis', 754, and Laurent-Canard 147-8.

*Geo.* Samoel Donauri as *k'orepiskopos*. This same Arab Xalil came a second time. The Gardabanians offered him battle at Gavazi. They turned Xalil back, and a great number were slaughtered. [255] Once more Sahak, son of Ismael, resided as amir at Tp'ilisi. But Xalil came a third time, and they killed him in Javaxet'i. His son Mohamed attacked K'art'li.<sup>9</sup> Bagrat, son of Ašot *curopalates*, joined him, and he gave up K'art'li to him.

*Forty-seventh, the curopalates Bagrat, son of Ašot curopalates and brother of Adarnase and of Guaram, a Bagratid*

Sahak,<sup>10</sup> amir of Tp'ilisi, set out with an army and stopped at Rehi. But Mohamed and Bagrat captured Up'lis-c'ixe. Then the Kaxs of Gardaban came to help Sahak. They came to grips at Rehi, and a battle between them took place. Neither side was forced back, so they separated. Mohamed departed and went to Bardav.<sup>11</sup>

Up to this time two hundred and nineteen years had elapsed from the appearance of Mohamed, who established the religion of the Saracens. [256] Then the Turk Buğa, a slave, arrived from Baghdad; he had been sent by the *amir-mumin* with a large army. He ravaged all Armenia and took captive all their *mt'avaris*. Then he came and besieged the city of Tp'ilisi, because the amir Sahak would not submit. He killed Sahak, destroyed Tp'ilisi, burnt it with

<sup>9</sup> Muhammad ibn Khālid; see Ter-Ghewondyan, 289, and Laurent-Canard, 200. For Bagrat see Toumanoff, 'Bagratids', 14.

<sup>10</sup> Sahak: Ishāq ibn Isma'il. For the conflict between him and Muḥammad see Minorsky, 'Tiflis', 753. Before this paragraph all MSS except ACMTm have a brief extract from Sumbat's *K'roniki*; see below, Appendix, no. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Here Bbcp add: 'This Bagrat appointed and installed a Catholicos for Ap'xazet'i in 830 after Christ' (AD 855).

to enter Ossetia, but a heavy snow held him back and many perished. However, they did not feel the loss from the large number who survived, about 120,000. Arm.

He returned to Baghdad<sup>14</sup> to winter there. When spring came round, he came to Darband. Opening the Pass, he brought through 300 households, and settled these Xazars in Šamk'or. He also brought one hundred Ossetes from Darial, and settled them at Dmanis.

<sup>14</sup> Baghdad: this is a mistake in Arm., for other Armenian historians (T'ovma 177, Asofik ii. 2) correctly have Bardav.

fire, and ravaged all its territories. T'ewdosi, king of the Ap'xaz, set out to oppose him; he stopped at Xuerc'xobi. But Buğa, when he learnt of this, despatched Zirak', his general, and Bagrat, son of Ašot *curopalates*. They engaged battle, and turned back the Ap'xaz. An incalculable number were slain, and King T'ewdosi fled along the road to Dvalet'i. On their way back they were opposed at Ĵuaris-Guerdi by the Gardabanians, who inflicted severe losses on their army. When Buğa learnt of this, he moved from there and went to Ćart'alet'i, where he stopped. He took hostages from the Mt'iulni, 300 men. He was intending to attack Ossetia, so he advanced to C'xavat'i. But Abulabaz, the *erist'avi* of Armenia, and Guaram, son of Ašot, sent a message to the Mt'iulni that they should not let them pass. So they sacrificed their hostages. God helped them, because snow fell. They offered resistance and engaged battle. God gave them the victory, and a numberless host of Saracens was slain. Their horses fed on azaleas,<sup>12</sup> and many died. But the loss was not apparent from the multitude of the army, because their number was about 120,000. Geo.

He turned back and spent the winter at Bardav. He seized a certain priest's son who had become *mt'avari*,<sup>13</sup> and ravaged Gardaban. He opened the Pass of Daruband, and brought through 300 Xazar households. These he settled at Šank'or. From Darialan he brought through [257] about one hundred Ossete households, and these he settled at Dmanisi. In the summer he wished to attack Ossetia. But when the *amir-mumin* became aware that he was

<sup>12</sup> Azaleas: *ieli*. Mm read *leli*, 'sedge'.

<sup>13</sup> The 'priest's son' was Apumuse, prince of the Aĥuank'; see T'ovma Arcruni 177.

*Arm.* At that time Giorgi, king of the Ap'xaz, and Demetrē, Lewon's son-in-law,<sup>15</sup> attacked and seized K'art'li. Liparit took T'rel, and built Kltēkars.<sup>16</sup> He bequeathed it to Dawit',<sup>17</sup> son of Bagrat, in the time of Smbat *tiezerakal*,<sup>18</sup> king of Armenia.

<sup>15</sup> *Arm.* has misinterpreted Geo., for Giorgi, T'eodos, and Demetre were all sons of Leo II; see the table in Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 64. *Arm.* has also changed the sense by making Giorgi and Demetre the actors.

<sup>16</sup> For Liparit, of Mamikonian origin, see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 490, and for his descendants id., *Généalogie*, 355-6.

<sup>17</sup> Dawit' was prince of K'art'li 876-81; see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 490, and for his descendants id., *Généalogie*, 355-6.

<sup>18</sup> *Tiezerakal*: 'master of the world'. This was a title given in Armenian sources to Smbat II, king 977-89, not Smbat I, known as the 'martyr', king 890-914. However, Geo. uses the Armenian term below, Q262, and here the Armenian translator has not brought the epithet into line with Armenian practice.

*Geo.* negotiating with the Xazars, his clansmen,<sup>14</sup> he sent word to Buḡa that he should leave K'art'li to Humed, son of Xalil. So Buḡa departed, and Humed, son of Xalil, governed as amir.<sup>15</sup> This amir Humed was deposed, and Ise, son of Six, a relative of Humed, was appointed. Gabriel Donauri was *k'orepiskopos*; he was the brother of Samoel the *k'orepiskopos*. Ise departed and another amir came, Abraham. Then Humed, son of Xalil, came again as amir; he governed all the territory even more wilfully: Armenia, K'art'li, and Ran.

The son of Xalil departed, and one of Sahak's retainers was appointed as amir, by the name of Gabuloc'. But Guaram, son of Ašot *curopalates*, seized Gabuloc' and dispatched him to Greece. For Gabuloc' had become mighty, and the Gardabanians were subject to him.<sup>16</sup> Ašot waged war on his father's son-in-law, the brother of Guaram.<sup>17</sup> Now Guaram controlled Javaxet'i, Trialet'i, Tašir, Aboc'i, and Artani, and was engaged in fighting the Saracens. Sometimes Guaram was victorious, and sometimes the Saracens. Guaram divided his lands between his brothers Adarnase

<sup>14</sup> His clansmen: The author equates Xazars and Turks.

<sup>15</sup> Governed as emir: *amirobda*. For Muḡammad ibn Khālid see Laurent-Canard, 448, and for 'Iṣā ibn ash-Shaykh, ibid. 449-51.

<sup>16</sup> For this paragraph see Laurent-Canard, 268-9.

<sup>17</sup> Ašot I of Armenia, son of Smbat, had three sisters: one had married Guaram, and one the latter's brother Bagrat. See the table in Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 108. For Guaram's holdings see id., *Studies*, 489, and 'Bagratids', 14-15 for his dates.

He (Smbat)<sup>19</sup> waged war on Kostand, king of Ap'xazia, and captured K'art'li and Up'lisc'ixē. But they again made a treaty and Arm.

<sup>19</sup> Arm. here picks up from Q258 above, where the last person mentioned was the Armenian king Smbat. For his title *tiezerakal* (here in Geo.) see the previous note. Kostand is Constantine III, king of Ap'xazia 899–915/16; see Toumanoff, 'Abasgia', 83.

and Bagrat, and made over Aboc'i to his wife's brother, the king of Armenia.<sup>18</sup> Geo.

[258] At that time Giorgi, king of the Ap'xaz, brother of T'eodosi and of Demetre, the son of Leon, set out. He seized K'art'li, and left as *erist'avi* at Č'ixa a son of Demetre's. When Giorgi, king of the Ap'xaz, had passed away, there survived the younger son of Demetre, called Bagrat, who was known from having been exiled. The wife of King Giorgi killed Demetre's son, the *erist'avi* of Č'ixa.<sup>19</sup> She was deceived by the *mt'avari* Ivane Šavlian, and they threw Bagrat into the sea. But God saved him, and he reached the city of Constantinople. King Ivane married his son Adarnase to the daughter of Guaram, son of Ašot. Then Ivane, king of the Ap'xaz, died and his son Adarnase ruled in his stead.<sup>20</sup> Liparit seized the territories of T'rialet'i, and built the fortress of Klde-Karni. Davit', son of Bagrat, became its lord.<sup>21</sup>

*Forty-eighth, King Davit' curopalates, son of Bagrat curopalates, a Bagratid*<sup>22</sup>

[259] Now Nasra, son of Guaram, and Gurgen were on the side of the Ap'xaz;<sup>23</sup> but Davit' and Liparit aided the Armenians. The

<sup>18</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm have another extract from Sumbat's *K'roniki*; see below, Appendix, no. 18.

<sup>19</sup> The elder son of Demetre was called Tinine; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 64.

<sup>20</sup> Ivane ruled 877/8–c.879, Adarnase c.879–87; see Toumanoff, 'Abasgia', 82.

<sup>21</sup> Became its lord: *ipatrona*, i.e., inherited it. This is the first use in the K'C' of the term *patroni*, 'lord', which is contrasted with *qma*, 'servant, vassal'. For this significant aspect of medieval Georgian society see W. E. D. Allen, *History of the Georgian People* (London, 1931), ch. 22, 'The Institution of *Patronqmobā*', and G. Charachidze, *Introduction à l'étude de la géorgienne* (Paris, 1971), 16 ff. Here Bhp have a brief addition; see below, Appendix, no. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm add: 'Nasra, son of Guaram *mampali*, who was the uncle of this Davit', rebelled in enmity against him.'

<sup>23</sup> Nasra, Gurgen, and Davit' were all cousins, being sons of the three brothers Guaram, Adarnase, and Bagrat; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 116–17, and 'Bagratids', 17–18.

*Arm.* became allies,<sup>20</sup> so he returned them. In those days Bulkasim the Saracen general came to Armenia.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Geo. here does not explain the marriage alliance: Constantine's sister married Smbat's son Mušel. See Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 65, 108.

<sup>21</sup> Abū 'l-Qāsim Yūsuf, the Sadjid; see Ter-Ghewondyan 67. His attack on Armenia is described by the Continuator to T'ovma Arcruni, 283 ff.

*Geo.* Armenians and the Ap'xaz fought over K'art'li. At that time Guaram became a monk.<sup>24</sup> When Gabriel Donuari, *k'orepiskopos* of the Kaxs, had died, P'adla Arevmaneli, a wise and experienced man, became *k'orepiskopos*. At that time, when Nasra, son of Guaram, had taken captive Davit', son of Bagrat, his father's nephew, he killed him.<sup>25</sup> [260] The Armenians, Liparit, and the Georgians, and Ašot brother of Davit', and also the Saracens, united in enmity against Nasra. They attacked Nasra, routed him, and took his fortresses. He went off to Greece, to the king of Greece. Guaram, son of Ašot died; they buried him at Opiza, which had been restored again by him.<sup>26</sup>

[261] *Forty-ninth, King Adarnase, son of Davit', king-curopolates, a Bagratid*<sup>27</sup>

Now Bagrat, son of Demetre the king of the Ap'xaz, had gone to Greek territory, to Constantinople. The king of the Greeks gave him an army and dispatched him by sea. By ship he reached Ap'xazet'i, killed Adarnase, son of Iovane, and seized Ap'xazet'i. He married his wife, the daughter of Guaram.<sup>28</sup> Then Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz, brought back from Greece Nasra, his wife's brother, and gave him an army. Nasra captured three fortresses in Samc'xe: Ojrhe, Ĵuaris-c'ixe, and Lomsianni, which had been constructed by Guaram. Gurgen and Adarnase, Davit''s son, arrived. The Armenians gave them aid, and they came to grips on the Mtkuari.

<sup>24</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm add: 'This Davit' *curopolates* built the church of Xaxul.'

<sup>25</sup> This was in 881. Here all MSS except ACMTm add a lengthy quotation from Sumbat's *K'roniki*; see below, Appendix, no. 20.

<sup>26</sup> For the original construction of Opiza see above, Q178. Guaram died in 882.

<sup>27</sup> Adarnase, king 888-923; see the table in Toumanoff, *Studies*, facing 416, and 'Bagratids', 21-5. Here all MSS except ACMTm have a brief excerpt from Sumbat's *K'roniki*; see below, Appendix, no. 21.

<sup>28</sup> See above, Q258, for Adarnase's marriage.

Then (he went) to Tp'xis, and from there to the castle of Ujarma, which he captured. Koyrikē the *k'orepiskopos* came to him and was befriended by him; and he (Bulkasim) returned to Dvin.<sup>22</sup> Arm.

<sup>22</sup> Arm. here anticipates Geo.

The Ap'xaz were defeated; Nasra, Baqat'ar, the Ossete *mt'avari*,<sup>29</sup> and the *erist'avi* of the Ap'xaz were killed. [262] Then P'adla the *k'orepiskopos* grew powerful and brought the people of Gardaban into subjection. After this Kwirike became *k'orepiskopos*, and the *aznauris* took control of K'art'li. Geo.

At that time Kostanti, king of the Ap'xaz, seized K'art'li, and became an enemy of the king of Armenia, Sumbat *tiezerakali*. (The latter) marched forth with a large army and besieged Up'lis-c'ixe. They brought pack-saddles, piled them up, and by this stratagem captured the fortress. However, Sumbat and Kostanti made a good marriage alliance, so he returned Up'lis-c'ixe and all K'art'li. Following this there came a Hagarene amir by the name of Abul-Kasim, son of Abu-Saĵ, who had been sent by the *amir-mumin* with a large and innumerable army that the country could not contain. First he attacked Armenia and devastated all Armenia—Siunet'i, Vaejori, and Asp'uragan. Sumbat, the Armenian king, was unable to oppose him for fear; he fled away, went to the mountains of Ap'xazet'i, and dwelt there.

[263] The son of Abu-Saĵ came to Tp'ilisi; at that time the amir was Jap'ar, son of Ali.<sup>30</sup> He went on and besieged Ujarma. Inside there were 300 men, and they fought for many days. But when they saw that they could not resist, they abandoned it by night and escaped. Some of them got away, others were caught and massacred. When the garrison of Bočorma knew that Ujarma had been taken, they abandoned the fortress and escaped. When they arrived they found it uninhabited, and said: 'In what was (merely) an enclosure,<sup>31</sup> there they strenuously resisted us; but what is a fortress, they abandoned uninhabited.' They captured Bočorma and turned it into a fortress, and they demolished the walls of

<sup>29</sup> This is the second Baqat'ar mentioned in the *K'C'*; see Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 155-6, for the name.

<sup>30</sup> For the Dja'farids of Tp'ilisi see Ter-Ghewondyan, 104.

<sup>31</sup> Enclosure: *baki*, a (sheep-)fold.

*Arm.* But Smbat, the king of Armenia, avoided him by moving around the mountains of Ap'xazia.<sup>23</sup> But the tyrant lay in wait for him, because he had become haughty through his victory over the Georgians. For [107] he had taken all K'art'li and many castles—T'mok' and Xuila. There he slew the handsome and valiant youth Gorun for Christ's sake, since he did not deny Him. Our holy father Step'anos wrote down his martyrdom.<sup>24</sup> King Smbat was also martyred by the same tyrant in the city of Dvin. For a whole year he was tortured, and then they killed him by strangling,<sup>25</sup> and

<sup>23</sup> *Arm.* adds details of Smbat's manœuvres, known from John Catholicos, ch. 48, and Asolik iii. 4.

<sup>24</sup> For Step'ane of Tbet'i and this martyrdom see Tarchnišvili 102–3.

<sup>25</sup> Strangling: *xetdamah*. John Catholicos, chs. 48–9, describes Smbat's martyrdom: having been besieged in the fortress of Kapoyt, he surrendered and was taken to Dvin. After torture he was 'beheaded', then displayed on a pole. This occurred in 914. Asolik iii. 4, only refers to hanging on a gibbet.

*Geo.* Ujarma. Now when the *k'orepiskopos* Kwirike saw that he had no other recourse, he put his trust in an oath, and came to visit (the amir). The latter said: 'Who invited you to come here?' He responded: 'My mother suggested it to me.' He said: 'I shall not harm any visitor.' He befriended him for his charm and let him go. But he did keep Bočorma for himself.

After this he came to K'art'li, and devastated K'art'li. While he was approaching, they demolished the walls of Up'lis-c'ixe so that nothing was left. From there he went to Samc'xe, ravaged Samc'xe and Javaxet'i, and besieged the fortress of T'mogvi. When he saw its strength and fortifications, he departed and went to Queli. He laid siege to it and began to attack. There was therein a young man by the name of Gobron. He fought every day from within the battlements with his comrades. When they captured the fortress, they seized [264] St Gobron and martyred him. Our holy father Step'ane, bishop of Tbet'i, composed a lengthy account of his martyrdom. He went on from there in the direction of the city of Dvin. They came and told him that King Sumbat had entered the fortress of Kapoeti. He rapidly set out, and ordered his army that they should bring to him every man they might find alive. He arrived and besieged the fortress of Kapoeti. The women of the garrison who were found outside fell into his hands. Therefore they handed over the fortress and Sumbat was captured. He was led to Dvin, hung on a gibbet, and killed.



hung him on a gibbet so that he might die and be crucified with Christ.<sup>26</sup> Arm.

[108] At that time Kostandin, the king of the Ap'xaz, died leaving two sons, Giorgi and Bagarat.<sup>27</sup> They quarrelled over the kingdom until Bagarat died. So Giorgi reigned, a good man and a builder of churches.

<sup>26</sup> Die ... Christ: *mahakic' ew xač'akic'* (cf. Rom. 6: 6) *lic'i K'ristosi*. 'Gibbet' renders *p'ayt* (Geo. *jelh*) 'wood', 'tree', as of Christ in Acts 5: 30.

<sup>27</sup> For the descendants of Constantine see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 65. Bagrat died within a year of his father, 915-16.

After this, when some years had passed and the country had recovered, then Kwirike *curopalates* summoned Kostanti, the king of the Ap'xaz. They went to Heret'i and besieged the fortress of Vežini. The king of the Ap'xaz occupied the higher ground, and Kwirike the lower. When they were about to capture it, then Adarnase the patrician came out on the Friday of the Cross, and a peace treaty was concluded. He gave up to the king of the Ap'xaz Ariši and Gavazni, and to Kwirike Orčobi. After they had come to terms, they returned. Kostanti, king of the Ap'xaz, went and prayed in Alaverdi before (the icon of) St George; and he covered his icon with gold. He sent off the larger part of his army on the road back. Kwirike *curopalates* greatly honoured him, and he returned to his own country. After a few days Kostanti, king of the Ap'xaz, passed away, and for some time the land of Ap'xazet'i was in turmoil. For king Kostanti had two sons—[265] one older, and the other, whom his second wife had borne, younger. The older was called Giorgi, and the younger Bagrat. Between them a bitter quarrel took place, of which you will find the details in their *History*.<sup>32</sup> This Bagrat was a son-in-law of Gurgen the *erist'avi'a-erist'avi*.<sup>33</sup> Gurgen helped him with all his strength. Until Bagrat died, there was no peace. After the latter's death, King Giorgi took full control of the kingdom of the Ap'xaz. He was perfect with total charm, bravery, and heroism. A lover of God, he was an even greater builder of churches, compassionate to the poor, generous Geo.

<sup>32</sup> This is presumably the 13th-c. 'Chronicle of the Kings of Abasgia', which is as yet published only in extracts; see Toumanoff, 'Medieval Georgian Historical Literature', 157. (All Georgian MSS of the K'C' postdate the 13th c.)

<sup>33</sup> i.e. Gurgen II, duke of Tao 918-41; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 117, and 'Bagratids', 25-8.

*Arm.* The *k'orepiskopos* Koyrikē died, and his son P'atl took his place.<sup>28</sup> He built the fortress of Locoban. In the days of Giorgi the emir Saĵob<sup>29</sup> came and burned Mc'xet'a; he captured the cross of Nunē and smashed it in pieces. When they were afflicted by dysentery,<sup>30</sup> they realized that it was punishment from the cross. So gathering together the divided fragments, they put them into containers; and they set it up in its place.

<sup>28</sup> In 918; see the table in Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 184.

<sup>29</sup> Saĵob: this is a misunderstanding of the Georgian *saĵobit'*, (the Saracens who were called) by the name of Saĵ. This undated attack is not mentioned in Muslim sources; see Minorsky, 'Tiflis', 754.

<sup>30</sup> Dysentery: *axt sen p'ori* (*semp'ori* BD, *sembori* V) for *snebay muc'liisa*. P'ori correctly renders *muc'liisa*, 'of the stomach', and *axt* correctly renders *sneba*, 'illness', from the stem *sen*. Curiously *sen*, not in Geo., appears in Arm.

*Geo.* and humble, filled with all goodness and grace. He administered and arranged all the affairs of his patrimonial and royal (estate). He built the cathedral of Čqondidi, made it into a bishopric, and adorned it with numerous relics of the holy martyrs.<sup>34</sup>

At that time Kwirike the *k'orepiskopos* died, and P'adla, Kwirike's son, succeeded as *k'orepiskopos*. He built the fortress of Locobanni. At that same time came the Saracens, who were called Saĵ, and ravaged Kaxet'i. They burned Ĵuari and Mc'xet'a, then turned back. They took away with them the venerable cross, smashed in pieces. They fell ill with disease of the stomach, and realized that they suffered because of the cross. They put together the pieces and returned it to Ĵuari. They placed it in a case and set it back in its place.

[266] In Heret'i, down to the reign of Iṣxanik, they were all at first heretics. But Iṣxanik was the nephew of Gurgēn *erist'avt'a-erist'avi*, and his mother, Queen Dinar, converted them to Orthodoxy.<sup>35</sup> At that time *salars*<sup>36</sup> occupied Bardav and Adarbadagan. Giorgi, king of the Ap'xaz, gave K'art'li to his elder son Kostanti.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Kings were later buried there; see below, Q315.

<sup>35</sup> Dinar was Gurgēn's sister; see Toumanoff, 'Bagratids', 28–9. For the line of Iṣxanik see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 69–70. The 'heresy' was presumably Armenian/Albanian monophysitism.

<sup>36</sup> *Salar*: This term of Iranian origin occurs only here in the K'C'; see D. N. Mackenzie, *Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London, 1971), s.v. *sālār*.

<sup>37</sup> For the descendants of Giorgi see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 65. Constantine died in 918/19. Here all MSS except ACMTm add a long extract from Sumbat's *K'roniki*; see below, Appendix, no. 22.

The king of the Ap'xaz gave K'art'l to his son Kostandin. Three years later [109] he rebelled and entered Up'lis-c'ixē. But they extricated him by deceit and killed him. Arm.

The *k'orepiskopos* Kiwrikē succeeded P'atl.

[267] *Fiftieth, king of K'art'li, Kostantine, son of the king of the Ap'xaz* Geo.

After three years had passed he began to evince hostility to his father and to seek the kingdom. When this affair became known, he occupied Up'lis-c'ixe, and the Tbelni<sup>38</sup> and many other nobles followed him. Now when King Giorgi discovered the rebellion of his own son, he mobilised all his forces and brought along the kings of Tao and P'adla the *k'orepiskopos*. They besieged Up'lis-c'ixe and attacked over many days, yet were unable to damage the fortress in which there were many occupants. One day they would fight on horseback, on another day the infantry (would attack).

Then King Giorgi swayed the nobles who collected the tolls<sup>39</sup> in this fashion: 'Go forth; we shall lead you up to Ap'xazet'i. You will reign as king and your father will remain outside.' He was persuaded and believed them. However, the nobles who were in his company tried to hinder him from this undertaking, but he did not heed them. At night he left by raft on the Mtkuari. When he reached the bank of the Mtkuari, they lost patience and pursued him in order to seize him. When he realized their trickery, he turned the rafts back in order to re-enter the fortress. But the rafts did not obey (the helm), and went on to a place where the rafts were moored. A cry arose, the king and all the army came out, and they scattered around the fortress. When morning dawned, they began to search. He had escaped from the water and had entered a rocky cliff, where he had hidden. A certain man of low birth found him; they seized him and brought him to the king. And the king punished him cruelly. First they burnt his eyes, and [268] then castrated him, so he died. The nobles who were in the fortress he had led out under a pact. He let the Tbelni go unharmed, and sent them back to Asp'uragan.

<sup>38</sup> i.e. the people of Tbet'i.

<sup>39</sup> Who collected the tolls: Derived from *zueri*, 'tax, toll', *sazuerelni* occurs only here in the K'C'. Cf. Matt. 9: 9.

Arm. King Giorgi was succeeded by his son Lewon.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> In 959/60; see Toumanoff, 'Abasgia', 82.

Geo. P'adla the *k'orepiskopos* passed away, and Kwirike was installed as *k'orepiskopos*.<sup>40</sup> After this the nobles of Gardaban rebelled and began to give King Giorgi cause for worry. King Giorgi made an expedition and entered Kaxet'i, which he burned and ravaged; then he returned to his own country. He stopped again at Ateni. And his son Leon became *erist'avi* of K'art'li.<sup>41</sup> Once more he assembled his whole army in order to attack Kaxet'i. When Kwirike realized that he could not resist him, he came before them and wished to escape by some trick. But he laid hands on him, and marched into Kaxet'i in order to carry off (their) women. But these escaped because the Georgian nobles had informed them.

Šurta, brother of Kwirike the *k'orepiskopos*, joined King Giorgi, bringing over with him his fortress of Ujarmo; they gained control of the other fortresses of Kaxet'i, except three: Naxčevan, Bočorma, and Locobanni. Locobanni was held by Ivane, son of Ariši, who fortified himself inside and expelled its masters. They seized Šuris-c'ixe and installed troops inside. The fortress of Maran was then held by Xaxua, son of Ariši, brother of Ivane. He desired, like his brother, to keep it by force. But the king came and ordered his troops to attack it. They captured it by a trick and sent Xaxua to the king in bonds. The king dispatched him as a prisoner to Jik'et'i. The fortress of Naxčevan was held by P'adla, son of Kwirike; he too fortified himself inside. When Kwirike the *k'orepiskopos* saw that his means were insufficient, he asked for a [269] pact that he could depart safely, and he entrusted Kaxet'i to King Giorgi. Leon, the king's son, did not wish to let Kwirike go, although he had not wished his capture the first time. But his father did not heed him. Kwirike requested this condition that during the winter they would not take the fortress of Bočorma. After Easter they would depart and willingly hand it over. Therefore they took the fortress of Naxčevan, and one younger son, Davit', as a hostage. They released him on the Day of Lamps.

The king returned to Ap'xazet'i, and Kwirike entered Bočorma. He made preparations, intending to depart after Easter. Then the

<sup>40</sup> In 929; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 184.

<sup>41</sup> Leon III, 959-69, was Giorgi's second son.

At that time Iṣxanik was king in the regions of Heret<sup>4</sup>; he was a schismatic, but his mother converted him to Orthodoxy.<sup>32</sup> Arm.

<sup>32</sup> See above, Q266, for the Georgian version of Iṣxanik and 'Orthodoxy'. It is curious that Arm. has let stand this description of the Armenian church as 'schismatic', *herjuac* rendering *mcualebeli*.

Georgian nobles plotted in concert with the Kaxs: Goderji Geo. Mgdeuri, Mama Qanč'aeli, Dač'i Korint'eli, Dač'i and Ivane Sxwiloseli, the brothers Sara and Grigol P'xueneli, and with them fifty other nobles. They joined Kwirike, and began to attack the fortresses. In a few days they had taken all the fortresses; they demolished Šuris-c'ixe and Locobanni, and Kwirike once more controlled his patrimony. They came and informed King Giorgi of the loss of Kaxet'i. He took it very badly, and blamed all those who had suggested the release of Kwirike the *k'orepiskopos*. After the winter had passed in this way, once more he sent out his army; and he appointed his son Leon as commander. He came and ravaged Kaxet'i. And during that same expedition they brought him the news of the death of the great and God-loving King Giorgi.

Then Leon summoned Kwirike the *k'orepiskopos*. They met in Bazalet'i, at the edge of the lake, (accompanied) by a single cavalryman. They talked for a day, until he informed him of the death of his father. He offered friendship and promised to make his son his son-in-law. When Kwirike heard this, [270] he descended from his horse, thanked him with obeisance and with pleasure at their peace and friendship, and especially for the reason of the marriage alliance. Leon returned and took control of his patrimony and kingdom, for he then entered Ap'xazet'i. The Lord God prospered his reign like that of his father. He too was a lover of God and filled with all virtue. He built the church of Mok'wi and made it an episcopal see. He consecrated it and furnished it with all necessities. When he had gained control of his patrimony, he fulfilled his promise to Kwirike the *k'orepiskopos*: he gave his daughter as wife to his son.<sup>42</sup> But after a little Leon's daughter died.

Once more he began to treat Kwirike as an enemy and to seek Kaxet'i. He set out with a large army, stopped on the bank of the Aragvi, and ravaged Muxnari, Xerki, and Bazalet'i. In that same expedition he fell ill, turned back, and died. Following him

<sup>42</sup> Kwirike's son was Davit', king 976-1010.

*Arm.* After Lewon his son Demetrē reigned.<sup>33</sup> His brother T'ēodos came from Rome and they disputed the patrimony.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Demetre III, 968/9–975/6; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 65.

<sup>34</sup> Rome: *Hrom*, i.e. Byzantine territory. Cf. V21 n. 12.

*Geo.* Demetre, Leon's brother, reigned as king and ruled over K'art'li. While he was occupied with his kingdom, time passed. Now his brother T'ēodos was in Greece. Certain men of that country called on him to attack his brother. For during the lifetime of the great Giorgi, king of the Ap'xaz, his two sons T'ēodos and Bagrat had been sent to Greece to be educated there, so that after his death there would not be antagonism or discord between them. T'ēodos came from Greece, entered Samc'xe, and stopped at Margis-mere. He summoned the Mesxian nobles, gathered troops, and was intending to seize by force his patrimony. But King Demetre dispatched his army; they fell on them unexpectedly and turned T'ēodos back. He went off to K'art'li, and turned to Adarnase, [271] the *mt'avari* of Jama. He took him to the castle of Jama, and from there he sought to restore his fortunes.

Then King Demetre sent off his army. They besieged the castle of Jama, and for three months waged battle. They suffered severe losses from the (garrison of the) castle. But when the garrison was in straits, they asked for a treaty and pact, so that they might release T'ēodos and depart in peace. They were granted this, and were sent away in peace. He went to Davit' *curopalates*, and stayed there for a year.<sup>43</sup> Once more he left Tao and came to Kaxet'i. Then King Demetre sent an envoy to T'ēodos and Kwirike *k'orepiskopos*, saying: 'Since my brother has come from Greece, war between us has not ceased because of the disputations of men. Now through your mediation, make my brother trust me, and we shall both equally rule over our patrimony, as did Leon and I previously. Receive from me a pact and mediators, and I shall be greatly obliged to you for this affair.' When Kwirike the *k'orepiskopos* had informed King Demetre of the proposal, he brought in T'ēodos, asked him to have confidence, and said: 'I shall be the avenger of your blood.' He persuaded T'ēodos to trust his brother, and sent him off.

<sup>43</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm add a brief extract from Sumbat's *K'roniki*; for a translation see below, Appendix, no. 23.

Then they made peace and swore mutual oaths. But Demetrē Arm. reneged and burnt out his brother's eyes. However, after his death they put T'eodos on the throne.<sup>35</sup>

Davit' *curopalates*, king of Tayk',<sup>36</sup> was bringing up the young Bagrat, son of Gurgēn; they sought him as king for Ap'xazet'.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Demetre died in 975/6; T'eodos ruled until 978.

<sup>36</sup> Arm. renders *mep'e* by *t'agawor*, though the rulers of Tayk' are not called 'king' in other Armenian sources.

<sup>37</sup> Bagrat's father was Gurgen of Iberia, and his mother was Guaranduxt, daughter of Giorgi II of Ap'xazia. See Toumanoff, 'Bagratids', 39-41. He was thus the first to combine the crowns of both eastern and western Georgia.

Then the Catholicos, the hierarchy, and all the nobles escorted him with oaths and a pact which they had sworn before the Living Pillar.<sup>44</sup> [272] After T'eodos had come to his brother, he stayed a few days. But King Demetre forgot the mediation of God and of men, and decided to break the oaths. He seized T'eodos and burnt his eyes. When the inhabitants of his patrimony saw this, they sought out their brother, who was called a 'straw-king'.<sup>45</sup> But they were unable to accomplish this, because King Demetre was brave and valiant. When King Demetre died, all the inhabitants of the land saw that there did not remain any heir for Ap'xazet'i and K'art'li. They brought T'eodos and installed him as king. Geo.

Then the Kaxs came and besieged Up'lis-c'ixe. In those times the *erist'avi* of K'art'li was Ivane, son of Maruš, a powerful man with many retainers. He sent an envoy to Davit' *curopalates*. He invited him to make an expedition with a large force and to seize K'art'li: either to keep it for himself, or to grant it to Bagrat, son of Gurgen and nephew of Giorgi, king of the Ap'xaz, to whom belonged Ap'xazet'i and K'art'li through his mother's line. This Ivane, son of Maruš, wanted Bagrat as king. Davit' *curopalates* heeded the proposal of Ivane, son of Maruš; he set out with all his forces and came to K'art'li. When the Kaxs learnt of his arrival, they left as if in flight and abandoned K'art'li. Davit' *curopalates* came and went down to K'uahurelni. The *erist'avi* of K'art'li, Ivane, son of Maruš, met him, received from him Up'lis-c'ixe, and granted it to Bagrat and his father Gurgen. For Davit' *curopalates* had no off-

<sup>44</sup> i.e. the cathedral at Mc'xet'a.

<sup>45</sup> Straw-king: *ē'ala-mep'e*. The only surviving brother of Demetre and T'eodos was Bagrat; see the table in Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 65.

Geo. spring, and he was bringing up Bagrat, Gurgen's son, as his own child.

[273] This Davit' *curopalates* was more powerful than all the kings of Tao.<sup>46</sup> [274] For he was first of all a lover of God and merciful to the poor, humble, calm, (quick) to forget an evil, a builder of churches, gentle, generous, benevolent, a friend to those dressed in habits,<sup>47</sup> a doer of good to everyone, and full of all virtue. He built the monastery and cathedral of God, the holy church of Xaxuli.<sup>48</sup> When he departed from there he left at Up'lis-c'ixe Gurgen and his son Bagrat. At that time Bagrat had not yet attained his majority,<sup>49</sup> therefore he left his father Gurgen as co-regent. He summoned the Georgian nobles and declared to them: 'This is the inheritor of Tao, of K'art'li, and of Ap'xazet'i, my son and pupil; and I am his tutor and helper. Do you all obey him.' He stayed a few days, then departed for Tao.

