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TEDO DUNDUA

HISTORY OF GEORGIA



Tedo Dundua

History of Georgia

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Georgia.

Geography and a Short History

Pocket-size Georgia extends Southwards from the Caucasian Range, and Eastwards from the Black Sea, which has served as a highway to the rest of the world. Georgia contains all the principal landforms like plains, hills, plateaus and mountains. Climates vary across the country. Much of the Black Sea coast has a humid subtropical climate with the warm winters and plentiful rainfalls. Having semiarid climate, East and South Georgia receive few rainfalls. So the farmers have to rely on irrigation. And the mountains possess a highland climate. People make living by herding and cutting timber. Some rivers are navigable, while fast-flowing streams provide effective power. Georgia had rich deposits of iron, copper and other minerals. Now they are mostly emptied. Deposits of oil seem not to be prominent.

The West was Colchis; and the East and the South Kartli, Greeks called it Iberia. Georgia (Sakartvelo) is an economic synthesis of the West and the East. Native name has been derived from Kartli.

Georgians (about 5000000) speak the languages of the Ibero-Caucasian family; they are as follows: Georgian properly, Mingrelian and Svanetian. A country is an economic-geographic region. Unique culture is formed within on a basis of the inten-

sive interior economic links. And Georgia is such complex. It was formed by an economic synthesis of the East (Iberia) and the West (Colchis), and since the Mingrelian (i.e. Colchian) language has been transferred to a position of a family language. A bit earlier the Svanetian and the Abkhasian languages were put on the same position by the Mingrelian language.

Rich soil, rivers like Rioni, Chorokhi and Mtkvari (Kura) filled with fish, and besides a ready source for irrigation, helped the early settlers to raise grains. The most successful farming settlements had grown into the powerful clans. Crafts and trade flourished across wide areas. In the early centuries of the second millennium B.C. two principal economic systems were created. Later they will be called Colchis and Kartli. And the Georgian clans are best known in the history for their mastery of bronze and iron. The Bronze Age civilizations, which have endured and developed during two millennia, gave place about 1000 B.C. to the Iron Age.

In the sophisticated days of the past a prosperity of the Georgian clans had been linked with the possession of the rich valleys of the rivers Mtkvari (Kura), Chorokhi (Aphsaros/Acampsis) and Rioni (Phasis). Agriculture was basic and could find the market for its produce in the small towns scattered around. Wherever irrigation had to be maintained (Kura-river valley), channels were built. A well-planned system of defense – small states like Diaokhi (Tao) and Colcha etc. being allied – lessened the risk of enemy raids. Corn-fields were cultivated, flocks of sheep and herds of cattle roamed in the upland – on the slopes of the North and South Caucasian Mountains, which provided some

more safety to the area. Still the Greeks managed to arrange the naval expeditions towards the East Black Sea Coast, and those events were ornamented by the myth, telling how a brave Hellenic crew – the Argonauts – headed by Jason stole the Golden Fleece, an obvious symbol of luxury and abundance, from Colcha/Colchis. Another violator was Prometheus, seizing the Gods' possessed fire for the folk. He found himself chained to the rock in the Caucasus. The Georgian version names Amiran as a hero. He is a reminiscence of Mithra, Aryan pagan deity, devi – indeed, the Aryan clans came to the region at the dawn of the civilization and then mingled with the natives.

So, those powerful clans set up small states like Diaokhi, Zabakha, Viterukhi, Colcha etc. as far back as in the 12th c. B.C. Kings ruled and made the law, while wealthy landowners held public offices, and fought Assyrians and Urartians, moving Northwards. At the bottom of the society were the common people. They worked on lands belonging to aristocracy being still free to leave this land. And yeomanry dwelt in the high-up mountains. Increased trade led to the growth of the towns. The merchants gained some wealth. They began to form middle class. Women were subordinated to men.

Two cultures, armed with iron, are established finally – East Georgian (Iberian), in the valleys of the rivers Mtkvari and Chorokhi; and West Georgian, Colchian (i.e. Mingrelian), in the valley of Rioni, in the plains between the cities of Pitius (Bichvinta/Pitsunda) in the Northwest, Apsaros (Gonio) in the Southwest and Sarapanis (Shorapani) in the East. Tough mountain folks like Svani and Lazi (West Georgians) lived in the wild

regions above the cities of Dioscurias (Sokhumi) and Trapezus.

In the 6th c. B.C. Persians had conquered a vast empire that stretched from Asia Minor to Indus valley. Some of the Iberian lands were under the Persians. But still the world was now facing a new hegemonic power – Hellas, already overpopulated and needing grain and raw materials to be imported. The Greeks set up small city-states (polis) along the Black Sea coast. They earned leaving through commerce, supplying the parent country with raw materials. Milesians from Asia Minor also planted several colonies in Colchis, comprising West Georgia. In the 7th-6th cc. B.C. the Ionian city of Miletus possessed exceptional wealth and commercial enterprise. Miletus, the greatest trading city, organized the first Greek settlements in Colchis, daughters of the Ionian metropolis – Phasis (Photi), Dioscurias (Sokhumi) etc. Themistagoras from Miletus is believed to be chargé d'affaires. Phasis and Dioscurias were the splendid Greek cities dominated by the mercantile oligarchies, sometimes – being troubled by the Colchians from hinterland. Then they seem to be completely assimilated. The reason will be discussed below. Later, the same happened to the settlement of Roman veterans near Phasis. The Aegean and the Pontic (the Black Sea) areas were supposed to form once unique economic space. To promote trade, Phasis issued its own silver money with the Graeco-Colchian types. Trade of the peoples across the Black Sea thrived. Armament industry and ceramic production flourished in Pontus, mining in – Colchis, and agriculture – in Bosphorus. Almost everywhere town size increased. Large and frequent issues of the coins were necessary and their circulation expended. The age-old maritime route

from Sinope towards Phasis was easily covered in three days. From the 3rd c. B.C. the Greeks flooded Colchis and Iberia also for the transit purposes. Spices, precious woods and stones came from India via the cheap “Transcaucasian” river-route through the rivers of Indus – Balkh (Bactra) – Amu-Daria (Oxus), joining in the past the Caspian Sea in the Southeast section, Mtkvari and Rioni. From the 2nd c. B.C. Chinese started to send silk caravans via Chinese Turkestan towards the Central Asia. Then the usual “Transcaucasian” transit took place.

Alexander of Macedon defeated the powerful Persian Empire. His conquest paved the way for the penetration of the Greek civilization in many areas. The whole Black Sea area might be looked upon as a multicultural region of which the economic systems were ultimately based on the principle of Hellenism – Greeks settled everywhere. An idea of Hellenistic integration is reflected in the Colchian imitations to the gold coins of Alexander. More and more Greeks arrived in Colchis. Colchis was well packed with naval resources and the best sailors. According to Strabo, Greek geographer, “the country is excellent both in respect to its produce – except its honey, which is generally bitter – and in respect to everything that pertains to ship-building; for it not only produces quantities of timber but also brings it down on rivers . . . And it was from this country that the king (i.e. Mithridates VI of Pontus – T. D.) received most aid in the equipment of his naval forces”. But in many lowland places there were terrible marshes, and the Greeks had no special idea about draining those marshlands. So, Hellenism in Colchis failed with the Hellenic communities first becoming bilingual, then completely assim-

lated within the local society.

After destruction of the Persian Empire, in the early years of the 3rd c. B.C. the Northern and Southern kingdoms of Kartli were united under Pharnavaz from Mtskheta (Northern kingdom), the first king of the Pharnavazid dynasty. Azo, the Southern sovereign, seems to be killed in skirmish. Pharnavaz gratefully adopted his sons and kept them within the native domains as dukes (eristavi). After many centuries those domains will provide Georgia with new royal dynasty, the Bagratids (Bagrationi).

Starting from the 1st c. B.C. the Romans were running the whole administration within the Hellenistic World. They promoted European unity by offering citizenship to the allied kings. Iberian rulers were among them. Roman citizenship was a traditional honorary degree passed from the European principal domains towards the provinces, the countries being tied up formally. A silver cup of the 2nd-3rd cc. records a name of the Iberian (Kartlian) king Flavius Dades. Evidently a Roman citizen, he inherited his citizenship from a predecessor upon whom either Vespasian or Domitian had conferred it. Citizenship of Publicius Agrippa, Iberian commander-in-chief, derived from a grant of C. Publicius Marcellus, Hadrian's governor of Syria. Sometimes the high jobs in the Roman army went also to Iberians – e.g. appointment of a capable admiral is recorded in the times of Emperor Otho. His name was Moschus, and obviously he was born in Iberian province of Meskheta. While sending the men to serve outside the land, Iberia welcomed some foreigners – already in the 2nd c. B.C. the capital Mtskheta had its mercantile Jewish quarter. And the Colchians faced Roman garrisons stationed at the Black Sea

coast. Goths, dwelling in the Crimea and looking for their new homes, raid Colchis in 253; no good resulted. Still the country was not against any reception, whenever demanded. Colchians were always watchful of the mountaineers North of the Caucasian Range. But in the 1st c. A.D. they did not reject the opportunity to gain more recruits for the feudal class. Thus Abasks and Apsils appeared in Colchis, together with very solid Lazi population from South, who renamed the land into Lazica. During this slight Roman hegemony the waves of Lazi clans from Trapezus, speaking the same Mingrelian language, swept Colchis just to create a new feudal structure. Mounted warriors, knights, formed the upper classes. Peasants were at the bottom of the feudal society. They worked on the lands belonging to a lord. Those serfs were tied to the lord's land. Middle class was growing, and the population was growing too. New technologies increased a food production. Gradually heavy plough appeared. Soon Iberians exercised the same system.

Artistically and intellectually this period is outstanding as a starting point. Greek style temples were built both in Colchis and Kartli (Iberia). In Ancient Colchis and Kartli folk believed that many gods controlled the forces of nature. Idols were worshiped. But the latter's paganism is still imbued with a certain romanticism due to Aryan superstrata coming to Iberia at the dawn of civilization, bringing their pagan deities (devi – in Georgian) like Mithra-gayo-da (the life-giving one; Gaim – in Georgian) and Aredvi Sura Anahita (Ainina in Georgian). The next reception included already those who worshiped the Lord Wisdom, pure idea – Ahuro Mazdao, which was paganized in Georgia and

converted into warrior-Armazi. So, this Armazi, together with Gaim and Ainina were worshiped in Kartli, before this country has been baptized. Colchian jewelry is also very multicultural. And the Georgians used to write in Greek and Aramaic. Georgian records are accurate describing the crowded pagan festival in Mtskheta, with the king himself as a participant. Armazi was worshiped thoroughly, while archaeology reveals a plenty of the skulls in the burials with a coin within – a dead man is thought to be transferred to another world by mystic paid boatman, Charon, and normal place where the former one carried money was his mouth.

Gradually, some other changes took place. Christianity spread across the Roman World. King Mirian of Iberia was baptized in the 4th c. And Nino, the lady who agitated in Georgia, was thought to be from Cappadocia. In time, formal church had been organized. At first, the highest officials were bishops. Eventually, bishop of Mtskheta became head of the Georgian church. He took a title of Catholicos. It happened in the 5th c. The church provided education for the upper classes. The kings of Colchis (by then it was renamed into Lazica), Kartli and, at last, Georgia controlled the church accurately. But they had little control over the powerful feudal lords. Only some great Georgian kings, like David IV (1089-1125) or Tamar (1184-1210) managed to impose themselves upon them; and at the same time – to turn the kingdom into the chief power between two seas, to increase the territory establishing their rule in Armenia and Shirvan (Azerbaijan).

The making of Europe started since the Greeks began to think of some Mediterranean and humid subtropical areas as very

comfortable sites to be Hellenized. Colchis/Lazica was among them. When this experiment mostly failed, an economic synthesis of the East (Iberia) and the West (Lazica) took place and since the Mingrelian language (as well as Svanetian and Abkhasian languages) has been transferred to a position of a family-language. A phenomenon of Georgia as an economic complex first appeared to be maintained for the centuries being very profitable one. Political system within had been administered first from Kutaisi (West Georgia), then – Tbilisi (East Georgia). Both capitals inspired the poets.

The Roman Empire had split into two parts. Georgia allied itself with East Rome, Byzantium. Indeed, Byzantines did their best to maintain the military alliance with the countries dwelling on Asiatic frontier. After 1204 the whole system was destroyed. For a long time Georgia had been left alone. Enriched by Seljuk and Mongol receptions, Iran became a supreme Asiatic power. Russia was thought to be a potential rival, and Caucasian Range – a splendid barrier. So, Georgia was to be attacked severely.

Much of the Romans' long hegemony was spent in carrying through the major reform programs which were to set the pattern for most aspects of life in Europe for centuries to come. The Romans had a reputation for integration. Indeed, they installed Roman citizenship over the kings dwelling at the frontiers, especially the Eastern one. The Georgians were among them, guarding the European marches. Byzantium was not a betrayal of all that was the best in Hellas and Rome. Great oriental bastion of Christendom, it seems to be a formulator of the Orthodox Christian Commonwealth. The Georgian kings being within had been

hailed as king and Kuropalates, king and Sebastos, king and Caesaros. Again dual citizenship is applied. Georgian princes and the kings claimed their Imperial titles stressing this way a formal integrity of the Orthodox World – Byzantium and Georgia were regarded to form unique Orthodox space. Step by step, starting from the 6th c., a Georgian sovereign climbed to the rank of Autocrat after being Kuropalates, Nobilissimos, Sebastos and Caesaros. Serbians and Bulgarians were also very fast assuming the highest Imperial title.

Intellectually Byzantium inspired many generations of the Georgian scholars, mostly they acted in the Georgian monasteries of the Empire. Mount Athos (Greece), Petritsoni Monastery (Bulgaria), or even the holy city of Jerusalem were the beloved places for the chief figures of this period: Petre (Peter) the Iberian (5th c.), Giorgi the Athonite (11th c.) and Ione (John) Petritsi (11th-12th cc.). They argued about Plato, but still held that philosophy was incapable of solving divine problems, since God was essentially beyond human knowledge.

The Black Sea region was a good place for making the nice commercial calculations. The great age of the Hellenistic trade has been substituted by the international one. Agathias, the Byzantine historian, tells about Lazi good naval capacities. All the countries within the system eagerly employed the Byzantine gold money together with the local issues. Georgia did the same. Besides, the original Georgian coins were discovered far away from there, on the territory of Russia, Estonia, Germany and Sweden. Trading contacts between Georgia and Russia from the 10th c. must account for the findings of these silver pieces,

effected via Tmutaracan (modern Taman Peninsula). And again, the commercial links extended from Pontus to the Indus. When the “Transcaucasian” transit of the Indian goods was broken, the Byzantines did their best to reach Asia rounding the Caspian Sea in the North and moving towards the Central Asia.

Frescoes and mosaics of those centuries in Gelati and Bichvinta show vigour, freshness and beauty, and also very strong Byzantine influence, while high central dome of Svetitskhoveli (in Mtskheta) or Alaverdi Church – deep Orthodox spirit. Georgia had strong confessional feelings towards Byzantium. Testaments were translated into Georgian from Greek, some hagiographic writings too, and a bit later – also old Classical heritage; while the national literature evolved from hagiography towards the epic poetry. “The Knight in the Panther’s Skin”, written by Shota Rustaveli in the 13th c., is an excellent tale, full of adventure and humanity. There are several important sources for the national narration. The most significant is a collection of historical writings, labelled “The Life of Kartli” (“Kartlis Tskhovreba”). History and literature, philosophy and astronomy had been taught thoroughly first in the Greek pagan school at Phasis (3rd-4th cc.), then – in the Georgian academies of Gelati and Iqalto.

External pressures from the area of present-day Iran led to a weakening of economic potency of the kingdom of Georgia, as well as to a diminution of its territorial extent and integrity. West Georgia (Imereti) became self-sufficient in food again, while the South (Samtskhe) took advantage of the total commotion, and its dukes turned themselves into the independent princes.

Those ambitious princes from Jakeli family stated that

they were to be considered as the Orthodox heirs of the Grand Comneni of Trapezus/Trebizond. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, of Trebizond in 1461, with other Orthodox powers admitting the Turkish suzerainty they had an advantage being the Orthodox princes into whose lands the Ottomans still had not entered. Many Greeks from Trebizond moved to the safety of Samtskhe. The members of the leading families were put within the Georgian feudal hierarchy, as a prince of Samtskhe seems to be obsessed by illusion of predominancy. Symeon was among them as a bishop of Atskuri. Now Jakeli needed some great legend. So it was created. The Apostle Andrew, who has preached the divinity of Jesus, is believed to reach Iberia. That is a history. And the rest – a fiction. Saint Andrew came to the country together with the Icon of the Mother of God, the holiest picture, painted by Saint Luke himself. It was a miraculous icon, placed in a sanctuary at Atskuri. Emperor Heraclius built a special church while in Iberia. The icon had been either seized, or burnt by the infidels just to perform a miraculous escape back to Samtskhe, or to demonstrate its invulnerability.

Trading station had been established by Genoa at Sebastopolis (another Greek name for Sokhumi) in 1354, which traded at a good profit until 1454, when the Ottomans first launched a serious offensive. Local trade still existed – Georgian imitations to silver money of Trebizond are the nice proof. Maritime route from Sebastopolis towards Trebizond was covered in three days. And the Georgians still sailed the Sea and the rivers. Ambrosio Contarini, Venetian ambassador to the Persian court in the 15th c., gives a special account. Spices brought by the Genoese have be-

come the common trait of the local, especially the West Georgian cuisine. Those meals are served mostly on the holiday.

Intellectually for Byzantium this era was still outstanding. And works of high quality were produced everywhere, stimulating the provincial schools, like Georgian. Money began to run short, but still the Monastery of Saphara (Samtskhe) and frescoes in Likhni and Ubisa (Imereti) are extremely beautiful. And there were several men capable of bringing the laws in order. A complete recodification of the Georgian law took place in the 14th c., substituting clarity and concision for confusion and chaos.

Historical writing was also fascinating. Anonymous author of the 14th c., whose life we know little, renders honest, vivid and convincing narrative of Georgia being supervised by the Mongols, dwelling in Iran.