*Fifty-first, King Bagrat, son of Gurgen king of kings, a Bagratid*

When some time had passed in this, the nobles of K'art'li began once more to engage in treacherous rivalry, as is their custom.<sup>50</sup> The Nak'urdevelni and Sabotarelni came to terms,<sup>51</sup> brought troops from Kaxet'i, attacked Up'lis-c'ixe, captured Gurgen, his son Bagrat, and Queen Guaranduxt, and took them off to Kaxet'i. When Davit' *curopalates* learned of this, he was greatly pained. He set out with all his forces, and entered T'rialet'i in order to attack Kaxet'i. When the Kaxs learned of this, they sent an envoy to him and offered peace terms. They released Gurgen, Bagrat, [275] and Queen Guaranduxt, and returned K'art'li and Up'lis-c'ixe. But they kept for themselves Cirk'ualis-c'ixe and Gruui. At that time

<sup>46</sup> Here Tk give a long extract from the *Life of John and Euthymius* by Giorgi Mt'ac'mindeli concerning Davit' of Tao and the rebellion of Skleros. For a translation see below, Appendix, no. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Those dressed in habits: *p'ic'osant'a*, i.e. monks. *P'ic'vi* is 'felt'.

<sup>48</sup> For a description of Xaxuli see *Wakhocht*, 125, and for the famous icon there, *ibid.* 359.

<sup>49</sup> Majority: *asaki*, 'full stature'; cf. the Armenian *hasak*.

<sup>50</sup> For the 'customary' rivalry and treachery of the nobles cf. below, Q359.

<sup>51</sup> These two groups are only mentioned here in the *K'C'*. For Botara cf. below, Q338; *Wakhocht*, 139, mentions a place named K'urdis-hevi. *K'urdi* ('Kurd') is often used to mean 'thief', and the prefix/suffix *na/-ev* can designate a person's former profession; see H. Vogt, *Grammaire de la langue géorgienne* (Oslo, 1971), 238.



Rat was in Kars;<sup>38</sup> he occupied the fortress of Aten and the south bank of the river Kura. He did not submit to Bagrat. The latter's

Arm.

<sup>38</sup> For Rat, of the line later called Orbelian, see Toumanoff, *Genealogie*, 355-6. Kars here is in error for Klde-Karni, which is to the NE, much closer to Tp'ilisi. The Armenian Kltë-Kars occurs correctly just below.

Up'lis-c'ixe and K'art'li were controlled by Queen Guaranduxt. This Queen Guaranduxt was the daughter of Giorgi, king of the Ap'xaz, and mother of Bagrat.

Geo.

When three years had passed in this, and the unfortunate<sup>52</sup> T'eodos was reigning in Ap'xazet'i, the land degenerated. He altered all the order and administration established by former kings. When the nobles of the land saw this, they all of one accord were plunged into great sadness. This same Ivane, son of Maruḡ, wished to make Bagrat king of Ap'xazet'i. Joining him, all the magnates, *erist'avis*, and nobles of Ap'xazet'i and of K'art'li requested Bagrat as king from Davit' *curopalates*. Only by great compulsion and with difficulty did he carry out their request. As I said earlier,<sup>53</sup> Davit' *curopalates* was childless, and he had raised Bagrat as his son for him to be the ruler of the two regions of Tao. However, at that time the land of K'art'li and<sup>54</sup> of Ap'xazet'i was without an heir, so he perforce acceded to them by (the giving of) hostages.

They brought him into Ap'xazet'i and consecrated him as king. All were subject to his command, because he was mature of age. When two years had passed in this, he began to administer, take care of, and set aright all affairs like his grandfather, the great King Giorgi<sup>55</sup>—unless I say 'better', because in everything he imitated the conduct of his tutor, the great King Davit' *curopalates*, and every deed of virtue was exhibited in him. He dispatched King T'eodos, his mother's brother, to Tao to Davit' *curopalates*; for this [276] action appeared best, so that all men, great and small, might have expectation of good from him as well as fear of angering him. After this he came across to K'art'li in order to arrange

<sup>52</sup> Unfortunate: *mc'uxare*, lit. 'sad'; he had been blinded by his brother, above, Q272.

<sup>53</sup> Above, Q272.

<sup>54</sup> Of K'art'li and: omitted in all MSS except C, as also below, Q278. The scribe of C is looking back on Bagrat's later career as king of all Georgia.

<sup>55</sup> Giorgi II was Bagrat's maternal grandfather. His father's father, Bagrat I of K'art'li, was at this time still alive; see below, Q277.

*Arm.* father Gurgen came to his son, and they wished to attack Rat. But (people) whispered to Davit' *curopalates*: 'It is your head they

*Geo.* the disordered affairs of K'art'li. He came and stopped at T'igva. At that time some nobles of K'art'li did not wish his coming, since they were used to administering independently the affairs of K'art'li, although they were subject to Guaranduxt. They put at their head K'avt'ar Tbeli,<sup>56</sup> set out to wage war, and stopped at the entrance to Mogri. When Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz, saw this, he summoned his troops; they advanced, came to grips, and routed the K'art'velians.<sup>57</sup> Some perished, others were captured, and the rest escaped in flight and scattered. He came to Up'lis-c'ixe, took the fortress from his mother, stayed some days, and put some little order into the affairs of K'art'li. He took his mother and came to the land of Ap'xazet'i. Like a skilful captain he administered all the affairs of Ap'xazet'i. For he observed everyone to a certain degree; if he found anyone disobedient, in his place he would promote someone loyal and trustworthy.

Meanwhile several years passed by. At that time Rat was *erist'avi* of Klde-Karni. He possessed the fortress of Ateni and all K'art'li south of the Mtkuari, T'rialet'i, Manglis-hevi, and Skwiret'i. He was not properly subject to King Bagrat. Secretly King Bagrat assembled his whole army and came to K'art'li; he wished to capture the *erist'avi* Rat. Then they quickly informed Davit' *curopalates*, and reported to him thus: 'He is advancing for no other reason save that he has prepared [277] your death.' Now Gurgen, Bagrat's father, was ready to support his son. Davit' *curopalates* rapidly departed, summoned his troops, and called on all the kings of Armenia. At that time Bagrat's grandfather, Bagrat king of the K'art'velians, was still alive.<sup>58</sup> He came to Davit' *curopalates*, because he was afraid that his son Gurgen would seize the kingdom. They came and besieged Dliv with a large army that could not be numbered, and they dispatched troops against Gurgen. They encountered Gurgen and engaged battle at

<sup>56</sup> K'avt'ar of Tbet'i is only mentioned here in the *K'C'*.

<sup>57</sup> K'art'velians: The term 'Georgians' in English does not distinguish the inhabitants of K'art'li and those of Ap'xazia, which is essential to the understanding of this section of the *K'C'* (and is not irrelevant one thousand years later).

<sup>58</sup> Bagrat I, *regueni* ('the Idiot'), died in 994.

seek.' He believed these reports, and with the help of the Armenians put their troops to flight. Arm.

Bagrat came to him alone, fell at his feet, and swore: [110] 'We are attacking Rat.' He preferred to believe him, so let him go in peace. He went to Ap'xazet', and in the winter season returned to attack Klte-Kars in order to subdue Rat. The latter came out to

Gardat'xrilni, at the entrance to Šavšet'i. They turned Gurgen back, and he fled for refuge to the fortress of Cep't'i. Bagrat had arrived by then in T'rialet'i, and stopped at Karušet'i. He dispatched an envoy, scouted out their troops, and saw that with his own force he would not be able to resist Davit' *curopalates*. Geo.

Then he left his troops in their place, and went alone to visit him. He asked forgiveness and said: 'I have come for no other reason than because of Rat's insubordination.' But he responded and said: 'They told me that you had come to kill me, but now I know for sure that you are innocent. You are quite free with regard to Rat. Bring him into subjection in whatever way you desire.' Then he departed filled with joy. At that time he went to Ap'xazet'i, so that Rat should not be aware (of his intention), and so that they might advance unawares when he did not expect them. When wintertime arrived, he came with all his forces and besieged Klde-Karni. When Rat saw this, he came out bringing his son Liparit with him, supplicated [278] Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz, gave the fortress to Bagrat, and resided himself in his patrimony in Arguet'i.<sup>59</sup>

When in this some time had passed, as I said previously, he occupied himself in administering all the affairs of Ap'xazet'i. Those disobedient to himself he removed from their glory, and in their places he appointed persons loyal and quick to obey his commands. He exceeded all kings of Ap'xazet'i and of K'art'li<sup>60</sup> in all his administration; and he increased his army more than at any (previous) time. He set out on an expedition with all his troops, passed into K'art'li, sent an envoy to Kaxet'i, and demanded the fortresses of K'art'li which they held. At that time Davit' was *k'orepiskopos*.<sup>61</sup> He did not wish to give up the fortresses, so

<sup>59</sup> Here all MSS except ACMTm have a brief extract from Sumbat's *K'roniki*; for a translation see below, Appendix, no. 25.

<sup>60</sup> And of K'art'li: omitted in all MSS except C; cf. above, n. 54.

<sup>61</sup> Davit' was first mentioned at Q269 above as Kwirike's very young son.

*Arm.* meet him, bringing his son Liparit with him. He delivered (the fortress) to him (Bagrat), and resided himself in his patrimony in Arguet'.

At that time P'atlun, the emir of Ganjak,<sup>39</sup> became powerful and oppressed the princes of Kaxet' and Heret'. Bagrat, king of the

<sup>39</sup> For Faql I and this episode cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, 43.

*Geo.* informed him: 'If you desire the fortresses, let force and war be judge between us. And I shall meet you on the K'san.' Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz and K'art'velians, was angered. At that time he was at Dliv (as) *curopalates*, because he was administering the affairs of Tao and K'art'li; for he himself had acquired Tao immediately on the death of his father Gurgen, king of kings.<sup>62</sup> He rapidly sent a man, [279] summoned the troops of Ap'xazet'i and of K'art'li, and in person advanced with the army of Upper (K'art'li). He passed through T'rialet'i, crossed the bridge of Mc'xet'a, then was joined by the Ap'xaz and Georgians. He stopped in T'ianet'i and began to ravage Kaxet'i. Davit' was unable to oppose him, because his force was numberless. He began to attack the fortresses, and at that time seized the land of Heret'i. He appointed Abulal as its *mt'avari*, then returned home.

In those times, when Bagrat the king of the Ap'xaz had departed, once more the people of Heret'i changed (allegiance) and joined Davit'. Davit' seized Heret'i. After a little while he passed away. Once more Bagrat came with all his army, and took Heret'i a second time. He seized Queen Dinari<sup>63</sup> for himself, and began to seek control of Kaxet'i. Through his unassailable strength in two years he captured all the fortresses of Kaxet'i. He shut up Kwirike at Bočorma, and around the fortress placed guards (rotated) annually. Then he seized Bočorma also. He made himself master of all Heret'i and Kaxet'i, led away Kwirike, and kept him at his own court.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> i.e. in 1008. *Geo.* has 'their', *mat'isa*, for 'his' (father); but Gurgen had only the one child.

<sup>63</sup> The only Dinari mentioned previously was the daughter of Adarnase III, who died in 896; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 117. She married Išxanik of Heret'i. Either this reference is to a descendant of the same name or, as Brosset suggests, her relics are intended.

<sup>64</sup> This is Kwirike III, son of Davit', king 1010–29; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 184.

Ap'xaz, sent word to Gagik, king of the Armenians,<sup>40</sup> to join him in attacking the emir P'atlun. They both marched on Ganjak. Having imposed tribute, they returned with booty. Arm.

The reign of Bagrat was successful: he built monasteries and churches. (He reigned) for thirty-six years. He died in the year 235 of the Georgian era.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> i.e. Gagik I, king 989–1020. It is curious that Arm. omits the title *šahanšah* of Geo., for it is commonly found in Armenian sources; see *HAnjB* s.v.

<sup>41</sup> Bagrat died in 1014, which is 234 of the Georgian *k'ronikoni*. There are no variants in the MSS, and a confusion of 4 with 5 in either script would not be easy.

At that time P'adlon, amir of Ganja, became powerful. He began to subject the *erist'avis* of Heret'i and Kaxet'i by making incursions from time to time and despoiling booty and captives in various places. When the great King Bagrat saw his audacity, he became very angry, and was filled with (desire for) revenge. He made preparations with all his army, sent an envoy to Gagik *šahanšah*, king of Armenia, and fired him to seek vengeance on P'adlon. He rejoiced with great joy, was quick to summon all [280] his troops, and set out to join Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz. They both met at Jorakert. They marched on P'adlon, who had become exceedingly arrogant and a hater of the Christians, seeking in every way to exterminate all the servants of the Cross. When he saw their invincible force, he took fright and departed to take refuge in his fortifications. This great and totally victorious King Bagrat devastated the land of Ran, besieged the city of Šank'or, and set up catapults.<sup>65</sup> Within a few days they had demolished the walls of Šank'or. The next day he was intending to attack and reduce the city, but that very night P'adlon sent an envoy and requested mercy. He promised to serve him for the days of his life, to remit the *harāǰ*, and to engage personally in warfare against his enemies. Then he commanded all his magnates to gather in his presence. First, he ordered that they should capture the city through their own strength. They looked, examined, and informed him that no one had the strength, above all because they were preoccupied with all the other military affairs. Then he ordered and advised that they come to terms with P'adlon. In their wisdom they all chose this and Geo.

<sup>65</sup> Catapults: *p'ilakavanni*; cf. Armenian *p'ilikon*. Abulaje, *Lek'sikoni*, s.v., notes two other references in Georgian texts.

*Arm.* His son Giorgi became king, aged 16.<sup>42</sup> In the seventh<sup>43</sup> year of his reign the Emperor Basil came. He opposed him in the province

<sup>42</sup> Here *Arm.* agrees with *Mtm* in giving Giorgi's age as 16. *AC* have 12, as printed in *Q*. The other *MSS* have 18, which agrees with *Sumbat*. No other precise indication of age is given in the text, save that he was 'young' when he died in 1027; see below, Q290.

<sup>43</sup> Seventh: *D* agrees with *Geo.*, but *ABC* read 'fifth'. For confusion in Armenian between 5 and 7 cf. V29 n. 82. The year 1021 is intended. For Basil's campaign cf. the account in *Aristakes*, 28 ff.

*Geo.* decided peace was best. He ordered an envoy to be sent, and informed him of the firm peace. Then P'adlon greatly rejoiced. He accomplished in actions everything that he had promised in words. He offered vast and incomparable gifts, and loaded all the magnates with enormous presents. He (*Bagrat*) returned home victoriously.<sup>66</sup>

[281] The same great king built the cathedral of Bedia, and turned it into an episcopal see. He transferred there the see of Gudaqvi. He assigned to it many villages in all valleys and regions; he completed it with all appurtenances, adorned it with all ecclesiastical fittings, consecrated it, and installed a bishop. If anyone wishes to assess and contemplate the eminence of his glory, first let him assess the decoration of the church of Bedia; from that he will understand that there has never been another king like him in the land of K'art'li and Ap'xazet'i.<sup>67</sup> He also consecrated the church of K'ut'at'isi with great and unparalleled splendour. For he assembled all the neighbouring rulers and Catholicoi, hierarchs, and abbots of all the monasteries and all the nobles of Upper and Lower (*K'art'li*), the inhabitants of his patrimonial and royal estates, and those of all the other rulers.<sup>68</sup>

This *Bagrat*, king of the Ap'xaz and K'art'velians, was superior to all rulers because of his total competence. He was regarded as spokesman and supporter by all neighbouring princes, those neighbouring and resident on<sup>69</sup> his patrimonial and royal estates, and as

<sup>66</sup> Here all *MSS* except *ACDMTm* add: 'In his reign lived our father Ep't'wime of K'art'li, translator of our Georgian books, 920'. The number appears to be a date, but *Euthymius* lived c. 955 to 1028; see *Tarchnišvili*, 125–54, for his life and works. He was a prolific author and translator in all aspects of biblical, liturgical, and theological writing.

<sup>67</sup> For the cathedral at Bedia see *Alpago Novello*, *Art and Architecture*, 294.

<sup>68</sup> Here all *MSS* except *ACMTm* add an excerpt from *Sumbat's K'roniki*; for a translation see below, Appendix, no. 26.

<sup>69</sup> Those neighbouring and resident on: *maxlobelni da mot'aulni*.

of Basean; but when he saw that they were numerous, he turned back. Basil pursued him, and he<sup>44</sup> burnt the city of Uxtik'. Then Giorgi turned back and they engaged battle. Many from both sides fell at that place, which is called Širimk'.<sup>45</sup> Rat, son of Liparit, and Xursi were killed.

<sup>44</sup> He: i.e. Giorgi. Arm. does not indicate the change of subject.

<sup>45</sup> Širimk': In both Armenian and Georgian the name means 'tombs'. According to Aristakēs 29, this battle took place at the lake of Pałakac'is (in Vanand).

warrior by his own people and retainers. God submitted to him all his enemies and opponents. In his days he bestowed peace and great tranquillity on the land. [282] And if anyone might wish to describe in detail all his administration, his strength would wane. Hence I have given a brief account of the lengthy period of time so that it not be forgotten.<sup>70</sup> And I shall add that after the great king Vaxt'ang Gorgasali no one else appeared like him in glory and power and real intelligence. He was a builder of churches, compassionate to the poor, and a worker of righteousness for all men.<sup>71</sup> [283] He reigned for thirty-six years, and died adorned with beautiful grey hair in (the year) 234 of the *k'ronikoni*, on 7 May, a Friday. At the time of his death he was in Tao. Zwiadi, the *erist'avt'-erist'avi*, took his body and buried it at Bedia.<sup>72</sup> After him his son Giorgi became king; and he was like him in all virtue.

[284] *Fifty-second, King Giorgi, son of Bagrat king of the Ap'xaz and of the K'art'velians, a Bagratid*

This Giorgi reigned over all his patrimony and kingdom at a time when he was only in his childhood and youth. For when he became king, he was in his twelfth year.<sup>73</sup> At that time the land of Heret'i-Kaxet'i rebelled against him. By the treachery of the *aznauris* the *erist'avis* were captured. Once more those lords who previously had held them ruled over their lands. Now in the seventh year of his

<sup>70</sup> Bagrat's reign began in 978 in Ap'xazia; in 1018 he gained the crown of K'art'li. He died in 1014, having ruled for a total of 36 years.

<sup>71</sup> Here Tk add a section on the Catholicos Melk'isedek and the decoration of the cathedral at Mc'xet'a. This is followed in all MSS except ACMTm by an extract from Sumbat's *K'roniki* concerning the Bagratids. For translations see Appendix, no. 27.

<sup>72</sup> Bedia: his own foundation, see above, Q281.

<sup>73</sup> Here all MSS except ACMm add a brief excerpt from Sumbat's *K'roniki*. For a translation see below, Appendix, no. 28.

*Arm.* But Giorgi demonstrated great valour and made Basil retreat. The Georgians, vainglorious over this modest victory,<sup>46</sup> gave chase and tried to put the Greeks to the sword. Two and three times the Georgians provoked battle; but they were defeated and destroyed, and their land was ruined.

<sup>46</sup> See the Introduction for examples of insults—found on both sides.

*Geo.* reign Basil, the king of the Greeks, attacked him with his whole Greek army and innumerable foreigners. King Giorgi came out with a large army to oppose him. The two sides encamped in the land of Basean for many days, but they did not move to attack each other. King Giorgi withdrew; he came and burnt the city of Oltisi. From there he went to Kola, then retraced his steps. Basil, the Greek king, pursued him, and Giorgi's rearguard and Basil's vanguard came to grips. There took place a great battle at the village called Širimni. On both sides there was great slaughter: the *erist'avis* and nobles Rat, son of Liparit, and Xursi were killed.

The news reached King Giorgi [285] late that his rearguard were engaged in combat. Then he gave commands to his troops and they rapidly armed themselves. King Giorgi himself advanced—for he was valiant and totally fearless, as if disembodied—accompanied by the host of his army. King Basil came up with all his army, and both sides encountered each other. There was a fierce battle; the Greeks suffered great losses, and (the Georgians) took booty. The battle lasted so long that King Basil was preparing to flee. But the Georgians<sup>74</sup> became discouraged, turned back, and retreated. The Greeks pursued them and put an incalculable number to the sword. Their army reached Artani, captured and sacked Artani. When King Giorgi had withdrawn to T'rialet'i, (Basil) pursued him, ravaged the land of Javaxet'i, and moved on to T'rialet'i. Once more they came close to each other, for King Giorgi had been reinforced and had added a contingent from Kaxet'i and Heret'i. However, they prevented him from joining battle a second time. King Basil withdrew from T'rialet'i, and returned to Javaxet'i and Artani. Once more he ravaged the land, in even worse fashion out of vengeance. He departed and wintered in the land of Xaldia, in the

<sup>74</sup> Georgians: *K'art'velni*, Armenian *Virk'*. Unless *Geo.* is clearly distinguishing the *K'art'velians* from others (e.g. *Ap'xazians*), I render the term by 'Georgians'.



[III] For the pious<sup>47</sup> Basil set up the life-giving cross, (saying:) *Arm.* 'If you let me be defeated in front of my enemies, I shall not serve you, O cause of my salvation and sign of victory.'<sup>48</sup> Therefore

<sup>47</sup> It is noteworthy that many Armenian sources have a good word for Basil personally, despite their condemnation of Byzantine encroachments in general; see R. W. Thomson, 'The Influence of their Environment on the Armenians in Exile in the Eleventh Century', *Proceedings of the 13th International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1967), 431-8.

<sup>48</sup> *Arm.* emphasizes the parallel with Constantine and his victories 'through the power of the divine cross'; cf. Aa 868. For Giorgi's submission and giving of hostages cf. Aristakes 38. But he has no reference to the cross being threatened by Basil!

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vicinity of the city of Trebizond. And there passed between them *Geo.* envoys for peace and friendship.<sup>75</sup>

At that time there occurred a great revolt in Greece. The general (*spaspeti*) and Carvezi,<sup>76</sup> [286] son of the rebel Phocas, joined together, and all the land of the east rebelled. Basil was greatly troubled over this. However, God respected him, and K'sip'e slew Carvezi. Then those who had joined them disbanded. But K'sip'e was compensated for his treachery to Carvezi. For the Dalassanites enticed him to their fortress in order to avenge the son of Phocas. They captured him and [287] brought him to king Basil, and he exiled him to a certain island. With a sword he cut off the heads of many of his followers, among whom was P'eris, son of Jo'jiki, by origin from Tao;<sup>77</sup> the others were Greeks. Basil set out again and came to Basian. He demanded the territories and fortresses, and promised peace and tranquillity. When King Giorgi learned of this, he dispatched the *erist'avi* Zviadi with his army, and ordered him to hold the place for a little while during peace negotiations; and he himself followed with a strong army. He planned as follows: 'If King Basil wishes peace, let it so happen. But if he desires war, let us be prepared for that too.' Those who did not wish to make peace began to prepare to fight; they came to King Basil, who had drawn up his army, as they say, 'in formation'.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Aristakes, 32, places here the episode of Peter *Getadarj*. This is omitted in *Geo.*, but *Arm.* adds a brief description below, VIII.

<sup>76</sup> Carvezi: i.e. Nicephorus Phocas, known as Craviz to Armenian authors. The account of this revolt in Aristakes 33 ff., is at variance with that in the *K'C'*. For the nickname 'Wryneck' see Canard-Berbèrian 17 n. 1.

<sup>77</sup> K'sip'e: i.e. Xiphias, Basil's general, who rebelled in 1021. Dalassenus was the commander of Antioch. For P'eris see the commentary in Canard-Berbèrian 20 n. 1, on Aristakes 35.

<sup>78</sup> In formation: *swindak'sad*, from the Greek *σύνταξις*.

*Arm.* Giorgi was defeated. Distraught on all sides, he gave his 3-year-old son Bagrat as a hostage, and promised to submit to him.

Basil went to Trebizond. He summoned the great Catholicos of Armenia, Peter, on the feast of the Epiphany. He blessed the water

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*Geo.* They began to fight, and they put to flight part of his army. King Basil became angry; he ordered the Wood of Life to be brought, and he placed the holy mandylion<sup>79</sup> on the ground, saying: 'If you give me into the hands of my enemies, I shall not worship you again for ever.' After the battle between them had been waged for a long time, the Georgian troops were again routed, [288] and they turned in flight.<sup>80</sup> An incalculable number fell to the sword, and some were taken prisoner. They bore away valuable booty and the royal treasure which they had with them. King Basil pursued them, and once again they began to discuss peace, as before. For he had great fear of a rebellion in Greece. So they made a peace treaty. King Giorgi gave up his own son Bagrat, aged three years, as a hostage; and he handed over the fortresses which the nobles had previously surrendered. With the other fortresses given up earlier and later (there were) fourteen. He also (ceded) the territory which Davit' *curopalates* possessed in Tao, Basean, Kola-Artan, and Javaxet'i.<sup>81</sup> But he (Basil) granted King Giorgi some churches, villages, and places from those lands. Then King Basil departed, taking with him as hostage prince Bagrat, son of [289] our King Giorgi. He promised with an oath: 'In the third year I shall send you back your son.' He stayed for three years in the royal city of Constantinople; and in the third year he sent him back as he had promised.

When he returned to his patrimony and kingdom, the *katepan* of the east accompanied him as far as the border of his patrimony. When he turned back, there arrived in haste a *mandator*,<sup>82</sup> and he brought to the *katepan* a letter of King Constantine, which was written in this manner: 'By the providence of God my blessed

<sup>79</sup> Mandylion: *mandili*, the kerchief imprinted with the portrait of Christ. Cf. Q384, where the same episode is described by Sumbat Davit'isje.

<sup>80</sup> Q prints here in the apparatus an extract in T from Sumbat's *K'roniki* which refers to the contingent of Rus' (*tagmani rusni*) in Basil's army; see also Q384. For early references to Rus' see Pritsak, *Origin of Rus'*.

<sup>81</sup> For these as hereditary lands belonging to the house of Tao see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 496.

in front of him, and the emperor saw great marvels over the water. *Arm.* He praised the faith of the Armenians, and went to Constantinople.<sup>49</sup> After three years he released the young Bagrat to his father.

Two years after the arrival of his son Giorgi died. He left two

<sup>49</sup> The first witness to these miracles, where the Armenian Catholicos Peter triumphs over the Greeks, is Aristakēs 31-2. He places the episode earlier than the K'C'. Cf. also Kirakos 94, though he was writing after the Armenian version of the K'C' had been made. For the release of hostages after three years cf. Aristakēs 38.

brother, King Basil, has passed away; in his place I have become king of all Greece. So now, wherever in my empire Bagrat may be, the son of Giorgi ruler of the Ap'xaz, bring him back in great haste so that he may be presented to me.' When he had read the king's order, he wished to bring him back in accordance with his instructions. He quickly turned and followed him. When he drew near, he saw that a powerful host had come to meet him: magnates, *erist'avis*, and nobles of Tao, Mesxs, and K'art'velians, whose multitude was numberless. He turned back and informed the *mandator* who had come to him: 'If you have the strength, bring him back; for me that is no longer possible.'

*Geo.*

[290] O, great miracle and mercy of God! How promptly was the just one saved from the hands of those who wished to bring him back by a trick. If any of you wished to test such things, with the help of God look and examine the innumerable (times) God supported this great Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz. No other king received such support at any time, concerning which the forthcoming narrative will inform you in due course. When he returned to his father, King Giorgi, to their house at K'ut'at'isi, his parents saw their son resembling their own unfathomable and ineffable virtue and completely embellished therewith, which virtue it is impossible for men to describe. When they saw him, they rejoiced with indescribable joy and offered thanks to God. It was 245 of the *k'ronikoni* at that time.<sup>83</sup>

Two years later King Giorgi passed away, full of all virtue, still of a youthful age.<sup>84</sup> No one among his fathers had appeared as his

<sup>82</sup> Katepan: *katabani*; mandator: *mandaturi*. For these Byzantine offices see the *DOB* s.v. The emperor is Constantine VIII, 1025-8.

<sup>83</sup> i.e. in 1025. Here Tk add an 'interpolation' concerning the estates of the Catholicos Melk'isedek; for a translation see below, Appendix, no. 29.

<sup>84</sup> i.e. in 1027. For the different versions of his birthdate see above, Q284, VI10.

*Arm.* sons, Bagrat and Demetrē, and two daughters.<sup>50</sup> Bagrat succeeded to the kingdom.

<sup>50</sup> See Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 121, for Giorgi's descendants. His eldest son Bagrat reigned 1027–72.

*Geo.* equal in valour, vigour, and comeliness of stature and face, in knowledge, [291] or so full of administrative ability. (He died) in 247 of the *k'ronikoni*, on the 16th of the month of August, in the land of T'rialet'i, at a place called Mqinvarni or Icroni. And he left lamentation and grief for all the inhabitants of his patrimony and kingdom. They all mourned his virtue, his youth, and his valour. They took away (his body) and buried it at the cathedral of K'ut'at'isi. He had four children: Bagrat and Demetre as sons; Guaranduxt and Kata as daughters. A fifth child, Mart'a, had died. After the death of the great King Giorgi, immediately Bagrat became king over all his patrimony and kingdom, Upper and Lower,<sup>85</sup> at the age of nine years.

*Fifty-third, king of K'art'li and Ap'xazet'i, Bagrat, son of King Giorgi, a Bagratid*

At the same time the nobles of Tao departed for Greece: Vac'e, son of Karici, and Iovane, bishop of Bana, accompanied by a multitude of nobles from Tao. King Constantine, at the beginning of the year, dispatched the *parakoimōmenos*<sup>86</sup> with an innumerable army; [292] he came and halted (there), and ravaged the lands which King Basil had already devastated. He advanced to the fortress below Klde-Karni in T'rialet'i, which at that time was held by Liparit the *erist'avi'-erist'avi*, son of Liparit.<sup>87</sup> He gathered the other nobles; those of Ganja resisted him, and they came to grips below the fortress. When the *parakoimōmenos* saw that he was unable to inflict any damage, he turned back. At the same time Čančaxi P'aleli went to Greece, and surrendered the fortress of Garqloba;

<sup>85</sup> Upper and Lower: *zemo da k'uemo*. Brosset, n. ad loc., indicates that this is the first use of this double expression to denote the united kingdom of K'art'li and Imeret'i. But see above, Q281.

<sup>86</sup> *Parakoimōmenos*: *parkimanozi*; for this office see the *DOB* s.v. Aristakes 41–2 refers to the *parekimanos* Simon; but that is an error for Nicolas according to Canard–Berberian 27 n. 4, quoting A. P. Kazhdan.

<sup>87</sup> This Liparit was a younger brother of the Rat killed at Širimk', above, Q284; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 356.

His mother Mariam went to Constantinople, and brought back for her son a written peace-treaty and the title of *curopalates*.<sup>51</sup> She

Arm.

<sup>51</sup> Mariam was the daughter of the Armenian king Senek'erim and had married Giorgi; see below, Q299, and Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 91-2. Many of Bagrat's ancestors had the title of Curopalates; see Toumanoff, *ibid.* 121.

he joined the Greeks. Arjēvan, son of Holola, also gave to the Greeks the fortress of Cerep't'i. When Saba, bishop of Tbet'i, saw that there was no other remedy in Šavšet'i, he constructed a fortress at the entrance to Tbet'i, took control of the land of Šavšet'i, and made a grand alliance with Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz. God honoured him and did not deliver his land to the enemy. For at that time the *parakoimōmenos* and *proedros* dispatched Iovane of Bana the *chartularios*,<sup>88</sup> accompanied by Valangi with a large army, and also Demetre of Klarjet'i, son of Sumbat, as if to take into captivity the populace of the land. By this means many of the humbler people of the land were swayed. But Ezra Anč'eli entered that same fortress, and the nobles who remained loyal occupied the fortress and fortified it strongly. [293] The fortress of Artanuji was held by the *erist'avi* Iovane Abuseri.

Geo.

In those times there occurred in these regions many battles, tumults, and comings and goings. But although the land was so greatly troubled, yet God honoured Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz and K'art'velians. A mortal illness befell King Constantine. He wrote to the *parakoimōmenos proedros* and summoned him back. He set out in haste, but while he was on his way King Constantine died.<sup>89</sup> At the time of his death he appointed the next king, named Romanos, and gave him his own daughter Zoe to wife.<sup>90</sup>

[294] In the third year after this Queen Mariam, mother of Bagrat king of the Ap'xaz, went to Greece in order to seek peace and an alliance, and also to seek the title of *curopalates* for her son—as is the custom and right of their house—and also to bring back a wife for her son.<sup>91</sup> When she reached Greece and met the

<sup>88</sup> Chartularios: *xartulari*.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Aristakēs 42.

<sup>90</sup> Here Tk add a brief description of the visit by the Georgian Catholicos Melk'isedek to Romanos in Constantinople followed by a further list of his estates. See Appendix, nos. 30-1.

<sup>91</sup> Here all MSS except ACDMTms add: 'At that time lived the holy Giorgi of the Holy Mountain, translator; he accompanied Queen Mariam in 1068 after Christ'. But the date is wrong, for Giorgi Mt'ac'mindeli died in 1065. For his life and works see Tarchnišvili, 154-74. The 'third year' after Romanos III's accession would be 1030-1.

*Arm.* also brought as wife for him Helen from the royal line of the Greeks. Bagrat married her; he also took another wife, Borena, the daughter of the king of the Ossetes.<sup>52</sup>

His (half-)brother Demetrē—on his father's side, not of the same mother<sup>53</sup>—plotted to seize power through some nobles. But since he was unsuccessful, he went off to Constantinople, taking with him the land of Anakopia, which has remained their property up to today. Bagrat ruled over all his patrimony.

[112] The generals Liparit and Iwanē were supportive of his rule.

<sup>52</sup> Helenē was the daughter of Basil Argyrus, and niece of Romanos III; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 121. The death of Mariam is not mentioned in the *K'C'*.

<sup>53</sup> Giorgi I's second wife was Alda, the daughter of the king of the Ossetes; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 121.

*Geo.* king of the Greeks, he joyfully fulfilled all her requests. He gave oaths and assurances of alliance and friendship, wrote chrysobulls, bestowed the title of *curopalates*, and gave the princess Elene as wife for Bagrat. [295] When Queen Mariam returned to the patrimony of her son, the land of Tao, she presented him with the title of *curopalates*. They celebrated the marriage, and blessed the crowns at Bana. After a little time Queen Elene passed away in K'ut'at'isi, and King Bagrat married Queen Borena, daughter of the king of the Ossetes, sister of Dorgōleli.

After this the other son of King Giorgi remained in Anakop'i with his second wife, daughter of the king of the Ossetes. Among the nobles there were discussions this way and that. The boy was young, by the name of Demetre. They could not make him king, even if some wished, for King Bagrat and his mother did not agree, nor did the leaders of the nobles of the kingdom. He could not endure this and left the kingdom. He went to the Greek king and took over with him Anakop'i. From then on, up until the present time, Anakop'i has passed out of the control of the king of the Ap'xaz. [296] After this Bagrat consolidated his power and reigned over the Upper and Lower (kingdom), his patrimony.