Decline of Georgia towards the end of the 16th c. enabled the Ottomans to increase their territory. Turks established their authority over the Southern Georgian lands. Those Christian parts became mainly Muslim because of a natural desire of the local upper classes to maintain position in this new empire. Sometimes even West Georgians were tributaries and vassals of the Ottomans. Thus West, Imereti, and East, Kartl-Kakheti, were cut off from each other. Ottomans started to settle their people in South Georgia, like Turks and Kurds. Georgian frontier defenses were down. Finding so little opposition, many tribes settled in the districts to which they had penetrated, colonizing them, like Turkomans Southwards from Tbilisi, and Ossetians in the highlands. More and more Armenians left their country for a comparative safety of Georgia. And Jewish quarters are already established in

West Georgia instead of the Greek and Italian mercantile oligarchies. Many Georgians were engaged in the imperial structures. Persian army was strengthened with a new élite corps of 12000 Georgians – that is famous Shahisevani. Some high jobs in Persia went also to them. Moscow had its Georgian community with illustrious prince Archil Bagrationi as a leader, a creator of the Georgian printing press there. His son, Alexander, a good friend of Tsar Peter the Great, fought the Swedes as artillery general of the Russian army. Some of the Georgian kings are even buried in Russia. As to the Ottomans, they had an army paid for its service. The Janissaries, who served for life and formed sultan's guard, were the regiment first composed of Christian and ex-Christian slaves. Then the boys seem to be packed for the corps from the Christian families of the empire. Many Georgians were among them, some – even luckier to enjoy a position of a grand vizier, like Hadim Mehmet Pasha, Melek Ahmet Pasha, or Agha Iusuph Pasha. For a long time Georgian captives formed Mameluke élite of Egypt. Only in 1811 Mohammed Ali, the Ottoman viceroy, invited the Mameluke leaders of Egypt to a banquet at Cairo's citadel, where they were massacred for having plotted against him. One man escaped. Spurring his horse down from a tall wall, he “disappeared into the heaven”.

Within half a century the whole Empire of Genoa in the Black Sea had vanished, conquered by the Turks. They encouraged a slave trade. With Byzantium – master-country and industrial metropolis – vanished, trade declined. Still normal international commerce existed. Ottoman and European silver coins in the Georgian hoards witness this commerce. Maxim, the bishop

of Kutaisi in the 18th c., talks about a river-traffic, moving towards the Black Sea ports. They were easily reached from Istanbul in eight days.

Some changes took place and the laws were changed too by Vakhtang VI in the 18th c., while his son, general Giorgi Bagrationi, became popular even in Russia as one of the founders of Moscow University. Next son, prince Vakhushti Bagrationi, was a brilliant historian. With already no academies existing, theological seminaries are established in Georgia; and a printing press too. In the 17th c. two outstanding personalities of the Georgian literature emerged – they were king Teimuraz Bagrationi and prince Archil Bagrationi with their national and historical concepts. This wonderful poetry is prolonged in the 18th c. by David Guramishvili and Besarion Gabashvili. Guramishvili actually lived in Ukraine, while magnificent churchman – Anthimos the Iberian – in Wallachia. Erekle II encouraged an emergence of the Georgian theatre. The Georgian kings encouraged urban development, making use of amkari, guilds of artisans, who followed certain code of moral behaviour. Special city folklore was elaborated styled upon Orient, thus confronting formal culture of occidental type.

From the 16th c. Russia started to realize its function of a predominant within the Orthodox World. Georgia was subjugated to this hegemony from the 19th c. But in the 18th c. king of East Georgia (South and Southwest had been lost to the Ottomans in the 16th c.) Erekle II (1744-1798) put the double-headed eagle, already the State Emblem of the Russian Empire, on his money. He was ambitious ruler and worked to increase royal authority.

Erekle brought feudal lords under his strict control. There were also important inventions in the 18th c., like creation of printing press. Some men, like prince Ioane (John) Bagrationi, are obsessed even by enlightenment, regarding government as a contract between king and the rest of population.

At the very beginning of the 19th c. Georgia put itself within the Russian imperial system. And before the country gradually received heavy onslaughts, losing lands and population. Russians brought safety and demographic stability in the region together with economic integration and territorial restoration (still some lands have been lost). And the USSR shaped an industrial profile for Georgia. Now the country is free and Europe has no hegemonic power.

Georgia has always been a multinational country facing a permanent challenge of integrating the newcomers. Being chief industrial power of the region in the 19th-20th cc., this land attracted many people. As a result, Georgia embraces multiconfessional society with some already bilingual communities within, like Russian, Armenian, Jewish, Polish (Catholic), German (Protestant) etc. And a new wave of the Muslim Kurds reached the country during 1918-1920, moving from the Ottoman Empire.

Cooperation among East European nations led to advance of economics, the Black Sea being traditional highway with the Georgian ports Batumi and Poti working hard. Although there is a certain economic slowdown in East European countries, they already have an industrial base and educated labour force. An idea of integrated Europe encourages European nations to cooperate close. Trade within the Black Sea areas has nice perspec-

tives. The nations dwelling there will benefit from their diversified economic visages.

In the 19th c. Georgians received their higher education at the universities of Russia. Chair of Georgian Language and Literature, established in 1854 and attached to the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University, was of a great importance. It had been packed with the best Georgian scholars, like Nico Marr (linguistics), Ivane Javakhishvili (history), Akaki Shanidze (philology). Gradually an idea about first Georgian university ripened. It was realized in 1918. Ivane Javakhishvili introduced new methods in Georgian historical thought. Other branches also thrived, like chemistry with Petre Melikishvili and Vasil Petriashvili, mathematics with Ilia Vekua, psychology with Dimitri Uznadze, etc. More than 20000 students attend their lectures at Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia's top institution. In the 19th c. Georgian romantics – Alexander Chavchavadze, Grigol (Gregory) Orbeliani, Nicholoz (Nicholas) Baratashvili – glorified the past as a heroic period. They reflected the national spirit. In the midst of the 19th c. some writers, like Giorgi Eristavi and Ilia Chavchavadze, turned instead to a realism, describing life as it really was. Those writers examined social problems. During the starting years of the 20th c. Georgian writers experimented with the new styles and forms. Then socialist realism emerged, glorifying state socialism. Now the “Western” ideas are back again. And the painters too were restricted by glorifying the socialism. There was the same dialectics for Georgian theatre and cinema. Georgian opera, like “Daisi” by Zakaria Phaliashvili, expresses strong national heritage, while architecture – universal

styles, Baroque and Modern. Westernization brought some Western political ideas – liberalism, social democracy, etc. Westernization brought also European fashion to the country. Old folk in the mountains still enjoy national garments.

This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua and others. The Black Sea – Zone of the Contacts. Tbilisi. 2001.



Silver cup from a barrow burial in Trialeti, Eastern Georgia



Bronze axes, Western Georgia



Gold necklace with pendants shaped like turtles, 5th c. B.C., Colchis



Gold safety pin and pendant, 5th c. B.C., Colchis



Gold earrings, 5th c. B.C., Kartli/Iberia



Aka stater, 2nd c. B.C., Colchis



Georgian imitation to Lysimachus' type staters



Georgian imitation to Alexander's type staters



Gold chain necklace, 2nd c., Kartli/Iberia



Martvili cross, 8th-9th cc., Western Georgia



Tsilkani icon, 9th c., Eastern Georgia



Svetitskhoveli Cathedral, 11th c., Georgia



Gelati, 12th c., Georgia



David Agmashenebeli, Gelati fresco



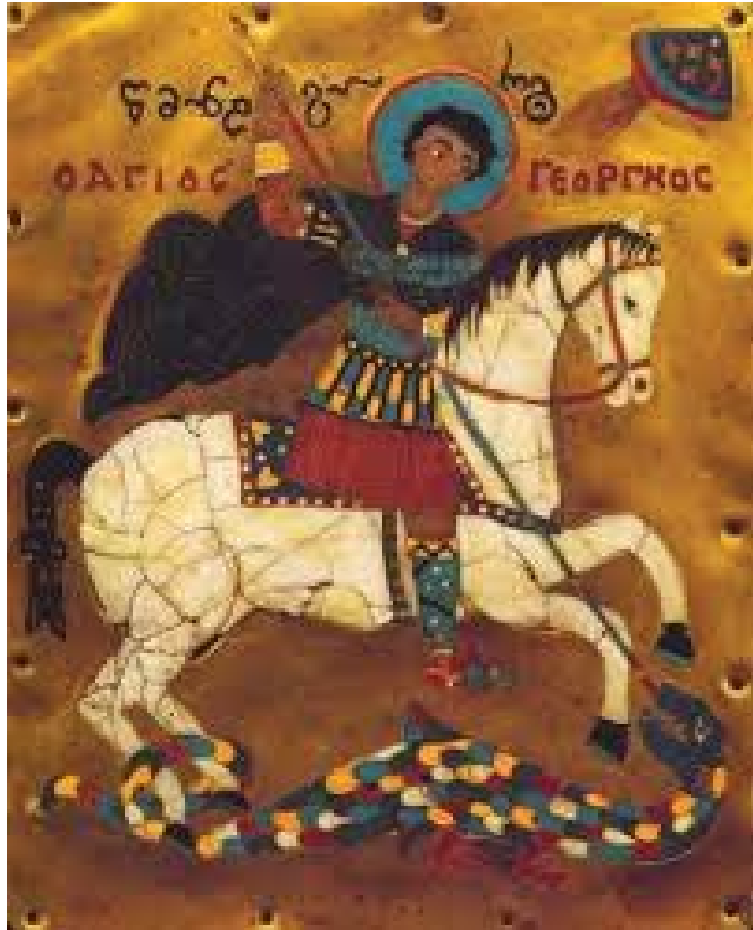
Gilded silver relief roundel showing saint on a lion, from Gelati



Queen Tamar, contemporary wall painting, Georgia



Cross of queen Tamar



St. George, 15th c. icon, Georgia



Georgian manuscript



Ilia Chavchavadze



Georgian kvevri, terracotta vessel, buried in the ground, used not only for keeping wine, but also during the fermentation process



Tbilisi



Batumi

Greeks and the Georgians

The Making of Europe.¹

Climate determines economics. Hot and less humid environment defines an early advantage of the South over the North – indeed, the Egyptian state and the crafts confront entirely the primitive clan-system which existed in fact everywhere. Then the whole situation was changed.

¹ The author is largely indebted by the general works about European integration. Some of them are cited here: Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III. Pars VI. Consilio et Avtoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis. Iteratis Curvis Ediderunt L. Petersen, K. Wachtel. Adivvantibus M. Heil, K. P. Johne, L. Vidman. Berolini. Novi Eborau. MCMXCVIII; A. N. Sherwin-White. The Roman Citizenship. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1939. Second edition. Oxford. 1973; D. Braund. Rome and the Friendly King. The Character of the Client Kingship. Beckenham, Kent. Fyshwick, Australia. 1984; F. Braudel. A History of Civilization. Printed in the USA. 1995; K. Rozen. Die Geburt Europas. Das Mittelmeer – die Wiege der Europäischen Kultur. Bonn. 1998, pp. 10-25; K. Held. Die Entdeckung der Welt bei den Griechen als Ursprung Europas. Das Mittelmeer..., pp. 26-45; H. Galsterer. Einheit und Vielfalt im Römischen Reich. Das Mittelmeer..., pp. 115-129; G. Alföldy. Das Imperium Romanum – ein Vorbild für das vereinte Europa? Basel. 1999; K. M. Girardet. Bundesstaaten im Antiken Griechenland und das Romische Imperium als “supranationale” Ordnung – Modelle für ein vereintes Europa von Morgen? Europa. Traditionen-Werte-Perspektiven. Beiträge zu einer Ringvorlesung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität des Saarlandes in Sommersemester 1999. St. Ingbert. 2000, pp. 13-48; B. und H. Galsterer. Romanisation und einheimische Traditionen. Xantener Berichte. B. 2. Köln. 1992. Kolloquium in Xanten. 2-4 Mai. 1990, pp. 377-387; S. Runciman. The Fall of Constantinople 1453. Cambridge. University Press. 1996; J. J. Norwich. A Short History of Byzantium. Published in Penguin Books. 1998.

Times after, some technical improvements towards the North created a very comfortable vegetation process, while the Egyptians still needed time to put the seed beyond the reach of the sun. In the 9th-8th cc. B.C. the Greeks are already vanguard by means of the technics and the structures. The countries being superb before, like Egypt and Babylon, or India, now face a new hegemonic power – Hellas, already overpopulated and needing grain and the raw materials to be imported. Then the perception of Europe has appeared. Europe is a special term for the part of the earth, which stipulates or will stipulate the same vanguard level of development. Even Scythia with its rough spring was thought to be reorganized in the Greek manner, than those countries which needed the additional finances for irrigation. So, the making of Europe started.

The Greek pattern was as follows: 1. occupying or even frequently being invited to the key-points of other economic structures like Caria, Thrace, Bosphorus or Colchis; 2. establishing the autonomous Greek social structures granted heavily with the technics from metropolis; 3. the natives being equipped with the best tools for agriculture; 4. the Greek industrial structures maintained on this background; 5. exporting supplies to Hellas and receiving back some industrial goods. The Aegean and the Pontic (the Black Sea) areas were supposed to form once unique economic space. Economic integration considered several stages to be realized: first it was Asia Minor, in fact mistakenly called so, to be Hellenized due to climatic similarity with Greece, then – West, North and East Black Sea countries. Two major waves of the colonists passed from Hellas – first one in the 8th-6th cc. B.C.,

and the next – in the 4th c. B.C. led by Alexander the Great. Asia Minor was a complete victory of Hellenism, even being integrated politically under Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus, as far back as in the 1st c. B.C. The Roman overlordship gave a new sense to the economic prosperity of the Greek World. And at last the Byzantine metropolis was created with all that languages like Lydian, Cappadocian etc. vanished forever. But there were the serious failures too. Colchis (Western Georgia) offered a dangerous humidity to the Greek way of life. The Greeks living there had no chance to keep their industrial spirit as the agriculture was very slow in a development. Soon the Greek community became a bilingual one, and after – totally assimilated within the Colchian society. As to Bosphorus (at the Northern Black Sea Coast), a corn-supply from Asia Minor to Greece had broken the traditional scheme, and the region soon lost its Greek style. And the case of Thrace was a certain conflict with the new concept of Europe.

The Romans did the same job for Gaul and Spain, putting the Latin population there and Romanizing these sites. They also cared much about their Greek colleagues in making Europe – starting from the 1st c. B.C. the Romans were running the whole administration within the Hellenistic World, while the Greeks used to build their integrated industry. Then the whole system collapsed.

Indeed, Italy never cared much for a maximum of technical improvement and power revolution. The result was catastrophic – a dangerous growth of population in Italy, insufficient economic progress, the high prices on the Italian industrial export, cheap

supply from European provinces, indecisive military advantage of the metropolis over the provinces; the Roman imperial system vanished Italy being forced to the heavy Gothic reception. New Europe will pay its special attention to the technical progress employing more and more hands in a heavy industry. But what was supposed to be done with starving Italy?

East Rome (Byzantium) possessed the prominent food stocks from Asia Minor and Egypt. Emperor Justinianus put Italy within the Byzantine hegemony. But Byzantium itself was also a very old economic pattern. And Europe struck with the Slavs and the Bulgars penetrating beyond the Danube, establishing their national states in Thrace, Moesia and Dalmatia. The Asiatic provinces were lost too. From this very point on Byzantium had been steadily degrading still being a predominant for East Europe and the Black Sea countries. Besides, the Byzantines kept some of the Italian provinces thus irritating the rest of Europe and provoking the emergence of Catholicism and Holy Roman Empire.

An idea of the “Transcaucasian” and Pontic transit of the Asiatic goods was also very important one. As far back as in the 4th c. B.C. Alexander of Macedon took the Graeco-Macedonian armies towards the very heart of Asia, and there, particularly in India, the Europeans tasted the spiced meals for the first time, and they decided that their life would be dull without pepper. So, one could buy some spices for, perhaps, a drachm in the valley of Indus, and sell it in Rome, or maybe, in Athens for hundred. The profit from the trade was very handsome. In all there had been the following routes towards India – 1. Maritime route –

from the Red Sea ports of Egypt via the Indian Ocean towards Malabar Coast. 2. Transiranian transit. 3. The third route was amazingly cheap, for it was river-route via well inhabited and supplied districts, city of Phasis (Poti, Western Georgia) being a starting point together with a mouth of the river Phasis (Rioni), very comfortable for the large boats. Rioni is prolonged by the rivers Kvirila and Dzirula towards the Likhi mountains. They divide Georgia into two parts: the West (Colchis), and the East (Iberia). The merchants used to climb to the mountains, and then board again at the Kura-river boat-station in Eastern Georgia. A voyage down the river towards the Caspian Sea was swift and lovely. And the Caspian Sea could be easily covered in eight days on a large boat. One could find the river Amu-Daria (Oxus) in the past joining the Caspian Sea in its Southeast section. Amu-Daria – Balkh (Bactra) – Indus is the last section of the route. And the Greek merchants were already in the wonderful country of a leisure and the spices, in the homeland of Buddha. The Greeks and the Romans, the Byzantine soldiers and merchants were in Georgia for the transit purposes and within the frames of early European integration. From the 2nd c. B.C. the Chinese started to send the silk caravans via Chinese Turkestan. Then the usual “Transcaucasian” and Pontic transit took place. This route was cheap, but – very fragile. As soon as Iran recovered from the Hellenic onslaught, it cut the route organizing the Caspian fleet.

Till the 11th c. Byzantium had been a handsome and dominant power, the champion of Christendom against onslaught of Asia and Islam. But it was already very old European pattern of the Mediterranean trying to control North. Soon Empire found

itself caught between two fires – the Crusaders and the Turks. Byzantium had to be calmed finally. The Crusaders (after 1204) and the Turks (after Manzikert, 1071) did this job properly overpopulating the country.

Towards the end of the 13th c. Byzantium is nothing but a lot of principalities with very different confessional visages (Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim). Orthodox World starts disputing about a new leader Serbian, Bulgarian and Georgian kings assuming formally the title of Caesar and Autocrat (and before the Georgian kings formally had been hailed as king and Kuropalates, king and Sebastos, even sometimes, king and Caesaros). The Italians were more pragmatic. Seizing the whole islands and the key-points over the Aegean and the Black Sea, they will control the complete output there until the 15th c. This was a disaster for building of Europe. Within the Holy Roman Empire Italy had been granted only moderate supplies of food and the raw materials from the Northward. And now Venice and Genoa made a commercial onslaught upon what still can be called the Byzantine World destroying the local crafts. e.g. In 1261 the Byzantine Emperor Michael Palaeologos had to sign a treaty with Genoa promising the republic the concessions, own quarters in Constantinople and other ports, and free access to those of the Black Sea. A comparative comprehension of the Hellenic and the Italian periods is as follows: the Greeks took up their permanent residence within the East Aegean and the Pontic areas stimulating everything, while the Italians placed the soldiers and the merchants there to empty the local markets. That is why the Ottoman reintegration was welcomed by the overwhelming majority in

Asia Minor. And Greece since has formed a separate economic structure. Thus the Italian overlordship came to an end together with the handsome transit trade.

When the “Transcaucasian” transit was broken, the Byzantines did their best to reach Asia rounding the Caspian Sea in the North, and moving towards the Turks, dwelling already in the Central Asia. But this route – steppe route to the North of the Caspian Sea – failed to be nice because of a very low socio-economic level of the “North-Caucasian” tribes by that time. When this level was a bit higher, Genoa organized silk and spice supply of Europe via the North Caspian regions and the “Northern Caucasus” to Crimea (Caffa). And the rest of the route was as follows: Sebastopolis (Sokhumi, Georgia) – Trebizond – Galata – Italy. And when the Ottomans diminished the Italian trade, Africa was rounded by the Portuguese vessels.

Papal primacy over the Byzantine church also failed. In the early days of Christianity the Third Person of the Trinity – Holy Spirit – was thought to proceed from God the Father. Then, in the 9th c., the formula “that proceedeth from the Father and the Son” was adopted in the West. To the Orthodox church it was a heresy. But obviously in a great despair, needing the Western military help, some of the Greeks had agreed, that this Latin formula meant the same as the Greek newly established one – the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father through the Son. But the rest still used to say as determined as ever – “better the sultan’s turban than the cardinal’s hat”. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 clearly meant the end of this unity. And the Byzantine galleys, all packed with refugees, moving slowly to the open sea towards

the safety of Italy meant a good supplement to the Italian Renaissance, while the Byzantine double-headed eagle – to the Russian heraldry. “The Christian Empires have fallen” – wrote the monk Philotheus in 1512 to the grand prince Basil III of Russia – “in their stead stands only the Empire of our ruler ...Two Romes have fallen, but the third stands and a fourth there will not be”. The Italians did their best to save the maritime empires but they failed. Galata or Pera was lost immediately. And the Ottoman control over the Straits endangered the existence of the Black Sea colonies like Caffa (Theodosia), which had passed over to the Ottomans in 1475. Quite soon the whole empire of Genoa had vanished. Venice triumphed at Lepanto (1571), but little good resulted.

The Italians also did their best to penetrate into a hinterland. e.g. Georgia was flooded with the Catholic monks, while due to the Turkish menace the centre of the Catholic mission in the East had been transferred from Smyrna to Tbilisi. But again – with no successful outcome. The Orthodox churches were known either to regard the Latin Church with hatred, or simply – neglecting it. Hence the Italian supplies had been tied up neatly with the countries Northwards, while Italy itself being reduced to a modest land.

Now the Ottomans tried to re-establish the “Byzantine” rule over Italy ravishing Otranto, financing the corsairs of Algeria, but, in all, it was just a sweet dream for a sultan – already the “emperor of Europe and Asia”.

So, after this Southern European empires gone forever, new Europe emerged with its rationalism and a traditional di-

vision into the West and the East still vital, with a very clear perspective of a collaboration, even creating the universal whole-European architectural style – a certain mixture of the Gothic (Western) and the Byzantine (Eastern) styles – that was Baroque, elaborated still in Italy in the 16th c. The West was lucky in evolution, more severe East had to arrange an economic tension losing the comforts and the services to catch the West. Both of them headed towards Asia for a supply. The colonial system was established. And if the imperial experiment happened to be used still within Europe, like the Austrians and the Russians did, no economic synthesis was planned. Great Britain and Russia never thought even of America and Siberia as of some agrarian sections while sending the colonists there. World War I created the state-socialistic system in the Russian Empire and the USSR appeared. World War II widened the state-socialistic system and the Warsaw Pact appeared. The brutal rationalism like the state-socialism still did its job neatly. Towards the midst of the 19th c. East Europe with its serfdom seems to be a grotesque European province. Now the differences are hastily diminishing, and the making of Europe is close to the end. Soon entire North will face the South within the network of a collaboration affiliating some extremely Southern industrial countries like Australia and the Republic of South Africa, Chile and Argentina.

The West and the East (Balto-Pontic sites being a vanguard) reaching after are fixed on the chart below:

<i>Country</i> \ <i>Revolution</i>	<i>Abolishment of Serfdom</i>	<i>Civil Equality</i>	<i>Liberalism</i>
<i>England (Maritime West)</i>	<i>the 13th c.</i>	<i>the 17th c.</i>	<i>2nd half of the 19th c.</i>
<i>Germany (Humid Continental West)</i>	<i>in Prussia – 1806</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>from 1949</i>
<i>Russia (Humid Continental East)</i>	<i>1861</i>	<i>1917</i>	
<i>Georgia (Humid Subtropical, Semiarid, Highlands)</i>	<i>1864-71</i>	<i>1917</i>	<i>nowadays</i>

Appendix and academic summary of this narrative is as follows:

Europe is part of the earth which stipulates or will stipulate the same vanguard level of development. That has been well acknowledged since the ancient times. An idea of the European integration is as old as a comprehension of geographical determinism for technological evolution.¹

Economic systems having physical substrata with temperature approximately 20°C. and above for the vegetation period and needing further irrigation come together within the Asiatic integration. Being vanguard at the bay for a lot of the sun, it gradually loses top position for the same higher temperature, penetrating well into the depth and thus partly spoiling a seed. The same seed in moderate latitudes, passing slowly down from the dangerous cold at the surface, finds ideal spot with just internal temperature promoting the best vegetation at the lesser depth and within a smaller period of time. Good agriculture releases a lot of the hands for industry, also benefiting from it. Protofeudal and Feudal 5% for city population comes to revolutionary changes. First

¹ T. Dundua. Making of Europe. Tbilisi. 2000.

it was Hellas and Italia to be obsessed by them; then – England and the lands Eastwards, at approximately same latitudes, step by step. And last century saw almost simultaneous revolutions in the South. Having even free economic choice, those countries would suffer for the climate, keeping the hands in irrigation thus rejecting the industry.¹ There are several definitions of Europe. Will they meet the classics?

Europe is right there we have liberties and democracy.² But once there was no liberty and democracy. Europe is defensive-system from the American and Asiatic economic alliances.³ At least, one can be sure for the American alliance to be quite a recent one.

Anaximandres the Milesian was the first to spread the term “Europe” upon the Northern spaces, regardless the catastrophic divergency of the ideas up there from the Hellenic one. Tacitus claims the same for *Brittania et Germania*.⁴ Some Greeks even move the marches of Europe as far as the wild steppes of the Turkestan with the Massagetes dwelling there. Southern borders of Europe partly ran North from the river of Phasis in Colchis.⁵

Now Europe is well-shaped: from the Britain Eastwards towards the Massagetes, from the North Sea Southwards up to

¹ T. Dundua. North and South. Tbilisi. 2001, pp. 8-15; T. Dundua. The Tale of Two Sebastoses and the Orthodox Alliance. David the King of Georgia and Theodoros Gabras. Tbilisi. 2003, pp. 30-32.

² K. Held. Die Entdeckung der Welt bei den Griechen als Ursprung Europas. Das Mittelmeer – die Wiege der Europäischen Kultur. Bonn. 1998, pp. 26-45.

³ K. Held. Die Entdeckung der Welt bei den Griechen als Ursprung Europas. Das Mittelmeer..., p. 45.

⁴ K. Rosen. Die Geburt Europas. Das Mittelmeer..., pp. 13, 23.

⁵ T. Dundua, N. Silagadze. Georgia and the Outer World (in Georg.). Tbilisi. 2001, p. 112.

the Northern Mediterranean and the Black Sea Basin.

There are some other Greek academic divisions with Trans-Caspian steppes, Colchis and Anatolia being already part of Asia.¹

Pragmatic and vital could had been only the thesis fitting the real integratory processes.

Integration for today that is a military alliance and market-distribution.

Graeco-Roman way was a creation of the markets, stimulating them with more cultivated hands, having a metropolitan supplies, i.e. colonizing the sites. To know the basic directions and the results of the project is a way to have Europe in Graeco-Roman dimension.

For Italy nothing is sophisticated. The bulk of immigration headed towards Gaul, Spain and Britain²; some went to Africa. Gaulo-Iberic full-scale Romanization lasted for centuries, and if it failed towards the multicultural perception, Graeco-Roman European pattern was not to be blamed at all.

Neglecting totally the prospectives of power revolution and the steam-machines already invented, Italy degenerated itself into bad industrial supplier for the farming places, thus firing the zonal conflict. With the Huns attached to this clash, it becomes clear that total non-irrigative massive was thought to be Europe.

Greek case with the Hellens scattered everywhere is a bit complicated. But still, completely losing identity in heavy-irri-

¹ T. Dundua, N. Silagadze. Georgia and the Outer World (in Georg.), p. 112.

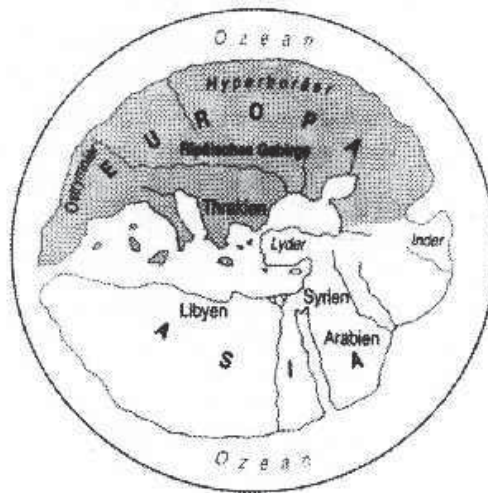
² For the Romans unifying Europe v. H. Galsterer. Einheit und Vielfalt im Römischen Reich. Das Mittelmeer..., pp. 115-129; G. Alföldy. Das Imperium Romanum – ein Vorbild für das vereinte Europe? Basel. 1999.

gative (e.g. Bactria), or super-humid (e.g. Colchis) areas, never really covering the Aramaic (Syria) and Coptic (Egypt) villages, Hellenism gained its major victory in Anatolia, mineral and food stock for the Greek industry.

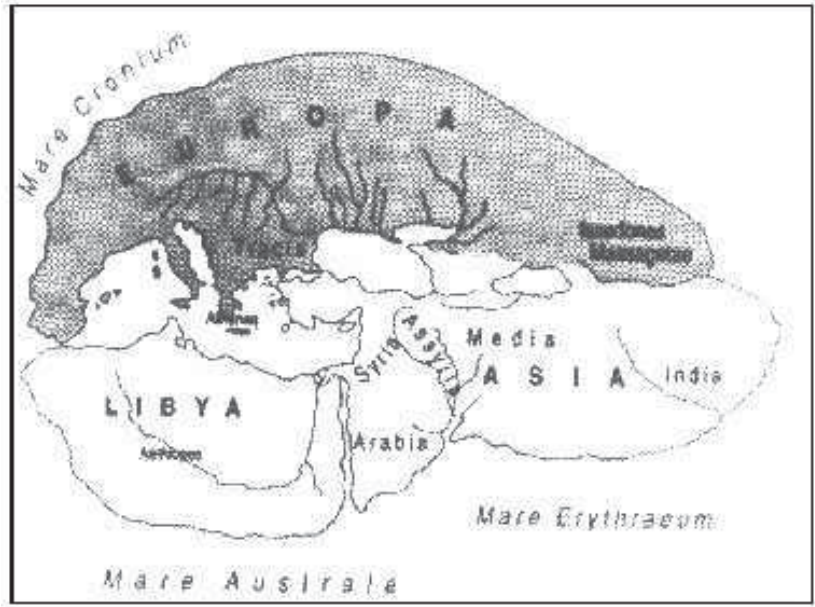
Byzantine conflict between Anatolia and coastal industry was of old Roman pattern. Again the steppe-people, the Seljuks, were involved for a solution.

For Graeco-Romans the case seems clear enough: those lands and climates which had already contributed for top-civilizations could be joined by others, except semiarid one. So, they rushed to stimulate Europe, like Europe went to America in the 18th c.¹

Greek Perception of Europe



¹ K. Held. Die Entdeckung der Welt bei den Griechen als Ursprung Europas. Das Mittelmeer..., p. 41.



Appendix and academic summary for Georgia being a permanent subject of the European integration is as follows: as far back as in the 6th c. B.C. Themistagoras from Miletus made Phasis in Colchis home for himself and his Greek colonists. Thus West Georgia has been involved in the European matter. Greek commercial superiority was substituted by the Roman hegemony over the small coastal strip of Colchis, already called Lazica in the 1st c. A.D. And that hegemony was based upon well-manned castellum-system from Pitius up to Aphasos. Lazi client-kings, dwelling in the hinterland, largely enjoyed Roman *pax* and prosperity, gaining a handsome profit by trading with the gallant Pontic cities, like Sinope, Amisus and Trapezus. The whole Black Sea area might be looked upon as a multicultural region of which the general principles were still based on Hellenism, but that was facilitated mostly by the Roman money and defended by the Roman soldiers. Further towards the East, Iberian kings, sometimes even possessing Roman citizenship, welcomed Graeco-Roman transit from Central Asia and India. Spices, precious wood and stones were brought to Europe via “Transcaucasian” trade-route.¹

Byzantium was not a betrayal of all that was the best in Hellas and Rome. Great oriental bastion of Christendom, it seems to be a formulator of the Orthodox Christian Commonwealth. The Georgian kings being within had been heiled as king and Kuropalates, king and Sebastos, king and Caesaros. Again dual citizenship is applied. For the Christian monarchs there were the Byzantine titles to make them feel as the citizens of the Orthodox Empire, being at the same time ascribed to their own country.²

¹ T. Dundua. Influx of the Roman Coins in Georgia. Tbilisi. 2005, p. 3.

² T. Dundua. Publicius Agrippa, Flavius Dades and Dual Citizenship – a Pattern for

After adoption of Christianity, Eastern Slavonia, with Kiev as capital, joined the Byzantine Commonwealth. That clearly meant enlargement of the Eastern European unity towards Eastern section of Humid Continental Europe, into the direction of the river Volga. Russians were the loyal subjects of the Commonwealth, looking calmly at the decline of Constantinople's hegemony, and the Bulgar and Georgian kings seizing the titles of "Tsar" and "Autocrat".

Becoming stronger, Russia vividly protested Ottoman reintegration of what was formerly labelled Byzantium, and Muslim overlordship over the Orthodox World by taking the title of "Tsar" for grand prince Ivan in 1547. New centre of East Europe has been shaped, and then long-term war started for hegemony, Russia being victorious.

Seeing itself as East European super-power, thus Russia claimed Byzantine political heritage. For Russians Georgia had to be within the East European Union, and at the beginning of the 19th c. Kartalino-Kakhetian Kingdom (Eastern Georgia) became a part of the Russian Empire. The USSR was a substitute for the Russian Empire. And now Georgia is searching for her room within unified Europe.



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**Attic Half Mina from Dioscurias. Athenian
Talassocratia over the East Pontus**

“If anyone mints silver coins in the cities and does not use Athenian coins or weights or measures, but foreign coins, weights and measures, I shall punish him and fine him according to the previous decree which Klearchos proposed”.¹ This is what a secretary of the Athenian Council (Boule) had to add to the Bouleatic oath from the famous Athenian decree enforcing to use the Athenian coins, weights and measures within the Athenian Alliance. The Athenian officials in the cities were responsible to carry out the decree, and the local officials too.² The date of this decree is problematic, but still between 450 and 414 B.C.³ The text was carved on stelai and set up at Athens and the other cities – members of the League. Seven fragments of this text have been already discovered in various places.⁴ There are several attempts to interpret the decree. One thing is clear – this decree is imperialistic in tone, and if some of the cities within the Athenian “Empire” were still supposed to issue own money, Attic weight coins had to be used only. Electrum staters remained popular.⁵

¹ A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions. To the End of the Fifth c. B.C. Edited by R. Meiggs and D. Lewis. Oxford. 1969. Printed to the University 1971, p. 113; Chr. Howgego. Ancient History from Coins. London and New York. 1995, p. 44.

² A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions. To the End of the Fifth c. B.C. Edited by R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, p. 113.

³ A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions. To the End of the Fifth c. B.C. Edited by R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, pp. 114-115; C. G. Starr. Athenian Coinage. Oxford. 1970, p. 68 n. 15; Chr. Howgego. Ancient History from Coins, p. 44.

⁴ A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions. To the End of the Fifth c. B.C. Edited by R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, p. 111; “Athenian coinage decree”. J. M. Jones. A Dictionary of Ancient Greek Coins. London. First Published in 1986.

⁵ A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions. To the End of the Fifth c. B. C.

Later this decree is parodied in the “Birds” of Aristophanes.¹

The decree seems to be very comfortable for trade and taxation – indeed, Athenians were scrupulous while collecting taxes within the League.

The whole story about the Greeks shaping Europe has been already told. Macedonia contributed much as a recruitment area, but earlier Athens had been thought to be a leader. It was merely a frustration – indeed, if the best city had to be stripped from a population, nothing would be created at all. While the Greeks still in this mistake, Athenians made a good deal – seizing the markets and imposing taxes.

Athenians cared much for the Black Sea areas; and Pericles even launched a special expedition (Plut. Pericl. 20). Then numismatic visage of Colchis was changed as Athenian tetrachms came in sight together with the Attic ceramics.² Moreover, Milesian, Aeginetan and Persian standards used for the autonomous issues of Phasis now disappear and Attic standard becomes unique.

The types appearing on the coins of Graeco-Colchian bilingual community, Phasis, were the following /Pl. I-II/:

I. Lion’s head /Rev. Winged Pegasus in *quadratum incusum*

II. Lying hermaphrodite lion /Rev. Kneeling female figure

Edited by R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, p. 113.

¹ C. M. Kraay. Coins of Ancient Athens. Newcastle upon Tyne. 1968, p. 5.