The great P'adlon behaved wickedly and disdained all the senior nobles of the kingdom.<sup>92</sup> While Bagrat was still a child, the troops

<sup>92</sup> For this episode, dated to 1029, see Minorsky, *Studies*, 43. Senior nobles: *mo't'aulni*, literally 'peers'. Behaved wickedly: *avada ik'c'eoda*. *Avad* is ambiguous, perhaps meaning 'ill'; cf. the verb *šehavda*, 'was ill,' just below. But *ik'c'eoda* is imperfect tense and means 'went about'.

They captured by a ruse Tp'xis from the emir Ĵap'ar; but then they had scruples and left it for Ĵap'ar. However, he did not remain subject to the king of the Ap'xaz. So the king came and besieged Tp'xis, as did also the king of Kaxet', Gagik, son of the Armenian king. The city suffered such famine that a pound of donkey-meat sold for 500 dirhams. They captured Tp'xis, and then left it to the emir until Ĵap'ar died. Arm.

of the kingdom gathered together and came to terms with Liparit and Ivane, son of Abaz. They were joined also by the great Kwirike, king of the Rans and Kaxs, Davit', king of the Armenians,<sup>93</sup> and Ĵap'ar, amir of Tp'ilisi. For all these at the urging of Kwirike had gathered at Eklec'i against P'adlon. They routed P'adlon, destroyed his army, and seized immeasurable plunder and treasure. From then until his death P'adlon was ill. During the minority of King Bagrat Liparit, son of Liparit, and Ivane, son of Abaz, *erisi'avi* of K'art'li, invited Ĵap'ar, the amir of Tp'ilisi to Muxat'guardi; they seized him, and for a long time kept him in prison. They also confiscated Birt'visi. [297] The king of the Ap'xaz had pity on him and released him as amir over Tp'ilisi. From then on there remained enmity between Liparit and the amir. Geo.

A short time later Liparit advised Bagrat to seize Tp'ilisi. The troops of the king of the Ap'xaz besieged Tp'ilisi on this side of the Mtkuari, above and below; while across the river, around Isni,<sup>94</sup> the troops of the Kaxs and Hers laid siege. At that time the great king of the Kaxs, Kwirike, had been killed by a certain Ossete slave, because Urdure, king of the Ossetes, had been slain in battle by King Kwirike. In revenge King Kwirike was killed while hunting in the mountains of P'idrazi by the Ossete slave. At that time the king in Kaxet'i was Gagik, son of Davit' the Armenian king of Samšwilde and of Jorakerti, the nephew of Kwirike.<sup>95</sup> For two years they battled over Tp'ilisi. At the time Ĵap'ar, son of Ali, was amir. They so oppressed the inhabitants of Tp'ilisi that a pound of donkey meat sold for 500 dirhams. They were unable to resist the famine and the severe attacks. The inhabitants decided to surrender Tp'ilisi. During the assault on this city the troops of the

<sup>93</sup> This is Davit' of Tašir (Lori), who had married Kwirike's sister; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 184.

<sup>94</sup> Isni is the section of Tp'ilisi across the river Mtkuari from the castle; see *Wakhoucht*, 185-9.

*Arm.* Then King Bagrat entered Tp'xis and seized the citadel.<sup>54</sup> He built the wall of Axalk'alak'.

Because his mother Mariam was the daughter of Senek'erim the Armenian king, the inhabitants of Ani gave that city to Queen Mariam.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Here *Arm.* anticipates the Georgian of below, Q299.

<sup>55</sup> For Mariam see above, V111.

*Geo.* king of the Ap'xaz had captured Orbet'i and P'arc'xisi. The emir made preparations with his army, and got ready rafts and boats in order to escape by night to Ganja to (join) the army of P'adlon's son. However, some nobles of the Ap'xaz king, unbeknown to Liparit, advised the king not to expel the emir; and unbeknown to Liparit, they made a treaty with the emir, recognized him as amir over Tp'ilisi, and let him stay there.

[298] The king of the Ap'xaz incited the Kaxs, Ašot *mt'avari* of Marili, nephew<sup>96</sup> of King Kwirike, and Xaxwila Gurt'a with Juaris-c'ixe. The king of the Ap'xaz seized the city, and was hostile to the Kaxs. From then on Liparit became suspicious in the eyes of his master. The king of the Ap'xaz made an expedition to Kaxet'i; he fought a battle on the mountain of Mik'el-Gabriel. In the battle he captured: Step'anoz, son of Varjan, *erist'avi* of Pankisi; Vač'e, son of Gurgen the elder,<sup>97</sup> *erist'avi* of Xornabuji; and Jedi, nephew of Goderji, *erist'avi* of Štori and (commander) of Mači. He passed into T'ianet'i, and burnt the palace of Bodoji, a famous residence built by the great king Kwirike. At his insistence these *erist'avis* gave up their castles; no more did they come to Kaxet'i. He returned, because Liparit had begun to foment under-hand schemes.

After a short time Liparit brought back from Greece Bagrat's brother, Demetre, with a royal Greek army.<sup>98</sup> Certain other magnates and nobles joined them. They came to the Upper Land and

<sup>95</sup> This Gagik's father was Davit', and his mother was Jorakertel the sister of Kwirike; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 112. All MSS except BdpsC spell her name Jolakertel. Gagik reigned 1039–58.

<sup>96</sup> Nephew: *disije*. But this is Q's conjecture; all MSS have *sije*, 'son-in-law', except A, which reads *je*, 'son'.

<sup>97</sup> Elder: *beri*; cf. the 'elders' of Tp'ilisi, below, Q299.

<sup>98</sup> For Demetre's departure to Byzantium see above, Q295.



entered K'art'li. They besieged Ateni, and ravaged various parts of K'art'li. The Kaxs and Greeks aided Liparit, but they were unable to take Ateni because the commanders of the fortresses were firm in their loyalty to Bagrat—except for P'arsman T'mogueli and Bešk'en Jaqeli, the *erist'avi* of T'uxarisi.<sup>99</sup> They went to Javaxet'i and began to build the walls of Axalk'alak'i, because at that time it was without walls.<sup>1</sup> The time of winter had arrived; the Greeks wished to withdraw. Liparit came to terms with the king of the Ap'xaz; and the king granted him the position of *erist'avi* of K'art'li. The Greeks returned to Greece, and took Demetre with them.

[299] Once more King Bagrat became strong and consolidated his power over his patrimony; and Bagrat's fate<sup>2</sup> gave him an opportunity: Vest joined forces with him (bringing) nine castles of Ani, except for that of Amberd.<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of Ani gave up Ani to Bagrat's mother, because through her father the Armenians were her subjects; Queen Mariam, Bagrat's mother, was the daughter of the Armenian king Senek'erim.

It was spring-time, and Bagrat was in Ap'xazet'i. He was besieging Anakop'i, and was about to take it. The elders of Tp'ilisi came to him, because at that time Jap'ar, the amir of Tp'ilisi, had just died.<sup>4</sup> They promised him the city and called on him to make haste. He set out, having posted Ot'ago, son of Čača K'uabuleli, outside Anakop'i with the Ap'xaz army. He came to K'ut'at'isi, and installed an army of the citizens of K'ut'at'isi.<sup>5</sup> He led off to Xup'at'i the nobles of Guria and Lomsiani; they set up catapults,<sup>6</sup> and commenced hostilities. The king set out and came to K'art'li; and other elders of Tp'ilisi came to summon him.

<sup>99</sup> P'arsman from T'mogvi is not mentioned elsewhere in the *K'Č'*. Bešk'en's death is reported below, Q334. For the Jaqeli clan see Toumanoff, *Studies*, 438 n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> At Q306 below it is indicated that the walls were not yet strong in 1064.

<sup>2</sup> Fate: *sue*, a common motif earlier in the *K'Č'*.

<sup>3</sup> Vest: Sargis Vest, mentioned by several Armenian historians; see *HANjB*, s.v. Sargis no. 49. 'Vest' is a Byzantine title; see *ODB*, s.v. *vestis*. The corresponding passage in Arm. is found later, V112.

<sup>4</sup> Jap'ar died in 1046; cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, 46.

<sup>5</sup> An army of the citizens of K'ut'at'isi: *k'ut'at'isisa samok'alek'osa lašk'ari*. *Samok'alak'o* means 'civil, pertaining to a citizen'; but at Q319 it refers to a region. So here it might imply a larger area around K'ut'at'isi.

<sup>6</sup> Catapults: *p'ilakavanni*; cf. above, Q280 at n. 65.

*Arm.* Now the great Liparit in conspiracy with other nobles summoned Demetrē from Greek (territory) in order to make him king. He did not succeed, and the Roman army with him returned.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> For Bagrat IV's troubles with Liparit, cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, 56-7.

*Geo.* He set out for Tp'ilisi. The elders of the city and the servants of the palace met him on horseback at the valley of Diḡomi, and all the people on foot (festively) adorned at Umedeuli.<sup>7</sup> In the square there was a multitude of men and women. A fearsome sound of trumpets and tambourines rose on both sides, and from the noise the earth shook. On both sides were displayed joy and wonder. He was escorted into the city; they threw *drams* and *dahekans*; they presented him with the keys of the city, and brought him to the emir's palace. King Bagrat sat in judgment.<sup>8</sup> He posted his own men at the towers<sup>9</sup> of the gates, occupied the citadel Darijeli and the two towers of Cqalqini and T'abori, and placed inside them his own troops and *erist'avis*. The people of Isni had broken down the bridge, and they had not submitted. [300] They set up catapults, attacked the Isni and shot arrows at them. Gagik, king of the Kaxs, Goderji, the *erist'avi-erist'avi*, and all the magnates of Kaxet'i came to the plain of Isni to pay court to King Bagrat in order to seek peace. Then King Bagrat came out to the plain of Isni; he had the Kaxs come up and do obeisance; he offered them peace and dismissed them. The days were spent in joy and well-being and plans for improvement.

When the days of summer had passed in this manner, once more Liparit began to foment the same evil plans. He removed from the queen's control Abuser, *erist'avi* of Artanuji, the lord of Xixani and of C'ixis-Juari and of the fortress of Acqueri, with (the city of) Ani, and the *erist'avi* Ivane, Ivane Dadiani, and Guaram, son of Goderji, lord of the fortress of Beči—these he seized at the gate of Ani. The king left Tp'ilisi and went off to Javaxet'i. After this the (lord) of Acqueri brought over the Mesxs with Bagrat's funds to

<sup>7</sup> Umedeuli is not mentioned elsewhere in the *K'Č*; Diḡomi is just outside Tp'ilisi, see above, Q21.

<sup>8</sup> In judgment: *sauravad*. *Sauravi* is 'punishment', or 'care, thought, plans'. In this latter sense it occurs at the end of the paragraph.

<sup>9</sup> Towers: *koškni*, or perhaps here 'bastions'; cf. above, Q140 n. 3.

Vasil submitted to King Bagrat, ceding nine castles;<sup>57</sup> and Bagrat *Arm.* became very powerful.

<sup>57</sup> Vasil in *Arm.* corresponds to Vest in *Geo.* See above, Q299, for this episode.

help the king. The king stopped at Ğrtila; while Liparit assembled *Geo.* the Kaxs and besieged P'okani. The (lord) of Acqueri abandoned King Bagrat and came to terms with Liparit. When the king heard this, in fearful winter storms he crossed Šavšet'i and entered K'art'li.

Liparit once more brought from Greece Demetre, brother of King Bagrat; the treasure and army of the Greek king were of assistance. But the people of the kingdom were divided: some supported Demetre, while others remained loyal to Bagrat. Liparit's son Ivane remained a hostage in the hands of Bagrat. He requested him from Bagrat, and in exchange he liberated Abuser with his fortress. The Kaxs with their forces and Davit', king of the Armenians, with his forces supported Liparit. [301] With their troops he became powerful on the side of K'art'li; and there was a ferment of manœuvring on either side.

Varangs came,<sup>10</sup> 3,000 strong, and he established them at Baši. Bagrat took with him seven hundred men and advanced with the army of the interior. These Varangs did not wait for the Mesxs. They came to grips at the entrance to the forest of Sasiret'i. The army of the interior withdrew; and in that battle Abuser was captured, and the other magnates with him. They were unable to fight the Varangs. Liparit gave them servants<sup>11</sup> who prepared food. In this way they crossed the (chain) of Lixi.<sup>12</sup> Prior to this Bagrat's brother Demetre had died.<sup>13</sup> Following his retreat Bagrat was fearful for the destruction of his kingdom and patrimony. He made a request to Liparit, and with a few cavalry came to visit Liparit at

<sup>10</sup> The Varangs are only mentioned here in the *K'C'*. For their presence in the Greek army cf. Aristakēs 88.

<sup>11</sup> Servants: *pašt'ni*, glossed in the *Lek'sikoni* of Q as *msaxuri*; cf. the Armenian stem *pašt*.

<sup>12</sup> Lixi: as *AMm.* All other MSS read *lxini*, and Q prints a plural *lixni*. The chain dividing eastern and western Georgia is intended.

<sup>13</sup> In 1053.

*Arm.* He gave the authority of his kingdom to his son Giorgi, and went to Constantinople, to the Emperor Monomachos, who showed him great respect. Three years later the emperor sent him back to his own land at the supplication of Goranduxt, Bagrat's

*Geo.* Xovle. But when Liparit heard of his arrival, he did not see him but departed. So the king turned back and set out for Ap'xazet'i.

After a little while Sula, the *erist'avi* of Kalmaksi, and Grigol, the *erist'avi* of Artanuĵi, came to terms; and the other Mesxian nobles joined them. They called on King Bagrat; he set out with his army, descended by the road of Rkinis-Juari, and they all met at Arqis-c'ixe. When he learnt of this Liparit gathered his own army, joined the Kaxs and Armenians, and also added Greeks. Unexpectedly he arrived at Arqis-c'ixe, and they came to grips. Liparit was victorious, and the king retreated. [302] They captured Sula, the *erist'avi* of Kalmaksi; with severe tortures and laceration on a gibbet they demanded Kalmaksi; but he did not give it up. In the same battle they captured Grigol, son of Abuser; they demanded Artanuĵi with threats of death, and he surrendered it. Liparit became powerful in the Upper land and acquired (its) fortresses. The leading men<sup>14</sup> joined him. With the same army Liparit set out against Dvin. He attacked the (emir) of Dvin for the king of the Greeks;<sup>15</sup> then he returned to his own land.

After the passage of a year the Turks of Sultan Barahimilami<sup>16</sup> appeared in the land of Basian. The army of the king of the Greeks set out, and they summoned Liparit. Liparit came to the assistance of the Greeks with all the forces of the Upper region. They came to grips below Ordoro and Ukumi. The Turks routed the entire army of the Greeks and of Liparit. There was a great slaughter, and Liparit was captured and taken to the sultan in Xorasan.<sup>17</sup> The magnates of the realm, and Liparit's sons Ivane and Niania, sought security, so they brought the king back as ruler. Once more he grew powerful and seized the sons of Liparit. He captured

<sup>14</sup> Leading men: *t'avadni kac'ni*. Cf. above, Q11, where *t'avadi* is distinguished from *erist'avi*.

<sup>15</sup> The emir of Dvin (*dvineli*) from 1022 to 1049 was Abu'l-Uswar; see Canard-Berberian, 53.

<sup>16</sup> i.e. Ibrahim Inal; see Minorsky, *Studies*, 57, Ter-Ghewondyan, 122.

<sup>17</sup> Minorsky, *Studies*, 57, notes that Liparit was taken to Isfahan.

sister. All the nobles went out to meet him, and they made a great celebration. Arm.

However, Liparit *curopalates*<sup>58</sup> held with full (authority) the Upper land. He was not pleased with the rule of Bagrat, even though he had raised his son and had made him king. Therefore Prince Sula laid an ambush for him, captured him with his son

<sup>58</sup> Although Geo. stresses Liparit's relations with the emperor, it does not refer to him as Curopalates; nor is he so described by Aristakēs or Matthew of Edessa.

Up'lis-c'ixe and released Ivane. The Turks had halted in the land of Ganja and were intending to take Ganja. The king of the Greeks dispatched as his representative a *licitor*<sup>18</sup> with a large army. They summoned Bagrat with all his forces; he joined them, and they attacked the Turks. They reached the gate of Ganja and the Turks withdrew. So they delivered the land of Ganja and returned safely. After this once more the people of Tp'ilisi summoned Bagrat and gave him Tp'ilisi. They escorted him inside, and there was great joy and amity. [303] After this the Turks released Liparit, and he entered Ani. Bagrat left Tp'ilisi to pursue Liparit. He crossed K'art'li and came to Javaxet'i. Liparit gained strength. Because he had been taken prisoner on account of his serving the Greek king, he went to Greece and visited the king of the Greeks. He received troops from the Greek king, so Bagrat was unable to resist him. Geo.

Prior to this there had been born to Bagrat a son named Giorgi. He left him at K'ut'at'isi as king over the kingdom of Ap'xazet'i, and departed for Greece. At this time the king of the Greeks was Constantine Monomachos.<sup>19</sup> But by the will of Liparit Bagrat could not quickly return to his own patrimony. He stayed there for three years in great glory and honour.<sup>20</sup> [304] While Bagrat was in Greece, Liparit requested Giorgi, son of Bagrat, as king.<sup>21</sup> So his mother and the nobles of the country delivered him up. They brought him to the cathedral of Ruisi and consecrated him king.

<sup>18</sup> Lictor: an error for the title *rector*; see Minorsky, *Studies*, 62, citing Cedrenus 593.

<sup>19</sup> Constantine IX, 1042–55. Since Bagrat was in Constantinople from 1054 to 1057, Q has added a conjecture by Javaxiṣvili: 'and (later) Michael'. For Bagrat's troubles with Liparit cf. Toumanoff, 'Armenia and Georgia', 622.

<sup>20</sup> Here Tk add a lengthy 'interpolation' from the *Life of Giorgi Mt'ac'mideli*; for a translation see Appendix, no. 32.

<sup>21</sup> Giorgi did not become king in his own right until 1072.

*Arm.* Ivanē, and brought them before Bagrat. Rejoicing greatly at this, [113] he gave Sula C'ixisjuar, and Ojrxē, and many gifts.

They tortured Liparit and took away his castles. They dressed him in the habit of a religious and sent him to the emperor; there he died a few years later.<sup>59</sup> His servants brought back his corpse, and they buried him at Kac'xē in the tomb of his fathers. His son Ivanē they made lord of Arguet' only.

At that time a certain (man) from Turkestan, Tughril by name, grew powerful and became sultan on the decline of the Saracens.

<sup>59</sup> Liparit died in 1064; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 356. Habit of a religious: *handerj krawnawori* renders *ε'ohani*.

*Geo.* And they brought as his tutor Liparit, and as his protector<sup>22</sup> Bagrat's sister, Queen Guaranduxt. He was a man perfect and unparalleled in beauty, wisdom, generosity, piety, and every virtue. A little time later Guaranduxt requested Bagrat from the Greek king. The Greek king sent him back in great glory with gifts and incalculable treasure. The whole army of Ap'xazet'i met him at the seashore at Xup'at'i. There was great rejoicing and much blessing of God. He took their leave and went to his residence at K'ut'at'isi.

Liparit exercised total authority over the Upper region, and he had as friends Sultan Doglubeg<sup>23</sup> in Xorasan and the Greek king in Greece. He educated Giorgi, Bagrat's son, who was a child with the title of king. Whereas Bagrat possessed the region situated below Lixi. After a short time the nobles of the kingdom came to resent the governance of Liparit. Sula Kalmaxeli and all the Mesxs abandoned Liparit; at Dliv they captured Liparit and his son Ivane. However, Niania escaped and headed for Klde-Karni. But his father's garrison did not admit him, so he went to the Greeks at Ani.<sup>24</sup> Sula brought Liparit and Ivane captive to Kalmaxi. Sula quickly sent envoys to the king concerning their lives. But Guaranduxt and [305] Giorgi, Bagrat's son, stayed at Ġrtila and were unaware of Liparit's capture. They were taken to Axalk'alak'i, and there waited for Bagrat (to decide) concerning their lives. Bagrat arrived, and in return for this service the king

<sup>22</sup> Protector: *patroni*, usually 'lord'; cf. above, Q298, line 4 'master'.

<sup>23</sup> i.e. Tughril, sultan 1055-63. *Arm.* refers to him later, at V113.

<sup>24</sup> Ani had been under Greek control since 1045.

He ruled over many nations and provinces.<sup>60</sup> His son Arp'aslan<sup>61</sup> succeeded him. He came and seized all the house of K'art'li, slaughtering and taking captives. Arm.

He marched to the capital of Armenia, to Ani, captured it and filled it with the blood of the slaughtered.<sup>62</sup> He also threatened the land of Georgia unless Bagrat would give him the daughter of his sister in marriage.<sup>63</sup> She was the daughter of the brother of

<sup>60</sup> Arm. expands on the reference to Tughril (Dutlabak') in Geo. above, Q304. Vardan, *Chronicle*, 94 ff., has preserved a precious fragment from the lost *History* by Mxit'ar Anec'i concerning the Seljuqs; see Thomson ad loc., and D. Kouymjian, 'Mxit'ar (Mekhitar) of Ani on the Rise of the Saljuqs', *REArm* 6 (1969), 331-53.

<sup>61</sup> Alp Arslan, sultan 1063-72, was the nephew of Tughril, as correctly noted by Vardan.

<sup>62</sup> For the capture of Ani in 1064 cf. Aristakēs 135-6, with further references in the commentary of Canard-Berbérian ad loc.

<sup>63</sup> The unnamed niece was the daughter of Guaranduxt, who had married Sumbat the brother of Kwirik; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 112. Sumbat is mentioned in Geo. just below without being identified as the girl's father. Arm. does not indicate that Bagrat's niece was eventually given to the sultan; see Geo. below, Q308.

granted to Sula with hereditary rights C'ixis-juari and Ojrḡe with Bodo-klde, and many other possessions and bishoprics,<sup>25</sup> and whatever he wished. Geo.

Sula came before the king in Ĵavaxet'i, led in the captives Liparit and Ivane, and informed him that he had taken from the possession of the (supporters) of Liparit the fortresses of Artanuĵi and Qveli, Up'lis-c'ixe and Birt'wisi. However, their garrisons still firmly occupied Klde-karni, because stationed within it was Anamori, Liparit's chancellor. They were taken to T'rialet'i, but despite a vain request the garrison did not give up Klde-karni. They erected gibbets and attached to them Liparit and Ivane, who resigned themselves to death. After some days the king and the nobles of the kingdom made a pact with Liparit's garrison concerning the safe release of Liparit and Ivane. Then they surrendered Klde-karni. He took away his personal possessions;<sup>26</sup> and Liparit adopted the cassock and entrusted his son Ivane to the

<sup>25</sup> Bishoprics: *samgdelt'-moĵuroni*, i.e. territories or properties of prelates. For the prefix/suffix *sa-/o* cf. above, Q299 n. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Possessions: *xuastagi*, 'wealth', or 'flocks, herds', as in the story of P'arnawaz, above, Q22.

*Arm.* Kwirikē, king of Armenia. Bagrat requested her from him with entreaties, but Kwirikē would not give her up. Finally, the Georgian generals Varazbakur and Gamrikēl<sup>64</sup> laid a trap for him and captured him in the forest of K'ueš.<sup>65</sup> They informed Bagrat,

<sup>64</sup> *Arm.* has made two persons from the Georgian given name and family name.

<sup>65</sup> In the forest of K'ueš: *yantarin K'uišoy*, rendering *k'uešis čalasa*. *Čala* means 'forest', but *k'ueše* means 'under, below', and is not a place-name.

*Geo.* king. His patrimony in Arguet'i remained to Ivane. Liparit swore that he would not harm the king; then they released him, and (the king) returned to his kingdom.

After a little while Ivane escaped and went to Greece, where he stayed for several years.<sup>27</sup> Niania died at Ani in the service<sup>28</sup> of the Greeks. Ivane's father interceded with Bagrat. Bagrat himself brought (Ivane) back and sent him to his kingdom. He granted him his patrimony of Arguet'i and K'art'li, and he served loyally. He was lord of lords of the kingdom and *spasalar* through his virtues. However, Liparit passed away [306] in Greece, in the capital Constantinople. His close friends and household brought back (his body) in great honour, and buried him at Kac'xi in the tomb of his fathers. Bagrat became more famous and powerful than all (other) kings of the land. He captured all the fortresses of Heret'i and Kaxet'i, except for Kuetari and Naxčevan. After this there occurred great events and troubles from great kings.

In the times of his reign came forth Sultan Alp Arslan, king of Persia. In the manner of a raid he came unexpectedly and ravaged Kangar and T'rialet'i. In one day his marauders reached Quelisquri. He penetrated Šavšet'i, Klarjet'i, and Tao as far as P'anaskert. The same day he reached T'ori and Ğviviš-ħevi, and stopped in person for three days in T'rialet'i. Now at that time the king had come from Tao, accompanied by his mother, sister, and his son Giorgi. They had stopped at Xekrebulni. As they were leaving, the sultan's army approached. They advanced and posted themselves on a summit. But the (Turks) preceded them into K'art'li. They advanced into Ğavaxet'i and besieged Axalk'alak'i, for the Mesx nobles and those of the Upper region put up a strong resistance at Axalk'alak'i. They fought for three days, but because

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Aristakēs 106 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Service: *qmoba*; cf. *patronqmoba*, above, Q258 n. 21.



who went to him, took from his possession the girl and Šamšoytē, *Arm.* and then released him.

Now three years later the sultan returned to attack Armenia;<sup>66</sup> and he filled the land with blood.

<sup>66</sup> *Arm.* has added 'Armenia'.

Axalk'alak'i was not surrounded by strong walls,<sup>29</sup> they were *Geo.* unable to resist the powerful attackers. The inhabitants of the city armed themselves, opened the gates, and made a valiant sortie. They perished by the edge of the sword. So the Turks entered the city and took captive an incalculable number of Christians. They bore off treasure and many prisoners, and the river of Axalk'alak'i was dyed with blood.<sup>30</sup>

From Axalk'alak'i the sultan sent an envoy to King Bagrat. He requested an alliance [307] and asked for his niece in marriage. The sultan turned on Ani; he broke in and seized Ani, ravaged it, and led off captive innumerable people. Then he returned to his own country of Persia. He took Ani away from the Greeks and gave it to Manuč'a, son of Abulaswar.<sup>31</sup> Now Bagrat's niece, whom the sultan had requested, was the daughter of the brother of Kwirike, king of Armenia. Bagrat asked him, but the Armenian king did not give her up. Bagrat sent as ambassador plenipotentiary the *erist'avi* Varaz-Bakur Gamrekeli. He caught up with the Armenian king's men; and when the Armenian King Kwirike and his brother Smbat had reached Samšwilde, he seized them at Lower Čala and informed Bagrat. He rapidly came to Kvaḥurelni, and they brought the prisoners to him below Klde-karni. He requested Samšwilde, but they did not give it up because one of their brothers, Adarnase, had entered Samšwilde. So they brought them to Samšwilde and set up a gibbet, on which they put the Armenian King Kwirike for three days. They asked for peace and surrendered Samšwilde. Two *erist'avis* of the Armenian king had arrived, the *erist'avis* of Lukia and of Kak'vak'ari. Sumbat, Kwirike's brother, handed over and surrendered three fortresses—Op'ret'i, Koški, and Varzak'ari. But King Bagrat had pity; he restored and

<sup>29</sup> For the walls of Axalk'alak'i see above, Q298.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Matthew of Edessa 175 for the slaughter in Axalk'alak'i.

<sup>31</sup> For Minūč'ihir and the Šaddādid rulers of Ani see the extended discussion in Minorsky, *Studies*, 79-106 (Section II: The Šaddadids of Ani).

*Arm.* Having captured Tp'xis, he gave it to the amir of Ganjak, P'atlun.<sup>67</sup> Asxart'an, son of Gagik the king of Kaxet', came to him and accompanied him around until the sultan departed.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> For the career of P'atlun, i.e. Faql II, see Minorsky, *Studies*, 64-7.

<sup>68</sup> Geo. mentions Aġsart'an's collaboration earlier, Q309 above.

*Geo.* gave back to him all the fortresses except Samšwilde. He did not permit the other lords of fortresses, the magnates, to enter it, but reserved Samšwilde for his own residence. In this way the Armenians were subject to him.<sup>32</sup> The great King Bagrat gave his daughter Martha in marriage to the king of the Greeks.<sup>33</sup> [308] After this he gave his niece in marriage to the sultan, the king of the Persians.

Three years later the sultan set out, passed through Ran, and unexpectedly entered Hereti.<sup>34</sup> The nobles in that land were united and loyal to Bagrat. At that time the king of Kaxet'i, Aġsart'an,<sup>35</sup> son of Gagik, was living in reduced circumstances. They all abandoned their fortresses and fled to the Caucasus. Bagrat had mobilized his troops to attack Kaxet'i, and sent ahead his army under the *erist'avi* of Vežin, the (governor) of Cirk'uali. They returned safely and informed him of the sultan's advance and the abandoning of the castles. He rapidly turned back and came to his own land of K'art'li. [309] But Aġsart'an joined the sultan.<sup>36</sup> He offered him great presents, abandoned his religion, was circumcised, and promised the *ħarāj*. The sultan gave him all the abandoned castles—both those which the men of the king of the Ap'xaz had abandoned and those which belonged to Aġsart'an himself. Three weeks later he attacked the king of the Ap'xaz, joined by Kwirike the Armenian king, the amir of Tp'ilisi, and Aġsart'an. They entered K'art'li by way of Ĵačvi. He sent out marauders in the

<sup>32</sup> Here Tk add a further 'interpolation' from the *Life of Giorgi* concerning Martha's marriage; for a translation see Appendix, no. 33.

<sup>33</sup> In 1071 Martha married Michael Dukas, emperor 1071-8, and took the name of Mary. In 1078 she married Nicephorus III Botaneiates, emperor 1078-81. She died in 1104. See Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 122, 'Armenia and Georgia', 622. She is generally known as Mary of Alania. Here Tk continue the extract from the *Life of Giorgi* concerning the relationship between Mariam, Bagrat's mother, and Giorgi Mt'ac'mideli. See Appendix, no. 34.

<sup>34</sup> For this expedition of 1068 see Minorsky, 'Tiflis', 754.

<sup>35</sup> Aġsart'an I was king of Kaxet'i 1058-84; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 115.

<sup>36</sup> *Arm.* describes this alliance later, at V113.

After that King Bagrat wished to attack Tp'xis. P'atlun heard (of it) and came to attack him. He despatched Ivanē, Liparit's son, with all the Georgian troops to oppose him. They smote all (P'atlun's) forces, so that he escaped by the skin of his teeth with only twelve men<sup>69</sup> by the road to Cilkan. Arm.

<sup>69</sup> There are no variants in the K'C' to explain the change of 15 to 12; D has 'men' for 'horsemen'.

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morning, and by evening all K'art'li was filled. It was the 10th of the month of December, a Tuesday, in the 288th (year) of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>37</sup> Geo.

There was much bread and wine in K'art'li. He stayed for six weeks, and began to plunder and massacre the population. His marauders passed into Arguet'i, and came pillaging as far as the fortress of Sueri. An incalculable number of Christians was slain or taken captive. The land of K'art'li was rendered horrible in the sight of men. All the churches were ruined, and from the multitude of corpses the eye could not see the ground. The sky in heaven bore witness to God's anger as retribution for our sins, and a raincloud of blood covered K'art'li from the east. There was perpetual night instead of the light of day; its sight was fearsome and terrifying, and in various places men saw a rain of blood. The winter was severe; those who had escaped and gone to the mountains perished from the harshness of the winter. His army was posted in all K'art'li. The sultan himself stayed at Karbi, then he went on to Sert'ulni. The severity of the winter and the strong blizzards caused him trouble. King Bagrat despatched Ivane, Liparit's son, as an envoy to seek peace. The sultan sent him back to Bagrat in Ap'xazet'i, demanded *harāj*, [310] and promised peace. But because of the severity of the winter he was unable to wait, and departed from K'art'li.

As he passed by, he seized Tp'ilisi and Rust'avi, and gave them to P'adlon, lord of Ganja. Not merely from enmity against our kings did he take away Tp'ilisi and Rust'avi from the kingdom, nor did he do it because the amirs were disloyal to his court; but as compensation for honest service they maltreated everyone, since

<sup>37</sup> 288 of the *k'ronikoni* is 1068. But in that year 10 December was a Wednesday. CMm read 'Monday', but there are no other variants.

*Arm.* As he went along the bank of the river Arag<sup>70</sup> he would say to those he met: 'I am an envoy of P'atlun's: the army of the Ap'xaz was defeated.' [114] But someone, recognizing him, said: 'You are indeed the emir of emirs, P'atlun.' He shouted out loudly and passed the word to the local area. The inhabitants of the province summoned each other, seized him, and brought him to Bagrat.

<sup>70</sup> Arag: as D, *Argag* in ABC.

*Geo.* they trusted in their own godless strength and were utterly treacherous. In this ravaging of K'art'li the host of his army amounted to 500,000. The sultan went off to his own land. When springtime arrived there occurred a severe swelling of the waters, and the Mtkuari could not be contained in its course. It spread out over the plains and carried away many people who had escaped the sultan. After this P'adlon began to wax boastful and impious, and to carry off officials<sup>38</sup> in various places in the vicinity of Tp'ilisi. When it was spring, the king went down to K'art'li and stopped at Didgorni; for that is the site of the royal summer residence. However, P'adlon paid no heed to the king's being at Didgorni. He set out with an army, 33,000 strong, came to Tp'ilisi, and camped on the plain of Isni. There he left his tents, and by night went up to Muxnar and pillaged the borders of K'art'li.

When the king of the Ap'xaz heard from Tp'ilisi of the damage being done to K'art'li and the attack of P'adlon, he dispatched Ivane, Liparit's son, Niania, son of K'uabuli, and Murvan Jaqeli, the *erist'avi* of Queli, to investigate, accompanied by a few other nobles with an élite army. They did not encounter them in K'art'li, but caught them returning, [311] before Muxnari in the mountains of Cilkan. They fell on their rearguard; and at the first thrust of the sword P'adlon turned back. P'adlon's army in its retreat came to the ravine of Narekuavi; they were slaughtered or taken captive by the troops of the king of the Ap'xaz, and the ravine was filled with horses and men. The fleeing army began to leave the forest of Šobo. From all the trees and thickets Bagrat's hidden troops fell on those of P'adlon, like little birds on worms. They came upon

<sup>38</sup> Officials: *helosant'a*. The term *helosani* means 'artisan'; but Chubinov notes that in Imeret'i it is used as a title, *staršina*. Abulaje, *Lek'sikoni*, s.v., defines it as 'responsible official'. At Q353 it occurs in the context of tax revenue.

He took from him Tp'xis and Gag and K'awazin—which the Persians had seized from the Armenians and Georgians—and 848 *dahekans*, and his nephew as a hostage;<sup>71</sup> then he released him.

Arm.

<sup>71</sup> The curious change of 44,000 (*mdč*) to 848 (*qmē*) could only have occurred if the three letters involved were written in *xuc'uri* script. 'Nephew' as AC, rendering *jmisculi*, but 'son' in BD and V.

them before the defile of Ġart'a, and only a few escaped. Bagrat's army pursued them as far as the mountain of Xerki, and slew or captured P'adlon's troops. P'adlon himself with only fifteen horsemen took the road to Cilkan.

Geo.

He followed the bank of the Aragvi; by the Narġuevni road he came to Erco. And he proclaimed himself to be an envoy, saying: 'I am an envoy of P'adlon's, and I have come as a messenger to Aġsart'an. We have turned back the army of the king of the Ap'xaz.'

But he met a certain man who knew him, who recognised P'adlon and said: 'You are not an envoy, but you are the emir of emirs, P'adlon.' P'adlon said to that man: 'Receive from me precious gold and silver and many possessions, but do not betray me. Guide me to the plain and come with me.' The man said to him: 'I cannot do that, because I dwell in this country. Now listen to me and follow me. I shall guide you to Aġsart'an, and he will send you to your country.' This did not please P'adlon, yet he was unable to go to Erco. The man guided him and led him to Žalet'i, to Isak son of Tolobeli, a Mesxian noble.<sup>39</sup>

[312] When he knew that P'adlon had arrived at his gate, he robbed P'adlon's people, pulled him off his horse, seized hold of him, and sat P'adlon on a mule. Isak did not heed the titular rights of Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz: he had arrested P'adlon, who had been routed by the king of the Ap'xaz, and (should have) sent him to Bagrat at Boġorma. But he quickly dispatched him to Aġsart'an at T'elavi. And Aġsart'an rapidly sent him off to Xornabuġi, because he was afraid of being pursued by King Bagrat. They took P'adlon to Xornabuġi, and he gave up Xornabuġi. Then they led him to Aradet'i, and he gave Aradet'i to Aġsart'an. Now Bagrat was afraid that P'adlon might be released, so he gave Boġorma and Uġarmo to the Kaxs, and took away P'adlon. They fixed him to a

<sup>39</sup> Isak Tolobelisje is only mentioned in this story in the *K'C'*. Arm. omits the events between P'adlon's arrest and his delivery to Bagrat.

*Arm.* After this Bagrat died in good renown. His son Georgi *curopalates* succeeded to the kingdom; he was (already) exercising power with his father during the latter's lifetime.

*Geo.* gibbet and captured Tp'ilisi. They were forced to give up Tp'ilisi because there was a man dwelling there who wanted the title of emir for himself. Bagrat did not demand Tp'ilisi for himself; he sought out Sit'larabi,<sup>40</sup> who had been left at Dmanisi, brought him into Tp'ilisi, and gave him Tp'ilisi. For himself he took the fortresses of Rust'avi, P'arc'xi, Agarani, Grigol-c'midani, and K'avazini, 44,000 *drakans*, and as hostages his (P'adlon's) nephew, the son of Manuč'e, and three nobles of Ganja.<sup>41</sup> The sultan sent Sarangi Alxazi,<sup>42</sup> and through his mediation and the sultan's propositions Bagrat came to terms. He released P'adlon, and sent him back to his own realm, Ganja, accompanied by Sarangi.

[313] They offered him the keys to Gagi<sup>43</sup> and the king of the Ap'xaz took Gagi. After this P'adlon broke his oaths and the mediation of the great sultan and seized K'avazini. Then, as the king was in Ap'xazet'i, P'adlon came and besieged Agarani. The commander of the fortress surrendered Agarani. Immediately the king set out, came and besieged Agarani, and took it back. He brought down Dorgoleli, king of the Ossetes, with 40,000 Ossetes, and put him under the command of his son Giorgi *curopalates*.<sup>44</sup> He ravaged Ganja and took innumerable captives and booty. Then he sent him back to his own kingdom.

After this the great king of the Ossetes Dorgoleli wished (to visit) their son-in-law Bagrat *sebastos*.<sup>45</sup> He requested an audience of Bagrat. Bagrat accorded him his wish, and the king of the Ossetes

<sup>40</sup> Minorsky, *Studies*, 67, explains the name as "Sayyid al-'Arab?" The title *sayyidi* becomes *sidi* in colloquial Arabic; see Wehr, s.v.

<sup>41</sup> Q here prints an extract from Vaxušt, not attested in the MSS of the *K'C'*: 'In those times there were the following translators: Ioane, who became *patrik*, the philosopher Petrici, and Step'ane'.

<sup>42</sup> i.e. Sautegin *Sarhang al-hāṣṣ*; see Minorsky, *Studies*, 25, 67. *Arm.*, VII4 below, calls him 'the emir Srahang'. *Sarhang* is Persian, 'general'; *hāṣṣ* is Arabic, 'noble'.

<sup>43</sup> Keys to Gagi: *Gagit' kliteni*, as C. All other MSS read *gagiket'(i)*, sic!

<sup>44</sup> Giorgi had been created *curopalates* c.1060; see Toumanoff, 'Armenia and Georgia', 783.

<sup>45</sup> Bagrat had married Borena, sister of Dorgoleli; see above, Q295. But the MSS give many variants here to the designation 'son-in-law'. Q prints *disije*, following A, 'sister's son'. D reads 'sister and son-in-law'. 'Audience' renders *darbazoba*; *darbazi* is 'palace', and for the abstract suffix *-oba* see above, Q32 n. 25, Q177 n. 45.

joyfully set out with all the leaders of the Ossetes. He passed along the road of Ap'xazet'i and came to K'ut'at'isi. He visited their sister, the queen, mother of Giorgi *curopalates*—for Giorgi had previously received the (title of) *curopalates*—then they came into K'art'li. The king (Bagrat) had stopped in the forest of Tinishidi, at Nadarbazevi; and he went to meet them with great pleasure and respect. They met at Kezuni. There was rejoicing and a terrifying and unimaginable noise of trumpets and tambourines. They spent together twelve days, engaged in every sort of recreation and jollity. Because of winter they cut this short, and he gave presents and gifts to the king and all the Ossete nobles. He sent them away in joyful manner.<sup>46</sup> [314] After this the sultan dispatched envoys and showered presents on King Bagrat. With gentle tongue he requested *harāj*. King Bagrat did not pay *harāj*. However, he too sent envoys and offered presents. So between them there was friendship (at least) in words.

A few years later King Bagrat suffered an illness of the stomach in his residence at the lakes of Samšwilde, and he went to Marabdani. The illness grew worse, and they carried him on a litter. Giorgi *curopalates* and all his magnates accompanied him—for Giorgi had previously received the (title of) *curopalates*. They brought the king to K'art'li, and all his magnates came there, including his mother Queen Mariam, his wife Borena, and his daughter Mariam. A few days later he presented his son Giorgi *curopalates* as king to his royal magnates, entrusted them all to him, and said to his mother: 'Mother, I pity you, because all your children have gone before you, and thus will you die.' After this he passed away on the 24th of the month of November, in 292 of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>47</sup> At the same time as the death of Bagrat the sultan was killed by a certain man, a Turkish elder,<sup>48</sup> in the general's tent. He had crossed the Jeoni with 700,000 men to attack the king of the

<sup>46</sup> Here Tk add an 'interpolation': 'The Catholicos-Patriarch Okropiri passed away, and Giorgi of Tao was installed. In a short while Giorgi of Tao died, and Gabriel was joyfully installed as Catholicos-Patriarch'.

<sup>47</sup> i.e. in 1072.

<sup>48</sup> Elder: *beri*. Although this can mean 'monk', it is used in a secular sense elsewhere in the *K'C'*; cf. above, Q299, of the 'elders' of Tp'ilisi. Matthew of Edessa, 244-6, agrees with the *K'C'* in placing Alp Arslan's death near Samarkand; Vardan, *Chronicle*, 104, refers to Alamud.

Geo. Turks. He had besieged some fortress in the vicinity of Samarkand, and was killed by the Turkish commander of the fortress. The Turk was unable to escape to the fortress and was mercilessly cut down by the sword. Neither Bagrat nor the sultan knew of each other's death.

After this Bagrat's son *Giorgi curopalates* reigned as king. [315] In the whole of his patrimony not a single chicken was stolen. With great pomp and honour they took (his body) and buried it at Ćqondidi. This King Bagrat became king aged 9 years, and he died in his fifty-sixth year.<sup>49</sup> First Bagrat was *curopalates*, then *nobilissimus*, and then he became *sebastos*. He was the most handsome of men in appearance, perfect in wisdom, a philosopher in his conversation, fortunate by fate, the richest of all kings of Ap'xazet'i, compassionate towards sinners and generous to the poor. But in his times the land had no tranquillity; the churches and the peasants, the nobles and the poor were not respected.

*Fifty-fourth, Giorgi, king of K'art'li and Ap'xazet'i, son of Bagrat, a Bagratid*

King Giorgi was compassionate and mindful of the poor, a man fearsome and more generous than all kings of Ap'xazet'i, the best of men at hospitality, renowned as a horseman and archer. Following (the death of) his father he spent peacefully the winter and half of the summer. But after that the nobles of the kingdom, Niania son of K'uabuli, and Ivane son of Liparit, and Vardan *erist'avi* of the Suans, as if they were offended [316] by the youth of King Giorgi,<sup>50</sup> threw the land into confusion. Ivane made allies of the Kaxs and took a position on the bank of the K'san. Niania seized the arsenal of K'ut'at'isi and stayed within K'ut'at'isi; while Vardan incited the Suans, (who are easily) swayed to evil, to rebel. They ravaged and pillaged Egrisi.<sup>51</sup> But King Giorgi gained the victory through virtue and wisdom, and did not bear the evil in mind. He presented Samšwilde to Ivane; to Liparit, Ivane's son, he

<sup>49</sup> Bagrat was aged 9 on 16 Aug. 1027; see above, Q291. His death occurred 45 years, 3 months, and 8 days later. He was therefore aged at least 54. But since the month of his birth is not given, he may well have been 55, i.e., 'in his 56th year'. C erroneously reads '50th'.

<sup>50</sup> Giorgi was not very young; he must have been born by 1054, when Bagrat went to Constantinople. See above, Q304.

<sup>51</sup> Egrisi: only here is the form *Saegro* used; for the formation cf. *sa-k'artvel-o*.



Ivanē, Liparit's son, rebelled against him. Having won over to himself the garrison of the fortress of Gag, he sold it again to the lord of Ganjak. Arm.

gave Locobanni in exchange for Rust'avi, which was given to the Kaxs; and to Niania (he gave) T'mogvi and other renowned estates. On Vardan he bestowed Askalana; and Ut'aḡubo he presented to the Jaqelians at the request of Ivane. He covered with his mercy everyone, loyal or duplicitous. Thus King Giorgi pacified his kingdom. Geo.

Once more Ivane, son of Liparit, rebelled. When King Giorgi learned of it, he came down from K'ut'at'isi to Samc'xe, brought in the Mesxs as allies, then descended to the gate of Samšwilde. There he was joined by Aḡsart'an, king of the Kaxs. Ivane was unable to remain inside the fortress, and fled to the mountains of the south. During this disturbance Aḡsart'an seized Locobanni from Liparit. The king of kings<sup>52</sup> Giorgi posted a guard at Samšwilde, went to Javaxet'i, and met them. At Ekrant'a they swore oaths, and Ivane was confirmed in control over Klde-karni and Samšwilde. Once more Ivane rebelled; he captured Gagi from the garrison of King Giorgi, and sold it to P'adlon, lord of Ganja.

Sultan Malik'-šah came as an enemy to all Christians. Ivane sent his son Liparit to meet him; he welcomed the sultan, spent a little time with him, then stole away. The sultan came and besieged [317] Samšwilde. He seized Samšwilde and took captive Ivane himself, with his wife and grandson, and all the nobles with their families. The sultan kept Samšwilde, and during his stay there ravaged K'art'li. He carried off an incalculable amount of prisoners and booty. He departed from there and captured Ganja. He left Sarangi in charge of Ganja to wage war on the whole country with 48,000 men. P'adlon took refuge in his fortified castles, but was unable to resist. They brought him out and cast him in prison. A short time later Sarangi assembled all his own troops and those of Ganja, and, with the support of the emirs of Dvin and Damanisi, set out against King Giorgi. Giorgi, king of kings, gathered all his

<sup>52</sup> King of kings: *mep'et'-mep'e*. This is the first occurrence of this title in the K'C'.

*Arm.* In those days Sultan Melik'-šah came and captured Šamšoytē. After plundering the house of K'art'li, he returned to Ganjak.<sup>72</sup> Leaving there the emir Srahang,<sup>73</sup> he went to his own place. Some days later Srahang attacked Gēorg, but was defeated and fled to Ganjak.

Gēorg took from the Greeks all the fortresses which they had captured: Anakop'i<sup>74</sup> at the entrance of Apxazet', and all the fortresses in the land of Klarjet' and Šawset' and Ĵawaxet' and Artahan, and Kars and Vanand. And likewise (he took) Šamšoytē from the Turks.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Malik Shah (1072-92) captured Ganja in 1088; cf. Matthew of Edessa 286, Vardan 106.

<sup>73</sup> Srahang, i.e., the general, *sarhang*, mentioned in Geo. above, Q312.

<sup>74</sup> Giorgi's father had failed to recover Anakopi from the Greeks; see above, Q299. Geo. calls this the 'chief of the fortresses', *t'avadi c'ixet'a*. The rendering in Arm., *i glux*, seems to refer to its location, though *glux* (without *i*) could mean 'chief'.

<sup>75</sup> Arm. has added this statement, for Geo. has two references to the sultan capturing Samšwilde without indicating that it had been recaptured in between.

*Geo.* troops, of both Upper and Lower (K'art'li), brought with them Aḡsart'an, king of the Kaxs, and they marched on each other. God strengthened King Giorgi. With the guidance of the venerable Cross he attacked below P'arc'xisi, and put Sarangi's army to flight; he turned them back and slaughtered them. It was evening, and the darkness saved the survivors of Sarangi's army. The king of kings Giorgi returned to his own kingdom without losses and safely.

After this God bestowed on him the fortresses which had been forcibly seized by the Greeks. He took from the Greeks Anakop'i, the chief of the fortresses of Ap'xazet'i, and many castles of Klarjet'i, Šavset'i, Ĵawaxet'i, and Artan. After that God granted him this too—he took the city of Kari, the fortress and territory, and the fortified places of Vanand and Karnip'ori. And he expelled the Turks from this territory.

## THE HISTORY OF DAVID KING OF KINGS

Arm.

When Sultan Melik'-šah heard this, he came and took back Šamšoytē, ravaged Georgia, took captive Prince Ivanē, and departed. In those days, while Georgi was in camp,<sup>1</sup> he was visited by Grigor, son of Bakuran the lord of Uxtik' and of Kars and of the city of Karin.<sup>2</sup> He requested Kars from him, and the latter settled matters in his favour.

<sup>1</sup> In camp: *i banaks*. This seems to be a mistaken rendering of the Georgian place-name Bana.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew of Edessa 177, mentions this Grigor at Ani; see also *HANjB*, s.n. Grigor, no. 150.

[318] THE HISTORY OF DAVID, KING OF KINGS<sup>1</sup>

Geo.

After this Sultan Malik'-šah came, besieged Samšwilde, and captured it. He took captive Ivane, son of Liparit, ravaged Somxit'i,<sup>2</sup> and departed. That same year Sarangi came with the sultan's army, and stopped in the plain of Samšwilde. The troops of King Giorgi came up, and they engaged battle at P'arc'xisi. Giorgi's soldiers were victorious, and they routed the Persians; for God gave Giorgi a great victory. King Giorgi went off to his patrimonial Tao,<sup>3</sup> and came to Bana. There they were visited by the general<sup>4</sup> of the east Grigol, son of Bakurian, who commanded Olt'isni, Karnu-k'alak'i, and Kari. They made merry and took their ease. Grigol gave the king the fortified city of Kari and its local territory, then they parted. King Giorgi left at Kars nobles from Šavseti,<sup>5</sup> and went home.

As the Turks had grown strong, the Greeks abandoned the lands, fortresses, and cities which they possessed in the east, and

<sup>1</sup> For a German translation of this section (Q318-63) see M. von Tseretheli 'Das Leben des Königs der Könige Dawith (Dawith II., 1089-25), *BK* 26-7 (1957) 45-73, and for an English translation, K. Vivian, *The Georgian Chronicle: The Period of Giorgi Lasha* (Amsterdam, 1991), 1-47. The Georgian author of this document is much more rhetorical in his approach than the authors of the earlier parts, and is heavily influenced by biblical imagery. He claims to have been an eyewitness (e.g. Q322), but does not identify himself. See the general comments in Toumanoff, 'Medieval Georgian Historical Literature', 174-5.

<sup>2</sup> The province is intended here, not *Somxit'i* in the broader sense of 'Armenia'.

<sup>3</sup> See Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 121, for Tao and other lands which Giorgi inherited from his great-grandfather.

<sup>4</sup> General: *zorvari*, a transliteration of the Armenian term *zawrawor*.

<sup>5</sup> From Šavšet'i: *šavšni*, the only occurrence in the *K'C'* of this adjective.

*Arm.* In those days the Turks raided the land of Georgia; they shed much blood, took numerous captives, then departed. [115] The name of their leader was Bužlub.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For the change of *š* to *b* see above, V16 n. 69. Iasi and Bužguš are only mentioned here in the *K'Č'*.

*Geo.* departed. They let the Turks occupy and settle in them. But since they were now close to our frontiers, fear and distress because of them increased for us. For they began [319] thenceforth to raid, to pillage and plunder, to burn, destroy, and to carry off captive us Christians. At that time King Giorgi was unexpectedly attacked in the vicinity of Queli by a large (force of) Turks; their leader was Ahmad, a powerful emir and strong archer, who had just seized Kari.<sup>6</sup> They had come through the treachery of Christians; they put to flight Giorgi and his innumerable army. They took off as plunder many arms and gold and silver dishes for the royal table, Bagratid drinking-vessels and valuable cups, royal tents and those of all the nobles; then they departed. King Giorgi escaped by flight through Ačara to Ap'xazet'i. As the soldiers were returning loaded with such booty, they were met by the great emirs, a certain Iasi and Bužguš, accompanied by an incalculable host of Turks on their way to Greece. When they saw what a mass of gold and riches they possessed, and had learnt of Giorgi's flight, and had also been told: 'Why are you setting out for Greece? Behold the land of Georgia,<sup>7</sup> depopulated and full of such riches', immediately they changed direction, and spread out over the face of the land like locusts.

On John's feast-day<sup>8</sup> Asis'orni, Klarjet'i as far as the sea-shore, Šavšet'i, Ačara, Samc'xe, K'art'li, Arguet'i, Samok'alak'o,<sup>9</sup> and Čqondidi were filled with Turks. They slaughtered or made captive all the inhabitants of those lands. On the very same day they burnt K'ut'at'isi, Artanuži, and the hermitages<sup>10</sup> of Klarjet'i. The Turks remained [320] in those lands until the coming of the snow. They consumed the land and massacred everyone wherever he might

<sup>6</sup> This Ahmad is not mentioned elsewhere in the *K'Č'*. Professor Wheeler Thackston kindly informed me that he probably belonged to the Mamlān dynasty, for which see Ter-Ghewondyan, 112-13, opening note and *EP*, 'Armīniya', 638.

<sup>7</sup> Georgia: *Sak'art'velo*; for this form see above, Q316 n. 51.

<sup>8</sup> i.e. 24 June.

<sup>9</sup> Samok'alak'o: for this word see above, Q299 n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Hermitages: *udabnoni*. The term means 'wilderness, desert', and is used of the residence of hermits. Cf. the Armenian *anapat*.

Thus was fulfilled the saying of Isaiah, who lamented over the sinful nation full of sin; because from feet to head there was no health in us.<sup>4</sup> King Georgi suffered and saw all this. Since there

Arm.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. 1: 4, 6. Here Arm. anticipates the Georgian text of Q322 below and does not translate the quotation in Geo. from Jeremiah.

escape—to forests, cliffs, caves, or holes in the ground. This was the first and greatest invasion of Turks; it occurred in 300 of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>11</sup> If anyone remained anywhere in Mt'iulet'i<sup>12</sup> or in fortified places, from the severity of the winter, lack of shelter, and hunger he perished likewise.

Geo.

Such affliction for the Christians continued long. For in the springtime the Turks would come and carry out (depredations) like those first ones. In the winter they would leave. In those times there was neither sowing nor harvest. The land was ruined and turned into forest; in place of men beasts and animals of the field made their dwelling there. Insufferable oppression fell on all the inhabitants of the land; it was unparalleled and far worse than all ravages heard of or experienced. For the holy churches were turned into stables for their horses, while the sanctuaries of God became places for their impurities. Some priests, even during the offering of the divine sacrifice, were put to the sword, and their blood was mingled with that of the Lord. Others were given over to bitter captivity. The aged were treated without compassion, the virgins were debauched, the youths were circumcised,<sup>13</sup> and babies stolen away. Fire, an unaccustomed adversary, consumed all dwellings; rivers of blood irrigated the land instead of torrents of water.

To speak in the (words) of Jeremiah himself, because he could well express appropriate lamentation over that time: 'The sons of Zion, honourable and inexperienced of evil, journeyed on foreign roads in captivity. The paths of Zion wept over the absence of those celebrating feasts. And the hands of compassionate mothers did not set to preparing nourishment for their children, [321] but

<sup>11</sup> Invasion of Turks: *t'urk'oba*. Cf. *alek'sandroba* for Alexander's campaigns, above, Q177. 300 of the *k'ronikoni* is AD 1080.

<sup>12</sup> Mt'iulet'i: The term can be used of a specific province, or to mean 'mountainous country' in general; see above, V25 n. 55.

<sup>13</sup> Circumcised: perhaps 'castrated', *dakuet'ebul*. The verb *dakuet'ebay* means 'to cut down', but the meaning 'circumcise' is adduced in the *Lek'sikoni* to Q's edition and is given by Brosset.

*Arm.* was nowhere any expectation of deliverance, he put his life in his hand<sup>5</sup> and went to Sultan Melik'-šah in Ispahan.<sup>6</sup> He found favour with him, and returned with gifts and a peace treaty. It provided that, if he was careful to pay tribute and submit, he need not fear.

So because our wickednesses were (still) with us, on the feast of Easter it was not allowed for us to rejoice in Christ's resurrection, but our sins were multiplied. For the Lord looked down in anger on the earth, and he shook it from its foundations.<sup>7</sup> The mountains of rock collapsed like dust; cities, villages, and churches were demolished; and our festival turned to mourning, according to the scripture.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> He put his life in his hand: as I Kgds. 19: 5 of David when he did battle with Goliath.

<sup>6</sup> In Ispahan: as AC, omitted in BD and V. There is a brief reference in Vardan 106 to King Giorgi visiting Melik'-šah in Xorasan. For Christian praise of this sultan's virtues cf. Matthew 247.

<sup>7</sup> This earthquake is not noted in the list given by Grumel, *Chronologie* 480. Brosset, n. ad loc., dates it to 1088. It occurred at an unspecified time before 1089, which year is mentioned just below in Geo.

<sup>8</sup> There are several biblical parallels for this phrase added in *Arm.*; cf. Amos 8: 20, 1 Macc. 1: 41.

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*Geo.* nourished themselves on their own loved ones.<sup>14</sup> Such things happened and even worse. Although King Giorgi saw all these events, he had no means at all of deliverance or help; nor was there any saviour from these tribulations, who could protect the face of the whole country. For the power of the Greeks had diminished, and the lands of the east which they possessed beyond the sea<sup>15</sup> had all been seized by the Turks. Then he consulted with his magnates, and they convinced him to travel to visit the eminent sultan Malik'-šah. Thus he dedicated his life and blood to the deliverance of the Christians. With hope in God and with the guidance of the Wood of Life, he set out for Ispahan, visited the sultan, and was received by him as a beloved son.

This Malik'-šah, both by the unequalled vast extent of his empire, as well as by his charming demeanour and kindness, was the most excellent of men. His other innumerable (virtues) are well known—his justice, mercy, and love for the Christians. Not to prolong our account, he had a mind completely without evil in all

<sup>14</sup> The passage is conflated from Lam. 1: 4 and 4: 2, 10.

<sup>15</sup> Beyond the sea: *zguasa garet'*, i.e. at the eastern end of the Black Sea.

[116] However, the Lord was not totally angered, nor did he preserve his rancour for ever.<sup>9</sup> Rather he had mercy like a father on his sons, and he gave us a child lest we become like Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>10</sup> He raised up for us the horn of salvation from the house of David,<sup>11</sup> David, the son of Georgi, an only child, from

Arm.

<sup>9</sup> Ps. 102: 9. The Armenian translator recognized the psalm from which Geo. had quoted, but gave a different verse.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Isa. 1: 9, more precisely quoted in Geo.

<sup>11</sup> Arm. adds a reference to the song of David in 2 Kgds. 22: 3; cf. Ps. 17: 3.

regards. Therefore he carried out every request of King Giorgi, beyond his hopes. He liberated his realm from raiders, and gave him Kaxet'i and Heret'i; save that he demanded *harāj* from his kingdom, which they paid for a long time. So with magnificence and much pomp he sent him back to his own kingdom, with many troops as escort so that they might travel safely and recover Kaxet'i. They came to Kaxet'i at vintage-time. They besieged the fortress of Vežini, and while they were engaged in hostilities the snow arrived.

Geo.

[322] King Giorgi remembered the hunting of Aĵamet'i.<sup>16</sup> He paid no heed to anything else, did not wait for the capture of Vežini and Kaxet'i, but gave over as a gift to the Turkish troops who were with him Suĵet'i and all the region of Kaxet'i along the Iori, which has remained devastated until today. He himself crossed the mountain of Lixi and entered Ap'xazet'i. In those times the king of the Kaxs, Aġsart'an, visited Malik'-šah, abandoned Christianity, and adopted the religion of the Saracens. By this means he obtained Kaxet'i from the sultan. In such times the country had no peace, nor was there any happiness for the populace because of the wickedness of the inhabitants. For every age and every rank completely sinned against God, turned away from the straight paths to every wickedness, and thus angered God who is naturally merciful and kind. Eventually they brought upon themselves the penalty of his anger promised for the lawless by the prophet Isaiah in these terms: 'Woe to the sinful generation, the people which is full of lawlessness; from the print of their feet to their head there is no life in them, neither wound nor bandage.'

<sup>16</sup> Aĵamet'i is only mentioned here in the K'C'. See *Wakhocht*, 361, for a description of the game found there.

*Arm.* the very family of David the father of God, from the Bagratid house.<sup>12</sup> His father Georgi crowned him in his old age; or to tell the truth, the heavenly Father said to him: 'I have found David, my servant, and with my holy oil I have anointed him. My hand will receive him, and my arm will strengthen him', and so on.<sup>13</sup> He

<sup>12</sup> References to the Bagratid descent from David are first found in John Catholicos, ch. 4. The earlier Moses Xorenac'i had merely emphasized their Jewish origin. Cf. above V101, n. 81.

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*Geo.* And further on: 'Therefore your land is ravaged, your cities burnt with fire; foreigners have consumed your villages, and it has been ravaged and devastated by a foreign people.'<sup>17</sup>

All this happened, and with our eyes we saw even worse than what was prophesied.<sup>18</sup> For how could anyone express in detail the tribulation which befell our days? In addition to all this the anger of the Lord over us was not calmed, because we did not repent. We neither understood, nor did we turn, as is proper, [323] to the paths of the Lord. Therefore in addition to the evils that occurred from the earth, there were other fearful (afflictions) from on high. Blows sent by God fell upon our land, so that sinners could not say: 'These uprisings of the heathen did not occur because of our sins, nor were they caused by God, but they came about by some change of the times and by some fortuitous turbulence of events.' Therefore on the (last) day of Holy Week, on the very resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, on which it is appropriate to be joyful and take rest, the Lord looked down in anger, and shook the earth from its foundations with such violence that the lofty mountains and solid rocks were piled up like dust. Cities and villages were demolished, churches were cast down, houses collapsed and were crushed, and became a tomb for their inhabitants. In addition T'mogvi was ruined, and Kaxaberi son of Niania was trapped underneath with his wife. This fearsome trembling of the earth lasted for a year, during which an incalculable multitude perished.

Then during his anger he remembered his mercy, he who 'instructs all his children whom he loves; he brings death and gives life.' He is more prompt to mercy than a compassionate father. For as it is written: 'Unless the Lord had left to us a descendant, we

<sup>17</sup> Isa. 1: 4, 6, 7. *Arm.* anticipates the quotations; see above, V115.

<sup>18</sup> The author of this section speaks in the first person several times; cf. Q318, 329.



became dawn for us, and breathed on us a spirit of life, and he came forth breathing on our weary faces. He was aged 16 and full of wise intelligence. Arm.

For he found Ivanē, son of Liparit, a rebel;<sup>14</sup> after his return from captivity he seized him and put him in prison to warn him. Then he removed him from bonds, and honoured him with the same dignity. [117] But when he returned like a dog to its vomit,<sup>15</sup> once more he seized him and sent him to the Greeks.

<sup>13</sup> Ps. 88: 21–2, abbreviating the more extensive quotation in Geo.

<sup>14</sup> Geo. here refers to Ivanē's son, Liparit, named after his grandfather. Ivanē had been captured by Malik Shah, Q317, which is repeated at the beginning of the next section, Q318. But it was Ivanē's son who was exiled and died in Greek territory.

<sup>15</sup> Prov. 26: 11.

should have become like the Sodomites and come to resemble the people of Gomorrah.<sup>19</sup> From then on the breezes of life began to blow, and the clouds of salvation to shine. After twelve years' prolongation of these various disasters in an eternal gloom,<sup>20</sup> there began to dawn the sun of all kingdoms, the one great [324] in repute and greater in deeds, the homonym of David the father of God, and David's seventy-eighth descendant—David.<sup>21</sup> At that time he was 16 years of age, in 309 of the *k'ronikoni*, the only son of Giorgi.<sup>22</sup> His father himself placed (on David) the crown of the kingdom; or to speak more truthfully: 'The heavenly Father himself found David, his servant, and anointed him with his holy oil. For his hand supported him, and his arm strengthened him.' 'He clothed him with mercy and truth,' and 'he made him superior to all the kings of the earth,' so that 'he placed his hand on the sea and his right hand on rivers.' Save that this took place following many days of much labour and great effort, as the account to follow will indicate. Geo.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Ps. 102: 13, Isa. 1: 9.

<sup>20</sup> The twelve years are those preceding 309 of the *k'ronikoni* (AD 1089) quoted just below.

<sup>21</sup> This precise genealogy was first worked out by Sumbat in his *History of the Bagratids*; see Toumanoff, *Studies*, esp. 423, and in general, 329–30.

<sup>22</sup> i.e. AD 1089. If David was aged 16 in 309, he would have been born in 293 or 294. If he died in 345, as claimed below, Q362, he would then have been in his 52nd or 53rd year. The customary dates for David are given by Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 122: born 1070, died 24 Jan. 1125. He was Giorgi's only son, but there was also a daughter, named Tot'orme.

*Arm.* In the fourth year of David's reign Sultan Melik'-šah died.<sup>16</sup> The Franks came out and took Jerusalem, Antioch, and all the sea-coast.<sup>17</sup> David grew strong, and the house of K'art'l prospered and did not give tribute to the Turks. Kiwrikē, the king of Kaxet'i, died; and his nephew Asxart'an succeeded to the throne.<sup>18</sup>

In his wisdom David looked on the churches (and saw) that they had no light. Some prelates were blind and avaricious; others were

<sup>16</sup> Geo. places this before the description of Ivane/Liparit's deceit and exile.

<sup>17</sup> Franks: *P'rānk' P'rāngni* in Geo. Antioch was captured by the Crusaders in 1098, Jerusalem in the following year.

<sup>18</sup> In 1102; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 115.

*Geo.* For when David became king K'art'li was ruined, and except for the castles there was nowhere anyone in a village, nor was there any building. In those times Liparit held T'rialet'i and Klde-karni and the neighbouring territory; in the presence of King David he seemed loyal. In this fashion Niania, son of Kaxaberi, and the other nobles who had survived in various places gradually gathered together, and began to return to their properties and settle down. The frontier of the kingdom was then the lesser mountain of Lixi, and the royal residence was at Caḡulis-t'avi. When he wished to hunt in the forests of K'art'li, or at Načarmagevi,<sup>23</sup> [325] which was completely filled with deer and wild boar, good horsemen were sent ahead to look around, and in this fashion they went out to hunt on the plain.

In such manner four years passed. Sultan Malik'-šah died,<sup>24</sup> and the emir Liparit began to walk in those same footsteps as his father and grandfather; for with guile he plotted impiety.<sup>25</sup> Although he was Christian in appearance, yet in his mind there lodged disloyalty and hatred for the family of his masters. Hence he did not wish to understand the good, and pursued every path of wickedness. When David saw this situation, he wished to admonish him. Therefore he imprisoned him for a certain time, which would have sufficed to instruct any sane person. Thus he was assured by many

<sup>23</sup> See *Wakhocht*, 251, for a description of the hunting at Načarmagevi.

<sup>24</sup> Malik'-šah died in 1092, the fourth year from David's accession. *Arm.* places this information later, V117.

<sup>25</sup> This Liparit was the son of Ivane, son of Liparit; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 356. Ivane's rebellions were described above, Q316; and according to V116 it was Ivane who was captured by the sultan.

thieves who entered through the wall or the windows, and not through the doors like shepherds.<sup>19</sup> Such were the bishops at that time; and they ordained for bribes<sup>20</sup> priests similar to themselves. They appointed *chorepiskopoi* (who were) stupid and avaricious, and they planted lawlessness in the house of God. Now the great eye looked down and was not pleased. For sins in the churches are not like those in the world; those of pastors (are not like) those of flocks; (nor) those of teachers<sup>21</sup> (like) those of the common people.

<sup>19</sup> Windows: *erds*, the 'skylights'. The elaboration in Arm. is based on John 10: 1-2.

<sup>20</sup> For bribes: *kašarawk'*. This change in Arm. has many parallels in the Bible and ecclesiastical canons.

<sup>21</sup> Teachers: *vardapetik'*, not an exact translation of *mğdelt'-mt'avari*. It is noteworthy that Arm. uses the more abstract terms 'church' and 'world' for the Georgian 'priest' and 'warrior', *mhedari*.

and strong oaths, giving God as mediator for his loyalty; so he released him. He honoured him with the same glory, and did not make any alteration. For the good man does not easily accuse the just nor even the wicked, since he is not instructed in evil or accustomed thereto. But like a dog he returned to his vomit, and like a pig he wallowed in his muddy slime.<sup>26</sup> He revealed his enmity, and practised perversity on his bed. When the peaceful King David, given wisdom by God, saw that the tail of the dog cannot be made straight and that the crab does not walk in a straight line,<sup>27</sup> the next year he once more imprisoned him. For two years he kept him in prison, then sent him to Greece. There he finished his life.