² G. Doundoua, T. Doundoua. Les Relations Économiques de la Colchide aux Époques Archaïque et Classique d’après le Matériel Numismatique. La Mer Noire. Zone de Contacts. Actes du VIIe Symposium de Vani. Paris. 1999, p. 111 №23; Очерки истории Грузии. т. I. ред. Г. А. Меликишвили, О. Д. Лордкипанидзе. Тбилиси. 1989, p. 228.

with a bull's head in *quadratum incusum*

III. Archaic female head /Rev. Two identical heads, facing one another, each in *quadratum incusum*

IV. Archaic female head /Rev. Two bull's heads, facing one another, each in *quadratum incusum*

V. Lion's head /Rev. Bull's head in *quadratum incusum*

VI. Lion's head /Rev. Lioness's foreparts in *quadratum incusum*

VII. Archaic female head /Rev. Bull's head

VIII. Archaic female head /Rev. Crane.¹

The first design seems to be used for, at least, three times. Phasis produced the staters of Milesian (13 gr.), Aeginetan (12.7 gr.) and Persian (10.4 gr.) standards.

The second design was applied, perhaps, twice for a stater of the Persian system (the weights range from 10 gr. to 11.4 gr.) and a didrachm of the Attic standard (the weights range from 7.9 gr. to 9.4 gr.).

This scheme fits the third design too with the weights 9.6 gr., 9.9 gr., 10.4 gr. for the Persian standard and 8.7 gr., 9.2 gr. for the Attic one.

We are completely ignorant of the weight of the fourth design.

The fifth type is siglos (5.5 gr.); the sixth – Attic hemidrachm (the weights range from 1.7 gr. to 2.6 gr.); the seventh – the same (the weights range from 1.2 gr. to 2.6 gr.), and the last one – hemitetartemorion.²

¹ T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage. Catalogue of Georgian Coins. Tbilisi. 1999, p. 7-8; T. Dundua and Others. Colchian Money/Online English-Georgian Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge>

² T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage. Cata-

The result is as follows:

Lion's head /Rev. Pegasus type forms the first Graeco-Colchian series.

Then the hermaphrodite lion type appears first issued as a Persian stater together with a siglos, i.e. the fifth design.

After the third design was established as a Persian stater.

The hermaphrodite lion type seems to be restored later as Attic didrachm accompanied by lion type hemidrachm.

Then we do have to revert to the third design as Attic didrachm.

On the one hand, the seventh design follows the Attic standard, on the other hand, it is a simplification of the fourth design. That does mean that the fourth design should be considered as something within the Attic system first issued together with a small denomination, which is alone prolonged after up to the 3rd c. B.C.

Here is the whole story about Graeco-Colchian issues, and Attic standard being victorious.

Dioscurias was a splendid Greek city dominated by a mercantile oligarchy, a foundation of Miletus, sometimes – being troubled by the natives from hinterland. Then it seems to be completely assimilated. History of Dioscurias is packed with tremendous events and clashes. And the clashes were back again in summer of 1993 as the civil war had broken out in Abkhazia. Still one missile was especially lucky as it buried itself deep in the earth and showed coin-shaped white metal. The description

logue of Georgian Coins. Tbilisi. p. 7-8; T. Dundua and Others. Colchian Money/ Online English-Georgian Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge>

is as follows: weight – 300.37 gr. d=70 mm. Head of Athena wearing crested helmet (the fashion is that of “old style” coinage)/Owl. Obviously Athenian weight, it was offered for sale, and witnessed by Department of Numismatics, Simon Janashia State Museum of Georgia, together with special expert, Prof. Dr. G. Dundua (Centre for Archaeological Studies, Tbilisi). 1993 is a dark hour for Georgia; and the weight was neither bought, nor fixed properly.

The greatest number of the marked weights found in the Agora are small roughly square lead plaques. Sometimes these official weights are marked with the same symbols as the coins – head of Athena/owl.¹ Large circular stamp with helmeted head of Athena appears on the lead weight of the Roman time² /Pl. III. №1/. Bronze weight too of some 69.9 gr. has an owl incised. This seems to be a coin weight, 1/6 of mina³ /Pl. IV №2/. Even countermarks for the weights represent double-bodied owl and helmeted head.⁴ Dry measure also has two stamps: the double-bodied owl and helmeted head of Athena⁵ /Pl. IV №3/.

The Athenian coin mina, consisting of 100 drachms, weighted approximately 436.6 gr. There was also another mina,

¹ The Athenian Agora. v. X. Weights, Measures and Tokens by M. Lang and M. Crosby. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Part I. Weights and Measures by M. Lang. Princeton. New Jersey. 1964, p. 6.

² The Athenian Agora. v. X. Weights, Measures and Tokens by M. Lang and M. Crosby, p. 31 pl. 9 LW (lead weight) 66.

³ The Athenian Agora. v. X. Weights, Measures and Tokens by M. Lang and M. Crosby, p. 26 pl. 1 BW (Bronze weight) 5.

⁴ The Athenian Agora. v. X. Weights, Measures and Tokens by M. Lang and M. Crosby, p. 28 pl. 6 LW 26, p. 30, pl. 8 LW №46.

⁵ The Athenian Agora. v. X. Weights, Measures and Tokens by M. Lang and M. Crosby, pl. 14 DM (dry measure) 44, 45; pl. 18 DM 44, 45.

used for weighting market produce, equal to 138 coin drachms, or 602 gr.¹

So, the piece from Dioscurias should be considered as Athenian trade-weight – half mina.

What conclusions are we to draw from all this?

1) Dioscurias had to receive or was glad to receive the official Athenian weights as the city became a subject of the Alliance.

2) And Phasis should have accepted even a coin mina and Attic standard too while already in the Alliance. Was there any legislation in the favour of democracy; what does a maintenance of “Archaic smile” on the Athenian (“old style” coinage) and Phasian (the seventh design) coins mean? We shall never know.

3) One thing is clear – Attic standard was installed in Colchis between 450 and 414 B.C. And the effect was that of introducing Euro within the European Union.

¹ “Mina”, “Attic weight standard”. J. M. Jones. A Dictionary of Ancient Greek Coins.

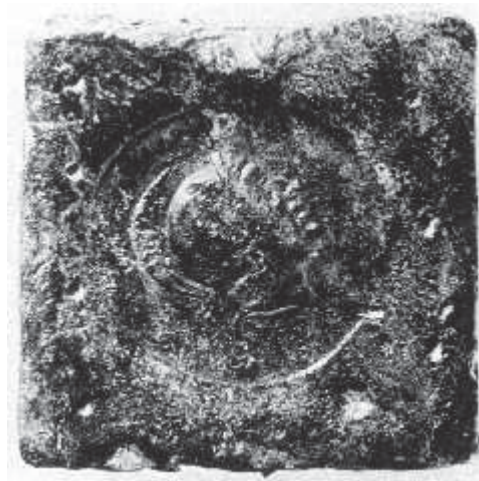
Plate I



Plate II



Plate III



1.

Plate IV



2.



3.

This part of the story has been published as T. Dundua. Attic half Mina from Dioscurias. Athenian Talassocratia over the East Pontus. Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies. v. 2-3. Tbilisi. 2000, pp. 102-109.

Economic Relations of Colchis in Classical Period

According to Numismatic Material

The following imported coins of the 6th-4th cc. B.C. (struck before Alexander) were found in Western Georgia/Colchis – coins without citing have been published gradually; this information is selected from a monograph of G. Dundua, *Нумизматика античной Грузии*. Тбилиси. 1987.

The coins from Asia Minor should be discussed in the first place.

The premier group – the Cyzicene electrum staters

1. A hoard of Colchian money with the single Cyzicene stater of Nike-type issued in 500-460 B.C. was unearthed by chance in 1952 in Pichvnari near Kobuleti on the Black Sea coast.

2. The Triton-type Cyzicene stater dated by the end of the first half of the 5th c. B.C. was found again in Pichvnari in the burial №15 of the Greek Necropolis during the excavations of 1968.

3. One more Cyzicene stater struck in 460-440/30 B.C. with the effigy of a Nymph was discovered in 1967 at the same necropolis in the burial №6.

Discovery of the same category must be presumed also in Central Colchis, namely in Vani/Surion.

The second group – the Lydian money

4. Found in 1990 in Sulori, near Vani, a hoard of the Colchian hemidrachms included two (?) Lydian silver pieces. One of them was early croeseid (Ar.) (Obv. Lion and bull protomes facing one another. Rev. Two incuse squares).¹ And the other one

¹ Ian Carradice. The 'Regal' Coinage of the Persian Empire. *Coinage and Adminis-*

was issued, perhaps, in the first half of the 6th c. B.C. (Obv. Lion's head. Rev. *quadratum incusum*)¹, but the style is still Rhodian.²

The third group – the Achaemenid siglos

5. There was also the Achaemenid siglos of the 5th c. B.C. (Obv. Crowned figure, bearded, running right, with quiver at shoulder, holding transverse spear and bow)³ in the hoard of the Colchian money mentioned above.

The fourth group – the Sinopean drachms

6. The Sinopean drachm of the 6th-5th cc. B.C. (type: dolphin/Rev. *quadratum incusum*) was fixed in 1967 in Pichvnari at the Colchian necropolis.

7. The Sinopean drachm dated by the 4th c. B.C. (the upper chronological limit of the issue is 370 B.C.) was found by chance in Ureki on seashore.

8. The synchronous drachm, or, at least, the one struck before 360 B.C. was discovered by chance in Ureki in 1966.

Next four examples were found in the beginning of the 20th c. in the outskirts of Batumi, one of the most important Georgian ports. All of them were issued in the first half of the 4th c. B.C. Their description is as follows:

9. Obv. Head of a nymph with the earrings shaped like an amphora to the left. Rev. Sea-eagle upon a dolphin. And ΔΑΙΣ – as the name of the magistrate.

Head of a nymph on the early Sinopean coins is represent-

tration in the Athenian and Persian Empires. The Ninth Oxford Symposium on the Coinage and Monetary History. 1987, p. 74, pl. X №№1-7.

¹ R. Göbl. *Antike Numismatik*. Band 2. München. 1978, pl. 60 №1058.

² R. Göbl. *Antike Numismatik*. B. 2, pl. 60 №1055.

³ Ian Carradice. The 'Regal' Coinage of the Persian Empire. *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires*, pp. 78, type III b. (late), 92.

ed either without the earrings and a necklace, or with the earrings shaped like an amphora. E. Babelon and Th. Reinach date the identical piece by the 4th c. B.C. with 370 B.C. as the upper chronological limit.

10. Obv. Head of a nymph with the earrings shaped like an amphora. Rev. Sea-eagle upon a dolphin. Legends – ΣΙΝΩ; and ΔΙΟ, as the name of the magistrate.

11. Obv. Head of a nymph without the earrings. Rev. Sea-eagle upon a dolphin. Legends: ΣΙΝΩ, and the rest can not be read.

12. Obv. Head of a nymph with a necklace, but without the earrings. Rev. Sea-eagle upon a dolphin. Legends: ΣΙΝΩ, and ΓΟΛ.

The absence of the earrings logically underlines 370 B.C. as the upper chronological point for the issue. But E. Babelon and Th. Reinach put this category into the group with the following chronological attributes – 360-320 B.C.

13. A hoard weighting some 13-17 pounds was unearthed by chance in Pichvnari in 1948. Only 157 examples became the subjects of a scientific attribution. The Sinopean drachms (109 specimens) and the Colchian hemidrachms (the rest) turned out to be the composites of this numismatic complex. The Sinopean coins are dated by 360-320 B.C. in general. And the hoard is thought to be buried in about 350/345 B.C. The following names (in abbreviation form) of the magistrates exist within the considered group: ΝΕΥ – on 1 spec., ΔΙΟ – on the 5 spec., ΠΟΛΥ – on 1 spec., ΣΦΑΙ – on the 2 spec., ΑΓΡΕΩΣ – on the 22 spec., ΔΙΟΥ – on the 43 spec., ΚΑΛΛΙΑ – on the 3 spec., ΗΡΟΞΕ –

on 1 spec., ΦΑΓΕΤΑ – on the 12 spec., ΦΑΓΕ – on the 8 spec., ΛΕΩΜ – on the 8 spec., ΔΙΟΝ – on 1 spec., ΗΡΩΙ – on 1 spec., and ΙΚΕΣΙΟ – on one specimen.

14-15. The next two pieces, perhaps, also belong to the same hoard. One of them bears the name – ΔΙΟΥ. This coin was acquired by the State Museum of Georgia soon after publication of the numismatic complex currently discussed. The second one is a heavy drachm with no visible inscription.

16. Towards the end of the 19th c. the 4th c. B.C. Sinopean drachm was found in Sokhumi.

The fifth group – Amisus' sigloi

17. The silver coin of Amisus struck in the 4th c. B.C. with the type of woman's head and an owl, legend – ΠΕΙΡΑ, was discovered by chance in Kobuleti in 1966.

18. The identical specimen was found again by chance on the territory of Sokhumi fortress; ΣΩΧΑ – for the name of magistrate.

The sixth group – the coins of the Northern Black Sea Coast

a) Panticapaeum

19. The silver piece of Panticapaeum (type: dolphin's head/Rev. *quadratum incusum*) dated by 475-450 B.C. was found in the burial №5 in 1967 at Pichvnari's Greek necropolis.

20. Panticapaeum's copper of 370-340 B.C. was discovered in 1926 in Tsikhisdziri, near Kobuleti.

b) Nymphaeum

21. The diobol of Nymphaeum struck in the last quarter of the 5th c. B.C. (type: head of a nymph/Rev. *quadratum incusum*)

with effigy of a vine) was found in the burial №8 at Pichvnari's Greek necropolis in 1968.

c) Chersonesus

22. The dichalkon of Chersonesus of 364-350 B.C. was discovered on the territory of Sokhumi fortress in 1959. Obv. Maid's head in a kekriphalos to the right. Rev. XHP. Lion's head *an face* and a club below.

The seventh group – the Athenian tetradrachm

23. The Athenian tetradrachm of the 5th-4th cc. B.C. was found in Green Cape (near Batumi) environs towards the end of the 19th c.

The eighth group – the Macedonian coin

24. The stater of Philip II was found in the burial of the Colchian warrior during the excavations of 1969 in Vani. Obv. Appolo – head to the right. Rev. Two-horse racing car to the right and the name ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. Lion's head *an face* as an adjunct symbol.

Now let us sum up everything.

The following imported coins of the 6th-4th cc. B.C. (struck before Alexander) were found in Western Georgia/Colchis – 1. the Cyzicene electrum staters of the 5th cc. B.C. (in Pichvnari and maybe, in Vani too) – 4 spec., 2. the Lydian silver of the 6th c. B.C. (in Sulori, district of Vani) – 2 (?), 3. the Achaemenid siglos of the 5th c. B.C. (Sulori), 4. the Sinopean drachms of the 5th-4th cc. B.C. in numbers (mostly from Pichvnari, and also from Batumi, Ureki and Sokhumi), 5. Amisus's sigloi of the 4th c. B.C. (Kobuleti, Sokhumi) – 2, 6. the coins of the Northern Black Sea Coast of the 5th-4th cc. B.C.: silver piece of Panticapaeum (in Pichvnari)

– 1, and also copper (in Tsikhisdziri) – 1, diobol of Nymphaeum (in Pichvnari) – 1, dichalkon of Chersonesus (in Sokhumi) – 1; 4 in all, 7. Athenian tetradrachm of the 5th-4th cc. B.C. (found in Green Cape environs) – 1, 8. stater of Philip II (in Vani) – 1.

Thus, we have more than 100 coins struck in the 6th-4th cc. B.C. from Western Georgia. And only 4 or 5 of them were found in the hinterland. Their list is as follows: 1. maybe, Cyzicene stater, 2-4. the Lydian and Achaemenid silver pieces, 5. Philip's stater, the celebrated gold Philippeios. This numismatic data comes exclusively from Vani, and it is really very suggestive.

The Sinopean drachms are the most numerous.

So, at least from the 5th c. B.C. the foreign currency together with the local money circulates on the coastal line of Colchis. Batumi-Kobuleti sector is especially important in a view of these discoveries. And the numismatic material from this place is mostly a production of Sinope and Cyzicus.

This fact should be explained.

Analysing the concrete material, we can make a conclusion that in the 6th-4th cc. B.C. Colchis had close links with the Black Sea sites, with Sinope in particular. This fact can be well explained: at the beginning of the 5th c. B.C. the Persians crushed the Ionian cities (maybe, the Lydian money is the numismatic attestation of the relations between Ionia and Colchis as far back as in the 6th c. B.C.), and Athens gained a dominance in the trade with Colchis (as well as with the other Black Sea coast regions). Sinope was a supplement of the Athenian Talassocrata; and then – master of the Colchian export.

This part of the story has been published as G. Doundoua, T. Doundoua. Les Relations Économiques de la Colchide aux Époques Archaique et Classique d'après le Matériel Numismatique. La Mer Noire. Zone de Contacts. Actes du VIIe Symposium de Vani. Paris. 1999, pp. 107-115.

**Bagrat, Son of Bivrat (towards Genesis of the
Georgian Royal Family – the Bagratids)**

“Now this is Hayk who begat Aramaneak, his son in Babylon. And Aramaneak begat many sons and daughters, of whom the eldest was Aramayis. And Aramayis begat many sons and daughters, of whom the eldest was Amasya... Now these are the names of the earliest men who founded the race in Babylon and who went across the northern regions of the land of Ararat. For Hayk set out from Babylon with his wife and sons and all his retinue...

And there ruled over them Zareh, a son of [one of] Aramaneak's sons, a powerful man and skilful with the bow; then Armong; then Sarhang; then Shavash; then Parnavas.

This last begat Bagam and Bagarat, and Bagarat begat Biurat, and Biurat begat Aspat. And the sons of Bagarat succeeded to their inheritance in the regions of the west...

At that time Arshak (king of the Parthians) made his son, called Arshak the Less, king over the land of Armenia and the city of Mtsurn. And he assigned to him as borders Aruastan by the land of the Tachiks, and the land of Syria and Cappadocia by Cilicia as far as the shore of the great western sea, and on the

northern side to the great Caucasus Mountain...

He sent him from Mtsurn to the west with greatest army... Bagarat P'arazean, one of the descendants of Aramaneak and great noble, went out to meet him with a large army. He offered him gifts of gold and silver, adorned him with the tunic and stole, crowned him with the hereditary crown, sat him on the throne of gold inlaid with precious stones, and gave him his daughter in marriage.