At that time the Franks came out and captured Jerusalem and Antioch. With the help [326] of God the land of K'art'li recovered; David grew strong and increased the number of his troops. No more did he give *haräj* to the sultan, and the Turks were unable to winter in K'art'li. For up to now on the arrival of winter they had descended in their hordes<sup>28</sup> on Havčala and Diğomi, beyond the Mtkuari and on the banks of the Iori; for that was their domicile. Kwirike reigned over Kaxet'i, a man who governed both his

<sup>26</sup> 2 Peter 2: 22. Arm. quotes only the first part of the verse, which is taken from Prov. 26: 11.

<sup>27</sup> For the ruses of the crab cf. Basil, *Hexaemeron*, vii. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Hordes: *p'alangebi*. Although 'phalanx' seems an inappropriate description for nomads, the term was often used of demons, heretics, etc., as also in Armenian; see *NBHL* s.v. Cf. the use of 'legion', which is based on Mark 5: 9 = Luke 8: 30.

*Arm.* But 'a servant who knows the will of his lord and errs, will suffer a severe beating.'<sup>22</sup>

Therefore he summoned the Catholicos and the bishops and the perverse priests. He ordered a choice to be made between the good and the wicked, the unworthy to be expelled, canon law to be observed; that they should order the ranks in the church in this

<sup>22</sup> Luke 12: 47.

*Geo.* kingdom and his passions, a true Christian. God gave King David an opportunity, and he seized from Kwirike the fortress of Zedazadeni; it was 323 of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>29</sup> He increased in glory and success, to which this too was added: Rat, son of Liparit, died, a treacherous man and the true offspring of a viper.<sup>30</sup> Thus came to an end the house of the Baḡvivašni, the house of those who brought bitterness. For he drank the bottommost dregs of anger, the drink of the sinners of the earth.<sup>31</sup> No heir<sup>32</sup> was left for their dwellings, because the impiety of their fathers had been remembered before the Lord. The king seized their patrimony. A year later King Kwirike passed away, and the Kaxs installed Kwirike's nephew Aḡsart'an as king. He possessed no royal qualities, because he was idle, impious, not a little unjust, and completely the opposite of his father's brother.

At that time the king tested with the eye of his mind and well understood the matter, whereby he blessed God and a great advantage accrued.<sup>33</sup> [327] For the holy churches, the houses of God, had become dens of robbers; unworthy and unauthorized men had seized the principal sees by inheritance rather than by merit,<sup>34</sup> like thieves. They had installed priests and *chorepiskopoi* resembling themselves, who in place of the laws of God instructed all their charges in lawlessness. In the very house of the Lord were practised by the priests every impiety and sin. On all this the eye of God looked down and was angered, as we described above. For the sin

<sup>29</sup> 323: as A, i.e. AD 1103. The date is omitted by CMm, and the other MSS read 321. Zaden is a mountain near Mc'xet'a; cf. John 'Zedazadneli' mentioned above, Q207.

<sup>30</sup> Rat, son of the Liparit whose exile was just mentioned, died in 1101; see Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 357. Offspring of a viper: as Matt. 3: 7.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Ps. 75: 8.

<sup>32</sup> Heir: *mkvidre*, which can also mean 'inhabitant'. Rat was childless, but his brother had descendants; cf. below, n. 41.

fashion, and impose discipline on the foolish. Thus did they act according to the behest of the divine scriptures: to the virtuous they gave the throne, and the base they cast out, just as (one throws) out of the nets what is inedible and spoilt.<sup>23</sup> Arm.

Having carried this out like Constantine the Great, and taking strength from God, he struck with but few the host of Turkish troops, and stemmed their forays into the land of the Christians. For the Lord gave him the promise of the just, that one expelled

<sup>23</sup> Matt. 13: 47-8.

of the priest and of the warrior are not equal, nor is that of the people and the prelate, nor that of the shepherd and the flock, as it is written: 'The servant who knows the will of his lord and does not carry it out according to his desire will be severely beaten.' Geo.

In order to cure such great wounds he brought together a numerous gathering: he assembled in his presence the Catholicos,<sup>35</sup> the prelates, the hermits, teachers, and wise men of his kingdom at an appropriate time and place. Over many days with much scrutiny they examined well, corrected every fault, confirmed every ordinance that was good and pleasing to God, [328] deposed those who were clearly unworthy, excommunicated and dethroned them from their sees, even though this was difficult, because the men were sons of princes and nobles, who had acquired their sees irregularly. In their place they appointed true pastors, pleasing to God. And they set down in writing a fine statement<sup>36</sup> of the true faith, in accordance with and testifying to the twelve holy councils. Thus with royal presents they all were sent back home.

King David accomplished this in imitation of Constantine the Great, the most outstanding of all his good deeds. In return for which see what God who knows hearts, the sleepless guardian of Israel, granted him. For this Aḡsart'an, mentioned above as king

<sup>33</sup> Here T adds: 'The Catholicos Gabriel passed away, and John was installed as Catholicos'. For John see further below, Q356.

<sup>34</sup> By inheritance: *mamulobit*'. It is clear from Q328 below that the unworthy acquired their sees not literally from their fathers, but because the bishoprics were in the hands of their families.

<sup>35</sup> Catholicos: in the sing., as Dm. All other MSS have a plural.

<sup>36</sup> Statement: *jegli*, lit. 'pillar, column, monument'. But with the verb 'to write' it means 'act, tract, decree'. Twelve councils: there is no other reference to this precise number in the preceding text.

*Arm.* thousands, and two myriads.<sup>24</sup> Not like Eleazar-Awaran, whose hands were coagulated with the blood of his enemies,<sup>25</sup> [118] but rather filling his breast with blood he returned intact; and on releasing his belt poured it out and was relieved.

He was a builder of monasteries and churches. Thus he built in a splendid site two temples<sup>26</sup> in the name of the holy Mother of

<sup>24</sup> Deut. 32: 30.

<sup>25</sup> BD and V omit 'hands'. *Arm.* has misinterpreted the reference to Eleazar, which in *Geo.* refers to 2 Kgds. 23: 10. The great popularity of the Maccabees in Armenian has caused the translator to change the hero to the Eleazar who died in battle under the enemies' elephant, 1 Macc. 6: 46. The name Awaran is added from 1 Macc. 2: 5. Cf. below, n. 45 for another reference to the Maccabees added in *Arm.* by confusion. For earlier Armenian texts that are indebted to the books of the Maccabees see Thomson, 'The Maccabees'.

<sup>26</sup> Two temples: *erku tačar*. In the complex at Gelati there are numerous buildings; in addition to the *katholikon* there are two churches, dedicated to St George and St Nicholas. See A. Alpago Novello, *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 327–31. The number 'two' is probably an inattentive misrendering of 'second' in *Geo.*

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*Geo.* of the Kaxs, was seized by the magnates of Heret'i, Arišiani and Baram, and their uncle K'avt'ar, son of Baram; they handed him over to the king. The king took control of Heret'i and Kaxet'i. In Ercux he accomplished great feats of arms and that resounding victory in which, with a small army and worn-out men, he massacred countless troops of the sultan's, the *at'abagi* of Ganja,<sup>37</sup> and even more Kaxs and people of the country who surrounded us with enemies. So easily and rapidly did the God of miracles deliver them into his hands that not only did one pursue a thousand and actually capture them, but two turned myriads to flight, while all the Christians led them prisoner with their own torches in the forests and ditches.<sup>38</sup>

[329] The king himself, not like some others, did not lead his troops from behind, nor did he shout orders from a distance like one of the princes. But he went in front at the head of all; like a lion he roared with a loud voice, and like a whirlwind he turned

<sup>37</sup> *At'abagi*: the first use of the term in the *K'C*; cf. below, Q340. Earlier *P'adlon* had been called the *patroni* of Ganja. The title *atabag* first appears under the Seljuqs, more and more regularly after the death of Malik-Shah; see *EP*<sup>2</sup>, 'atabag'. After Malik-Shah overthrew the Shaddadid dynasty at Ganja, the city was given to his son Muhammad; see *EP*<sup>2</sup> 'Gandja'.

<sup>38</sup> The first part of this sentence is a common biblical simile; the meaning of the second part is not entirely clear.

God. He went himself to oversee the monasteries, the rules of services, and the well-being of the guest-houses; and he provided for their needs. He built in many places hostelries for the repose of travellers. Arm.

this way and that. He advanced as a giant, and with a strong arm he struck down champions; he destroyed and cut down all who stood before him. From the great slaughter, as (in the time) of David of old the hand of Eleazar stuck to the guard of his sword, so too were his loins filled from the river of blood that followed his sword. After the battle, when he dismounted and unbuckled his belt, it was noted that such a mass of freshly congealed blood fell to the ground that at first sight we thought it came from his own body. On that day three horses were killed under him, and mounted on the fourth he completed that day's combat. We have described these few minor details out of a great many. In this way by his own efforts he took control of Heret'i and Kaxet'i. He captured their castles and fortified places by kindheartedness, and like the sun he spread his compassion on all the inhabitants of the land. Since God thus prospered the affairs of David and made all his paths straight, he granted him at various times amazing victories and made him progress from strength to strength. Nor was he slow to multiply his talents,<sup>39</sup> but he served (God) with a zealous heart and accomplished such deeds as confirmed the will of God and would please him—as will be now explained. Geo.

For he decided to build a monastery<sup>40</sup> and determined, as divine grace revealed to him, on a place extremely beautiful and completely wild, where he raised a church to the all-holy and most blessed Mother of God, like a second heaven, much superior to all [330] previously constructed. It greatly surpasses the beauty of all others in size, in quality, and amount of materials, and by the incomparability of its construction, to which the eyes of all now bear witness. He filled it with holy things, with revered relics of the saints, with holy images and holy vessels that were totally glorious, and other materials most difficult to find. In addition, he established there the thrones and seats of the great Xosroid kings, the

<sup>39</sup> See Matt. 25: 15–30.

<sup>40</sup> Monastery: *monasteri*, rendered *vanoreayk'* in Arm. The reference is to Gelati, for which see Alpago Novello, 327–31.

*Arm.* At that time the Turks, about 10,000 strong,<sup>27</sup> made an incursion into T'relk', David being in Načarmad. When he heard about them, he marched all night to oppose them with a small force. At

<sup>27</sup> *Arm.* perhaps read *at'i at'asi* for *asi at'asi*. In *Geo.* *Mm* read '200,000'.

*Geo.* lamps and hangings of various colours he had seized as booty, the crowns and collars, the cups and bowls which he had taken from the kings of Arabia, when he himself had led them captive. In that same church he dedicated them to the memory of God and the praise of his wonderful victory. He also gathered there men of honourable life adorned with all virtues—not only those found among his own subjects, but also in whatever corner of the world he heard of someone holy, virtuous, perfect, filled with spiritual and corporeal grace, he sought him out, brought him, and settled him there.

The patrimony of Liparit that had remained heirless,<sup>41</sup> with many other lands justly (acquired), uncontested and ununsurped, he gave for those dedicated to the service of the Mother of God; and he assigned to them an unencumbered refectory.<sup>42</sup> This is now a foreshadowing of the second Jerusalem in the whole east, [331] a school of all virtue, an academy of instruction, another Athens but much superior to it in divine doctrines, a promoter of all ecclesiastical good order.<sup>43</sup> Then he decided on a further action, imitating the example of God, compassionate and kind, and his love for mankind. He built a hospice<sup>44</sup> in an appropriate and beautiful place, where he brought together brethren afflicted with various illnesses. He made provision for all their needs, abundantly and generously; he set aside revenues and their income for all (necessities). He would come in person and visit them, greet and embrace each one like a doting father, would be compassionate and wish them well, would urge them to patience, and would oversee with his own hands their beds, clothing, bedding, plates, and all their needs. He would give to each one sufficient money, would watch over their superintendents, and administer everything for them in proper order and in the service of God.

<sup>41</sup> Heirless: *umkvidrod*; cf. above, n. 32 for the ambiguity of *mkvidre*.

<sup>42</sup> Refectory: *trapezi*, another Greek term. 'Unencumbered' renders *uzrunveli*, lit. 'without worry'.

<sup>43</sup> Here C adds: 'Its name is Gelati'.

<sup>44</sup> Hospice: *k'senoni*, another Greek term, rendered by *hiwranoc* in *Arm.*



dawn he attacked them, (fighting) with the help of God until evening. The few survivors fled by night. Arm.

Likewise Turkish forces by the myriad had descended into

Up to that time the Turks occupied the city of Tp'ilisi, Rust'avi, Somxit'i, all Samšwilde, and Agarani. But T'rialet'i and Klde-karni were held by T'evdore, nephew of (Giorgi) Čqondideli, an intelligent man and important person. For when the king would come down to Ap'xazet'i, not in the least did he fear the Turks and their garrisons. At that time the king went down to Imeret'i. T'evdore, Abulet'i, and Ivane Orbeli joined Giorgi Čqondideli, the chancellor,<sup>45</sup> and successfully they gained control of Samšwilde. Then there was great rejoicing, because the borders of the kingdom grew greater day by day. When the Turks learned of the capture of Samšwilde, they abandoned most of the fortresses of Somxit'i [332] and fled by night, so these (now) belonged to us. For up until then at the times of vintage the Turks would invade Somxit'i with all their host.<sup>46</sup> They would settle in Gač'ianni, on the bank of the Mtkuari from Tp'ilisi as far as Bardavi, and on the banks of the Iori, and in all those beautiful winter quarters, where in winter, as in the season of spring, grass is mowed and wood and water are found in abundance. A multitude of all kinds of game exists there, and there is every sort of recreation. In those regions they would settle with their tents; of their horses, mules, sheep, and camels there was no reckoning. They led a blessed existence; they would hunt, relax, take their pleasure, and they experienced no lack of anything. They would engage in commerce in their cities, but would invade our borders for their fill of captives and plunder. In spring they would begin to ascend the mountains of Somxit'i and Ararat. Thus during summer they would have ease and recreation on the grass and pleasant fields, with springs and flowering meadows. So great was their strength and multitude that you could say: 'All Turks<sup>47</sup> of the whole world are here.' No one could think at all of expelling or harming them, except the sultan himself. Geo.

When Samšwilde and Jerna were taken, it was 330 of the

<sup>45</sup> Chancellor: *mcignobart'uxuc'esi*, lit. 'the most senior of the scribes'.

<sup>46</sup> Host: *p'alangi*; see above, n. 28.

<sup>47</sup> Turks: *t'urk'oba*, as also just below; see above, n. 11.

*Arm.* Tayk'. He went to attack them, and captured their baggage. So he filled the land of the Georgians with wealth.

He sent his son Demetrē to the region of Širvan, where he was successful. After taking the castle of K'alajor, he returned with joy. While David the Great was celebrating the festival of Easter at Naxēdur, they brought him the news that the Turks had killed Bēškēn in Jawaxet'i, and had come and settled on the banks of the

*Geo.* *k'ronikoni*.<sup>48</sup> In that year came a force of the sultan's and all the Turks, about 100,000 men, with unexpected speed. The king with his court had stopped at Načarmagevi. When he heard of their evening attack on T'rialet'i, he marched all night to Maslani with 1,500 men, for only that many did he have with him. At dawn the Turks came up, and that day a fierce battle took place. With God's help their army was defeated. As the day turned (to night) [333] they took to flight, so terrified and in such haste that they paid no heed at all to their tents and baggage. In their rush they thought more of their feet than of their possessions; and in this way they scattered to their own lands. The king and his troops could not believe in such an amazing flight, so no one pursued them at all because they supposed there would be a battle on the next day. Giorgi Čqondideli captured Rust'avi while the king was at Muxnari. This was in 335 of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>49</sup> Thus he inflicted a great defeat on the Turks and made them depart from their winter quarters. For the king watched out for occasions to attack; unexpectedly he would fall on them and make a slaughter. This occurred not once, or twice, or three times, but often. One example will now be described.

Many Turks with their tents had descended into Tao, since they trusted in the severity of the winter and the difficult terrain of the mountains.<sup>50</sup> But the king adopted the following tactic. He commanded the troops of K'art'li to make preparations, while he himself went to K'ut'at'isi, whereby he removed their suspicions. In the month of February he told the Georgians and Mesxs to enter Klarjet'i at a fixed time, while he himself with the army of the

<sup>48</sup> i.e. AD 1100.

<sup>49</sup> i.e. AD 1115.

<sup>50</sup> The difficult terrain of Tao/Tayk' is noted by the very frequent Armenian epithet for that province, *amur*, 'secure, impregnable', e.g. Łazar 121; cf. also M.X. iii. 44, Sebēos 144.

Erax. He went to attack them, and slew or captured all their troops. Arm.

David made marriage alliances with the kings of the Greeks and of Širvan, giving them his daughters;<sup>28</sup> he thus made helpful allies for himself.

His wife Goranduxt was the daughter of At'arak, chief of the Kipchaks, that is, of the Huns.<sup>29</sup> With their assistance he subjected

<sup>28</sup> For the text in Geo. see above, Q334.

<sup>29</sup> The Georgian text of the *K'C'* has no reference to Huns. The term was loosely used by Armenian authors; e.g. Elišē, II, calls the Kushans 'Huns'.

Interior marched to the banks of the Corox via Xup'at'i. They Geo. joined forces and unexpectedly fell on them, while they were settled as far as Basian and the mountain of Karnip'ori in security without any fears. It was 336 of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>51</sup> [334] They slew an incalculable number of them, and captured their families, horses, sheep, camels, and all their possessions. So his whole kingdom was filled with much wealth.

That same year he sent his daughter Kata to Greece to marry (the son of) the Greek emperor.<sup>52</sup> For he had previously sent his first-born daughter T'amari to be queen of Šarvan, so that the two luminaries—one in the east, the other in the west—might be stars in the vault of heaven, taking from their father sunlike rays.<sup>53</sup>

The next year<sup>54</sup> he seized Grigol's sons, Asam and Šota, took the fortress of Giši, and sent his own son Demetre on an expedition to Šarvan with a strong army. He carried out amazing feats of arms, whereby he astonished those who saw or heard of them. He captured the fortress of K'alajori, and victoriously returned to his father laden with booty and innumerable prisoners. The next year,<sup>55</sup> on Palm Sunday, the king set out via Ğanuhi to march to

<sup>51</sup> i.e. AD 1116.

<sup>52</sup> Arm. places David's marriage alliances just below. Kata married Alexius Bryennius Comnenus in 1116; T'amari was married in 1112 to Minuč'ihir III of Širvan; see Minorsky, *History of Shirvan*, 136. For David's eight children see the table in Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, 123. The *K'C'* describes only his marriage to Guaranduxt, princess of the Kipchaks, below, Q336. But Matthew of Edessa 459 says that his eldest son Demetre was born from an Armenian woman; cf. Q352 at n. 95 for David's youthful indiscretions.

<sup>53</sup> Here DERb add: 'In his times there came the translators of the scriptures: Ep'rem the Less, T'eop'ile, Arsen Iqalt'oeli, and Iovane son of Taiči, in 1174 after Christ'. The date should be 1114; see Tarchnišvili 176.

<sup>54</sup> i.e. AD 1117.

<sup>55</sup> i.e. 7 Apr. AD 1118.

*Arm.* the kings of Ossetia. He took hostages from them and made peace between the Ossetes and Huns. He captured the fortress of Darial and all the passes of Ossetia in the Caucasus mountain, bringing thence the Kipchaks, who broke the power of the Turks. [119] He also captured the Armenian fortified city of Lorē.

*Geo.* the banks of the Raḥsi, and spent Easter at Naḥiduri. There they brought him the news that Bešk'en Ĵaqeli had been killed in Ĵavaxet'i by the Turks. For that reason the magnates forbade him to advance at that time. He did not heed them at all, but fell on the Turks who were settled on the banks of the Raḥsi. He slew the majority of them, and took off incalculable prisoners and booty.

[335] That same year he captured the fortress of Lore in Somxit'i;<sup>56</sup> and also in the same year, in July, he captured Agarani, on the second day at dawn. For previously this fortress had been taken by Bagrat, his grandfather, only after three months of fighting.<sup>57</sup> In the same year, in August, died the sultan Malik', son of Malik'-śah, and Alexius the Greek king. Neither was aware of the other's death. It was 338 of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>58</sup>

When King David saw such manifestations of compassion from God on high, of help, strength, and success, and the royal lands which God granted him, the cities and fortresses; because there was not a sufficient multitude of troops in his kingdom to garrison and control the cities and fortresses, nor did he have enough at the same time to keep with him and to send on foreign expeditions in his campaigns during the winter and summer; therefore he gathered his wits, and considered well and thoughtfully. Like David, (inspired) by the Holy Spirit, he lifted up his head and cast around the eye of his mind; he examined well and reflected through his knowledge of royal affairs that the (troops) of his kingdom were insufficient to carry out his splendid designs and the desires of his soul. Like Alexander, he too sighed. For it is said of him that a certain philosopher said to him: 'There are many, even countless, kingdoms whose names you have never heard.' He sighed and said:

<sup>56</sup> Note again the ambiguity of Somxit'i as the province of that name, or Armenia.

<sup>57</sup> See above, Q312.

<sup>58</sup> i.e. AD 1118. Malik' is Muhammad Tap'ar; cf. Vardan, p.118. Arm. refers to the death of Malik' and Alexius below, V119.

At the time that Malik', son of Melik'-šah, and Alexius, king of the Greeks, died,<sup>30</sup> also died Georgi Čtunditel, his devoted (servant) since childhood. The king mourned him for twenty days with the entire kingdom, and buried him in Nor Vank'.<sup>31</sup> Arm.

However, he kept with him in Georgia the Kipchaks, 40,000 with families and children, plus a further 500 youths,<sup>32</sup> whom he brought up at his own court as Christians.<sup>33</sup> Still more of them he

<sup>30</sup> Also . . . died: for the corresponding text in Geo. see above, Q335.

<sup>31</sup> Nor Vank': lit. 'new monastery', rendering *monasteri axali*, i.e. Gelati. The change from 40 (x) to 20 (i) would be easier in Armenian than in Georgian. Vaxt'ang was David's third son.

<sup>32</sup> 500: as A of Geo., but 5,000 in all other MSS. Youths: *matalatunks*, the Armenian rendering of 'neophytes'. But Geo. has *monani*, 'servants'.

<sup>33</sup> AC add after 'Christians' *arareal znosa i dran iwrum*, i.e. 'making them (Christians) at his own court'. But the repetition of 'at his own court' is very awkward. Arm. stresses David's personal role in this more than Geo.

'If I leave them out, what will become of my empire?'<sup>59</sup> Therefore this second Alexander realized in his ample understanding that like the other he did not have sufficient means. [336] He knew well the multitude of the Kipchak people, their courage in warfare, their skill in manœuvring, the violence of their attack, that they were easily controlled and completely prepared (to carry out) his will. Geo.

Furthermore, they were the easiest to induce to come because of their proximity and poverty, and because many years previously he had married the blessed Queen Guaranduxt, highly reputed for her virtue, the child of the supreme leader of the Kipchaks, At'rak'a son of Šarağan,<sup>60</sup> as his legitimate consort and queen of all Georgia.<sup>61</sup> Therefore he dispatched trustworthy men, and summoned the Kipchaks and his father-in-law. They joyfully accepted the invitation, save that they asked for safe passage through the Ossetes. Therefore the king ordered a march on Ossetia. Promptly he set out, taking with him Giorgi Čqondideli his chancellor,<sup>62</sup> a man perfect in every virtue of soul and body, full of wisdom and intelligence, a counsellor felicitous and cautious. He had grown up

<sup>59</sup> Source not identified.

<sup>60</sup> At'rak'a and Šarağan are only mentioned here in the K'C'.

<sup>61</sup> All Georgia: *qoveli sak'art'velo*. For this term, used only of the united kingdom, see above, Q235 n. 31.

<sup>62</sup> Geo. adds 'and' between Čqondideli and 'chancellor' (for which term see above n. 45), not because there were two persons but because both words are epithets. 'Master' just below renders *patroni*.

*Arm.* daily baptized and instructed in the faith of our Lord. As for the fully armed 40,000, he appointed generals over them, and through them overcame Persia and Turkestan.

It is said that he was as fast in his course and as rapid as a leopard, by which Daniel's vision characterized Alexander.<sup>34</sup> Our

<sup>34</sup> Dan. 7: 6: the leopard is the third of four beasts, interpreted as the four kingdoms of the world; cf. Hab. 1: 8 for its swiftness. But Alexander is not mentioned by name in the Bible. It is noteworthy that *Arm.* has read a biblical allusion into 'the book' of *Geo.*

*Geo.* with his master as his tutor, and was involved in all his projects, deeds, and labours. They entered Ossetia, and were met by the kings of Ossetia and all their princes. Like servants they presented themselves before him; and hostages were given by both sides, Ossetes and Kipchaks. In this way he easily united the two nations, and made friendship and peace between them as (between) brothers. He took control of the fortresses of Darial and those of all the passes of Ossetia and of the Caucasus mountain. He created a safe passage for the Kipchaks, and brought through a very great multitude. His father-in-law and his wife's brothers did not hasten in vain, nor in vain was their coming; rather through them he completely destroyed the strength of Persia, and cast fear and terror into all kings of the land. With their support he accomplished incredible deeds, as will be described below.

[337] Then, while he was in Ossetia, Giorgi Cquondideli died; since his youth he had devoted himself to his master's service. With great honour he escorted him to the new monastery, and there buried him. The whole kingdom mourned him; and the king himself, like a father and even more than a father, wore black for forty days, until Vaxt'ang was born. In joy at this he put aside mourning.

He settled the Kipchaks with their families in suitable places; with them were 40,000 elite (soldiers) ready for battle. These he equipped with horses and arms. Furthermore there were elite attendants, trained for service, about 5,000 men, all converted to Christianity, dependable and tested in valour. Very many Kipchaks converted to Christianity daily, and a countless number was gained for Christ. When he had gathered them together in this fashion, had arranged them by clans, appointed generals and lead-

Alexander was not inferior to the other; though younger in time he was equal in success. For he smote the Turks in their winter-quarters of T'ulark', and was laden with booty. On 13 February,<sup>35</sup> in the very week of the fast he captured the city of Kapa, and filled Georgia with gold and silver. On 5 May he raided Layižk' as far as K'urdawan and Xštalan, and returned in triumph to K'art'li. Arm.

<sup>35</sup> Confusion between 13 (žg) and 14 (žd) is easy in Armenian script, as is that between 5 and 7 just below. For Qabala see V. Minorsky, *A History of Shirvan and Darband in the 10th-11th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1958), 83, and for Layzan and Kurdivan, *ibid.* 76.

ers, (they were) like the troops of his own kingdom, élite and equipped, well mounted and resolute. Among them he himself, the incomparable general and combatant of the front rank, took the lead in resemblance to the tales of K'aixosro of old.<sup>63</sup> So he began to raid Persia, Šarvan, and Greater Armenia. For he did not spare himself or take a respite, but led them on expeditions in a timely and orderly fashion, directed and controlled them in accordance with his great intelligence. So who could resist him or oppose him in battle? Geo.

For although the book<sup>64</sup> compares the Macedonian to a winged panther because of the speed of his attack and his rapid march over (many) lands, and for the tremendous variety of his movements and plans; yet [338] our crowned (king) and new Alexander, though he was later in time, none the less was not the less in deeds, or counsel, or valour. In those very deeds for which Alexander is called a conqueror, the latter was not inferior, but I think him superior for their number. As much as the one was superior and pre-eminent among all his equals of his time in temporal and material ways, so did the latter exceed all the best around him in the commandments of God and of Christ, as well as in material ways. For he allowed his eyes no sleep, nor his eyelids any repose, nor his body any rest. He did not turn to pleasures or the desires of the flesh. He did not concentrate his mind on eating and drinking, or on indecent songs, or on the inconsequential affairs of the body, but rather on all divine and spiritual matters in order to overcome and tame the inclinations of the will. So examine his deeds over

<sup>63</sup> See above, Q15, for the exploits of Kai Xusra' against the Turks, taken from the tales in the Iranian national epic.

<sup>64</sup> i.e. the *Alexander Romance*.

*Arm.* The same year he went to Ašornik<sup>c</sup> and attacked the camps of the Turks, until there remained not a single mourner in their tents. In the winter time he went to Ap'xazet', as far as Binčit'a, and brought them into order. The Turkmans would go up in summer to the Armenian mountains, and in winter descend to the grassy banks of the river Kur<sup>36</sup>—but not without much preparation from fear of David. Now that year they were unconcerned because the king was far away. The king returned, had the mountain of Lix made flat before him, and came into K'art'li. [120] He found his troops ready in the month of March, went to Xunan, and did not let any of the host of Turks escape. He crossed into Partav, and

<sup>36</sup> For these migrations cf. above, Q332. *Arm.* is not consistent in rendering Turks and Turkmans as they variously appear in *Geo.*

*Geo.* those four years, which I wish to describe as a small part of the many accomplished.

The king had the custom that he would go down from Ap'xazet'i on purpose and decoy out the Turks in their winter-quarters on the banks of the Mtkuari. For their scouts followed the king and spied on his journeys. The king came down to Gegut'i and (went) beyond Xup'at'i and in this way surprised them. It was 340 of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>65</sup> When they knew he was at a distance, they came down to Batora, very many in number, and settled for the winter. However, the king was not sleeping, but swooped down on them on 14 February and unexpectedly fell on them. Hardly any had time to mount their horses and escape. He took away countless captives and booty, and came to Ğanuḡi. [339] That same week, on the first day of the Fast he captured the city of Qabala in Šarvan, and filled his kingdom with gold and silver and all (sorts of) wealth. He returned to K'art'li, and rapidly gathered an army. He attacked Šarvan on 7 May, raided across it from Ližat'i as far as K'urdevan and Xištalan. Laden with booty they returned to K'art'li. In those same days they fought (lords) of Šarvan and of Daruband. They killed Ap'ridon, and massacred the inhabitants of Šarvan.

In the month of November the king marched on Ašornia, fell on the Turks, slaughtered them and took plunder, and brought back

<sup>65</sup> i.e. AD 1120.



found there Turkish migrants<sup>37</sup> in the villages. These he put to the sword, and then returned in peace. Arm.

At that time certain merchants from Dmanik' and Tp'xis of the race of Turks who had been robbed,<sup>38</sup> and other survivors from among those oppressed, blackened their clothes, and some of them their faces, and others their hands and feet. They went before the sultan bemoaning themselves on account of David. The sultan summoned the king of the Arabs and the son of Altux and all the emirs of Mesopotamia, and he sent them to attack David.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Migrants: *gali'akan*, lit. 'colonists'.

<sup>38</sup> Robbed: *kotoptack'*. This is followed by *yazgēn T'urk'ac'*, giving the impression that the merchants had been robbed by the Turks. But the sense is clear from Geo.

<sup>39</sup> Son of Artuq: i.e. the Artuqid governor of Diyarbakir, Il Ghazi, who in 1121 also acquired Mayyafariqin. See C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1967), 120.

an incalculable number of them as prisoners. On the way he fell on more Turkmans at Sevgelameji, and left not a single one to mourn for their tents. This (all happened) in one year. The same winter he went to Ap'xazet'i as far as Bičvint'a, and set local affairs in order. He was merciful to those worthy of mercy; the guilty he arrested and punished. Since the winter was severe and there was much snow, when the Turks knew that the king was far away, they confidently descended to the banks of the Mtkuari. But the valiant lion was not lazy, nor did he sleep (at the time) for combat, nor did any obstacles stand in his way. He rapidly left Ap'xazet'i amidst dreadful snows, and cut a path across the mountain of Lixi, where the drift of snow had a height of three fathoms.<sup>66</sup> He found his army ready, and before knowing the news from K'art'li, he attacked Xunan.<sup>67</sup> His army filled [340] (the land) from the mountain as far as the Mtkuari, and from Gagni to Berduji. He put them all to the edge of the sword, so that none was left to tell the tale. It was 341 of the *k'ronikoni*,<sup>68</sup> the month of March. In the spring the Mtkuari rose so much that its waters were not contained. Emboldened by this the Turkmans confidently descended on Bardavi. Then the king observed them; at dawn<sup>69</sup> he swam across the Mtkuari with Geo.

<sup>66</sup> Fathoms: *mhari*, defined by Čubinov as *sazen'*, which is 7 ft or 2.13 m.

<sup>67</sup> For 'Xunan' B reads 'the sultan'.

<sup>68</sup> i.e. AD 1121.

<sup>69</sup> At dawn: Q prints *alons*; the expected *alions* is not attested in the MSS. Swam: literally.

*Arm.* On 12 August they arrived in T'relk' at Manklis and Didgork'. Then the king, calling on Jesus our God for aid,<sup>40</sup> calmly attacked them. He cut down the vanguard of their nobles and put them to flight. In pursuit he put them all to the sword, strewing them over mountains and plains as carrion for beasts and birds.<sup>41</sup>

They were sated with horses, camels, mules, and baggage<sup>42</sup> of the Arabs, and with the captive noble emirs. What tongue could

<sup>40</sup> For invocations before battle added by *Arm.* cf. Vaxt'ang, above, V77.

<sup>41</sup> Carrion . . . birds: an addition from Ps. 78: 2. Put to the sword: lit. 'made them fodder (*čarak*) for the sword', not a biblical expression but one used by Elišē 76, 77, for Armenian victories.

<sup>42</sup> Baggage: *kahiwk'* in V; but A reads *kayuk'* and BCD *kayiwk'*. *Kayk'*: 'position', can also mean 'being, substance', but normally not 'property'. 'Camels' are an interesting addition from the context.

*Geo.* the Kipchaks, through the swollen water, slaughtered the Turks, and raided Bardavi. He stayed two days, and returned peacefully home, laden with booty. It was the month of June.

Oppressed by such afflictions, the Turkmans and also merchants from Ganja, Tp'ilisi, and Dmanisi presented themselves before the sultan, and to the whole of Persia, having dyed in black, some their faces, others their hands, others all over. In this way they noised abroad all the afflictions that had befallen them, whereby they aroused compassion for themselves, and much lamentation was caused among them. Then the sultan summoned the king of Arabia, Durbez son of Sadaq, and gave to him his own son Malik' and all his forces; he appointed as general Elġazi, son of Ardux, a heroic and very resourceful man; and he ordered the Turkmans, wherever any might be, from Damascus and Aleppo, to all make preparations for an expedition, including the *at'abagi* of Ganja with his forces and all the emirs of Armenia. It was 341 of the *k'ronikoni*. All these assembled, taking confidence and strength from their multitude, which [341] filled the land like the sand of the sea.

On 18 August they went to T'rialet'i, to Manglisi and Didgorni, where there was not left enough space for their feet. How then King David, fearless and completely imperturbable of heart, drew up his army, how appropriately and thoughtfully he managed every action, how calmly he organized, without confusion but with experience and total wisdom, and how he protected his troops

describe the wonders of that day which the vivifying Christ granted us?<sup>43</sup> What are to me the accounts of Homer and of Aristotle concerning the Trojan War<sup>44</sup> or the valour of Achilles, or the description by Josephus of the bravery of the Maccabee and of Alexander,<sup>45</sup> or of Titus in Jerusalem? For none of the kings of Georgia at all had been able to control Tp'xis for 400 years, until David.<sup>46</sup> Arm.

<sup>43</sup> Another addition indicating the Armenian translator's theological outlook; see in general the Introduction.

<sup>44</sup> Trojan: V has corrected the *sovorakan*, 'customary', of ABCD to *trovakan*.

<sup>45</sup> Arm. has again seen a reference to the Maccabees—here Alexander in I Macc. I: 1-4—where none exists in Geo. Cf. above, VI17 n. 25.

<sup>46</sup> For the reconquest of Tp'ilisi and a eulogy of David's conquests see Matthew of Edessa 447-8; cf. also Vardan, *Chronicle*, 118-9.

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from harm! To describe all these things properly not only is our tongue incapable, but also—I think—the tongues of all wise men of the world. At the first encounter he routed their army and put it to flight; for the hand of the One on High assisted him, and strength from heaven protected him, and the holy martyr Giorgi,<sup>70</sup> clearly and in the sight of all, guided him and with his own arm destroyed all the impious heathen who fell upon him. The ignorant infidels themselves later admitted it, and told us of that miracle of the chiefmartyr Giorgi—by what means he destroyed those famous warriors of Arabia, and how adroitly and carefully he pursued those fleeing and destroyed them, with whose corpses the fields, mountains, and valleys were filled. Geo.

Our troops, or rather the whole kingdom, were sated with gold and silver, Arabian horses, Syrian mules, tents, palatial carpets, diverse splendid arms of war of various kinds, drums and battering-rams, lovely drinking-cups and dishes for game, baths and cooking-vessels: how much paper and ink would be needed to describe them! See peasants [342] leading Arab kings captive! What need have we then to mention other heroes?

When I come to begin my story, I consider worthy of lamentation those famous narrators, I mean the Hellenes Homer and

<sup>70</sup> The martyr George was mentioned in the story of Nino for dating purposes, above, Q72. The only previous reference to his cult in Georgia was to his icon at Alaverdi, Q264.

*Arm.* In those days the sultan went to Širvan, took Šamaxi, and captured the Širvan-šah.<sup>47</sup> He sent messengers to David, saying: 'Greetings, O king of the deep forests who cannot leave your lair. If you wish, emerge from your den and visit me here. If not, send me my tribute and I shall come (to you).' [121] When the king heard this, he gave orders to the cavalry, gathered the whole multitude of his forces, and marched against him. When the sultan heard of this, he was terrified. He entered the city of Šamax and fortified it with deep ditches. He sent word to him: 'I wish neither tribute from you nor war, but passage that I may depart.'

<sup>47</sup> For this episode and other sources see the article 'Shirwanshah' in *EI* iv. 384. The identity of the ruler of Shirwan at this moment is unclear; the sultan was Mahmūd II.

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*Geo.* Aristobulus,<sup>71</sup> and also the Hebrew Josephus. The first of these composed the accounts of the Trojans and of Achilles—how Agamemnon and Priam, or Achilles and Hector, or again Odysseus and Orestes fought, and who defeated whom. The second described the victories of Alexander, his valiant exploits and triumphs. While the third put in writing the affliction wrought on his fellow-countrymen by Vespasian and Titus. Since they did not have material sufficient to describe these deeds, they elaborated on them by the artifices of rhetoric, as Alexander himself said somewhere: 'You were not great, Achilles, but you acquired a great panegyrist in Homer.'<sup>72</sup> For during the twenty-eight years' duration of the Trojan War nothing worthy of praise occurred. But three times did King David confront so many, and not even the first assault could they resist. If those Greek authors had had the deeds of David as their material and had described them with appropriate rhetoric, then indeed they would have been worthy of due praise. So much for that. The next year the king took at the first assault the city of Tp'ilisi, which the Persians had held for 400 years. He

<sup>71</sup> *Aristovli* in A, i.e. the 4th-c. historian Aristobulus of Cassandreia, who had accompanied Alexander. All other MSS read 'Aristotle', presumably having in mind the apocryphal correspondence between Alexander and his tutor.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the *Alexander Romance*, §122 of the Armenian. The following reference to 28 years is obscure. According to the *Iliad* the Trojan War lasted 10 years.

At that time the atabag of Ran, Asxandul, came to the sultan with 4,000 men.<sup>48</sup> David's army defeated them, and he himself by the skin of his teeth reached the sultan. Even more terrified, the sultan secretly took another road by night to his own land; while the king returned to his own country. A month later he again returned to Širvan. He captured the castle of Gulistan, the royal residence, and imposed tribute on the country. Then he returned to Georgia.

He also took the Armenian castles of Dmanis, Gag, Tērunakan, K'awazin, Norberd, Manasagom, Xalinčk'ar. He passed on into

<sup>48</sup> For the break-up of the Seljuq state and the rise of atabegs see Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, 115–18, with tables of the different Seljuq rulers. This atabeg was Aq Sonqur, *ibid.* 121. 4,000: V prints '10,000' but Abulaje has '4,000' and does not indicate any variants in the Armenian MSS.

settled it by heredity on his sons as their armoury and own permanent residence. It was 342 of the *k'ronikoni*.<sup>73</sup>

[343] The next year the sultan came to Šarvan, captured Šarvan-šah,<sup>74</sup> seized Šamaxi, sent an envoy to the king, and wrote him a letter which said: 'You are the king of the forests, and never do you descend to the plains. Now behold, I have in my hands the Šarvan-šah and demand *harāġ*. If you wish, send appropriate gifts; or if you prefer, come down from your lair and visit me.' When the king heard this, he rapidly summoned all his troops; at his command all those of his kingdom presented themselves. Then he marched against the sultan. At that time only the Kipchaks were counted; there were 50,000 warriors. When the sultan learned of his advance, and of the strength and number of his troops, he was terrified. Abandoning the plains where he was camped, he rapidly entered the city. One side he was protected by a rampart and ditches,<sup>75</sup> on the other side by the wall of the city of Šamaxi. When the king learned of this, he did not think it appropriate to attack a fugitive. But falling on the ground, he offered thanks to the gracious God who loves mankind, and halted at that spot.

<sup>73</sup> i.e. AD 1122. 'Armoury' renders *sačurčeli*, which is more strictly 'treasury', *sačurveli* being 'arsenal'. But the two words are often used in similar senses; see Abulaje, *Lek'sikoni*, s.v.

<sup>74</sup> Šarvan-šah: i.e. 'ruler of Šarvan'.

<sup>75</sup> Rampart and ditches: *sxrtit'a da xandakebit'a*. The latter is the Greek *χάνδαξ*, for which see Du Cange s.v.

*Arm.* the upper region,<sup>49</sup> to Basean and Sper, where he exterminated the Turks whom he found. He returned very victoriously to Georgia in the month of August.

<sup>49</sup> i.e. Tayk'.

*Geo.* Then the sultan, through many importunings, gifts, and begging messages, like an oppressed slave, requested neither gifts nor war, but passage by which to flee—in a very humble fashion and not like a sultan, having suffered from hunger and thirst for many days.

[344] That same day the king's men defeated the *at'abagi* of Ran, Aḡsunḡuli, who had come to the sultan with a large force, about 4,000 men. He alone hardly escaped and reached the sultan. When the sultan saw this, he stole away that same night; fleeing along the water-courses he reached his own land by a different route. Having gained such a victory the king returned, giving thanks to God. He rested for a few days at Amt'eni.<sup>76</sup> The next month, in June, he again attacked Šarvan. He captured Gulistan, the capital of Šarvan, in terrible heat, gained control of Šarvan, and filled with wealth all those subject to his authority. Then he returned to K'art'li. At vintage time he crossed over to Gegut'i;<sup>77</sup> he hunted, enjoyed himself, and administered all local affairs. In March he came back to K'art'li, and captured the city of Dmanisi. In April they attacked at Šaburan the (lord) of Daruband; they slaughtered his Kurds, Leks, and Kipchaks, and captured the fortresses of Ġasanni and Xozaondi in Šarvan, and the neighbouring land. He rapidly advanced like an eagle. In May he captured the fortresses of Somxit'i: Gagni, Teronakali, K'avazinni, Norbedi, Manasgomni, and Talinjak'ari. In June he set out with an army, crossed Javaxet'i, Kola, Karnip'ora, Basianni as far as Sper; and wherever he found Turkmans he slew them or took them captive. He descended to Bugt'a-quri, burned Oltisni, and came back to T'rialet'i in great triumph. Within a few days the troops returned and went off to each one's (home).

<sup>76</sup> Amt'eni is not otherwise attested. Eb read *am t'ves*, 'that month'. There is no variant without the *m*, and the *t'* cannot be confused with the *t* of 'Ateni'.

<sup>77</sup> Crossed over: i.e. to winter in western Georgia, Gegut'i being near K'ut'at'isi.

A letter from the nobles of Ani reached him: 'Come, we shall give this city into your hands.' He went with 60,000 cavalry, and after three days captured it.<sup>50</sup> He returned to Širvan, and took the city of Šamax and all its territory. He left (there) troops, Hers and Kaxs, and his confidant Simēon as administrator<sup>51</sup> of the country, then returned to K'art'li.

Arm.

<sup>50</sup> For the date of David's taking Ani see Minorsky, *Studies*, 84. Matthew 451-2, agrees with Geo. in dating it to 1124.

<sup>51</sup> Administrator: *gorcakal*, here rendering the two terms *ganmgebeli* and *zedamxedvali*.

On the 20th of August the secretaries<sup>78</sup> of the leaders of Ani came to the site of the springs of Bozan and declared that they would surrender the city and its fortresses. He immediately sent [345] summoning letters to everyone, and three days later 60,000 cavalry presented themselves. He set out and, having arrived, on the third day without trouble took possession of the city of Ani and its fortresses and of the villages and lands adjacent to Ani. He led off (A)bulasvar, with his eight sons and retainers and daughters-in-law, and sent them to Ap'xazet'i. He left Mesxian nobles to guard Ani, and returned to K'art'li. For a few days he gave his troops leisure. Then he set out for Šarvan, and captured the city of Šamaxi, the fortress of Biriti, and all of Šarvan. In the fortresses and cities he left many troops Hers and Kaxs; and as governor and overseer of all local affairs he appointed his own chancellor,<sup>79</sup> Archbishop Simon Čqondideli, at that time (bishop) of Bedia and Alaverdi. He resembled his uncle Giorgi, a man absolutely accomplished and wise. The king settled all the affairs of Šarvan, filled the Kurds, Leks, and T'arasni with wealth and gifts, then came back to K'art'li.

Geo.

He appointed for his Kipchaks a place for winter quarters and supplies, and men to oversee them. He arranged [346] all the affairs of K'art'li, of Somxit'i, and of Ani, and was planning to accomplish great deeds and grand expeditions in the spring, since nobody was resisting him. For the sultan himself shook from fear on the spot where he was, and no longer reckoned as his own possessions the cities and lands which had belonged to him of old. But

<sup>78</sup> Secretaries: *mcignobarni*, 'scribes'; cf. n. 45 above.

<sup>79</sup> Chancellor: *mcignobart'uxuc'esi*, as of Giorgi Čqondideli above.

*Arm.* Which of his virtues should we describe? For he made all the regions of the east flourish, and filled them with inhabitants. He was in spirit sober and valiant.

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*Geo.* however far away (the king) was, in his sleep he dreamed of terror and while awake, of death. Therefore he continually dispatched messengers with gifts in order to appease him. He sent valuable arms, masterpieces<sup>80</sup> of various colours, birds and game unknown and hard to find. He sought peace and friendship and no more raiding from the Kipchaks. So he paid no heed to the great expense, save only that he might find peace and safety for himself, wherever he might be. I think that this valiant (king) gained back many times over the lands, captives, and riches taken from his fathers and grandfathers. He pacified the land, filled it with everything beneficial, restored everything that had been ruined. All the time our kingdom overflowed with peace and bounty, in compensation for past ravages.

Such then are the accounts and deeds of his royal comings and goings, of the battles and struggles, of the victories and successes, of the seizing and taking of many great kingdoms and principalities, which he carried out and accomplished. With our insignificant and totally inadequate words we have described (only some) of his great and ineffable deeds. It is as if we were trying to describe a lion from his claws, or the quality of a flowered textile from a small panel, or a man from his shadow, which are impossible to do.

[347] If any one were to consider of a man who accomplished such worldly deeds how he could have the time even to consider and plan such divine and spiritual acts of virtue, let alone carry them out—for such things are more than enough for a single man living in the flesh to accomplish and direct—and into what humble state he found his kingdom fallen, and to what height he raised it up, or to where he extended the borders, and how triumphantly he manifested his victories—those who reflect on these should not be blamed but recognize that if for these reasons anyone were to examine and might wish to reach an understanding, he would find these worldly accomplishments, though renowned, insignificant and very worthless and meaningless, truly small and transitory.

<sup>80</sup> Masterpiece: *turpÆani*, from the Arabic *turfa*, 'rare', 'choice'.



He used to read all the divine scriptures, and when his eye was weary he listened with his ears day and night. For sleep did not

*Arm.*

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Compared with them, firm and eternal are his pious deeds which he carried out in larger number and held more pressing, and of which we shall make mention, abbreviating from many—as it were one mouthful from the Mtkuari. Solomon said: ‘As the beginning of wisdom acquire wisdom’; and David, the father of God: ‘The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.’<sup>81</sup> This fear of the Lord David himself had acquired from his youth, and it grew with his maturity; and in its time it produced such fruits by which his life was doubly adorned, by which he embellished his actions, by which he ordered his worldly needs and directed his spiritual works.

*Geo.*

Hear with what understanding he found the fear of the Lord to be the mother of wisdom, and the divine scriptures (the mother) of divine things. These he collected in great number, as many as he found translated into the Georgian language from other tongues, both old and new. Like another Ptolemy<sup>82</sup> he placed his trust in them; he so loved them and made them his own that you might say his life was in them and in them he moved.<sup>83</sup> They became [348] his nourishment, the most tasty of all, his drink sweet and preferred. These were his leisure, his regular profitable enjoyment. In his daily comings and goings by day and night, in his never-ending expeditions, in his restless labours, he loaded the books on numerous mules and camels. And wherever he dismounted from horseback, first of all he took the books into his hands; and he did not cease reading until he was exhausted. After the evening meal, instead of sleeping or doing something else, once more he read books. When his eyes became tired, he would substitute ears. Not inattentively, but extremely carefully he listened to his reader. He enquired, questioned, and even more would himself explain their import and profundity. And the most amazing is this: everyone knows how urgently absorbing is the business of hunting, how it makes slaves and captives of its enthusiasts, so that in the hunt

<sup>81</sup> Solomon: Prov. 1: 7, 9: 10; David: Ps. 110: 10.

<sup>82</sup> i.e. Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who was credited with sponsoring the translation of the Septuagint; see the *Letter of Aristaetus*. For the theme cf. M.X. i. 2.

<sup>83</sup> Acts 17: 28.

*Arm.* impede him in the evening, not the cares of the world in the day-time, nor pleasure at the time of meals and banquets.

He was merciful and compassionate towards Christians. Because while Tp'xis was in Turkish hands and every day [122] was filled

*Geo.* they aim at nothing else save the sight and pursuit of the game and how they may lay hands on it. But he even overcame this passion. For during the hunt he would hold books in his hands, and when it was the right moment he would give them to a servant, and in this manner set off on the chase. And do not suppose that he would return with empty hands or exert himself in vain. For who has seen a mortal like him, or who has come across a man so successful in the chase? A certain Jew Mosimaxos is said to have been the best among Alexander's troops at aiming an arrow;<sup>84</sup> and Achilles [349] among the Hellenes was instructed in archery by a centaur;<sup>85</sup> while Baram-Jur among the Persians accomplished unprecedented and amazing deeds.<sup>86</sup> But in truth not one of these was his equal as we ourselves have seen. I shall describe another fact which indicates his love for books, in which there is no lie—since the Lord destroys 'all those who speak falsehood.'<sup>87</sup> Sometimes he placed in front of him the book of the Apostles to read. When he finished, he would put a mark at the end of the book. At the end of a year we added up the marks: it had been read twenty-four times.

There are many other testimonies of this sort. But I shall add just one more. The city of Tp'ilisi was earlier not completely subjected to the yoke of obedience, as now, but was full of the blood of Christians. For on occasion they would make a tumult, and without cause slaughter whatever Christians they could find; and other times Turks who had arrived in a caravan would attack the Christians as they came and went, and would take them captive or kill them. In this fashion the land was blighted for a long time, which greatly troubled David's soul. Once a great caravan arrived from Ganja, accompanied by many Turks. When the king learned of this, he dispatched fifteen chosen men from among his retinue

<sup>84</sup> Mosimaxos: a corruption of 'Mosollamos', whose prowess is described by Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, i. 201.

<sup>85</sup> i.e. Chiron; cf. *Iliad* xi. 832.

<sup>86</sup> Bahram-Gur appears in the Iranian national epic, which figures prominently in the first section of the *K'C'*; see in particular Levy 295-314.

<sup>87</sup> Prov. 19: 9.

with the blood of Christians, both those who were inhabitants and the merchants who entered from outside, over that he had no rest until (he had removed)<sup>52</sup> the scandal of the Christians. *Arm.*

<sup>52</sup> He had removed: not in ABCD, but added in V for the sake of the sense.

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to seize the cattle of the city grazing around Ločini, in the hope that the Turks would come out to pursue them, and in this way they might destroy them. He himself with only 300 cavalry hid in the ravines of Avčala. Relying on no other horseman, he went out quite alone [350] completely unarmed, except for a sabre. He took with him a book of theology, and ordered his troops not to move at all until he had returned to join them. His servants carried out his orders, and led off the cattle. The Turks arrived, about one hundred men. After a great battle his retainers were thrown and their horses were killed; but they were able to fight fiercely on foot. Now after the king had dismounted, he did not think of returning promptly. He turned to his reading, and was so distracted by this in his mind that he completely forgot what had occurred previously, until the noise of shouting reached his ears. Immediately, he left the book on the spot, mounted his horse, and made for the shouts. When he came upon his retainers who were in such hard straits—and since he had posted his troops at a distance, if he went to inform them his retainers would be massacred—he rapidly swooped on them like an eagle and scattered them like pigeons.<sup>88</sup> *Geo.* In short measure he slew as many as horses were sufficient for his retainers. Having been remounted, they slaughtered so many that few of them reached the city. The roads were filled with their corpses, and from its extraordinary use his sabre was so disfigured that it would not fit into its scabbard. Then he joined his troops, who greatly upbraided him. Notice, I ask you, how he regarded a book as the most urgent thing in such an affair of little leisure. So much for that.

But this too I shall say: unless this knowledge of books and understanding of past events, the good labours of earlier kings [351] or their failures, had been used and employed with a view to warning for the future—as Solomon says: ‘Know the changes of

<sup>88</sup> This is a common simile. For Armenian parallels see Thomson, *Moses*, ii. 46 n. 3.

*Arm.* With the help of Christ he imposed tribute on the sultan, the ravager of the country, and he made the race of Ishmael sit in ashes.<sup>53</sup> Like a man over a beast, so did he rule over the tyrants of the land.

<sup>53</sup> Jonah 3: 6, of the king of Nineveh.

*Geo.* the times, remember the proverbs, and liken the future to the past<sup>89</sup>—unless this had been the case, could he have raised so much higher than anyone else the sceptre of his rule, which had been brought so low, was so heavy and was truly a great responsibility? For he was wiser than Bezaleel and than Etham the Israelite mentioned in Scripture.<sup>90</sup> Who could reckon up the many tasks required for a kingdom? So many obligations and responsibilities—the control of frontiers, the solicitude for borders, preservation from calamities, the means to gain tranquillity for the realm, efforts for martial expeditions, knowledge of the deceits of the nobles, organization of the cavalry, respect from the people, justice in administering and deciding, income to treasuries,<sup>91</sup> receptions and responses to envoys, appropriate remunerations for bearers of gifts, merciful reproaches for offenders, generosity towards servants, unbiased questioning of plaintiffs, intelligent investigation of problems, the arranging of armies, resourceful attacks, and as many (qualities) as one could extricate from the abyss of royal duties—in which none of the old or recent kings compared with him, as bear witness the deeds that shine more brilliantly and clearly than the rays of the sun, which through his wisdom he accomplished.

For he made the sultan tributary to himself and the king of the Greeks like a member of his household.<sup>92</sup> He overthrew the heathen and destroyed the barbarians; he made subjects of kings and slaves of rulers. The Arabs he put to flight, the Ismaelites he plundered, and the Persians he ground to dust; their leaders he reduced to peasants. I shall explain succinctly: [352] those who earlier were kings, giants, champions, long since renowned, valiant and strong,

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Prov. 1: 6, Wisd. 8: 8.

<sup>90</sup> Bezaleel made the ark, Exod. 36–7; Solomon was even wiser than Ethan, 3 Kgds. 4: 31.

<sup>91</sup> Treasuries: *sačurčeli*; see above, n. 73.

<sup>92</sup> Member of his household: *saxleuli t'visi*, as Matt. 10: 36, etc. See above, Q334, for Kata's marriage.

He was strict in fasting and assiduous at prayer. He made offerings to churches as far away as the land of the Greeks, Cilicia, Arm.

famous for various deeds—all these he so subjected that they were like animals by comparison. Again, whose mind could comprehend his godly virtues and spiritual deeds, or whose tongue would be able to describe them (even if) understood? For like God he judged rightly his flock with his impartial justice. Never did he bend 'the balance of the scales', as we have heard about Solomon in his judgments,<sup>93</sup> and as the decisions and accounts by Moses inform us. He possessed the chief of the virtues, purity, as much as the great Anthony.<sup>94</sup> Do not mention to me some actions of his youth which not even God will remember.<sup>95</sup> I know for the truth that for ten whole years he received with a pure mouth and chaste mind the incorruptible mysteries of Christ, with corroborating conscience and not unwilling consent—to which is witness the Faithful One in heaven. Geo.

What use is it to speak further about his prayers and fasting, of which sufficient has already been said? Monasteries, cathedrals,<sup>96</sup> and all churches received from court the pattern and order of prayer and all ecclesiastical administration, as a faultless canon, totally correct and elaborated for well-ordered prayer and fasting. 'Devilish songs, music, and festivities, and insults that offend God, and all licence had been abolished among the troops and in that numberless multitude of tongues (and) nations as among the inhabitants of heaven. Furthermore he had such compassion for the poor that his good works filled the sea and dry land. He filled with benefits lavras, convents, and monasteries—not only those of his own [353] realm but also those of Greece, of the Holy Mountain, of Bulgaria, of Syria and Cyprus, of the Black Mountain, and of Palestine. He especially honoured the tomb of our Lord Jesus Christ and the inhabitants<sup>97</sup> of

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Wisd. 11: 23, Isa. 40: 15.

<sup>94</sup> The *Life of Anthony* by Athanasius was well known in Georgian. It had been translated by Euthymius (Tarchnišvili 148), whose activity was noted in some MSS of the *K'C'*, Q280 n. 66.

<sup>95</sup> Perhaps this is a reference to Demetre's birth from an Armenian woman; see above, Q334 n. 52.

<sup>96</sup> Cathedrals: *saepiskoposo* could refer either to an episcopal see or to a cathedral church.

<sup>97</sup> Inhabitants: *mqopni*, lit. 'those being (there)'. This could refer to the people living in Jerusalem, or to the monasteries located there.

*Arm.* Cyprus, and holy Jerusalem. On Mount Sinai he built a monastery; yearly he sent much treasure, a thousand- and a myriad fold, and also books, holy vessels—who can number them?<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> For the various centres of Georgian monastic and scholarly activity outside Georgia see L. Menabde, *Jveli k'art'uli mcerlobis kerebi*, 2 vols (Tbilisi, 1962), ii. 433–43, 'Seats of Ancient Georgian Literature Abroad' (with an English summary). See D. K'Idiašvili, *REGC* 5 (1989), 107–28 for an icon of St. George at Sinai with a picture of David painted between 1104 and 1118.

*Geo.* Jerusalem with multifarious offerings. And even more than this: for on the mountain of Sinai, where Moses and Elias saw God,<sup>98</sup> he built a monastery and granted it many thousands of gold (coins), loads of curtains, a complete set of ecclesiastical books, and holy vessels of refined gold.

Furthermore, who could reckon up the daily expenditures which he provided by his own hand secretly, except our Father in heaven who recompenses openly? For he had a little bag; he would fill it with money daily by his own reliable hand, and in the evening he would bring it (back) empty with joyful heart and countenance. Sometimes he would dispense a half of it, and sometimes no one would be found; then he would put it aside full for the morrow and say with a sigh: 'Today I gave nothing to Christ through the fault of my sins.' Now he did not make this offering from (the taxes) of his officials,<sup>99</sup> nor from his stores, but from the profit of his own hands. From this (source) he once gave to his father confessor John<sup>100</sup> about 24,000 drachmas for him to distribute to the poor. It is impossible to describe (more than) this little from the multitude. He did not only liberate monasteries and lavras from the oppression of tax-gatherers, but in his realm he also (freed) priests from all impositions and taxes so that they might be free to devote themselves to the service of God.

In addition to these, how many churches did he build, how many bridges over violent rivers, how many roads difficult of passage did

<sup>98</sup> Moses 'saw' God on Mt. Sinai, Exod. 19. But the 'word of the Lord' came to Elias (Elijah) on Mt. Horeb, 3 Kgds. 19.

<sup>99</sup> Officials: *helosani*; see above, Q310 n. 38.

<sup>100</sup> Father confessor: *mogguari*, usually 'teacher, master', but also found in this sense; see Čubinov, s.v. John is thus the Catholicos, mentioned below, Q356. The Index in Q does not identify these two, listing them separately.

Geo.

he pave with stone, how many [354] churches profaned by the heathen did he purify as houses of God, how many pagan peoples did he lead to become sons of holy baptism and receive for Christ! He expended the most effort for this, that he might win the whole world away from the devil and consecrate them to God; whereby he acquired the grace of apostleship like Paul and like the great Constantine.<sup>101</sup> Among his other virtues he possessed also this: in his journeys through his realms with a multitude of troops, because of the rapidity of his travel plaintiffs, the oppressed, and the suffering, were not easily able to encounter him, nor could those who had need to have (their cases) examined, or who required royal help—unless one climbed up on some hillock near the road or on a rock, or even a tree like Zacchaeus.<sup>102</sup> If any such person was found who thus made known his complaint, then men of good knowledge would be appointed to examine the plaintiffs, from whom they would obtain redress. Frequently we have seen his cheeks damp from weeping at the sight of those afflicted and disfigured by various illnesses which affect these fallible and miserable bodies (of ours), and which occur particularly in the land of K'ut'at'isi. Who could reckon up the captives whom he liberated and whom he ransomed with his own money from the Kipchaks? Who is capable of expounding the honours rendered him by the monks whom he met and greeted with humility and received with love, and the multifarious gifts and necessities whereby he relieved them of all wants?

This wise king possessed this further virtue, whereby he was held in awe by everyone—he had received this gift and totally marvellous ability from God: neither in distant (realms) nor in his own kingdom, nor among the men in his armies, great or small, was any good deed [355] accomplished or evil word spoken, that was totally hidden; but whatever anyone might do or say in private, all was known to him. He would even explain some people's own desires and thoughts to them; they were astounded. The ascetic labours and virtues of distant monks in their cells were known clearly to him; and he was aware of the measure of their distance from the

<sup>101</sup> For Constantine the Great as an 'apostle' see the references in Lampe, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἀπόστολος E.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Luke 19: 5.

*Arm.* He also wished to unite the Armenians and Georgians. So he summoned John, Catholicos of K'art'l, and Arsenios of K'art'l,<sup>55</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Arsenios *k'art'lec'it*: This term is not used elsewhere in *Arm.*, which generally uses the gen. of the noun.

*Geo.* church; he would praise and bless them for their endurance. Do not demand, O reader, how this was done. He only knew what profit was gained from them; for he did not act with any false motive or in order to judge blameworthy deeds, or to make enquiries about any one. Not at all. Far from it! Thereby he undertook great deeds and especially urgent actions. This was the cause for many good results: first, no one among those great or small dared to think of disloyalty or deceit or any treachery. Nor (did they dare) to speak against anyone, either to their spouse or among those who shared their bed, or to their friends or their children. For everyone knew this for sure, that when it issued from his mouth his words were indubitably made known to the king. Many were punished and convicted for such things. Therefore no one ever plotted treachery during his days, but everyone was cautious and on guard about everything.

Furthermore, the prelates, priests and deacons, monks, and all men behaved alike in proper order on the path that leads to all virtues. Through awe of him they did not dare to walk irregularly, since they knew that nothing [356] was hidden from him, and that from him (they would receive) praise for their virtue but reproach for impure and unlawful deeds. No one who lived in village or in city, no warrior,<sup>103</sup> nor anyone of rank or maturity dared to follow a crooked path. For all men kept to good order, everyone (obeyed) the law, everyone (observed) honour, and even all the debauched took care. Fear was on all, and they followed the paths of piety and peace. These great deeds, only possible from God, he carried out with such ease as no one else could so easily accomplish. Therefore great fear and awe of him was noised to the ends of the world, and all inhabitants of the earth were terrified.

There gathered once in the presence of the king that perverse nation, a large number of the bishops and abbots of the totally wicked Armenians, who imagined that they themselves had attained the summit of all learning and science. They requested

<sup>103</sup> Warrior: *mhedari*, lit. 'cavalryman'.



translator of the Georgian and Greek languages, and Armenian bishops and *vardapets*;<sup>56</sup> and he held a council. Arm.

From dawn to dusk they examined the matter, but did not reach mutual agreement. Then the king said: 'We are unversed in these profound questions which you have introduced and are unable<sup>57</sup> to

<sup>56</sup> *Vardapets*: This is an addition appropriate for an Armenian council. ABCD read 'bishop' in the singular.

<sup>57</sup> Unable: V and Abulaje add the negative *oē*, which is omitted in ABCD but is required by the sense.

that by his command a council be summoned and a debate and enquiry held about religion. If the Armenians were defeated, they would accept unity of religion and would anathematize their own religion. But if the Armenians were victorious, they would only ask that we no longer call them heretics or anathematize them. Then the king summoned John, the Catholicos of K'art'li, the bishops under him, the hermits, Arsen Iqalt'oeli—the translator who knew both the Greek and Georgian languages and who illuminated all the churches—and other knowledgeable and wise men.<sup>104</sup> Geo.

They conducted a mutual debate from dawn until the ninth hour, but they were not able to reach a conclusion, because on both sides there were merely a desire for victory and a disputation of vain words. For they entered into impenetrable questions difficult to resolve, [357] which irritated the king. So he said to them: 'Fathers, you have tackled certain divine and incomprehensible questions, like philosophers. We, like unlearned men and complete rustics, have not been able to understand anything. This is known to you, that I am far from learning and knowledge, as one raised among campaigns.<sup>105</sup> Therefore I shall propose to you words (understandable) by the unlearned, simple, and common people.' After saying this he began to address them in words which indubitably God put in his mouth. He set out such parables and examples (supported) by wonderful arguments that were incontrovertible and incontestable, whereby he drowned them like the Egyptians, and closed their mouths and rendered them completely speechless and unable to respond, as once the great Basil (did) in

<sup>104</sup> John's election was mentioned above, Q326 at n. 33, in some MSS of the K'C', and Arsen, Q334 at n. 53.

<sup>105</sup> Campaigns: *mhedroba*, the abstract noun from *mhedari*, for which see just above at n. 103.

*Arm.* resolve.' He himself in simple and clear language pacified the two parties and dismissed the council.

Now he loved the Armenian nation and their churches and a certain scholar, the *vardapet* at Halbat called Sarkawag. He used to confess his sins to him; and lowering his venerable head he would be blessed by him. He would sit with him and embrace his neck, and he would say: 'I am wasting away and smell badly from my old age; remove yourself from me lest you be bothered.' But the king would kiss him and say: 'May this odour never fail me, honourable father.' He bestowed on him a village near the monastery

*Geo.* Athens.<sup>106</sup> These dissenters he made so terrified and completely powerless that they openly confessed his victory over the debaters: 'O king, we thought you a disciple of your teachers; but, as we see, you are certainly the teacher of teachers, whose claw<sup>107</sup> these supposed teachers of yours cannot attain.' So greatly blaming themselves, they returned in confusion, never again daring to do such a thing.

There are some detractors of the king for conducting so aggressively his attacks and expeditions, and for the pressure of his tireless comings and goings. They say: 'A bow does not submit to perpetual tension, nor can the string of an instrument (endure) perpetual stretching, since at the time of their use [358] each of them will be found useless.' Such completely groundless things do they say about his blameless character. But listen to such arguments as these. First, he acquired the small kingdom of Ap'xazet'i. It had declined and become weak both from the taking of captives and from the aforementioned calamities. Its cavalry troops had diminished and they too were in distress from frequent flight before their enemies, without horses or arms. They were completely unable to hold ranks against the Turks, and were very timid. Should his troops not have been trained by such harmless expeditions and gradual engagements, and by his noble instruction and resourceful leadership, and through adaptation by many victories? They were emboldened by valiant battles, by his praises and the giving of gifts; whereas the cowards were dressed in women's clothes and mockingly insulted. Did he not struggle until among his troops

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43, on Basil, ch. 33.

<sup>107</sup> Claw: *brčali*, as in the lion simile above, Q346.

to support him. When the latter blessed the king, placing his hands on his head he would say: 'I have found David my servant, and with holy oil I have anointed him', as far as ten verses.<sup>58</sup> And the king was delighted. He used to praise the beautifully fashioned Armenian translation (of the Bible). [123] In truth we saw fulfilled with regard to the king the saying of the psalm; and many of its words were appropriate to him. For he was saved from many traps<sup>59</sup> by God—inconceivably for men.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Ps. 88: 21.

<sup>59</sup> Traps: *orogayt'*, cf. Ps. 90: 3, etc.

<sup>60</sup> Kirakos, 113–14, eulogizes Sarkawag (Yovhannēs the 'deacon') and describes King David's love for Armenians. Vardan, *Chronicle*, 121, also refers to Sarkawag blessing the king. Yovhannēs is also known as the 'philosopher' (*imastasēr*). For his life and works see A. G. Abrahamyan, *Hovhannes Imastaseri Matenagrut'yun'* (Erevan, 1956). He died in 1129.

there was not found any cowardly intention, so that so many victories were gained or so many kingdoms were overcome? Was this by sleeping, or by carousing on grassy spots, by enjoyment and engaging in indecent behaviour? Not so. Nor did Alexander act thus. For first he gathered (the forces) of his native land, and with them captured the west—Europe, Italy, Rome, and Africa. Having overcome these, he seized Egypt, marching from Carthage, and from Egypt Palestine and Phoenicia. And after making Cilicia his, he attacked Darius. When he had gained Persia, then he conquered Poros the Indian. And in this way, one after the other, he covered the whole world. He accomplished what [359] he did; except with an army of Georgians Alexander would not have attained such a good result.<sup>108</sup> So if David had controlled the kingdom of the Persians or the force of the Greeks and Romans, or of other great realms, then you would have seen his accomplishments superior to those of other famous men.

I shall explain a second reason for his same success, for the race of Georgians has been disloyal to its lords from the very beginning.<sup>109</sup> When they become rich, turn fat, and have found fame and ease, they begin to plot evil, as the old *Book of K'art'li*<sup>110</sup> informs us and their deeds now visible. The wisest of all men knew

<sup>108</sup> The *Alexander Romance* has no reference to Georgian troops, nor does it claim that Alexander visited Western Europe.