King Arshak made him [Bagarat] aspet of the land of Armenia, that's, prince and chief commander of the entire kingdom, and father and brother of the king, and to him he gave the authority of that power".¹

This is amalgam from Armenian Primary History. Using other more detailed accounts, it can be formulated like this: in the early years of the 3rd c. B.C. the Northern and Southern kingdoms of Kartli (Iberia, East and South Georgia) were united under Pharnavaz from the city of Mtskheta (Northern kingdom), the first king of the Pharnavazid dynasty. Azo, the southern sovereign, seems to be killed in skirmish. Pharnavaz, now victorious, gratefully adopted his sons and kept them within the native domains as the dukes (residing somewhere in Klarjeti (now in Turkey) and possessing some more appanages in Speri (Ispir district)). Bagrat (Bagadat) Pharnavaziani, Bivrat (Biurat), Sumbat (Smbat) – these are the names of the first men from Bagrationi ruling clan. Sumbat revolted against Mtskheta overlordship, sup-

¹ Moses Khorenats'i. History of the Armenians. Translation and Commentary of the Literary Sources by R. W. Thomson. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. London, England. 1978. Appendix A. Primary History, pp. 358-359, 362, 365-366.

ported by Artaxias, the Armenian king; and thus Vitaxate of Gogarene (southern parts of Georgia) had emerged.¹

Some coins provide more arguments for the genealogy. These silver pieces are wrongly attributed as a produce of Persis.

The currency of Persis (250 B.C. until the rise of the Sasanids) consists of silver. The denominations are a tetradrachm, a drachm and smaller pieces. The inscriptions are in Aramaic, degenerating into Pehlevi. The debased and frequently illegible script, occurring on the coins the art of which is still good, indicates that the coins are the work of the Greeks who did not understand the language.²

This group is thought to be headed by the pieces of certain Bagadat.

Coins with the same head on obv. have the inscriptions as follows³:

№1. BaGaDaT FRaTaRaKA ZI ALaHIA * /Pl. I №1/

¹ T. Dundua. Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus According to the Numismatic Material (in Georg. with Russ. and Engl. summaries). Tbilisi. 1993, pp. 6-29.

² Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. v. 28. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill. Bologna. 1965, p. clx n. 2 for bibliography, p. clxi; R. Göbl. Antike Numismatik. B. 2, pl. 101-102, №№2086-2105.

³ Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. clxiv-clxvi.

* Bagadat. Tetradrachm. Weight – 16.58 gr.

Obv. Head of Bagadat r., bearded, with moustache, and taenia on forehead; wears satrapal head-dress (kyrbasia) with double tie behind, and flaps fastened over top; earring in ear; border of dots. Rev. Bagadat seated l. on throne with back; wears kyrbasia; long overgarment with false sleeves and arm-guards; holds in r. a long sceptre, in l. a flower (?); planted before him, standard with decoration and hanging tassels – dirēfš-i Kavian; inscr. on r. downwards and on l. upwards, border of dots. Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. 195 №1 pl. XXVIII №7.

№2. BIURaT FRaTaRa ZI ...** /Pl. I №2/

№3. BIURAT BaGaDaT...*** /Pl. I №3/

№4. BaGaDaT FRaTaRaKa BIURat ZI ALaHIA

(Fratakara – “fire-kindler”(?), Frataraka – “Oberer” (in Germ.); ZI ALaHIA – “of the Gods” or “of divine origin”).

It is suggested that the coins represent the same man; and if so no.1, on which the inscription is complete, shows that he must have been Bagadat. Then Biurat was his father, and the word Bar, for son, is omitted, as in modern Persian.¹

The coins are not much earlier than Antiochus III.²

Bagadat as a satrap of Persis is not mentioned in records; that is why his Persian identity is still slightly suspected.³ But fire-temple type**** seems to be very Persian:

** Bagadat. Tetradrachm. Weight – 16.89 gr.

Obv. As last.

Rev. Fire-temple, with double panelled doors, podium, pilasters, and architrave; above, three battlements, each with two horns; on l., Bagadat, in satrapal head-dress and long garment, standing right, r. raised in adoration; on r., standard; inscription, on r. downwards and in exergue, inscription on l., if any, off the flan; border of dots. Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. 196 №2 pl. XXVIII №8.

***Bagadat. Hemidrachm. Weight – 1.68 gr.

Obv. As last.

Rev. As last; inscrip., on r. between standard and temple, outside, obliterated, in ex., on l.; border of dots. Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. 196 №3 pl. XXVIII №9.

¹ Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. clxvi.

² Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. clxx.

³ Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. clxvi n.1.

**** Substituted by fire-altar.

Polyaenus mentions a satrap of Persis called Ὀβορζος, he is Vahuberz, and he has a temple on his Rev. Many other rulers of Persis followed him.¹ And the intricacy of the relations between the small groups is too great to allow of their being divided up² /Pl. II/. Yet, none of the Persians is seated on throne, that leaves our №1 beyond the group.

The coin evidence and narrative clearly demonstrate that throughout the last half of the 3rd c. B.C. Bagrat Pharnavaziani, duke of Klarjeti, issued the coins with proud legend – BaGaDaT FRaTaRaKa BIURat ZI ALaHIA. №1 is designed originally, while fire-temple type was, perhaps, borrowed from the silver pieces of Vahuberz, who ruled in Persis. Neither satrapal garment, nor fire-temple were alien to Iberians, who worshiped Armazi-Ahurō-Mazdāo³ and used to be dressed in Iranian fashion (Strabo XI. 3. 3).

What conclusions are we to draw from all this?

A genealogy of early Bagratids is as follows – Bivrat (Bivrat), son of Azo → Bagrat (Bagadat), son of Bivrat → Bivrat, son of Bagrat → Sumbat (Smbat) Bivritiani...

Saurmag, the next king of Iberia, had to deal with a revolt

¹ Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. 197 №№1-3 pl. XXVIII №10-12, pl. XXIX-XXXII; D. R. Sear. Greek Coins and Their Values. Volume II. Asia and North Africa. Printed in England by the Bath Press. Bath. 1998, pp. 572-574, №№6187-6215; D. R. Sear. Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values. The Local Coinages of the Roman Empire. Printed and Bound by Bookcraft (Bath) Ltd. 1997, pp. 588-591, №№5935-5970; R. Göbl. Antike Numismatik. Band 2, pp. 204-205 pl. 101-102 №№2087-2105.

² Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persis. By G. F. Hill, p. clxi.

³ T. Dundua. Christianity and Mithraism. The Georgian Story. Tbilisi. 1999, p. 3.

of the dukes (eristavi).¹ Was ambitious Bagrat among them, did he secure southern principality for himself? Perhaps, we need more records for the full picture. But still, his coins are present, ordered, maybe, to the nearest Greek community. And that could be either Phasis, or Trapezus.

¹ Das Leben Kartlis. Eine Chronik aus Georgien 300-1200. Herausgegeben von G. Pättsch. Leipzig. 1985, pp. 77-78.

Plate I

Bagadat



1.



2.



3.

Vahuberz and Other Rulers



This part of the story has been published as T. Dundua. Bagrat, Son of Bivrat. Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies. v. 4. Tbilisi. 2001, pp. 26-30.

Mithridates Junior – Was He Rome’s Ally?

Mithridatic Wars are of special concern for the Georgian historians – thus Colchis and Iberia had been involved in the full-scale European war for the first time.

Eupator selected different patterns for those countries – that of satrapy for Colchis, and *symmachia* – for Iberia.

In 85 B.C., being in a great despair, with his armies and fleet totally destroyed by the Romans, Mithridates VI had to satisfy demand of the Colchian rebels – they needed their own kingdom to be restored with Eupator’s son as a king. His name was Mithridates Philopator Philadelphos (App. Mithr. 64).

We do not know much about him: he was left in a charge of Bosphorus, Colchis and Pontus itself as his father marched Westwards to face the Romans. Then he fought Fimbria, the Roman general, bravely, but unsuccessfully. As king of Colchis, Philopator issued the coins, both silver and copper, with Pontic dynastic eight-pointed star on reverse, and rather strange for his new country lotus – on obverse. Even more strange it seems the way he manifested his regalia – that is in no way, the coins are unepigraphic. Was he afraid of his father? Then why? For conspiring against him, having Colchians as friends?! We shall never know. Yet, Mithridates was to be feared much. Indeed, with Rome obsessed with heavy civil war, and the Greeks having had no final choice to whom they could entrust the Greek affair, Colchis felt itself hopelessly isolated. Eupator’s reaction was quick and brutal, as usually. First capture, then golden chains and death was bad epilogue for Philopator (84 B.C.).¹ But he is not to be

¹ T. Dundua. Mithridates the Junior and the Colchian Rebellion (in Georg. with

blamed. Junior, perhaps, did the best he could to gain efficient support of the Republic; but in vain.

Epigraphics can provide some information for Philopator looking for strong ally. N375 from OGIS could be about him!: [Βασιλεὺς Μιθραδάτης Φιλ]οπάτωρ καὶ Φιλᾶδελφος/[υῖος βασιλέως Μιθραδάτ]ου, τὸν δῆμον τὸν/[Ῥωμαίων, τὸν φίλον καὶ] σύμμαχον αὐτοῦ, /[εὐνοίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας] ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς αὐτόν//[πρεσβευσάντων Ναιμ]άνου τοῦ Ναιμάνου/[καὶ Μάου τοῦ Μάου].

There are two Mithridates with the same cognomen – Philopator and Philadelphos. One of them ruled Pontus after war-like Pharnakes I and was actually his brother, son of Mithridates III, who bore no cognomens, like that Mithridates in the inscription. The length of the reign is well shown on the Attic tetradrachms having the legend as follows – ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ; very naturalistic head is getting elder.² Then it is him mentioned in the inscription, because next Philopator and Philadelphos has Eupator, as father. But there could be no βασιλεύς at all. Nobody knows for sure. Now it is much easier to discuss Junior’s case. Ruling over totally new kingdom and not the ancestral one, he could label himself as “son of Mithridates”, and not – “of king

Russ. and Engl. summaries). Proceedings of Tbilisi State University. Series (History...). 321. Tbilisi. 1996, pp. 18-28; T. Dundua. Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus according to the Numismatic Material, pp. 50-68.

¹ *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecorum.* Edidit Wilhelmus Dittenberger. Volumen Prius. Lipsiae. MDCCCIII, pp. 580-582.

² W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon, Th. Reinach. *Recueil Général les Monnaies Grecques d’Asie Mineure.* Tome Premier. Premier Fascicule (2^e édition). Paris. 1925. New York. 1976, p. 12.

Mithridates". Besides, some scholars made an attempt to identify those ambassadors with Eupator's contemporary political figures (App. Mitr. 19).

One can really feel sorry for Junior. He could even had become Rome's formal ally in order to secure the safety of the country, much more depended on his Pontic garrisons. Indeed, he needed his copper issues just to pay them since the Colchians totally ignored the small change. But that was pocket-money. With, perhaps, no banking-system in West Georgia, those soldiers were thought to keep most of their salaries at home – in trapezas of Sinope, or Amisus. Then lotus-type silver issues used to be transferred there. Thus they could be brought upon Eupator's suspicious eyes. Philadelphos did his best for his coins to look like old Pontic satrapal issues. He did his best to secure his headquarters; as the lotus-type copper is mostly grouped in the hinterland town of Surion/Vani, it is thought to be his capital.

Alas, Philopator was granted no time. Appian narrates about his punishment – he had been brought by force. And archaeology reveals the traces of heavy clashes and fire in the early 1st c. B.C. layers of Eshera, suburb site of Dioscurias at the coastal strip, and Vani itself. ¹

70 B.C. saw a great treachery performed by Makhares, Philopator's brother. He generously sent all supplies to the Roman general Lucullus, besieging Sinope, the capital. And a ground for his high-treason was again Colchis, Makhares was there. We know for sure that he had other province too – that of Bosphorus. If it could happen as follows: leading a sea-borne

¹ T. Dundua. Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus according to the Numismatic Material, pp. 49-50.

expedition to Colchis in 84 B.C., he was the person, who captured Philopator. Thus Makhares had been allotted with a satrapy – namely Colchis, having in abundance every supply for naval power. Then he could march victoriously against also mutinous Bosphorus, thus unifying the two provinces.

Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysios was fortunate in children, but – not their behavior. And Colchis seems to be a certain kind of stimulus for their political misbehavior.

This part of the story has been published as T. Dundua. Mithridates the Junior – Was He Rome's Ally? Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies. v. 11. Tbilisi. 2008, pp. 41-43.

The Portray of Gnaeus Pompejus Magnus and the Georgian Numismatics

For Antique republics there were the gods to justify a legitimacy of a coin. With the decay towards autocracy the first persons started to be portrayed.

Julius Caesar became the first living individual to be portrayed in Rome, and it was done by special senatorial decree.¹

Was he really the first Roman to be honoured this way?

The case of Flamininus with his head on the gold coins struck in Greece is beyond the interest. It happened too long before and the republic was too strong.

¹ Chr. Howgego. Ancient History from Coins, pp. 67-69.

But what about Gnaeus Pompejus; that is exactly him on obverse of the light drachm struck in Colchis in 52/51 B.C.

Obv. Head of Gnaeus Pompejus in solar diadem right.

Rev. Tyche seated, ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΚΟΛΧΙ-
ΔΟΣ ΒΙ.¹

Aristarchus, dynast from Colchis, was a part of Pompejus' Eastern reorganization after the Mithridatic Wars. He is put in a charge of Colchis in 63 B.C. (App. Mithr. 114). This coin is his legislation and the regnal years – 12 (52/51 B.C.) – are also his. Besides, he is a client of Pompejus. So, the drachm stands outside the Roman numismatics and the Roman conjuncture generally.

But – only *de facto*. What is the position of Aristarchus? Ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας – the viceroy. Whose viceroy could had been him, if there was no king in Colchis by that times. Only that of the Republic's. Then what an immediate reaction of the Senate might be on Pompejus shown as *rex et deus*?

Who designed the coin – Aristarchus himself, completely ignorant about the democratic principles, or there was a prompt and stipulation from the outside?!

Caesar tested public opinion by staging the scene with himself being offered a diadem. The sign of total disappointment was indeed a bad omen and he demonstratively rejected the offer (Plut. Caes. 61).

Was Pompejus doing the same a bit earlier – checking the general political sympathies by making his client to act this way?

¹ T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage, p. 10; T. Dundua and Others. Drachm of Aristarchus the Colchian/Online English-Georgian Catalogue of Georgian Numismatics <http://geonumismatics.tsu.ge>

Could be. With M. Licinius Crassus dead, and Caesar in Gaul making his name, Pompejus was only big man in Rome. And after all he was illustrious and ambitious general.



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ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ΜΟΣΧΟΥ

Civil war of 69 reveals freedman Moschus as admiral of the Roman fleet subordinated to Emperor M. Salvius Otho.¹ In the 1st-2nd cc. the Roman citizenship was a prerequisite for enrolment in the legion but not for service in other units, such as the two Italian fleets.² That is why Moschus found himself in his position. Romans used to give specific names to the slaves and freedmen, often connected with their original nationality. e.g. Emperor Aulus Vitellius, rival of Otho, had Asiaticus, as a favourite, gradually allotting him with the Roman citizenship and *nomen*.³ Having on mind Meskheti (Graeco-Roman Moschicē), a province of Iberia (Eastern and Southern Georgia), one can suggest Iberia, as a mother-land for Moschus or his parent. If so, he could also be called Iberian (Iber), like Gaius the Iberian (Καίος ὁ Ἰβήρ), mentioned on the bronze plate from Platea in Greece.⁴

In the Roman World a slave or a freedman, Moschus by name, could be only Georgian. Greek case is different, for Moschos is original Greek name with the Greek etymology, employed rather extensively.⁵ There are no chances if proving the Georgian

¹ Tacit. Hist. I. 87, Историки Античности. т. II. Древний Рим. Москва. 1989, p. 243; Tacitus. In Five Volumes. II. The Histories. Books I-III. With an English Translation by C. H. Moore. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press. London. MCMLXXX, p. 150.

² T. Dundua. Publicius Agrippa, Flavius Dades and a Dual Citizenship – a Pattern for Europe in Future? Caucasica. The Journal of Caucasian Studies. vol. 5. Tbilisi. 2000, p. 60.

³ Tacit. Hist. II. 57, Историки Античности. т. II, p. 281.

⁴ T. Dundua. Gaius the Iberian – First Ever Recorded Georgian To Be Baptized. Proceedings of Institute of Georgian History. Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. II. Tbilisi. 2011, p. 425.

⁵ Древнегреческо-русский словарь. Составил И. Х. Дворецкий. Москва. 1958. т. II, p. 1110; Greek-English Lexicon, Compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott.

origin for Moschos of Elis, philosopher, Moschos of Lampsacos, tragic poet, and Moschos of Syracuse, famous bucolic poet.¹

This name had its derivative forms, like as follows: Μόσχης, Μόσχιος, Μοσχιανός, Μόσχιν, Μοσχίνη, Μόσχιον, Μοσχίων, Μόσχιλος, Μοσχίνα, Μοσχίνος.² Both, substratum and a derivative form found themselves joined in the 3rd c. B.C. in the name of Hellenized Jewish slave, inscribed on plaque from Oropos near Athens – Μόσχος Μοσχίωνος Ἰουδαῖος.³ Son could have father's name in the Greek society, but these cases are not frequent if not within the Hellenistic dynasties. If it happened like as follows: Mōšéh is a general name to denote a Jew, and “Moschos” – very close to it in phonetical way.

But, if we have Μόσχος Μόσχου and apparently he is not a Jew, then he must be Iberian, whose direct, or far ancestor had been taken away from the Iberian province of Meskheti. This duplicity in the name could mean nothing but stressing the ethnicity properly. For a transformation of ethnonym into proper name we have example, [Κ]όλχος γέ[γραφ]σεν on Greek pottery.

Final step for those barbarian slaves and freedmen was a citizenship.

Μόσχος Μόσχου occurs, at least, for three times – twice, on the coins, once – in inscription. Magistrate of Smyrna, perhaps, in the 2nd c. B.C., he put his name on the bronze coins of the

New edition completed 1940. Reprinted 1961. Oxford, p. 1148.

¹ Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Band 8. Stuttgart. Weimar. Article “Moschos” (Μόσχος), pp. 414-415.

² e.g. W. Pape's Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen. Zweite Hälfte. Braunschweig. 1884, pp. 946-947.

³ E. L. Gibson. The Jewish Monumission Inscriptions of the Bosphorus Kingdom. Tübingen. 1999, p. 66.

city, the so-called Homereias (Apollo/Rev. Homer. ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ΜΟΣΧΟΥ).¹ Maybe, that was him again to issue Kybele/Rev. Aphrodite Stratonikis type bronze coins with the legend ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ΜΟΣΧΟΥ², and to be mentioned in the Greek inscription of the theatre in Halikarnassos (the 3rd-2nd cc. B.C.) – ΜΟΣΧΟΣΜΟΣΧΟΥ ΤΟΥΜΟ[ΣΧΟΥ] /Photo №1/.