<sup>109</sup> For Georgian disloyalty cf. above, Q274.

<sup>110</sup> i.e. the section of the *K'C'* that precedes this one, Q249–317.

*Geo.* this well. Therefore he did not give them time to plot thus, or to take their ease, or to join together and accomplish anything of this kind; but rather he carried out the actions which he began to effect, grandly and splendidly. Surely they cannot blame the lion for such things, since he does not hide his eyes like a monkey or shake with fright like a marten. His detractors put out another complaint: 'One person he would love and one he would promote, yet another he would hate and abase; this one he would elevate and this one bring low.' What injustice, what foolishness! Is he to be blamed because a man (created) from dust is likened to God by such deeds? Who ever saw this, O man? Why, foolish one, do you not blame God who acts in the same way? Did he not give ten talents to the one who made five talents into ten? And did he not take from him who hid his talent that one and add it as eleventh to the ten?<sup>111</sup> Otherwise why are the pleasures of paradise and the blessings of the kingdom of heaven promised to those who truly work God's will, but terrible (punishments) to the disobedient and unworthy? If the king honours the loyal, the prudent, and the valiant instead of the disloyal, the cowards, and the unworthy, what injustice has he done? And should the ugly man blame [360] the mirror because it shows his image clearly? Let the useless and unworthy not blame him, but their own selves.

Who, then, was so exact in weighing deeds and so knowledgeable of the character of men, in whose shadow were gathered the peoples, races, and tongues, the kings and rulers of the Ossetes and Kipchaks, of Armenia and P'ranget'i,<sup>112</sup> of Šarvan and Persia, as in the vision of Nebuchadnezzar: 'I saw', he said, 'a tree in the middle of the world rising up to the summit of heaven, and its branches (stretched) to the ends of the earth. Its leaves were beautiful and its fruit numerous and nourishing to all around it. Beneath it dwelt the beasts of the land, and among its branches dwelt the birds of the sky, and from it all bodily things were nourished.'<sup>113</sup> That is not a misleading image, but one that corresponds exactly to our monarch and fully expresses in words the facts seen by our eyes. For those who thirsted to see his pleasantness, goodness, and wisdom gathered before him from the ends of the earth. Who was so

<sup>111</sup> Matt. 25: 14-29; cf. David 'multiplying his talents', above, Q329 at n. 39.

<sup>112</sup> P'ranget'i: the land of the Franks; for P'rangi see Q325.

<sup>113</sup> Dan. 4: 10-12.

Once when hunting deer he fell from his horse and remained motionless for three days like a corpse; then he rose up by the

Arm.

pleasant to meet, who so charming in conversation and so agreeable in silence? He was handsome of form and even more elegant in the adornment of his body; upright of stature and noble of figure; powerful in (bodily) strength, and even stronger in acuteness; delightful in his smile, and even more so in distress; graceful of aspect, fearsome like a lion in striking terror; wise in understanding, wiser in decision; simple in demeanour, methodical in conduct, turning to anger quietly, using praise to instruct, yet not swamping any of the virtuous immeasurably. He was stately with regard to the proud, and humble with the meek; even to his enemies he was amiable and beloved because of the virtues that he possessed. Who [361] has attained to such an extent a single one of those virtues; who of all (men) has gathered them all, each one in perfection? It is impossible even to admire, let alone imitate, all those in which he became perfect. He was like a ship filled with an invaluable cargo of virtues, but unable to leave for Gadira.<sup>114</sup>

Geo.

He provided peace in every region and calm for his realms. Then the great Predestinator of our lives, who changes everything for the best by his providence, who knows and establishes our times and years, thus arranged matters like the good labourer. When he sees the ears of corn full of fruit and bent to the ground, he hastens to store them up. Likewise the wise captain, when he is bringing home his ship filled with multifarious cargoes, hastens to bring it to port, lest it be damaged by the agitated sea of this world. For during the winter, a time of peace and quiet for the whole kingdom, not only outside the frontiers but also inside his realms, at the (place) previously chosen by himself for rest and sleep,<sup>115</sup> as if in sweet slumber he slept with his fathers. This itself is sufficient to make known his special belonging to God. For he often fell into many occasions for, and dangers of, death—of which I shall give a brief explanation.

As he was once pursuing game at Muxnari, his horse fell and he was so badly injured that for three whole days he remained lying down without moving; only from his breathing was he known to

<sup>114</sup> Gadira: *gadirt'a*, i.e. Gades (Cádiz).

<sup>115</sup> (Place) previously chosen: *ganč'inebult'a*. This passive participle is plural and is probably to be taken with *adgilt'a*, 'realms'. David died in Tp'ilisi and was buried at Gelati; his grave is at the South Gate of that complex.

*Arm.* power of the sacrament.<sup>61</sup> Again, when he was attacking some fortress, an arrow shot from the battlement struck the image<sup>62</sup> of Gabriel which was hanging from his neck, and he was thereby saved through the angel's intercession.

<sup>61</sup> By the power of the sacrament: *xorhrdoyn zawrut'eamb*. Although such theological additions are dear to *Arm.*, the translator may have thought that *jlit'ga*, 'with an effort', required explanation; literally translated into Armenian it is *zawrut'eamb*. Just below 'divine power', (*jali sagmert'o*), becomes 'the angel's intercession'.

<sup>62</sup> Image: *patker* in AC, *eres*, lit. 'face', in BD.

*Geo.* be alive. But after three days, when he expelled the congealed blood, his senses and speech returned, and with an effort he stood up alive. Such things happened to him often, and God saved him from death. Likewise, they were attacking some fortress in K'art'li, and the king was standing at the door of his tent at midday, clad only in a shirt. An arrow, shot from the fortress, [362] struck the small golden image of the Archangel which was hanging from his neck. So divine power rescued him safely. How often did the Kipchaks plot treachery and designate strong men, some with swords, some with lances, others with arrows! And this not once, twice, or three times, but frequently. But never did God allow that 'the rod of sinners touch the righteous,' nor did he 'give him into the hands of those who sought' him.<sup>116</sup> If he often found himself pursued by the Turks, alone and unarmed, yet on every occasion the hand of the One on High protected him from his pursuers. In all of his deeds he was completely blessed by fate and fortune, and filled with grace.

Thus at a good and appropriate time God summoned the one who loved him and who longed for his eternal kingdom and his presence. He did not allow him to remain and be afflicted for a long time by dwelling in this temporary land, to be bound to his rational soul under the weight of this body, or to rejoice in this corruptible crown and purple, which are like a dream and a phantom. But he took him to reign with him where in real and steadfast truth, immutably and eternally, God rules over those made divine by grace, adorned with the incorruptible and glorious crown and purple where he now dwells and lives in the light of the godhead.

<sup>116</sup> Ps. 124: 3, Jer. 22: 25.

Having in this fashion accumulated these virtues, he fell ill when it was near the time for him to change this earthly life for the heavenly one, in the fifty-third year of his life, on the 25th of the month of January. He installed (on the throne) . . . .<sup>63</sup> Arm.

<sup>63</sup> The Armenian text breaks off in mid-phrase.

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It was then the month of January, the 24th day, a Saturday, 345 of the *k'ronikoni*,<sup>117</sup> but fifty-three years from his birth. [363] He reigned for thirty-six years; and like the first David for Solomon,<sup>118</sup> he too with his own hand set on his throne his own son Dimitri, his exact likeness but different by name, similar in every way to his paternal origins. He placed on his handsome head the crown of precious gems—rather, I should say, of his father's virtues. He girded his strong waist with a sword, which indeed he put to fortunate use; and he clothed in purple his lion-like arms and noble body. He wished him a righteous life and length of days with good fortune; that the kings of the earth would do him obeisance, and all the heathen serve him; that justice and great peace would shine out in his days. In this way he exchanged the life here below for the heavenly kingdom, the inhabitants of which are freed from trouble and sweat and worry. There he enjoys the riches which he sent before him, those great treasures which are safe from the depredation of thieves and from exhaustion, in that city whose beauty is not visible to the bodily eye and whose brilliance does not enter the corporeal heart, nor can the ear contain its report. For there reign ease and joy which contain no bitterness, and wealth to which no poverty ensues, and rejoicing which is not diminished by grief, a kingdom which has no end; and there is life which death does not disturb. Geo.

<sup>117</sup> i.e. AD 1125. For the chronology of this passage see above, Q324 n. 22.

<sup>118</sup> 3 Kgds. 1. But there David did not crown Solomon with his own hands.

## APPENDIX

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### Later Additions to the Georgian text after the Armenian version was made, called 'interpolations' (*c'anart'i*) by Q

1. Q36, BP<sup>1</sup>Tb: '... so that we may render the law of our fathers unalterable and confirm it, and fulfil the teaching of Moses, lest by this new religion which someone is preaching to us, the simpler persons of our religion be led astray. And let us seek revenge by his death.' Then Elios set off, an elderly man whose mother was of the line of the priest Eli, and who also had a sister. On his departure his mother begged her son: 'Depart, beloved son, at the summons of the Lord and the precept of the law. But merely mark what I bid you. Do not link your acknowledgement to that wicked plot of theirs, nor participate in the shedding of his blood. Do not, my son, I beg you, do not. For know without doubt that this is a saying of the prophets which was taught from the beginning.'

2. Q37, BP<sup>1</sup>Tb: Now at the time that they nailed the Lord (to the Cross) in Jerusalem, when the hammer was hitting the nails, at that very moment the mother of Elios heard the sound in Mc'xet'a. With a frightened cry she cried out and said: 'Farewell, kingdom of Israel; for you, O miserable and ruined ones, have witlessly killed the Lord and Saviour of all and you have wickedly become murderers of your Creator. Woe to you, wretched ones. What lamentation will ever be found like unto that of which you are worthy? But even more woe to me, because before my death my ears heard the news of all this grief.' At the moment of her speaking, straightway the woman died in extreme and unutterable grief and distress.

When the impious Jews threw lots for the Lord's tunic at the Crucifixion of the Lord, the providence of God assigned it to the Jews of Mc'xet'a. Elios and Longinos left Jerusalem and brought the holy tunic. When Elios entered Mc'xet'a, straightway his sister came to meet him with fearful lamentation and weeping. Dissolved in tears, she embraced the neck of her beloved brother. But when she saw the most beloved of all dear things, the tunic of our Saviour, then with desire and love she hugged it to her breast. Immediately her soul departed from that woman for three reasons. First, because of the death and passion of the Lord; second, because her brother had shared in the Lord's blood; and third, since her mother's death from



grief had been reported to her. Because all this distress had come upon her at once, therefore she was overcome by human nature and death was the sentence in distress from such great afflictions.

Straightway the entire city of Mc'xet'a heard of this great wondrous event. When it became known, the king and all the nobles and all the people, all alike were astonished at this fearsome happening. When King Aderki saw the holy tunic, because of its beauty he greatly desired to clothe his own defiled body with that garment. But because of the miracle and on account of what had happened, he did not wish to remove it from the breast of the corpse. Elios buried his sister in an appropriate tomb. Since she had the tunic close to her breast, in that fashion he buried her. So that holy tunic stayed holy and remained as pure as before, as it is clearly written in *The Conversion of K'art'li*.

[38] After the ascension of the Lord, when the apostles drew lots, then on the all-holy Mother of God fell the lot of converting the land of Georgia. In a vision her Son, our Lord, appeared to her and said: 'O my mother, not unwillingly shall I make that people more co-operative than all other nations through your intercession for them. But do you send to that portion which has fallen to your lot Andrew the First-called, and have him take your image just as it is imprinted by the placing of your face. So instead of yourself, they will have your image to protect them for ever.' Then the all-holy one said to the apostle Andrew: 'My son Andrew, it seems to my soul a serious matter that the name of my Son has not been preached in the land which is my lot. When I was setting out to preach my Son in that land which fell to my lot, suddenly my good Son and God appeared to me and ordered that you go and take my image and that of my good Son to the land which fell to my lot, so that I may direct their salvation, stretch out my hand and help them, and that none of their enemies may overcome them.'

The apostle said to her: 'All-holy one, may the wish of your good Son and your own be done at all times.' Then the all-holy asked for a panel; she washed her face and placed (the panel) on her face. And her exact image was imprinted, her who had carried in her bosom the incarnate child, the all-good Word of God; which image of the all-holy Mother of God of Acqueri is now seen by everyone. She gave it to the apostle Andrew and said: 'May the grace and assistance of the Lord whom I bore be your support wherever you go. And I too am your helper in this preaching, and I shall greatly assist that portion which fell to my lot.' Then the apostle fell to the ground, with tears thanked the all-holy one, set out in joy, and went off to preach the gospel.

3. Q39, BP<sup>1</sup>b: Andrew came to the city of Trebizond, which is the country of the Megrelians, where he stayed a little time. He saw the bestial

stupidity of those dwelling around that city, so left there and entered the land of K'art'li which is called Great Ačara, and began to preach the gospel. For the people had become more stupid than animals and did not recognize God the creator, and behaved in all sorts of abominable and impure ways, which it is not right to describe. He endured many tribulations and trials from the impious. But with the help of God and of the holy image he suffered everything gracefully until he had converted them all and brought them to the faith. For on the spot where he had placed the image of the all-holy Mother of God there shot up a very beautiful and abundant spring, which up to today has flowed without ceasing. All the inhabitants gathered from every quarter of the country, and he baptized them all in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. And he appointed priests and deacons, and established the ritual and definitions of the faith. He built a beautiful church dedicated to the all-holy Mother of God. As the holy apostle wished to depart, they begged him and did not let him go, but said: 'If you depart, leave us here this image of the all-holy Mother of God as our hope and protection.' But the holy apostle Andrew fashioned a panel similar in size and placed it on the image. Immediately an unaltered picture of the image was imprinted on it, and he gave it to them. They accepted it with joy, and set it with honour in their church, which is kept there to this very day. They bade farewell to the holy apostle and wished him well. Having kissed him, they sent him on his way.

He set out and crossed the mountain which is called Rkinis-Juari (cross of iron); and it is said that the cross was erected by the blessed Andrew himself. After he had entered the valley of Ojraxi and had come to the borders of Samc'xe, he stayed in a village called Zaden-Gora. The apostle noticed and observed that the people of that region sacrificed to dumb animals. So the apostle prayed to the holy image, and all the idols fell down and were destroyed. The holy apostle went on and came to Acqueri, which was formerly called Sosanget'i, opposite Sak'risi. He stopped in a place which is now called Jvel-Ekklesia (old church) where there was a temple of idols in which they worshipped the idols. At that time their leader was a certain widow (named) Samjivari. She had a single son on whom she put all her hopes, but at that moment he had died. There was tearful lamentation and very great confusion. That night they saw a great light from the castle where he had placed the image of the all-holy one. They were greatly astonished as to what this was. When morning broke, they quickly sent men to see who was there or what this was. When these men saw the holy apostle and the image of the all-holy one, they rapidly came and informed the widow: 'There are some foreigners, [40] and they preach an unknown god as maker and creator, who grants life to men and raises the dead. And they have a beautiful image which they revere.'

When the woman heard the remark about the resurrection of the dead, she was astonished and a little encouraged in her heart. She sent her servants to summon the apostle. And when he came, the woman said to him: 'Who are you, where are you going, and what is this strange teaching of yours that you preach? For such a report has never been heard.' The holy apostle responded and said: 'I come from the holy city of Jerusalem, where the feet of the Lord stepped, at Golgotha and Bethlehem, imitations of heaven. I am a servant and apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, who instantaneously raises the dead. I preach him as God and Lord and Ruler of all creatures. Whoever believes in him and is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit is given whatever he requests in faith, and is cured of all diseases.'

When the woman heard this, she fell to the ground and with tears said to the apostle: 'Have mercy on my widowhood and misery. Since you are a servant of him who raises the dead, pray to your God and grant life to my son. Then whatever you command I shall obey you, and nothing shall I deny you if I see my son raised up; because he is my only one and there is no other.' The holy apostle replied and said: 'If you believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the true God who is preached by me, whatever you ask with faith, all will be given you by him.' When the woman heard this, she was filled with joy, and in tears said to the apostle: 'O servant of the true God, truly I believe in and confess Jesus Christ whom you preach; but help my unbelief.'

The apostle sent away all the people and the wailers, and left nobody there save the widow and a few of her relatives. He took in his hands the image of the all-holy Mother of God, and placed it on the bed where the child was lying. He began to pray and to beseech God with hands uplifted. After praying, he took hold of the child's hand and, as if from sleep, he thus raised him up and gave him to his mother. When they all saw this unparalleled marvel, they were greatly astonished and were quite unable to say anything. When the woman saw her son brought back to life, she stood up in joy. Falling at the feet of the apostle, with tears she did obeisance and acknowledged her thanks. She believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, and the woman was baptized with her son and all her household. Promptly she sent her servants and presented letters to the princes of Samc'xe, writing as follows: 'Behold, the widow announces to you, my brothers, a matter of great joy for all peoples. A certain man came from a foreign country, who preaches a foreign god; and he has a picture of heaven which raised up my dead son. Come now quickly, so that we may choose the best rite and religion and may know what we ought to do.' [41] When the Mesxians heard this wondrous report, they quickly gathered from all sides. There was such a large crowd of people that the valley of Sak'risi was filled. They were all astonished when they saw the son of the widow raised from the dead.

Now in that city there was an altar of the gods on which they ministered to their impure gods Artemis and Apollo. When the priests of falsehood saw what had happened, they were filled with envy and began to slander and oppose the apostle. Likewise some (among) the people said: 'It is right to worship the one who accomplished such a miracle;' while others said: 'Apollo and Artemis are great gods.' There was dissension and confusion among them, until with the approval of all the people they agreed to the following action and plan: 'Open the doors of the temple of the idols, and let us place this image between your idols, and let both parties together seal the door. Set guards, and do you pray tonight to your gods, while we shall pray to Jesus Christ our true God. Then we shall see in the morning. If your god is victorious, we must worship him. But if our God is victorious, all will worship him.'

They decided to act thus. They placed the image of the all-holy Mother of God between the idols, sealed the door, and set guards. The priests of falsehood began to pray, and the saint prayed to Christ our true God. When morning broke, they opened the door of the idolatrous (temple). They saw all their idols knocked to the ground and as if destroyed by an enemy; whereas the image of the all-holy Mother of God shone out brilliantly like the sun with glory and honour. Then the priests of the idols were filled with shame, and they asked forgiveness from the apostle for their ignorance. The whole people raised a cry of thanksgiving and said: 'Great is the God of the Christians whom the apostle Andrew preaches.' They all believed in our Lord Jesus Christ, and with joy all were baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. On that day the whole populace made great rejoicing, and they praised God who had saved them from the hands of the devil.

The holy apostle wished to go on further in order to preach the gospel of Christ to other cities and regions. But the woman and the entire people begged him not to depart from them but to instruct them day by day in the rites of the religion. The apostle heeded them, and stayed some time with them. He taught them the whole prescription of the religion and of the faith; and he appointed a bishop, priests, and deacons. Then he prepared to preach the gospel further on. Once more the widow and all the Mesxians begged him not to leave them. But St Andrew responded and said: 'I must preach the Lord's gospel to other cities and regions.' They said: 'If you go, leave us here the image of the all-holy one as our hope and protector.' The apostle replied and said: 'This image was formed by the imposition of the face of the all-holy Mother of God herself.' [42] And he told them everything in order: how after the ascension of the Lord the holy apostles had drawn lots for converting the whole world, and how to the all-holy Mother of God had fallen this land of Samc'xe, and in her place this image had been sent as hope and protector for those fallen to

her lot; and that it was right for it to remain dwelling here for time eternal.

When the widow and the Mesxians had heard this from the apostle, they were filled with even greater joy to know that (their land) had fallen as lot to the all-holy Mother of God. They thanked Christ and her who bore him immaculately; and acquired an even greater love and increased desire for that holy image. With tears of joy they glorified it; and they placed the all-glorious image of the all-holy Mother of God of Acqueri in the little chapel which is now called Jvel-Ekklesia. Then the holy apostle Andrew greeted them all with humility and love. He bade them farewell, and set out to preach to other places.

4. Q42, BP<sup>1</sup>Tb: Now after he had celebrated the feast of Pentecost, the glorious Andrew went on from there with the other apostles. They went from city to city and from village to village, teaching the people and working miracles. In that fashion they reached the land of K'art'li, then went through the land around Tao as far as the river Čorox. They went to all the villages of the area and untiringly preached the name of God. Preaching in this way they reached the land of Svanet'i.

In those days a certain female *mt'avari* governed that land; she believed in the preaching of the apostles. Matthias stayed with the other disciples in those regions. But the great Andrew, accompanied by Simon, entered the land of Ossetia and reached a city which was called P'ostap'ori. There they worked great miracles, and many people were converted and baptized. They went on and entered the land of Ap'xazet'i, and came to the city of Sevaste which is now called C'xumi. They preached the word of God, which many accepted. [43] There the blessed Andrew left Simon the Canaanite with other disciples. He himself went up to the land of Ĵik'et'i. But the people of that land, the Ĵik'ni, were hard-hearted, addicted to wicked deeds, irreligious, and insatiable. They did not receive the apostle's preaching, but wished to kill him. However, the grace of God saved him. When he saw their wretchedness and bestial intention, he left them and departed. For that reason up to now they have remained in unbelief. The tomb of Simon the Canaanite is in the city of Nikops, between Ap'xazet'i and Ĵik'et'i, because there St Simon the Canaanite was martyred. St Andrew further confirmed the Megrelians and Ap'xazians (in the faith), then went on to Scythia.

5. Q132, Tk: He was childless because he had no son. They begged God with fasting and zealous entreaties that they might be made worthy to be given a son, of which he was rendered worthy. For at the time when he returned from the country to his capital, Mc'xet'a, in the evening he stopped at the bank of the great river which is called the Mtkuari. And

when he had finished his evening prayer before going to sleep, for without praying he never supped or slept, while he was praying an angel shining in light appeared to him; his appearance terrified the king. But he said: 'Fear not, O king, because your entreaties have been heard before God, and he will give you a son who will be great and perfect before God and men, and he will bring back many people to God.' When the king woke up, with joyful heart he glorified God.

A little later the king's wife conceived and bore a son. The king made great rejoicing with all his kingdom at the time of his birth. They baptized him in the name of the holy Trinity and called him Murvan. Thus the saint was born at the message of an angel, like Samuel and Jeremiah. From the womb also he was holy, like the great Precursor. When he was given to instruction, in a short time he learnt all the scriptures, and [133] with understanding he read them through and learned them by heart, day and night. For he was wise and keen of mind, and the grace of the Lord was on him.

In the time of Theodosius the Less, king of the Greeks, there was enmity between the Greeks and Persians. King Theodosius was fearful lest the Georgians join the Persians and the Greeks be defeated. Therefore he requested an alliance with the king of the Georgians, and for the sake of strengthening it the more he also asked for hostages. In order that the Georgians should not be separated from the Greeks, the Georgian king fulfilled all the request of the Greeks. And he sent his own son Murvan, aged 12 years, as a hostage to the city of Constantinople with the other princes, in great honour and magnificence.

When they arrived and King Theodosius had been informed, with much contentment he had him brought to the royal palace. On seeing him, with such good wishes and love and embraces as if (he were) their own God-given son did King Theodosius and his wife Eudokia greet him, with all their court. When the child Murvan saw that the king and queen and all the court observed great piety in fasting, prayer, and almsgiving to the poor, he even more multiplied his austerities. He welcomed much fasting, immeasurable vigils, unending prayer, almsgiving, kindness, love, goodness, patience, and all spiritual fruits which are holy virtues, according to the holy apostle. But most of all and especially he undertook purity of soul and body like the great Joseph.

In a short time he learned the Greek language and all secular and philosophical study. Similarly, when he went to Jerusalem he turned to the learning of the Lord, and there he was tonsured as a monk. They named him Peter. He learned the Syriac language and literature, so that everyone was amazed at the wisdom and keenness of his mind. Daily he distributed to the poor the allowance which was given him from the palace. He wore a rough and uncomfortable sackcloth underneath his outer royal gar-

ments. He fasted for two days, three days, and even more for a week at a time. Because he was a great saint before God, he became the bishop of Moab by a vision and the command of Christ. Nobody was able to praise him (adequately) except Gregory Dialogus, the patriarch of Rome, who wrote his eulogy in his book.

6. Q133, BEPRbdk: Through the greeting of the angel he was granted a son, whom they called Murvan. This Murvan, from his mother's womb, became a great saint like the Precursor. He learned all the divine scriptures, and grew in stature and grace before God. When he was 12 years old, then the Greek king Theodosius the Less became fearful lest the Georgians join the Persians, so he asked Varaz-Bak'ar for Murvan as a hostage. He had him brought to Constantinople and educated like his own son in great luxury. Murvan, however, paid no heed at all to the glory of this world, but gave himself to prayer and fasting, and lived in purity. He wore underneath, next to his flesh, sackcloth of goat's hair, and with this he afflicted his body. Rapidly he learned the Greek language and Syriac, and all philosophy, so that he astonished everyone.

[134] He was granted from God the grace of curing the sick, which is described in his complete *Life*. On the night of Epiphany he was keeping vigil sleepless, and he told his servant to bring oil in order to light the lamp. But he disdained Murvan and reproached him: 'You are the son of a king, yet you have no desire for royalty but live like a monk, fasting from Sunday to Sunday.' Then Murvan lit the water in the lamp, without oil, and prayed in that fashion. For seven nights the lamp gave light with water. The Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him and promised to be with him continuously. And he accomplished many miracles by anointing the sick from that lamp.

Now the king had a eunuch, and they planned to depart together. But King Theodosius learned of it and posted guards. However, with the guidance of the Lord they escaped by night and set off. For a pillar of light guided them, like the Israelites, and they heard a voice from the pillar: 'Whoever follows me will not walk in darkness.' They found a ship and travelled for some days. But in a certain city they were apprehended by someone and shut up in prison. That night an earthquake took place, and thundering and much lightning. A certain man came to the commander of the city, and in fearsome manner said: 'Release the servants of God; otherwise this city will be ruined.' Terrified by this, he released them.

After this they came to Jerusalem. There was there a certain king by the name of Pininos, who had come from his principality of Rome with his wife. They had abandoned the world, and lived there. For they had become monastics, and had both built monasteries in which they each dwelt. They were received by them, and later came to the tomb of the

Lord. There they were tonsured as monks. Murvan was named Peter, and the eunuch John. Their ascetic practices and labours were indescribable. They built monasteries and hostels. Following this the devil tempted Peter, and reproved his abandoning his ancestral kingdom and not living properly by being a monk. He became angry and chased him away. After that Christ appeared to him once more; he showed him a church in the sky and fifty men chanting, beautiful of visage. And he promised him eternal glory.

He was forcibly ordained priest by the patriarch Anastasius. Then he went out into the desert and built monasteries there. He cured a wild man dwelling on the bank of the Jordan. He passed through all the deserts of Egypt and Scete and effected many miracles. Then he returned to his monastery and hostel. During a famine through his prayers he filled all these vessels: containers of flour, of beans, of oil, and of wine. At that time the bishop of Moab died. The men of that city assembled and requested Peter the Iberian. He did not obey the patriarch, but wished to throw himself from a high place and in that way to escape to other regions. However, [135] once more Christ appeared to him with a host of angels, and at the words of the Lord he accepted episcopal rank. Very often there was heard in the city a voice from on high which spoke to Peter the Iberian. He caused rain during drought, made the sterile bear, cured the sick, made the fruitless fruitful, made fishermen successful. God gave him the grace of prophecy and of seeing the souls of the saints. For when the souls of Father Isaiah and of Father Zenon of Scete left their bodies, he saw them ascending to heaven.

After this he was aware of his own departure from the body, and informed everyone. A certain brother Athanasius saw a vision concerning Peter: the saints begged God: 'Command Peter the Iberian to be brought to us, because he has greatly mortified his body.' Ten days later he commanded him to come. After this he prayed for ten days in his cell. He came out on the tenth day and offered the holy sacrifice. He participated in the holy mysteries, communicated them to the others, blessed them, and bade farewell. He went to his cell, lay down, and fell asleep on the second of the month of December. Some pious men saw his holy soul being led by a host of saints, with singing and praising; they were led by the priest-martyr Peter of Alexandria. Many sick who touched his holy body were cured, as is written in his *Life*.

Gregory Dialogus, the holy patriarch of Rome, has written a long eulogy of this blessed one in his book.

But let us return to our first subject.

7. Q156, Tkn: So he subdued the Ossetes and Kipchaks. And he built the gates of Ossetia, which we call Darian. Above them he built high towers,



and he posted the neighbouring mountain people to guard them. The great nations of the Ossetes and Kipchaks cannot pass through them without the permission of the king of the Georgians.

8. Q207, Bbp: Now the Georgians requested Justinian that kinsmen of the Georgians should be installed as Catholicoi; for the Catholicoi used to come from Greece. Justinian wrote a letter and sealed it with his own seal to this effect, that kinsmen of the Georgians should be installed as Catholicoi. And they had supremacy over all the churches and bishops.

9. Q208, BPRtbd: The names of the holy disciples: John Zedazadeneli, Davit' Garesjeli, Stepane Xirseli, Ioseb Alaverdeli, Zenon Iqalt'oeli, Antoni Martomqop'eli, Ise Cilneli, T'at'e Step'ancmideli, Šio Mgvimeli, Isidore Samt'avneli, Abibos Nekreseli, Mik'el Ulumbeli, Piros Bret'eli, and the deacon Elia. Many others also learned from that holy father, holy men, and spiritual fathers living at the time. After 420 years our holy father Arseni, Catholicos of K'art'li, sought and enquired. Part we have read from books, and part was known from their deeds. So we shall write the lives and actions of those holy fathers in order to inform us who believe and to praise the holy Trinity, now and continuously, and for ever and ever, Amen.

10. Q208, BPRtbcd: Now we shall begin their lives in brief.

John was from the land of Mesopotamia. Of his parents we are ignorant, but only (know) that the heavenly Father was his begetter. He was educated and became proficient in all learning, and was adorned with total virtue. Therefore he was given by God the (ability) to cure sickness and expel demons, whereby he accomplished many miracles. Since he suffered much pestering, he therefore fled to the desert and dwelt there. But there he received a command from an angel that he should go to K'art'li with his twelve disciples. He arrived at Mc'xet'a, and with the permission of the king and the blessing of the Catholicos ascended Mount Zaden; there he dwelt as a hermit. On that mountain formerly idols had been erected, so a host of demons had settled there. By the prayers of the holy father John they were all expelled from the mountain. His disciples he sent out under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, some to K'art'li, and some to Kaxet'i, and some to the desert of Garesja. [209] Then John, our worthy father, stayed there with a single disciple, and endured from the devil many attacks and trials. But he showed himself victorious over them all.

After this, through his prayers, God made flow a sweet fountain in a waterless spot. By drinking from it, or touching it, many from among the humble people were cured. After this he chased away peaceably a bear that was living by the fountain. From then on the bears of the mountain no

more harmed anyone, right up to today, so tame have the roaming bears become. They brought to him a man who had been paralysed for a long time, and by his prayers he was immediately cured. They led up another man in whom there was a dumb demon. He prayed over him, and immediately the demon was expelled and fled from him. The man was cured and praised God. I have described these few out of his many miracles.

When he reached the (time of) departure from the flesh, he summoned the deacon Ilia and some of his other disciples, and instructed and strengthened them. He saw the hosts of heaven coming to him, so he entrusted his soul into their hands and fell peacefully asleep. They embalmed his holy body and brought it to his dwelling-place, where he had led an ascetic life there on that same mountain. After his death he worked many miracles, about which the complete *Life* of St John will inform you.

The holy father Davit' was from the land of Mesopotamia. Of his parents we have no knowledge. He came to study with John, then left for the desert of Garesja with only a single disciple whose name was Lukiane. They suffered very much from the heat of the sun and the ice of winter. After this, like the father of Basil the Great, they were nourished by deer. For fawns would come and give milk, and they would eat the clotted cheese; except that they did not come on Wednesdays and Fridays. A short time later a ferocious dragon, which was living among rocky clefts in a valley, ate one of the fawns. It was expelled by the word of Davit', and burned up by a thunderbolt in the vale of Qarai. A magnate Bubak'ar, while hunting partridges, encountered the saint and intended to kill him with his sword. But his extended hand dried up; on the intercession of the saint it was restored to its undamaged state. And he cured in the twinkling of an eye the sons of Bubak'ar, who were cripples. His fame spread round-about, and very many people became his disciples, and they dug many wells. [210] The worthy Dodo also came and stayed with him.

After this the saint rendered sweet the bitter waters which flow up until today around the monastery of Bert'uban, and he performed many miracles. Then the saint set out for the city of Jerusalem on foot. (When he reached the place) where it is seen from the hills, he did not deign to enter there, but turned round, knelt down, and picked up three stones. These he put in a bag, and then set off back. The patriarch saw a vision about this, and runners caught up with the saint. They took away two of the stones, but granted him one. He went on, bringing that stone. His miracles had been reported to the patriarch by an angel: that he would not give him three stones, but he could bring the third, as a souvenir of the holy city, here to the desert; since to pray here three times is equivalent to going once to Jerusalem. After this he entrusted his soul to God, and his holy body was buried at his dwelling-place, the monastery of Garesja.

(T adds: His miracles and ascetic feats are written down in full in his complete *Life*. During the lifetime of this holy father Davit', Father Dodo came from Kaxet'i. He left that same holy father for the desert and dwelt there. He built a very large monastery in which he performed many ascetic labours and works. His *Life* describes for you his miracles, life, and asceticism. After this he entrusted his soul to God, and his holy body was buried at his dwelling.)

The holy father Šio was from the city of Antioch. From his childhood he had abandoned the world, and became a disciple of Father John. When the holy John went off to K'art'li, through the guidance of the divine Spirit he did not neglect his spiritual father. So the worthy Šio went with him. On reaching K'art'li, the city of Mc'xet'a, he became desirous of tranquility and solitude. He asked permission from the Catholicos and from Father John, and the holy Šio went to the west of Mc'xet'a, on the right side of the river Mtkuari, to the very deep valleys of the (place) called Mgvime. His flesh was racked by the heat of the sun and the ice of winter. He found a cave hewn out of a cliff, and took refuge in it from the cold and the heat. Now benevolent God did not neglect his great asceticism; but just as he nourished Elijah by a crow, likewise here too he brought him food daily by a dove.

After this, one day a rich and notable man by the name of Evagre went out hunting with birds. Standing alone on the top of the cliff he saw the dove carrying the food, realized (what it was), and was astonished in his mind. The next day he did the same as before. So he followed the dove and saw an aged ascetic. He envied the old man's endurance and did not wish to leave him. 'Father, make me worthy [211] to live with you, so that I may complete my days in tranquility.' Saint Šio said to him: 'Take my rod. If on either side the river allows you to pass and the water parts, it is the will of God. Then come here. But if it does not give you passage, live at home and in voluntary piety.' He promptly left his home, like Moses. Twice the rod parted the Mtkuari. Evagre went up to Father Šio without looking back as Lot did on Sodom, for fear lest he be turned into a pillar of salt. He practised endurance, prayer, vigils, and monastic asceticism. After this St Šio said to him: 'O my son Evagre, we should have a church where the Lord wishes that we should go up to beseech God.' On the very top of the cliff in his left hand (he held) a thurible and cast its fire about, while with his right hand he made the sign of the cross. Brought to the summit by the smoke of the thurible, he found the place where the Lord wished a church. He built a church to the all-holy Mother of God. Thus he became a monk, and his fame spread. From all the villages round about came numberless persons in order to be monks.