First fragment of cornice

ΜΟΣΧΟΣΜΟΣΧΟΥ ΤΟΥΜΟ

Second fragment of cornice

ΓΟΝΟΘΕΤΗΣΑΣΤΟΜΠΥΑΝΑΔΙΟΝΥΣΩΙ

Third fragment of cornice (?)

ΟΠΘΕ (?)³

We are moving to declare one of the leading families of Smyrna in the 2nd c. B.C. to be of the Georgian origin.

¹ J. G. Milne. The Autonomous Coinage of Smyrna. II. The Numismatic Chronicle. Fifth Series – vol. VII. London. 1927, p. 95 №321.

² A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. XVI. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia. Barclay V. Head. London. 1892, p. 240 №33.

³ Α, as a variant of A, appears in the 3rd-1st cc. B.C., and Π substitutes Π in the 1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D. B. H. McLean. An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.-A.D. 337). The University of Michigan Press. 2005, p. 41. Thus, the inscription can be dated by 3rd c. B.C.- 2nd c. B.C.

Photos

1.



First fragment of cornice



Second fragment of cornice



Third fragment of cornice (?)

2.



This part of the story has been published as T. Dundua. ΜΟΣΧΟΣ ΜΟΣΧΟΥ (in Georg. with Engl. Summary). Proceedings of Institute of Georgian History. Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. IV. Tbilisi. 2011, pp. 10-18.

Romans and the Georgians

Influx of the Roman Coins in Georgia

Georgia is a tiny country but with a big history. Being a suburb of Europe, she has always been glad to accept thoroughly general European fashions, as well as numismatic one.

As far back as in the 6th c. B.C. Themistagoras from Miletus made Phasis in Colchis home for himself and his Greek colonists. Thus West Georgia has been involved in the European matter. Actually, the West of Georgia was Colchis, and the East and South– Iberia. Georgia is a synthesis of the West and the East.

Greek commercial superiority was substituted by the Roman hegemony over the small coastal strip of Colchis, already called Lazica in the 1st c. A.D. And that hegemony was based upon well-manned castellum-system from Pitius up to Apsaros. Lazi client-kings, dwelling in the hinterland, largely enjoyed Roman *pax* and prosperity, gaining a handsome profit by trading with the gallant Pontic cities, like Sinope, Amisus and Trapezus. The whole Black Sea area might be looked upon as a multicultural region of which the general principles were still based on Hellenism, but that was facilitated mostly by the Roman money and defended by the Roman soldiers. Further towards the East, Iberian kings, sometimes even possessing Roman citizenship, welcomed Graeco-Roman transit from Central Asia and India. Spices, precious wood and stones were brought to Europe via “Transcaucasian” trade-route (Strabo. XI. 3; Plin. Nat. Hist. VI.

52).¹ Still there did exist some other routes.²

Soldiers and merchants brought money, rich deposits of which show the picture as follows /Fig. 1/:³

For Colchis/Lazica

The 2nd-1st cc. B.C.

a) Coastal strip (Dioscurias and environment) – 7 republican denarii altogether, dated from 171/151 B.C. up to the times of M. Antonius.

b) Hinterland (Vani and some other places) – 26 republican denarii, and one quinarius, dated from 119/110 (90/80) onwards. 23 of them form a hoard together with denarii of Augustus (2) and drachm of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia.

Mints are mostly Occidental.

The best thing to demonstrate money circulation of Lazica in the Roman times is to manipulate with the numismatic data from the celebrated coastal castellum Pitius and the city in the neighbourhood, and with some hoards from Lazi hinterland.

a) Pitius

The 1st c. – dupondius of Augustus.

The 2nd c. – municipal copper of Trapezus – 25 pieces; silver coins of Caesarea in Cappadocia – 9; both, silver and copper, Rome – 7; Asian mint – 1; Pautalia – 1.

¹ T. Dundua. Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus According to the Numismatic Material, pp. 29-37.

² T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration. Tbilisi. 1999, pp. 30-32.

³ For the numismatic data v. Г. Ф. Дундуа. Монетное дело и монетное обращение в Грузии в античную эпоху. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора исторических наук. Тбилиси. 1982; Г. Ф. Дундуа. Нумизматика античной Грузии. Тбилиси. 1987; T. Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C.-1453) (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 1997.

The 3rd c. – 340 pieces in all. First half of the 3rd c. – 247 pieces: municipal copper of Trapezus – 191; silver coins of Caesarea – 31; copper of Neocaesarea – 3; of Sinope – 1; of Amisus – 1; of Nicomedia – 1, etc. 149 pieces form a hoard. Structure of the hoard is as follows: municipal copper of Trapezus, dated by the 2nd-3rd cc. (L. Verus-Philip Junior) – 139; Caesareian silver issues – didrachm of Hadrian – 4; didrachm of Commodus – 1; drachm of Septimius Severus – 2; drachm of Julia Domna – 1; drachm of Geta – 1; drachm of Caracalla – 1. Date of the hoard-deposit is 245 as *terminus post quem*. This hoard could emerge due to threat of Gothic invasion from the Crimea in 253. Pitius was the place severely attacked by them. Both, Pitius and Dioscurias/Sebastopolis show some 238 samples of Trapezuntine municipal issues. Second half of the 3rd c. – some 100 pieces, mostly copper: struck at Rome – 70 pieces, including also Antoniniani; Antioch – 11; Cyzicus – 6; other mints are represented by unique samples.

The 4th c. – more than 500 copper pieces in all, 310 – form a hoard. Structure of the hoard is as follows: Constantine I – 11; Helena – 4; Constantine I (struck after his death) – 52; Constantine II – 6; Constantius II – 102; Constans – 75; Constantius II or Constans – 60. Constantius' issue is the last one. Mints: Constantinople – 20; Antioch – 87; Nicomedia – 51; Cyzicus – 31; Alexandria – 10; Siscia – 9; Thessalonica – 1; unidentified – 101. Single finds provide us with the names of Licinius, Constantine I, Helena, Constantine I (struck after his death), Crispus, Constantine II, Constantius II, Constans, Valentinian II. Mints – Antioch – 30; Constantinople – 20; Nicomedia – 11; Cyzicus – 5; Thes-

salonica – 6; Siscia – 7; Trier – 1; Sirmium – 1; Alexandria – 1; unidentified – 127.

b) Hoards from the hinterland

Gerzeuli hoard – 469 pieces. Structure: denarius of Augustus – 1; local imitation to the stater of Lysimachus – 1; Caesareian silver issues – Nero (1); Vespasian (30); Domitian (9), Nerva (22); Trajan (165); Hadrian (90); Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius (122); L. Verus (28). Nominals: hemidrachm, drachm, didrachm.

Eki hoard – 907 pieces. Structure: Orodes II of Parthia – 1; Caesareian didrachm of Nerva – 1; Caesareian didrachm of Trajan – 2; Caesareian didrachm of Hadrian – 712; Caesareian didrachm of Antoninus Pius – 55; Caesareian didrachm of L. Verus – 1; denarius of Commodus, struck at Rome – 1; denarius of Pertinax, struck at Rome – 5; denarius of Niger, struck at Rome – 1; denarius of Septimius Severus – 101 (mints: Rome (12), Orient (84), Alexandria (5)); Julia Domna – 14 denarii, struck at Rome (5) and Oriental mint (9), and Caesareian drachm – 1; Caracalla – denarii, struck at Rome – 2, and Caesareian drachm – 1; Geta – denarius (1), struck either at Rome or Antioch, and Caesareian drachm – 1; Elagabalus – Caesareian drachm (1); Severus Alexander – 6 denarii, struck at Rome (1) and Oriental mint (5). Caesareian output numbers 775 as many; denarii – 131, mostly struck at Oriental mints.

– Sepieti Hoard – approximately 377 pieces. Structure: Roman denarii – 365 (mints: Emesa (158), Rome (118), Eastern mint (62)), and a few number of Caesareian coins. Money of Septimius Severus dominates the hoard (227 pieces), mostly

struck at Emesa in 194. Severus Alexander's issue of, probably, 222 provides a certain date for the hoard.

List of the coins from the extreme Eastern provinces of Lazica: denarius of Augustus – 56; denarius of Tiberius – 1; denarius of Caligula – 1; Caesareian hemidrachm of Nero – 1; Caesareian drachm of Nerva – 3; denarius of Trajan – 1; Hadrian – Caesareian didrachm (2), Caesareian hemidrachm (2); Caesareian didrachm of Antoninus Pius – 2; denarius of Faustina Junior – 1; denarius of Julia Domna – 1 (Laodiceia); solid of Constantine I – 1 (Siscia); solid of Constantius II – 2 (Antioch); semiss of Constantine I – 1 (Constantinople); semiss of Constantius II – 1 (Antioch); triens of Constantius – 1 (Antioch).

Now about interpretation, first empiric level. Sea coast has mostly provincial silver of Caesareian issue, municipal copper of Trapezus and Imperial copper money, struck predominantly at the mints of Antioch and Asia Minor, in the complexes, hoards and as single finds. Hinterland absorbs only Caesareian silver, accompanied by Roman denarii, struck in greater quantity at the Oriental (e.g. Syrian) mints. Further Eastwards Late Roman gold pieces and denarii of Augustus, mixed with Caesareian silver issues, make really amazing picture for Lazica. Academic level of interpretation commences with Caesareian prominent accumulation – merchants could bring them for sure and those merchants had to be from Sinope or Amisus, the import of which dominates Lazica. But good commercial balance sees those money to facilitate the foreign trade, and not the domestic exchange. Some

more money was necessary. If it could happen as follows: since Lazi never had their own coinage, they could barter the sufficient amount of the Roman money for their economics, and the closest *aerarium* branches were that of Cappadocia and Syria. As to copper absence in the hinterland, there does exist only one explanation – there was no need of small trade in Lazica generally. Thus copper coins could come here for military purposes only, as a part of soldiers' stipendium. This statement can be argued:

Why the soldiers had to be paid in copper?! Indeed, silver money and especially gold, due to total weight lightness, was easier for a transfer to a camp.¹ Then, why do the former camps everywhere (e.g. on the Rhine) show bronze predominantly?!² When you are paid some few hundreds per year, and – usually in three installments, everybody expects this to be done in basic units. That is absolutely logical. But when you are in military camp, having all supplies, and also – future opportunity to get a small farm with carefully saved money just invested in, what would you prefer – whole money with you at the border, or the

¹ v. R. Wolters. Bronze, Silver or Gold? Coin Finds and the Pay of the Roman Army. *Zephyrus. Revista de Prehistoria y Arqueología*. vol. LIII- LIV. 2000-2001. Salamanca, pp. 579-588.

² D. G. Wigg. Coin Supply and the Roman Army. *Roman Frontier Studies*. 1995. Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies. Oxbow Monograph 91. 1997, pp. 281-288; D. G. Wigg. The Development of the Monetary Economy in Northern Gaul in the Late La Tène and Early Roman Periods. *Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction. Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary series N32*. Portsmouth, Rhode Island. 1999, pp. 111, 121; D. G. Wigg. Die Rolle des Militärs bei der Münzversorgung und Münzwirtschaft am Rhein in der frühen Kaiserzeit. *Rom, Germanien und die Ausgrabungen von Kalkriese. Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption. B. 1*. Osnabrück. 1999, pp. 327-346; F. Berger. *Untersuchungen zu römerzeitlichen Münzfunden in Nordwestdeutschland*. Berlin. 1992. *Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike. B. 9*.

most kept safely in bank. The last thing would work perfectly with the Roman I cycle of Capitalism and normal banking-system in service.¹ Then soldiers received only copper as a pocket-money. Narrative speak about some silver donatives to the legions. But narrative speak also how dangerous could it happen big money to be in a camp – Vitellius made his way to the throne thanks to his soldiers' financial assistance (not necessarily with money) (Tac. Hist. I. 57). Thus officials could avoid dangerous accumulation of money in the camps, on one hand, and on the other hand, they always possessed some extra money for large state commercial operations.

Georgian case can provide more arguments for the copper being paid to the soldiers.

With a handsome agriculture, which could find market everywhere – in the hinterland towns inhabited by the Colchians, in the prosperous Greek cities at the coastal strip with already mixed population and at last, abroad, first in Miletus, then Athens and Sinope – this land provided well-shaped middle-class, having monies², but it failed to create small service-system until the 10th c.³ The hands were needed elsewhere. And the Hellenic economics also failed here due to the country's super-humidity; the Greeks had no idea about how to drain those marshes.⁴ That is, perhaps, why the copper money had been never respected

¹ T. Dundua. *The Cyclic Dialectics*. Tbilisi. 1996; J. Andreau. *La Vie Financière dans le Monde Romain. Les Métiers de Manieurs d'Argent (IVe Siècle av. J.-C.-IIIe Siècle ap. J.-C.)*. École Française de Rome. Palais Farnèse. 1987.

² T. Dundua. *Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage*, p. 4.

³ T. Dundua. *Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material*, pp. 113-114.

⁴ T. Dundua. *Making of Europe*, p. 3.

here. The only attempt of Phasis to issue small money was again connected with the beloved silver – 3 hemitetartemorii show this attempt to be an abortive one.¹ Indeed, just a few copper of the 6th-2nd cc. B.C. is found at the coastal strip.²

And then amazing thing happens – copper “revolution” marks the 1st c. B.C. Copper is everywhere – Dioscurias and suburbs not only offer some twenty copper Pontic municipal pieces of Eupator’s time,³ but also produce local autonomous Dioscuriadi,⁴ mostly to be spread in Crimean Bosphorus; Vani/Surion in deep hinterland demonstrates about 200 synchronous copper coins, struck either in Pontic cities, or at the spot by king of Colchis in 84 B.C. Mithridates Philopator Philadelphos, son of Mithridates Eupator.⁵ Indeed, being a Pontic satrapy, Colchis enjoyed its own king only for a definitely small period (App. Mithr. 64). Full-scale economic transformation – that could be an immediate answer. Alas, it took whole century and a half, even more, for next influx of copper coins. Narrative tell us about the Romans stationed at the East Black Sea coast by that time; and archaeology reveals a plenty of synchronous copper coins. Untill the 6th c. copper money comes and goes, and there is in fact one more gap for the 7th-9th cc.⁶ Byzantines had gone!

So, copper comes and disappears together with the soldiers. That means that partly the Imperial armies used to be paid

¹ T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage, 8.

² T. Dundua. Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus . . . , p. 46.

³ T. Dundua. Colchis, Iberia and the Kingdom of Pontus . . . , p. 46.

⁴ T. Dundua, G. Dundua, N. Javakhishvili, A. Eristavi. Money in Georgia. Tbilisi. 2003, p. 13, №№19-20.

⁵ T. Dundua. Colchis, Iberia and the kingdom of Pontus . . . , pp. 46-50.

⁶ G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. Part One (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2006, pp. 183-186.

in copper, or bronze, does not matter /Fig. 2/.

Now about copper coin's curriculum to the soldiers pocket. Municipal coins used for a payment first went to a local *fiscus* as a taxes from individuals, only then – to a camp ascribed to a province. As to the Imperial copper – as far as the hoard from Pitius is represented by the pieces with different mint and chronological characteristics, the direct liaison of the mints and Lazi camps can be totally rejected. Trade never has existed without state credits¹, which have to be returned back. From high commercial class, whole-sale traders, money moves towards enterprizes and estates, then – to the shops of smaller merchants. Upper and middle classes, already having monies, pay their taxes. State institutional system depends on them. The Roman soldiers could be paid this way, from the *fisci*² of Asia Minor and Syria /Fig. 3/.

As to the Eastern West Georgian provinces in the Late Antiquity, they seem to form economic and political condomenium of Lazica and Iberia. Former provides e.g. the Caesareian issues for them, latter – *denarii* of Augustus and Late Roman gold.

Now about Iberia.

Some 25 republican *denarii* are found in East Georgia, dated from 118 B.C. up to early years of Octavianus' principate.

¹ For the Roman times v. R. Wolters. *Die Kreditkrise des Jahres 33 N. Chr. Litterae Numismatae Vindobonensis. Band 3.* 1987. Wien, pp. 23-58; E. Lo Cascio. *How Did the Romans View Their Coinage and Its Function? Studien zu Fundmünzen der Antike. B. 10. Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World. The 13th Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History.* 25-27. 03. 1993. Berlin, p. 280 n. 27; for the Greeks v. Ch. Howgego. *Ancient History from Coins*, pp. 20, 26.

² For the *fisci* v. R. Wolters. *The Emperor and the Financial Deficits of the Aerarium in the Early Roman Empire. Credito e Moneta Nel Mondo Romano. Atti degli Incontri Capresi di Storia dell'Economia Antica (Capri 12-14 Ottobre 2000).* Bari. 2003, pp. 147-160.

Mints are mostly Occidental.

As to the Roman times, there are three basic concentrations of the Imperial money: a) ancient capital Mtskheta and suburb towns, Agaiani and Nastakisi; and foothill places – b) Zguderi; c) Ertso and Jinvali.

a) Mtskheta and suburbs: Augustus – denarii struck at Lugdunum in 2 B.C.-4 A.D. – 145; Tiberius – Lugduni aureus – 1, and denarii, produced by Lugdunum and some other Gaulic mint – 3; Caligula – Caesareian drachm of 37-38 – 1; Nero – aurei struck at Rome in 64-68 – 4; Galba – aureus struck at Rome – 1; Vitellius – aureus struck at Rome – 1; Vespasian – aurei struck at Rome in 77-78 and Lugdunum – 2; Titus – aurei struck at Rome in 73, 76 and 80 – 4; Domitian – aureus struck at Rome in 76 – 1, and denarii of 77/78 – 3; Trajan – aurei (Rome), one of them struck in 106 – 2, and denarii of 103-111, 98-117 and 112-117 – 3, Caesareian hemidrachm – 1; Hadrian – aurei struck at Rome in 119-122, 125-128, 119-138 and 134-138 – 7, and denarii (Rome) of 125-128, 134-138 – 3; Antoninus Pius – aurei struck at Rome in 149/150, 155/156 – 2, and denarii, struck in 140-144, 155/156 – 2; Faustina Senior – aurei (Rome) of 141 – 2, and denarius struck after 141 – 1; Faustina Junior – under Pius: aureus struck at Rome – 1, denarii – 2, and denarius struck in 161-177; M. Aurelius – under Pius: aurei struck at Rome in 151/152, 156/157 – 2; Commodus – aureus (Rome?) – 1; Septimius Severus – aurei (Rome) of 201 – 2, Caesareian drachm – 1, and Æ. – 2; Gordian III – aurei – 2; Philip Senior – aureus – 1; Philip Junior – aureus – 1; Decius Trajan – aureus – 1; Valerianus – aureus – 1; Carinus – Æ. – 1; Constantine I – solid struck at Nicomedia – 1; Con-

stantius II – solid struck at Antioch – 1; Valens – siliqua issued in Antioch – 1.

b) Zguder: Augustus – denarii struck in 2 B.C.-4 A.D. – 32; Domitian – under Vespasian: aureus (Rome) of 77/78 – 1; Antoninus Pius – aureus (Rome) of 150/151 – 1; Faustina Senior – under Pius: aureus (Rome), struck after 141 – 1, and denarius (Rome), also struck after 141 – 1; M. Aurelius and Commodus – aureus (Rome) of 175/176 – 1; Commodus – aureus struck at Rome in 190 – 1; Caracalla and Geta – aureus struck at Rome in 198/199 – 1; Caracalla – under Severus: aureus struck at Rome in 204 – 1; Elagabalus – aurei struck at Rome in 218/219 – 1, 220-222 – 2, and in 218/219 at Oriental mint – 3; Severus Alexander – aurei struck at Rome in 226 and 228 – 2; Gordian III (Rome) – aureus of 240 – 1.

c) Ertso and JINVALI: Augustus – denarii struck in 2 B.C.- 4 A.D. – 14; Julia Domna – aureus struck at Rome in 198-209 – 1; Severus Alexander – aureus struck at Rome in 225 – 1; Gordian III – aurei – 2; Valerianus – aureus – 1; Carus – aureus struck at Antioch – 1; Diocletian – aureus – 1.

Roman gold numbers total about 70 pieces, those of the second half of the 3rd c. are locally imitated, as well as celebrated denarius of Augustus with Gaius and Lucius Caesars on reverse.

Aurei and Augustan denarii form a bulk of money circulation of Iberia, other debasing denarii were, in fact, ignored – picture quite similar for the Roman Orient for some times.¹ To

¹ Г. Ф. Дундуа. Монетное дело и монетное обращение в Грузии в античную эпоху, р. 240.

confront this data to the Syrian import discovered in Georgia¹, one can suggest the Syrian provincial treasury (Lazi enjoyed it a bit later) to be the source of supply for Iberia.

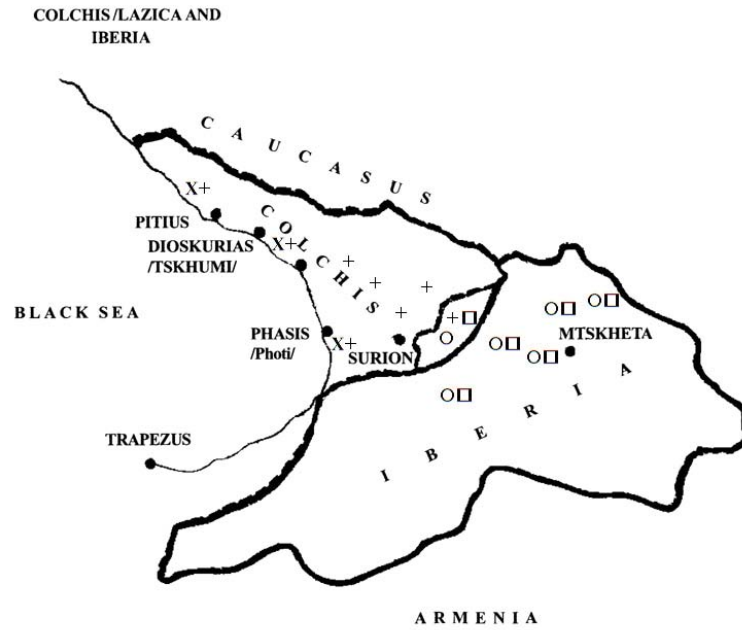
Severe Imperial crisis of the 3rd c. limits that supplies. Even if not that, Iberia would barter the Roman money no more. Socio-economic transformation of East Georgia towards Feudalism needed supply other than money. The country's stocks of the precious metal could be emptied down to support the general reformation – strengthening in number of the upper classes meant a gradual conversion of some yeomanry from the farmers to high-level administrators. Food-shortage could happen, and large-scale state food-supply was, perhaps, necessary one. Industry suffered also as some of the artisans had to earn living doing some agricultural jobs. Amount of industrial goods *per capita* was fastly diminishing thus demanding small-scale local debased issues with a king as only potential power to strike these coins.²

Thus the Roman copper money hurried back home with the Imperial garrisons withdrawn from Lazica; and silver or gold was back as a means of exchange for food; both of them having no opportunity of being re-struck as the Georgian money.

¹ T. Dundua, N. Silagadze. History of Georgia: Chronological or Themathical Concept? (in Georg.). Tbilisi. 2000, pp. 20, 52, 55.

² T. Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material, p. 106.

Fig. 1.
Numismatic Map



- X Copper
- + Caesareian issues and other Imperial silver
- Denarii of Augustus
- Roman gold coins

Fig. 2.
Copper Money from Pitius

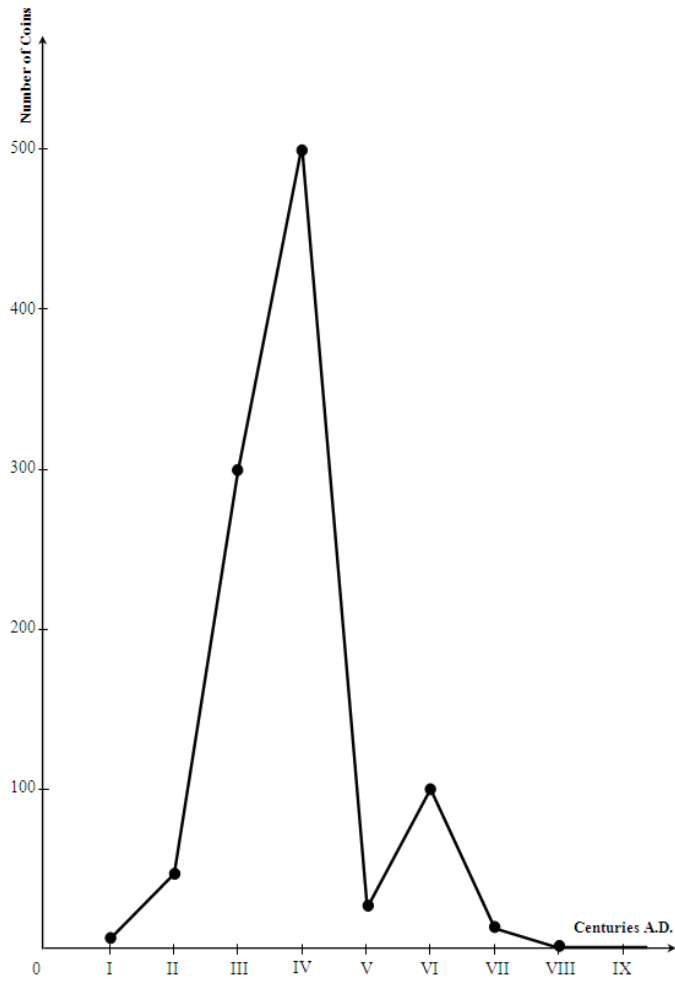
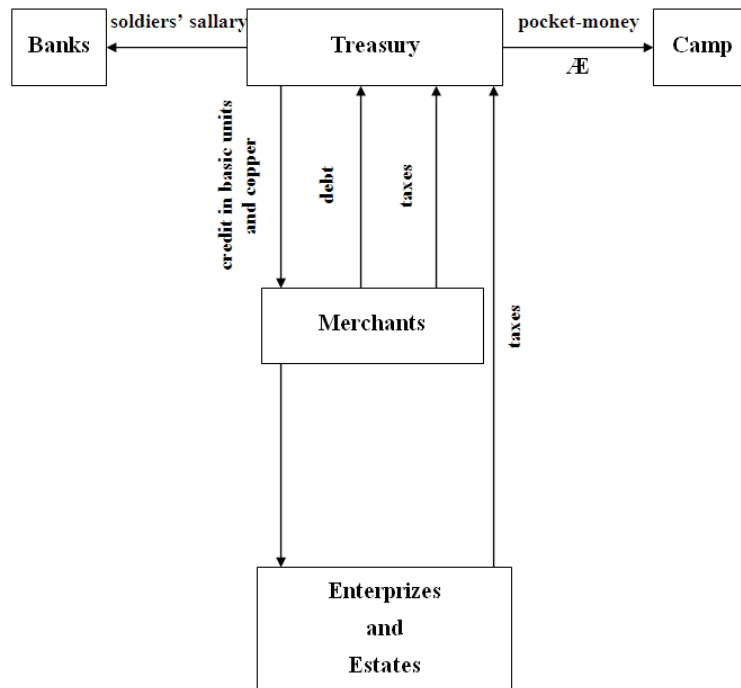


Fig. 3.
Copper Coins' Way to the Camp



This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua. Influx of Roman Coins in Georgia. Roman Coins Outside the Empire. Ways and Phases, Contexts and Functions. Proceedings of the ESF/SCH Exploratory Workshop. Radziwill Palace, Nieborow (Poland). 3-6 September 2005. Moneta 82. Wetteren. 2008, pp. 309-319.

Publicius Agrippa, Flavius Dades and a Dual Citizenship – a Pattern for Europe in Future?

Dual citizenship seems to be a way the small European nations should feel safe within a framework of the European integration, whereas a responsibility for a personal security lays upon an allied country too. Is this term or hypothesis vital for East European countries like Lithuania, Estonia or Georgia, and how can we be aware of this necessity? A research of historical background must be involved thoroughly, Georgia being an object for this case. If a foreign citizenship was a traditional honorary degree passed from the European principal domains towards the provinces, the countries being tied up formally, it should not be abandoned at all, and put under a scrupulous legislative elaboration.

“Serapita, daughter of Zevakh the lesser pitiax (duke), and wife of Iodmangan, son of Publicios Agrippa the pitiax, victorious ἐπίτροπος (commander-in-chief and the only minister, spaspeti in Georg.) of the Great King of the Iberians Xepharnug, died young, aged 21, and she was extremely beautiful.”¹

This Greek text was curved on tombstone from Mtskheta, the Iberian capital. It is prolonged by the Aramaic version.² Ἐπίτροπος corresponds to the Aramaic trbṣ, which occurs to be used also towards Agrippa, now trbṣ of the king Pharsmanes.³

¹ Г. В. Церетели. Армазская билингва. Двухязычная надпись, найденная при археологических раскопках в Мцхета-Армази. Тбилиси. 1941, pp. 23-24.

² Г. В. Церетели. Армазская билингва. Двухязычная надпись, найденная при археологических раскопках в Мцхета-Армази, pp. 22-23.

³ Г. В. Церетели. Армазская билингва. Двухязычная надпись, найденная при археологических раскопках в Мцхета-Армази, p. 32.

Agrippa seems to be a very big man, and because of his Roman *nomen* Publicius – also a Roman citizen.

In the old times *civitas sine suffragio* gave to Rome a direct control of her allies' troops without destroying local (i.e. Italian) *res publica*. "Latin Rights" were regarded as something intermediary between peregrine status and Roman citizenship. Inside his own community the Latin was subject of the local laws, and a free man. The allies fought on the Roman side, but her own army consisted of the Roman and the Latin forces. The rests are simply *socii*.¹

From the 2nd c. B.C. Rome was beginning to govern Italy. Magistrates who had supreme power over the Latin military forces, were also the civil heads of the Roman state. The local authorities performed the demands of the central government.²

After Social War it was as communities and not as individuals that the Italian allies were incorporated in the Roman commonwealth, they became self-governing municipias. Each new citizen had a double existence, but these two lives were bound together by the most intimate of bonds. New *municipias* are the old tribes.³

Then the enfranchisement of *Gallis Cisalpines* followed. From 42 B.C. onwards in Roman usage *Italia* came to mean the whole territory of the peninsula from the straits of Messina to the Alpine foothills.⁴

Under Caesar and Augustus comes the first large-scale ex-

¹ A. N. Shervin-White. *The Roman Citizenship*. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1939. Second Edition. Oxford. 1973, pp. 46, 73, 96, 98, 109.

² A. N. Shervin-White. *The Roman Citizenship*, p. 105.

³ A. N. Shervin-White. *The Roman Citizenship*, pp. 150, 153.

⁴ A. N. Shervin-White. *The Roman Citizenship*, p. 159.

tension of the Roman citizenship in the provincial areas. This extension is based upon the firm foundation of a genuine Italian immigration. Besides this stands the extensive grants of *Ius Latii* in the more Romanized areas of Spain and Gaul. The method is as follows – inserting a preparatory period of Latin status before the elevation of purely foreign communities to the full citizenship. The condition of a grant of Latin rights appears to have been the possession of a certain degree of Latin culture.¹

But then Caracalla gave the franchise to all free inhabitants of the Empire.²

As to personal grants, *Domitii*, or *Fabii*, or *Pompeii* in the Western provinces are thought to derive their citizenship from grants made to their forebearers by Domitius Ahenobarbus, Fabius Maximus, or Pompejus Magnus, the generals.³

Beyond the Roman rule, Caesar was the first to make a king Roman citizen.⁴ This practice has been maintained. For Britain *tria nomina* was as follows – Ti. Claudius Cogidubus, with Claudius or Nero being the benefactors; for Thrace – C. Iulius Rometalcus, it is probable that he inherited his citizenship from a predecessor upon whom Caesar or Augustus had conferred it; for Pontus – M. Antonius Polemo, Antonius being a benefactor; for Judea – M. or C. Iulius Agrippa.⁵ Iberian case of Publicius Agrippa is very interesting. He was Pharsmanes minister and

¹ A. N. Shervin-White. *The Roman Citizenship*, pp. 225, 233.

² A. N. Shervin-White. *The Roman Citizenship*, pp. 280, 287.

³ A. N. Shervin-White. *The Roman Citizenship*, p. 295.

⁴ D. Braund. *Rome and the Friendly King. A Character of the Client Kingship*. Beckenham, Kent, Fyshwick, Australia. 1984, p. 45.

⁵ D. Braund. *Rome and the Friendly King. A Character of the Client Kingship*, pp. 39, 41-42, 44.

commander-in-chief. And Pharsmanes dealt with Hadrian. Roman general C. Quinctius Certus Publicius Marcellus is thought to be a benefactor, *legatus divi Hadriani provinciarum Syriae et Germaniae superioris*.¹

Hadrian sent his best generals against the Jews of Bar-Kokhba. Two inscriptions found in Ancyra in Galatia attest a senatorial legate of the *legio IV Scythica* in Syria, acting at the same time as the governor of Syria. He is Publicius Marcellus, who left his province because of the Jewish rebellion. Publicius Marcellus and part of the Syrian army participated in the war in Judaea. Another inscription from Aquileia informs that C. Quinctius Certus Publicius Marcellus was not only consul, augur and *legatus divi Hadriani provinciae Syriae et Germaniae superioris*, but also that he received triumphal rewards, or *ornamenta triumphalia*.²

The revolt was dangerous, and a transfer of the legions from the different places to Judaea – an emergency measure. This state of emergency is reflected also in a striking measure: a transfer of the soldiers from *classis Misenensis* to the *legio X Fretensis* in Judaea. Since the possession of Roman citizenship was a prerequisite for enrolment in the legions (but not for service in other units of the Roman army, such as the two Italian fleets, the *classis Ravennas* and *classis Misenensis*), this meant that these marines were given *civitas Romana* on joining X legion. The sources attest even conscription to fill the gaps not only in the legions serv-

¹ Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III. Pars VI. Consilio et Avctortate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis. Iteratis Curvis ediderunt L. Petersen, K. Wachtel. Adivvantibus M. Heil, K. P. Johne, L. Vidman. Berolini. Novi Eborau. MCMXCVIII, pp. 433-434, №№1038, 1042.

² W. Eck. The Bar Kokhba Revolt. The Roman Point of View. The Journal of Roman Studies. v. LXXXIX. 1999. Leeds, pp. 83, 85.

ing in Judaea, which lost many soldiers, but also in other legions from where the units of the experienced soldiers were taken to strengthen garrisons of Judaea. Great losses were also incurred by the auxiliary forces in Judaea.¹ They were also to be filled up.

What conclusions are we to draw from all this?

Some of the Iberian units rushed towards South to help Romans with Agrippa from the Iberian royal clan in a command. And he was given *civitas Romana*, Marcellus being a benefactor.

So, citizenship of Publicius Agrippa, Iberian commander-in-chief, derived from a grant of C. Publicius Marcellus, Hadrian's governor of Syria. And Agrippa was not only Georgian to be a Roman citizen.

A silver cup of the 2nd-3rd cc. records a name of the Iberian king Flavius Dades. Evidently a Roman citizen, he inherited his citizenship from a predecessor upon whom either Vespasian or Domitian had conferred it.²

Roman names like Aurelius are still vital in the 4th c.³

Much of the Romans' long hegemony was spent in carrying through the major reform programs which were to set the pattern for most aspects of life in Europe for centuries to come. The Romans had a reputation for integration. Indeed, they installed Roman citizenship over the kings dwelling at the frontiers, especially the Eastern one. In the evening of her greatness, showing every sign of disintegration, losing Gaul, Spain and Britain, the Empire still used this system, which proved to be comfortable

¹ W. Eck. *The Bar Kokhba Revolt. The Roman Point of View*, pp. 79-80.

² *Очерки Истории Грузии*. т. I, p. 415; David Braund. *Rome and the Friendly King. A Character of the Client Kingship*, p. 43.

³ *Очерки Истории Грузии*. т. I, p. 19.

while campaigning in the East. This story is fully told but not for Georgia (Colchis and Iberia), guarding the European marches. The gap is to be filled, showing the Georgian kings possessing dual citizenship, followed by a full-length narrative of the Roman Eastern policy.

Byzantium was not a betrayal of all that was the best in Hellas and Rome. Great oriental bastion of Christendom, it seems to be a formulator of the Orthodox Christian Commonwealth. The Georgian kings being within had been heiled as king and Kuropalates, king and Sebastos, king and Caesaros. Again dual citizenship is applied. For the Christian monarchs there were the Byzantine titles to make them feel as the citizens of the Orthodox Empire, being at the same time ascribed to their own country.

The Western Christendom also had dual citizenship within the Holy Roman Empire with an Emperor as a German king.