All food, even water, had to be fetched; they used donkeys as pack-animals. He gave commands to wolves, and they set wolves to guard the

donkeys. One day the donkey of the old (monk) Konon, having fallen over the cliff, did not come home. The old monk said to St Šio: 'What is this you have done? You appointed a wolf to guard the donkeys, and mine has been eaten.' The wolf was accustomed, when it was leading the donkeys, that the monks would crumble bread and it would eat. But now, having been accused, it trembled and tried to wrap itself in the monk's coat-tails. Accompanying it, he saw the donkey fallen into the crevices of the rock, and found it lying unconscious. He let the wolf go, and commanded it: 'Be no more a source of harm to this place.' These miracles have remained (in effect) until today, because these beasts cause no harm to the animals of the valley. He also performed many other miracles.

After this he appointed Evagre as father of the monks, and himself went to Lakua, to a dark cave inaccessible to men. How could be described his praying, his concern for those beset by demons, his tears and supplications to the Lord? In these he brought his life to a noble end. He requested from a priest the holy (communion) and departed to the Lord. He was buried at the same place [212] where he had performed his asceticism, and his tomb is considered to this day as the hope of the Georgians. Yearly his relics are produced in order to strengthen the faithful and to astonish the unbelievers. While he was still alive he performed many miracles. He parted the great Aragvi river, made a cripple walk, pacified the angered king, purified one tormented by impure (spirits), granted a child to the childless, and made that son Catholicos. His holy body was placed in his dwelling-place and cave of ascetic practice.

The holy father Ise Cilkneli was a disciple of the holy father John. We are ignorant of his parents and of his place of origin, except that we know that he accompanied John and that the Catholicos of K'art'li ordained him by force as priest for the church of the holy Mother of God in the land of Muxran at the village of Cilkan. By his teaching he converted many unbelievers, and he spread his learning and preaching among his flock. In that village they had been reduced to despair by lack of water. Therefore, because the K'san was far away and there were a forest and a high mountain between them, one day he picked up his rod, entered (the church), and interceded before the image of the Mother of God. Then he went to the bank of the K'san and commanded the water: 'By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and of Mary the Mother of God, I command you, O river; come out and follow me, and follow the point of my rod.' It followed him over an untrodden and pathless areas, as he led it like a servant. They came as far as Cilkan, and up to today that water flows as a river. After that he practised many austerities (aided) by the Lord. He served with joy and accomplished the duty of the priesthood. Then he entrusted his worthy and holy soul to God, and his most honourable body was brought to that same monastery of Cilkan, where it is visible even now as the hope and asylum of the Georgians.

The holy father Antoni of Mesopotamia, who was a disciple of Father John, was very virtuous and renowned among hermits. This totally blessed one (brought) the holy image of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had been imprinted with the form of his face on the cloth and had accomplished for Abgar his hope. After the Ascension it was sent to him by the hand of Thaddaeus; and it cured him of leprosy to which he was subject, so that he was baptized with all his household by Thaddaeus. After this the son of Abgar and also his grandson inherited his kingdom, but not his piety. For they apostatized from his piety and became servants of the pomp of demons. When Abgar abandoned demons and after he had broken and rejected (their images), he (his grandson) wished to take vengeance in order to compensate the demons for the destruction of their old temple, by destroying the image of the Lord which Abgar had erected over the gates of the city, where had been set [213] an impure idol. For there he had placed the image of the cloth, stretched out on a plank, so that all who entered might see and adore it. Then Abgar's impure grandson chose depravity in place of happiness. He denied the image and followed the demons, and determined to destroy the image of Christ.

Then the bishop of the city heard of the evil man's intention, and carried out a plan worthy of and suitable to the occasion. The place where the image had been installed was constructed as a vault. So the holy bishop placed there a lighted lamp, and in order to hide the chamber set up a curtain in front of the image, and walled up the door of the vault and concealed it, so that it was not at all noticeable that anything was there. After time had passed Xuasro, king of the Persians, besieged the city of Edessa and began to undermine the wall, hoping to enter that way so that they would not be perceived if he were to attack. Then God did not keep silent the unspoken promise which he had pledged, namely: 'I am the wall of Edessa', through the intercession of his Mother. The Mother of God appeared to Eulabius, the bishop of the city, and said: 'Above the gate there is a hidden image not made by (human) hands.' When the bishop awoke, he realized that the vision in his sleep was real. In the morning he set out in procession for the place, and found the image completely undamaged and the lamp in front of it alight, despite such a great length of time. They poured out the oil of the lamp over those attacking the city; and immediately, when it touched them, it stuck to them. They were burned, scattered like dust, and disappeared. Now on the curtain which had been set up to hide the image there had been imprinted another image and resemblance of the holy image of the Lord. It was worshipped in similar fashion, and they put it in the church of the Nestorians.

Then St Antoni sought out the route of his teacher. He learned the truth and discovered that he had gone to Armenia, to the northern regions, with the other disciples whom we shall now recall: Davit', and Dodo, and Sio

of Antioch, and the other eight disciples of John who were from the same country. When St Antoni learned this, he was moved by love for his teacher. But this disturbed his heart, that they had placed the Lord's image in the church of the Nestorians. So he removed the curtain which had been made to hide the image and had been imprinted with it. Secretly he took it off to the north, with the guidance of angels and the knowledge of heaven. When he arrived at the Mtkuari, he crossed it and dwelt to the west, about four miles away, in the crevice of a rock among the foothills of the mountains. John was about five miles away, Sio about nine miles, Davit' (and) Dodo about thirteen miles.

Straightway deer came to St Antoni to give him the nourishment of their bodies. The mountain was precipitous and covered with bushes, and there was a small town about one mile away. These deer would come into the valley; and when the time arrived, they would come in to be milked, as if herdsmen [214] were coming at appropriate times. On one occasion they arrived at an unusual time, terrified; a fawn, its flesh torn, was following them. This astonished the saint, and he said in his heart: 'Who encountered them here?' because he did not know of the proximity of the town. Immediately, like men with obscured vision, he said: 'What is this?' They, like speaking (humans), raised their heads and said: 'Follow us and we shall show you.' He followed them and reached the spot where (someone) had encountered them. Behold a noble from the town was coming out hunting. He met him and said: 'Who are you?' The saint showed with his hand where he dwelt and the whole affair, because he did not know the language.

Then the noble said: 'I do not understand your language, and I shall cut off that hand with which you shake me.' And he said: 'Take him off to a smith.' When they led him away, the smith hammered a hot iron and picked it up in order to cut off his hand. But it fell to the ground, and his hands became like sticks. Then the saint stretched out his hand, and picking up a hot coal offered it to him, saying: 'Do quickly what you have been commanded.' He was terrified at seeing (such) an awesome thing. Rapidly they informed the noble and told him all that they had seen. He ordered that they should bring him before him. When they had led him up, he said to him: 'Ask what you wish, and I shall give you everything.' He pointed to a little stone, about a third (of a pound), and licked it. They realized that he wanted salt. They offered him two unbroken lumps, and he split off a pound and departed. He gave it to his female (deer) to lick.

He remained in front of the image until the end of his life. Then the holy one passed to the saints and left to us the Lord's image. Until today it has been invisible, though it openly works miracles. It is easier to count up the sand of the sea than the wonders of the Lord's image. Save that since God alone works miracles, he too alone knows the multitude of its miracles.

Even if Solomon were (alive), he would be unable to reckon them up, except only God.

## 11. Q214, Bbp:

### 1. *The Rebellion of the Xaskuns*

At the time when the Emperor Justinian, king of the Greeks, was waging war on the tribe of the Xaskuns in the regions of Ossetia, in the country of Avazgia, since they had made a rebellion, Justinian offered great presents to P'arsman, king of the Georgians, and requested that he come to help him with all his strength to make war on the Xaskuns. P'arsman heeded the request of the king of the Greeks. He left Evagre to defend his kingdom, and set out in person. With the help of God he reduced the tribe of the Xaskuns to obedience. All their nobles who had been captured he sent back to Justinian, then he returned to his own kingdom.

[215]

### 2. *The Fifth Oecumenical Council*

In the 26th year of the reign of Justinian took place the Fifth Oecumenical Council of 165 holy fathers, in the 527th (year) since Christ, in Constantinople under the holy Pope of the Romans, Vigilius. Of this the presiding officers were Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinaris of Alexandria, Domnos of Antioch, and the representatives of Jerusalem: the bishops Stephen, George, and Damian. They held the council because of Origen and his followers, and because of Didymus and Evagrius—whom they anathematized and deposed.

### 3. *The Conversion of the Ap'xaz*

In those same times of the reign of Justinian the Ap'xaz changed for the better and accepted the preaching of Christianity. For in the palace of Justinian there was a certain eunuch, Ap'xaz by race, named Evp'rata. He was sent by the king to preach to them and to promise that from then on no one of their race would be castrated by the iron. For many of them had become servants of the royal bed-chamber, and it was the custom to call them eunuchs. So Justinian built a church to the holy Mother of God in Ap'xazet'i, at Bičvinta, and appointed priests to it, so that they might teach the religion of Christianity more openly.

But let us come (back) to our former narrative.

12. Q224, Bbcp: . . . to Samc'xe. He heard of the wonder-working of the image on which was imprinted the (face) of the holy Mother of God, and which had been given to Andrew, the first apostle. He had placed and adorned it in a small chapel in Acqueri. The Emperor Heraclius came to see and worship this image. Then Heraclius began to lay the foundations

and to build the large church at Acqueri. After that it was completed by pious men; and it was made into a bishopric.

13. Q226, BTbkp: They sent him to Antioch accompanied by a monk as envoys and to be consecrated; because consecration as Catholicos was canonically regulated from Antioch. But it was impossible for anyone to travel to Antioch, for which reason the Georgians were much troubled. Now in the days of Theophylact, patriarch of Antioch, they had sent envoys who came before Theophylact, patriarch of Antioch. And they had informed the blessed Theophylact that the Christians dwelling in the Georgian kingdom were in great distress, because since the days of the blessed Anastas priest and martyr no one had been ordained because of the difficulty of the roads. He convened a general council and decided, with the approval of the council and of his archbishops, metropolitans, and bishops, that the bishops of his province should convene and consecrate a Catholicos from time to time, whomever divine grace might indicate to them, who would be chosen by and pleasing to the king, bishops, people, and friends of the church. He wrote for them a rescript in his own name and also that of the assembled council. And he laid hands on one of the two monks who had been sent to him, by the name of John, as Catholicos for them at that time. At that synod of Antioch the Catholicos was honoured and rendered autocephalous. For he is no longer subject to the patriarch, nor is he [227] consecrated by them, but his own bishops consecrate him. Thus (news) spread over the land that he had been made autocephalous at the council of Antioch.

14. Q227, Bbkp: Then John, bishop of the Goths, was sent by his own diocese and people to K'art'li; and from the Catholicos of Kart'li he received consecration at Mc'xet'a. For at that time the regions of Greece were held by the heresy of iconoclasm.

15. Q231, Bbp: The Catholicos Tabor died, and they appointed Samuel as Catholicos.

After this some years passed. In 656 after Christ was held the sixth council of the 170 fathers in Constantinople, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, [232] who was the father of Justinian. Its presiding officers were the priests Theodore and George, and John the deacon, representatives of Agathon, Pope of the Romans; and George of Constantinople, and Theophanes of Antioch. It is regulated by this council as regards the church of Georgia (*Sak'art'velo*), which is holy Mc'xet'a, that it should be equal in honour with the holy, apostolic, catholic churches, which are patriarchal; and the Catholicos of K'art'li should be equal to the patriarchs; and they should consecrate, appoint, and admin-



ister by (independent) right archbishops, metropolitans, and bishops, both over their own flock in K'art'li and beyond, in Kaxet'i, Sak'i, Širvan, and places nearby across the mountain, Suanet'i and the country of Č'erk'ezi, all Ossetia and all Upper K'art'li, Samc'xe-Saat'abego.

'To him we entrust the churches of K'art'li; let them be subject to him and under his authority; let them obey his laws and have him as pastor. We have given him authority to bind and to loose. What he binds will be bound in heaven, and what he looses on earth will be loosed in heaven. Previously he had been honoured by the council of Antioch, but by this council we have confirmed him as patriarch. So let there not be metropolitan or bishop without the permission of the Catholicos. If anyone dares to oppose the Catholicos—archbishop, metropolitan, or bishop—either to seize a title or church by force without the permission and agreement of the Catholicos, or if a king is consecrated, or nobles, or archbishops, or metropolitan bishops, let him be deposed. Whenever he wishes to prepare or bless *myron*, let him bless it in his own church.

'Because many people have often asked us about these matters, and we were impeded by ignorance, therefore these few words, scattered through the holy writings, like a glimmer of seed we have gathered together at your command, O man of God.'

16. Q252, all MSS except ACMTm: For his father Nerse, son of Guaram Bakur the *antipatrik*, and the father of this Varaz-Bakur, called Guaram *curopalates*, son of the first Stepanos and brother of Demetre—these had passed away. And the brothers of Adarnase named P'ilipe and Stepanoz, these too had died.

17. Q255, all MSS except ACMTm: This Bagrat and his brothers held the patrimonial possessions of their father from Artanuj and beyond. They were subject to the Saracens. Now when Mahmed came to K'art'li and Bagrat *curopalates* joined him, then

18. Q257, all MSS except ACMTm: After this Adarnase, brother of this Guaram and son of Ašot *curopalates*, passed away. [258] There also died Bagrat *curopalates*, brother of this Adarnase, in 96 of the *k'ronikoni*, and he left three sons: Davit', Ašot, and Adarnase. This Adarnase passed away in 94 of the *k'ronikoni*. Ašot, brother of this Adarnase and son of Bagrat *curopalates*, died in 105 of the *k'ronikoni*.

19. Q258, Bhp: T'eodos the second died, (leaving) wife and child, and Giorgi became king. He possessed Ağcep'i as apanage; therefore he was called Giorgi Ağcep'eli. T'eodos ruled for 27 years.

20. Q259, all MSS except ACMTm: In 101 of the *k'ronikoni* he left a son by the name of Adarnase, who became king after his father. Ašot Kekela, son of Adarnase, son of Ašot the Great, passed away in 87 of the *k'ronikoni*. Sumbat, *mamp'ali* of Artanuĵ, brother of Ašot Kekela and son of Adarnase, son of Ašot the Great, passed away in 109 of the *k'ronikoni*. The son of this Sumbat, Davit' *mamp'ali*, who had become a monk, passed away in 163 of the *k'ronikoni*. Sumbat *erist'avt'-erist'avi*, son of Davit' *mamp'ali* the monk, passed away in 208 of the *k'ronikoni*. He left two sons: Davit' and Bagrat. This Bagrat, son of Sumbat and brother of Davit', passed away in 208 of the *k'ronikoni*, the same year in which his father Sumbat died. And he left two sons: Gurgen and Sumbat. Now Gurgen left one son, by the name of Demetre. And Sumbat left one son, by the name of Bagrat. Gurgen *curopalates*, brother of Sumbat *mamp'ali* of Artanuĵ and son of Adarnase, brother of Ašot the Great, passed away in 111 of the *k'ronikoni*. [260] Ašot Kuxi, who raised Tbet'i to a bishopric, son of Gurgen *curopalates*, passed away in 138 of the *k'ronikoni*. Adarnase, *erist'avt'-erist'avi*, son of Gurgen *curopalates*, brother of Ašot Kuxi, passed away in 116 of the *k'ronikoni*. He left two sons: Davit' *erist'avt'-erist'avi* and Gurgen *erist'avt'-erist'avi*. This Gurgen *erist'avt'-erist'avi*, brother of Davit' *erist'avi*, passed away in 161 of the *k'ronikoni*. Bagrat *mamp'ali* of Artanuĵ, son of Sumbat *mamp'ali ant'ipati* of Artanuĵ, son of Adarnase and brother of Davit' *mamp'ali* the monk, passed away in 129 of the *k'ronikoni*. Ašot, brother of Adarnase the monk and son of Bagrat *mamp'ali* of Artanuĵ, passed away in 159 of the *k'ronikoni*. Davit' *erist'avt'-erist'avi*, son of Bagrat *mamp'ali* of Artanuĵ and brother of Adarnase who took (the name) Basil, passed away in 128 of the *k'ronikoni*. Gurgen *erist'avi*, brother of this Davit' *erist'avt'-erist'avi*, and son of Bagrat *mamp'ali* of Artanuĵ, passed away in 143 of the *k'ronikoni*. Gurgen, son of this Gurgen *erist'avi*, son of Bagrat *mamp'ali* of Artanuĵ, passed away in 188 of the *k'ronikoni*.

Now we shall begin our previous narrative of Davit' *curopalates*, whom Nasra killed, his father's nephew, son of Guaram *mamp'ali*.

21. Q261, all MSS except ACMTm: The Georgians appointed as king Adarnase, son of David *curopalates*. During his reign this Adarnase built Bana through Kwirike of Bana, who became the first bishop of Bana.

22. Q266, all MSS except ACMTm: For at that time King Adarnase had passed away, in 143 of the *k'ronikoni*. The son of this king Adarnase, Ašot *curopalates*, passed away in 174 of the *k'ronikoni*. The brother of this Ašot *curopalates*, King Davit', passed away in 157 of the *k'ronikoni*. Their brother, and the son of king Adarnase, Bagrat Magistros *curopalates*, passed away in 165 of the *k'ronikoni*. The son of Bagrat, Adarnase

*curopalates*, passed away in 181 of the *k'ronikoni*. Davit' *erist'avt'-erist'avi*, brother of this Bagrat, passed away in 186 of the *k'ronikoni*. Sumbat, king-*curopalates*, son of King Adarnase and brother of King Davit', passed away in 178 of the *k'ronikoni*. He left two sons: Bagrat Regueni ['the idiot'], who became king after his father, and Adarnase *curopalates*. This Adarnase *curopalates* passed away in 203 of the *k'ronikoni*. The son of this Adarnase, Davit', the great *curopalates*, full of virtue, whose history the narrative will explain below, passed away in 221 of the *k'ronikoni*. The uncle of this Davit' *curopalates* and son of Sumbat king-*curopalates*, King Bagrat Regueni, passed away in 214 of the *k'ronikoni*. The son of this King Bagrat Regueni, Sumbat, passed away in 212 of the *k'ronikoni*. He did not leave any offspring.

23. Q271, all MSS except ACMTm: This is the Davit' *curopalates* whose death we described above, in 221 of the *k'ronikoni*. He was the son of Adarnase *curopalates*, son of Sumbat king-*curopalates*, who was a Bagratid.

24. Q273, Tk: For in those times Sclerus rebelled against the king of the Greeks and seized all the land area. He caused the sovereigns and queen to be shut up in the city in great distress. While in this condition they took counsel: 'There is no one to help us except Davit' *curopalates*.' They wrote letters of entreaty, and dispatched to Davit' *curopalates* the Georgian T'ornik, who was living in the Great Lavra of the Holy Mountain in the monastery of the great Athanasius, (to ask) that he might render them assistance. When the *curopalates* saw him, he greatly rejoiced on receiving the letters of the Greek king. T'ornik explained the whole matter to him. So they decided that they would send troops to Greece, and would appoint T'ornik general. T'ornik presented the letters of the *curopalates* and himself to the Greek sovereigns, and explained all the intentions of the *curopalates*. Then the king of the Greeks gave to the *curopalates* the Upper lands of the Greek empire for him to hold during his lifetime.

He requested from Davit' *curopalates* sons of noblemen as hostages. He gave as hostages some princes. He then in addition asked the brothers of Father John's wife for (the latter's) son Euthymius, whom they took to the king of the Greeks. When John learned of this, willingly or unwillingly he was obliged to reveal himself, and went up to the royal city. Since the sovereigns were acquainted with Abuharb, who was father-in-law to Father John, they showed much love for John and greeted him kindly. After this there occurred a lengthy conversation between John and his father-in-law concerning Euthymius. Since he did not wish to hand him over, John greatly reproached him: 'What is this? Have you not had children? Yet this is clear, that you pitied them as your own children, whereas you

abandoned as hostage my child like an orphan. May the Lord forgive you.' Thus, by divine providence and through the decision of the sovereigns, he took away his own son, and then returned to Olympus.

T'ornik wrote to the *curopalates*: 'We know that God helps you, and so never doubt. If God directs you, all your opponents will be captured, and all their booty will be yours.' So the *curopalates* provided 12,000 elite cavalry, and with the help of Christ he routed Sclerus and pursued him in flight as far as Persia. Then he returned in accordance with the sovereigns' instructions, captured all the nobles of the Greek empire, and plundered their possessions. As for the vast and valuable booty, part he distributed to the troops, and part he kept for himself—gold, silver, brocades, and other such things. When he returned, he greeted the *curopalates* and thanked him greatly.

25. Q278, all MSS except ACMTm: Now at that time Davit' the Great, *curopalates*, had passed away, as I said above. And when this Davit' died, he did not leave a son. Outer Tao was devastated, and Basil came, the king of the Greeks. The nobles of this Davit' surrendered to him their castles, and King Basil seized the patrimony of Davit' *curopalates*. Bagrat, king of the Ap'xaz, and his father Gurgun came before him. King Basil gave them titles: to Gurgun that of *magistros*, and to Bagrat that of *curopalates*, so that he might cause mutual enmity between father and son. For by these means he plotted evil. But Gurgun was true and sincere. Not at all was his heart perturbed through this ruse, nor through these means was he affected. Some years after this Gurgun, king of kings, passed away, the father of this King Bagrat and son of King Bagrat Regueni, in 228 of the *k'ronikoni*.

26. Q281, all MSS except ACMTm: This King Bagrat *curopalates* controlled all the Caucasus as autocrator, from Ĵik'et'i as far as Gurgun. He made Adarbadagan and Širvan tributary through his control of Armenia. By his wisdom and power he made the king of Persia a friend and loyal—more than his own family members—and even the king of the Greeks had total fear of him.

27. Q282, Tk: The Catholicos Simon died, and the king appointed as Catholicos-Patriarch the son of nobles, his own relative and foster-son Melk'isedek. This holy king went to Constantinople to visit Basil, king of the Greeks, in order to seek his aid. For the great cathedral, the apostolic church of Sveti-C'xoveli which Vaxt'ang Gorgasali had built, had decayed, and through the wear of time the outside porches and doors had collapsed. No one was able to help restore it, nor was anyone able to rebuild it. So he went and explained to him the total indigence of the Georgians and his request.

Then King Basil gave him the monastery of Kestoria, which possessed 105 villages, treasure, and church ornaments, icons and crosses, and all vestments for prelates and priests. He set out and returned to his own country, to K'art'li and the royal city of Mc'xet'a. He began to rebuild by providing outside doors and exterior porches and by covering the roof, and completed everything. God graciously let him restore the city of Mc'xet'a, and he adorned the great cathedral, the apostolic church of Sveti C'xoveli with all (manner of) decoration, gold and silver, precious stones and pearls. He decorated Sveti-C'xoveli with gold and silver; he revetted the holy sanctuary with gold and silver, gems and pearls; he decorated the chancel and doors to the sanctuary with gold and silver. He constructed a holy reliquary with gold and silver, gems and pearls. He made two wooden (crosses) of life with gems and pearls, and placed (there) innumerable relics of all the saints, and another wooden (cross) of life, icons studded with gems and pearls, decorated with gold and silver, in number fifty-five, books with covers or without, which he had copied himself and deposited there, to a total of twenty-five.

All MSS except ACMTm: This too we shall explain, that as for the Bagratids who were described above as king or *curopalates*, some ruled in K'art'li and some in Samc'xe-Tao [283] up until the reign of this Bagrat. When he became king, some had (already) passed away and some died in his time. There were no other Bagratids in his time except Sumbat and his brother Gurgen, who ruled in Klarjet'i, the sons of Bagrat of Artanuĭ, whose deaths we described above. The death of Sumbat (occurred) in 231 of the *k'ronikoni*; the death of his brother Gurgen in 232 of the *k'ronikoni*. Their passing away occurred in this fashion. At the time when this King Bagrat *curopalates* brought these two brothers, Sumbat and Gurgen, sons of Bagrat of Artanuĭ, the rulers of Klarjet'i, to pay him court in the fortress of P'anaskert, he arrested them and seized their fortresses and cities. He kept them prisoner in the fortress of T'mogvi, and in that fortress Sumbat and Gurgen died. Their sons set out for Constantinople, Demetre the son of Gurgen and Bagrat the son of Sumbat, to visit King Basil. And the sons of these kings of Klarjet'i, who remained in their land, all perished in captivity.

All MSS except ACMm: After this, King Bagrat passed through all his kingdom, Ap'xazia, Heret'i, and Kaxet'i, and came and wintered in the valley of Tao. When summer arrived, he went to that same fortress of P'anaskert, in the third year. And there this King Bagrat passed away.

28. Q284, all MSS except ACMm: At that time the land of Heret'i-Kaxet'i rebelled against him. By the treachery of the *aznauris* the *erist'avis* were

captured. Once more those lords who previously had held them ruled over their lands.

29. Q290, Tk: After this the patriarch Melk'isedek went to King Constantine in Constantinople. The king of the Greeks, Constantine, received him and gave him ornaments for churches, icons and crosses, and all the vestments for prelates and priests. He returned to his own land, and bought villages in Tao: Zadkareki with five farms. He also bought the village Orot'a in Zaglis-hevi with two (or) three farms. These two villages with their farms he bought with his brothers' money. In Klarjet'i he acquired a village Sxloani; in Šavšet'i he acquired a large village Sslobani (and?) its farms Naguarevi; in Ĵavaxet'i he acquired the village of Tont'io; in Kola he acquired and restored the large village of Orotani with its farms; in P'anavar he restored the village Maxarovani; in Sakoet'i he took possession of and restored two villages: Nak'alak'evi and Berdajoni. These he assigned to the holy capital Mc'xet'a, to the Sveti-C'xoveli.

30. Q294, Tk: The Catholicos-Patriarch Melk'isedek went to Constantinople to visit Romanos, king of the Greeks. He received him and gave him ornaments for churches, icons and crosses, vestments for prelates and priests. Then he returned to his own country and flock.

31. Q295, Tk: After this the holy ruler, the Catholicos-Patriarch Melk'isedek, acquired in K'art'li: the monastery of Palavra with four villages; C'uk'it'i with its income; Qinc'visi with its income; half of Šindebi; a village of noble rank in Kurbit'i; a district, land, and seigneurial vineyard in Č'oč'et'i a village, Šidari, in Zeganni; a district at Axatan in Kaxet'i, and a village, Nosorna; in Heret'i a monastery with great wealth, and Lakodexi; also in Heret'i the church of Katexi with its income; in Kaki twelve shops; and the large village Ziari. These are all the villages which he acquired.

The villages which were formerly in the possession of the holy Sveti-C'xoveli and the cathedral church, and the other revenues which they possessed, these he recorded for Bagrat *curopalates* and made over to him irrevocably. He also gave him confirmation of their inviolability. As for the other revenues which came to the holy metropolis—sheep, horses, (communion-)wine, and everything which the emir Ali had taken away—[296] he restored to that holy cathedral church. And all the villages which belong to the holy cathedral church he rebuilt, and he restored all their houses and repaired all the numberless churches.

After this to the south of the diakonikon in the martyrrium of the holy Apostles he built his own tomb and set up an altar. He put in charge of his tomb his own adoptive son Iovane, and appointed him to say the

liturgy at the altar. He gave him at Teji three peasants complete with homesteads, a vineyard, a land, a mill, a forest; at Otat'loan one peasant; in C'ixe-didi one peasant and two complete with homesteads, and a vineyard; at Mc'xet'a a cell, a (cow-)shed, a field, a vineyard; all this he gave to him in irrevocable possession. And he arranged hereditary spiritual feasts (*agape*) and remembrances. Then this holy one passed away.

May God now guide aright Ok'ropiri (Chrysostom), the adoptive son of Melk'isedek. Ok'ropiri was installed as Catholicos-Patriarch, and he made many additions to the great apostolic cathedral church. He built at the western corner on the south of the all-holy and cathedral church a chapel in pure white stone beautifully carved. And the other revenues which came in he recorded for Bagrat *curopalates* and Kwirike, king of the Kaxs, grandson of King Kwirike. He declared them irrevocable, and gave them a confirmation of their inviolability. This holy Catholicos-Patriarch Ok'ropiri restored and renewed many churches.

32. Q303, Tk: At that time our holy father Giorgi Mtacmideli came from the Holy Mountain in order to visit Constantine Monomachos at his summons. When he heard that King Bagrat and his mother, Queen Mariam, had come to Constantinople, he went to visit King Bagrat and Queen Mariam. When the king and queen and all their distinguished nobles saw him, they rejoiced with great joy because they had heard of his godly way of life. They received his holy prayers, gained much spiritual benefit, and blessed God. After this Queen Mariam, mother of King Bagrat, followed his instruction and received from him the blessing of the *schema*.

There was in the city of Constantinople a group of Samaritans, descended from Simon Magus; they practised magic on their animals in an amazing and strange fashion. Giorgi made the sign of the cross and silenced their magic. When the king and the nobles saw the miracle of this monk, they were filled with joy and informed Constantine Monomachos. After this, since King Bagrat saw that he lived in such holiness and worthiness, and that his life and miracles resembled those of immaterial beings, he loved him greatly like an angel of God, and he sought a way to bring him to his own patrimony. He gave him the prelacy of the cathedral of Čqondidi, where Bagrat had built his own tomb and which was filled [304] with many (relics) of martyrs and saints. But the holy monk did not consent. Rather, he was compelled with all his energy to flee the glory of men and the trouble of the world, and he took pleasure in obscurity. In this way he spent some years in the capital city.

But let us return to our previous narrative.

33. Q307, Tk: At the time when the kingdom of the Greeks was ruled by Queen Theodora, she asked King Bagrat to give her his daughter Martha

so that she might bring her up as her own child. With great joy King Bagrat dispatched his daughter Martha in the company of his own retainers. In those days, by divine providence Queen Theodora died, and at the same time Queen Mariam, Bagrat's mother, was there. Our holy father Giorgi Mtacmideli was also here for certain business. But, as we said, just when Queen Theodora died, at that moment they brought Martha, Bagrat's daughter, into the capital. When the holy man saw Martha, in everyone's hearing he prophesied and said: 'Let everyone know that today a queen departed and a queen entered.' [308] She stayed then but a little time, and they brought Martha back. But when some time had passed, Dukic' requested her again and she was taken to the capital city as his daughter-in-law. When they saw her fully grown, they were all astonished and thanked God. Queen Mariam said to the holy Giorgi, when she was in the east: 'Father, your prophecy, when you foretold about Martha, has been fulfilled.'

34. Q308, Tk: After this Queen Mariam, mother of King Bagrat, left the capital and went to the city of Antioch. For she intended to go to the holy city of Jerusalem to pray and worship at the holy places of salvation. She had a royal order for the governor and the patriarch of Antioch, that they should escort her with all majesty and honour. But the patriarch and governor took counsel and decided, with the advice of Father Giorgi, that: 'It is not good for the mother of sovereigns of the east to go to the land of the Saracens, since on account of our sins they rule that country.' They informed the queen of this through the mediation of her mentor Giorgi, and swayed her not to go. Although she was disappointed, none the less she did not oppose God's will. Then she begged the holy monk Giorgi Mtacmideli that he should be concerned with her soul, just as he had been in the past, and work for her salvation, since she herself had not been worthy to go to the holy places of Jerusalem. And (she asked him) to take to Jerusalem the money that she had set aside for the journey, and to distribute it among the poor and indigent of that holy city and the holy monasteries that are built in the neighbourhood.



# LIST OF RULERS

according to the *K'artl'is C'xovreba*

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AFTER the legendary kings of K'art'li—the descendants of K'art'los son of T'argamos—the *K'artl'is C'xovreba* lists the rulers by number, beginning with P'arnavaz. This traditional list, however, contains various confusions. In the Commentary references are given to the tables of rulers in Toumanoff, *Généalogie*, and other works of reference.

## HOUSE OF P'ARNAVAZ

1. P'arnavaz I 299–234 BC
2. Saurmag I 234–159
3. Mirvan I 159–109
4. P'arnajom 109–90
5. Aršak I 90–78
6. Artag 78–63
7. Bartom 63–30
8. Mirvan II 30–20
9. Aršak II 20 BC–AD I
10. Aderki AD 1–58

### *'Dual' reigns*

11. Bartom and K'art'am
12. P'arsman I and Kaos
13. Azork and Armazel
14. Amazasp I 106–16, and Derok
15. P'arsman II 116–32, and Mirdat I
16. Adami 132–5
17. P'arsman III 135–85
18. Amazasp II 185–9

### *Arsacids*

19. Rev 189–216
20. Vač'e 216–34
21. Bakur I 234–49
22. Mirdat II 249–65
23. Asp'agur I 265–84

*End of the line descended from P'arnavaz*

## CHOSROIDS

24. Mirian III 284-361
25. Bak'ar I 363-80
26. Mirdat III 365-80
27. Varaz-Bak'ar II 380-94
28. Trdat 394-406
29. P'arsman IV 406-9
30. Mirdat IV 409-11
31. Arč'il 411-35
32. Mirdat V 435-47
33. Vaxt'ang 447-522
34. Dač'i 522-34
35. Bakur II 534-47
36. P'arsman V 547-61
37. P'arsman VI 561-?
38. Bakur III ?-580

*End of the Monarchy*

## PRINCES

39. Guaram I 580-90
40. Step'anoz I 590-627
41. Adarnase I 627-42
42. Step'anoz II 642-50
43. Mir 685-736
44. Arč'il (the martyr) 736-86
45. Iovane and Juanšer 786-after 807
46. Ašot I 813-30
47. Bagrat I 842-76
48. Davit' I 876-81

## KINGS

49. Adarnase IV 888-923
50. Kostantine [king of the Ap'zax 899-916]

## KINGS OF UNITED GEORGIA

51. Bagrat III 1008-14
52. Giorgi I 1014-27
53. Bagrat IV 1027-72
54. Giorgi II 1072-89

*Numbering ends in K'C'*

Davit' II 1089-1125

Dimitre 1125 [-56]

*Armenian adaptation ends*

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## INDEX OF NAMES

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The transposition of names from Georgian to Armenian has caused many problems with the spelling. In general Georgian names are rendered according to standard Georgian usage, and Armenian names according to standard Armenian usage. To keep cross-references to a minimum close variants have only been noted in the main entry. Names which are neither Armenian nor Georgian have usually been rendered in an English guise.

All entries are in alphabetical order regardless of diacritical marks. References are to the pages of this book, not to Q or V as in the notes. Co-ordinates are given for place-names marked in the map at the end; many places only appear in the more detailed Map 2, which includes A/B 3-6 only.

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