Some of the Asiatic conquerors thought to control the fertile lands of Georgia and the Caucasian Range as a certain barrier against the European advance. External pressures from the area of present-day Iran led to a weakening of economic potency of the kingdom of Georgia, as well as to a diminution of its territorial extent. A Georgian king was above all a diplomat. To preserve the security of his kingdom he was ready to make any personal sacrifice – even to convert formally to Islam. Actually, the Persian general Xusraw Khan killed by the Afghans in 1711 is Georgian king Kaixosro who had his viceroy left in Georgia. And we have some more kings with the same curriculum.

Still, occidental aspirations have been always predominant, Georgians even changing their own citizenship for the imperial

one, like Russian or Soviet.

After those imperial experiments gone forever, new Europe emerged with some countries still needing stronger guarantee. Is a dual citizenship of above-mentioned European pattern installed over the small European nations, bringing them some more guarantees, a model for future Europe; can this historical method be up-dated now?

A proper answer is expected to be drafted.

And now if we revert to the principal discussion about Publicius Agrippa being awarded, some coins provide more arguments. Georgian contingent within the Imperial army must account for the findings of Hadrian's seven aurei in Eastern Georgia, twice in number than aurei of any other Emperor. So, the Iberians received a handsome present.¹

Publicius Agrippa was much luckier than Amazasp the Iberian, king's brother, who died while campaigning under Trajan against the Parthians. He died without a military glory and Roman citizenship.²

This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua. Publicius Agrippa, Flavius Dades and Dual Citizenship – a Pattern for Europe in Future? Caucasia. v. 5. Tbilisi. 2002, pp. 57-62.

¹ Г. Ф. Дундуа. Монетное дело и монетное обращение в Грузии в античную эпоху, р. 247.

² А. И. Амиранашвили. Иберия и римская экспансия в Азии. Вестник Древней Истории. 1938. №4, р. 164.

**Pacorus, the Lazi King,
Who Was Overlord of Colchis/Western Georgia**

We are focused on the silver cup from Gagra district (Abkhazia, Georgia) with the Greek inscription, found in 2005 by the Russian archaeologists and published as A. Ю. Виноградов. Кувшин царя Бакура – новый источник по ранней истории Кавказа. Interdisciplinary Archaeology. II. Tbilisi. 2013, pp. 45-67.

Burial №5 from Antique necropolis in Achmarda (Gagra district) shows rich inventory including the silver cup with the Greek inscription as follows: Ἐγὼ Πάκουρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἄμνοϊς ἔδωκα – I, Pacuros, the king, gave to (my) sheep. Palaeographic analysis renders only general date, the 1st c. A.D. - beginning of the 4th c. A.D. (A. Ю. Виноградов. Кувшин царя Бакура – новый источник по ранней истории Кавказа. Interdisciplinary Archaeology. II. Tbilisi. 2013, pp. 55-56).

Originally the Persian name, it has the following Greek forms: Πάκορος, Πακούριος and Βακούριος; formula applied here is also very Oriental in essence, king is a shepherd, his subjects – the sheep (A. Ю. Виноградов. Кувшин царя Бакура..., p. 56). The name was popular among the Parthian, Armenian and Iberian (East Georgian) kings.

Russian savant A. Vinogradov who dealt with the inscription, excluding the possibilities, thought of Pacuros as Armenian king Pacorus (161-163) or the Iberian king Bacur (towards the end of the 3rd c. A.D. (?), from the Pharnavazid dynasty), mentioned in Georgian record “Moktsevai Kartlisai” (Conversion of Kartli) (Conversion of Kartli (Moktsevai Kartlisai) (in Georg.). Selected

Tales from Shatberdi Monastery. Edit. B. Gigineishvili and El. Giunashvil. Tbilisi. 1979, p. 321; A. Ю. Виноградов. Кувишии царя Бакура..., pp. 57-58; T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration. Part 3. Byzantines and the Georgians. Tbilisi. 2013, pp. 8-9). Still, he denies the possibilities of vassal subordination of those living at Achmarda to either Armenian, or Iberian king because nobody narrates about this status of Northwestern part of Colchis. He even admits that Pacuros could had been Lazi (West Georgian) king, unknown from the records. Indeed, he states, the Apsils and the Abasks (they started their movement from the Caucasian mountains towards Colchis in the 1st c. A.D. and settled on the territory of modern Abkhazia) were sometimes subjugated to the Lazi kings (A. Ю. Виноградов. Кувишии царя Бакура..., p. 58).

For Pacuros being the Lazi king is not a possibility, but – reality. He is mentioned in records in the times of Antoninus Pius (will be discussed later), while Apsils and Abasks were permanent subjects of the Lazi kings (Studies in History of Georgia (in Georg.). v. I. Tbilisi. 1970, pp. 555-558). And moreover, as we shall see further, there were no Apsils and Abasks at all living in Gagra district in the 2nd c. A.D. Also, Pacuros/Pacoros seems to pave the way for formation of Lazica, centralized Western Georgian kingdom comprising the whole Colchis, in the 3rd c. A.D. (T. Dundua. Georgian Ethno-cultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material, pp. 116-117).

This is briefly, now, in details.

Iulius Capitolinus narrates about Antoninus Pius: “Pha-

rasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit plusque illi quam Hadriano detulit. Pacorum regem Laziis dedit. Parthorum regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis litteris reppulit . . .” (IX) (The Scriptores Historiae Augustae. With an English Translation by David Magie. Vol. I. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts. London, England. First published 1921. Reprinted 1930, 1953, 1960, 1967, 1979, 1991, p. 122) (... He gave Pacorus to the Lazi as a king . . .). That simply means as follows: Pacuros/Pacoros, the Lazi king towards the midst of the 2nd c. A.D., sends silver cup to his “sheep”/subjects living Westwards from the river Bzipi.

Who are they?

Many mountaineer clans moved down to Colchis on the verge of the 1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D. either from the South (from the neighbouring places of Trapezus), or – from the North. Actually, those from the South spoke the same Mingrelian (West Georgian) language as the Colchians did. So, no cultural changes took place, and those too who came from the North, soon made their Abkhazian language a family language having Mingrelian as social one. Notwithstanding the fact that their movement was linked up with the decline of city-life, and economics, still this social influx was needed to strengthen the local upper classes to the level that they could exercise the changes into constitution – introduction of forced labour, Feudalism was on agenda (T. Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material, pp. 115-118; T. Dundua, N. Silagadze. History of Georgia: Chronological or Thematical Concept? (in Georg.). Tbilisi. 2000, p. 55).

Towards the 70s of the 1st c. A.D. Northwestern Colchis had political picture as follows: there was the Roman castellum Sebastopolis (Modern Sokhumi) situated to the North West from dwelling place of the Apsils, and after Sebastopolis we have two more Mingrelian speaking social contracts up there, the Saniks and the Heniokhs (Plin. NH. VI.14) /Pl. I/.

Beyond the Roman limes, close to the sea, the following political units existed in Western Georgia towards 131: general direction is that to the North from mouth of the river Chorokhi, near modern Georgian-Turkish border; the list is headed by the Lazi with their king Malassas, next come the Apsils and their king Iulianos, then – the Abasks and their king Resmagas, finally, the Sanigs and their king Spadagas. The Sanigs lived around Sebastopolis (Arr. Periplus. 11), and further, till modern Sochi (Arr. Periplus. 18), now in Russian Federation /Pl. II/.

And we have amazing picture already for the midst of the same century: now only Lazi happen to live beyond the Roman limes at the Eastern Black Sea littoral (Ptol. Geogr. V. IX. 5). This could mean only one thing – Lazi coastal kingdom is already present, with other political terms/names having been disappeared in favour of Lazi. The Manrals/Margals (Mingrelians) dwelt in deep hinterland towards the East /Pl. III/.

So, Pacuros/Pacoros, the Lazi king, sends silver cup either to his vassal, the Sanig, or, simply, to his subject living in “dukedom of Sanigia”. It will take half century more and this kingdom will already include the whole Western Georgia.

Apparently the Roman client, Pacuros/Pacoros still has

the Persian name, generally adopted by the Lazi aristocracy while their mountains over Trapezus being subjugated to the Achaemenid rule (the 19th satrapy.) in the remote past (Herod. III. 94).

Plate I



Plate II

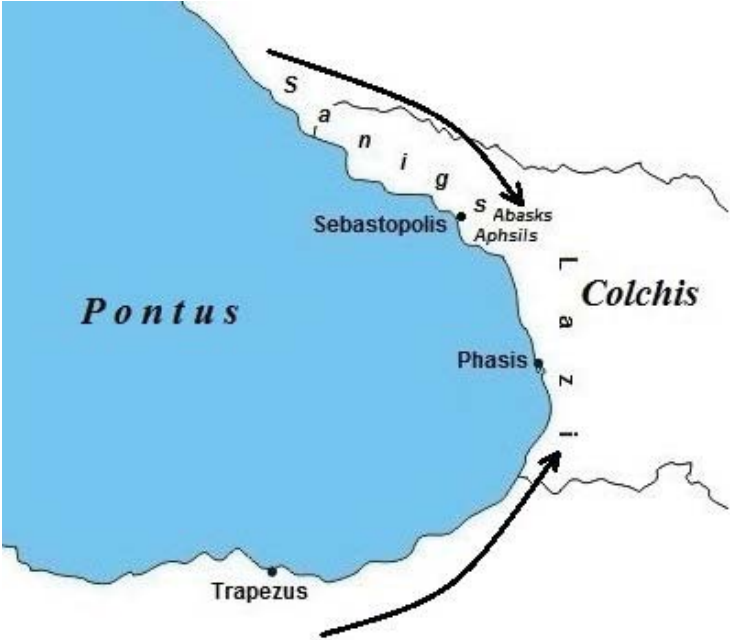


Plate III



This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua, Akaki Chikobava. Pacorus, the Lazi King, Who Was Overlord of Colchis/Western Georgia (Georg. and Engl. parallel texts). Tbilisi. 2013.

Frankish Limitanei in Lazica

Before being totally destroyed, Imperial security system actually had shown three gradual phases of development.

Huge number of the Italian colonists with the best technologies, swift and comfortable communications, the most prominent industrial output, Roman citizenship, municipal freedom – that was the Roman gift for the Western provinces in the 1st-2nd cc. A.D. Sincere intimacy with the metropolis had been founded as a direct result of complete satisfaction. It paved the way to the Romanization. As for the Greeks, the Romans reserved a quite life and economic stability. Still beyond the Roman Rhine, Danube and Pontus there were others favouring to this concept of pan-European integration. The happy client kings used to be awarded with the Roman citizenship. And for the Julio-Claudians these client kingdoms formed the first defense-line of the Imperial territories. A little behind, the whole perimeter had been dotted by solid legionary concentrations, proving the system to be impregnable. No cardinal changes took place in the era of the Antonines, except of annexation of the client kingdoms and breaking the big concentrations in favour of scattering the legions along the whole frontier. In the both cases, after defeating comparatively weak enemy at the border, the Romans usually attacked their territory. This system of security is called forward defense.

Greeks and the Romans were sending more and more hands towards industry, but not to manufacture the means of production. As a result, population was growing, but not amount of industrial goods *per capita*. Prices rushed high for the Ital-

ian produce, demanding damping for provincial food and raw materials, thus weakening the sympathies between the European subjects of the Roman Empire. Some even started to search for a relief beyond Rhine and Danube. Many things had happened that completely changed the defensive strategy, namely: 1. economic crisis, 2. weakening of the integratory links, 3. socio-economic animation of “*Barbaricum*”, 4. financial chaos and some professional regiments converted into *limitanei*. From now they are to stand the first strike and evacuate the whole frontier folk into citadels, thus wearing down the enemy. And there were large and mobile field armies deployed far behind that self-contained strongholds to cut down any invasion into the depth. This system shaped in the times of Diocletian is called defense-in-depth.

But before this new system was finally established, the Romans had been fighting those already easily passing the border wherever they could manage to concentrate large army-units. In the early days of Empire Praetorians formed the only Imperial reserve. And now Gallienus recruited special mobile reserve-regiments. Name for the defensive system is elastic defense.

Security-system had to be changed at least because of emergence of the Germanic seaborne attacks from the 3rd c. everywhere at the seas that prolonged the line of the frontier.¹

Full-time units, legions, *alae* of cavalry, *cohortes* of infantry and mixed *cohortes equitatae* served the forward defense-system. Part-time border force of *limitanei* had appeared and auxilia-

¹ Ed. N. Luttwak. The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire. From the First Century A.D. to the Third. Baltimore. 1981, pp. 192-193; T. Dundua, N. Silagadze. European Industrial Complexes of I Cycle of Capitalism and the Georgian Western Affiliations. Historical and Numismatic Tale. Tbilisi. 2005, pp. 5-7; T. Dundua. North and South, pp. 8-15.

ry *alae* and cohorts had disappeared; and regular mobile reserve – *comitatenses* – substituted legions, fixed at the border. All they served new security system – defense-in-depth. The whole 3rd c. saw these changes, finally shaped in the times of Constantine I. Septimius Severus was the first to form a certain kind of reserve. He stationed *II Parthica* in Albanum, increased Praetorian and Urban cohorts in number. And Gallienus created special cavalry units to serve as a reserve.¹

In the 3rd c. large federations of *Franki* and *Alemanni* began to threaten the Rhine-frontier. And the Goths had already reached Dniester by 238.² Franks attacked Gaul, Alemanns – Italy. From the great deeds of Emperor M. Aurelius Probus (276-282) the most important is the deliverance of seventy Gaulic cities. He drove back Franks and Alemanns, four hundred thousand of them being killed. Probus passed the Rhine, and returned back with considerable tribute of corn, cattle, and horses. Sixteen thousand Germanic recruits were dispersed among the Roman units. Other captive or fugitive Barbarians gained a new status, that of part-time peasant-soldiers (*limitanei*). Emperor transported a considerable body of Vandals into Cambridgeshire, great number of Franks and *Gepidae* were settled on the banks of the Danube and the Rhine, *Bastarnae* – in Thrace. Pontic (The Black Sea) coast was reserved for some more Franks.³ But which one exactly? This is to be discussed.

According to Ed. Gibbon, Franks settled at the sea-coast of

¹ Ed. N. Luttwak. *The Grand Strategy*, pp. 173, 184.

² Ed. N. Luttwak. *The Grand Strategy*, pp. 128, 146.

³ Ed. Gibbon. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Vol. 1. London. 1993, pp. 362-368.

Pontus had to check the Alani inroads. A fleet stationed in one of the harbors of the Euxine fell into their hands, and they resolved, through unknown seas, to explore their way from the mouth of Phasis (river Rioni in West Georgia) to that of the Rhine. They easily escaped through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and cruising along the Mediterranean, indulged their appetite for revenge and plunder by frequent descents on the shores of Asia, Greece and Africa. City of Syracuse was sacked by the Barbarians. Franks proceeded to the columns of Hercules, coasted round Spain and Gaul, and steering their course through the British channel, at length finished their voyage by landing in safety on the Batavian or Frisian shores.¹

What is this whole story based on? Zosimus and one panegyric to Constantius Chlorus contributed to it.

Narrating about the events in the past, in the times of divine Probus, author of this panegyric mentions undeserved success of the small Frankish band, who, sailing from Pontus on the captured fleet, ravished Greece and Asia, damaged Africa, stormed Syracuse, and passing through the columns of the Hercules, reached the ocean (*Recursabat quippe in animos illa sub diuo Probo paucorum ex Francis captiuorum incredibilis audacia et indigna felicitas, qui a Ponto usque correptis nauibus Graeciam Asiamque populati nec impune plerisque Libyae litoribus appulsi ipsas postremo naualibus quondam uictoriis nobiles ceperant Syracusas et immenso itinere peruecti oceanum, qua terras irrumpit, intrauerant atque ita euentu temeritatis ostenderant nihil esse clausum piraticae desperationi, quo nauigiis pateret accessus.*)²

¹ Ed. Gibbon. The Decline and Fall . . . , pp. 367-368.

² Panegyricus Constantio Dictus, IV, XVIII. Panégyriques Latins. T. I (I-V). Texte

Zosimus tells us about the Franks having applied to the Emperor, and having a country given to them. A part of them afterwards revolted, and having collected a great number of ships, disturbed all Greece; from whence they proceeded into Sicily, to Syracuse, which they attacked, and killed many people there. At length they arrived in Africa, whence though they were repulsed by a body of men from Carthage, yet they returned home without any great loss.¹

There is no mention of mouth of the river of Phasis as a spring-board for the expedition in the sources. Then, what was in Gibbon's mind? Perhaps, logics, excluding the possibilities.

Indeed, the Northern Black Sea Coast is beyond the Roman rule. The Western shores, and the Balkans are already packed with the Barbarians. Southern littoral had been less used for *receptio*. While Lazica and Pontic *Limes* can not be argued. And something strange had happened to this limes in the 3rd c. Now threat comes not from the front, the Romans have Lazi client king dwelling there, but – from behind, because of the Goths living at the Northern shores.

We can only guess that the Franks were in Lazica as *limitanei*. But we really know nothing about how they were coordinating with the full-time units, their number before and after the revolt, what was the life like for those who stayed loyal.

Still, it seems quite reasonable that the bargain of *receptio*-system should had been distributed among all Roman provinces to keep the centre undisturbed from the Barbaric influx. In the 3rd c. Empire is able to do this, not after.

Établi et Traduit par Édouard Galletier. Paris. 1949, pp. 96-97.

¹ Zosimus. New History. Book 1. London. 1814.

This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua, Leri Tavadze. Frankish Limitanei in Lazica. Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies. Vol. 12. Tbilisi. 2009, pp. 141-144.

**Flavius Hanniballianus – King of Pontus and
Lazica.**

Eastern Roman Empire – Early History

In 285 C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus assumed the power. He changed the whole system realizing that defense of such a vast empire was too great task for one man, and local insurrections would be also greatly reduced if there were a number of colleagues sharing the Imperial power. Diocletian gave the Western half of the Empire to his general M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus reserving the Eastern provinces for himself. Both had the rank of Augusti.

In 293 this system was further complicated with the appointment of two Caesars. Flavius Valerius Constantius was made Caesar in the West under Maximianus, and Galerius Valerius Maximianus (Galerius) became Diocletian's Caesar in the East. Each Caesar was given several provinces to defend. Thus tetrarchy, formal principle of joint rule of the Empire, came into being.

It was also proposed that after a definite time both Augusti would abdicate to be substituted by the Caesars. In 305 Diocletian and Maximianus both abdicated, their places being taken by Galerius and Constantius who were raised to the rank of Augusti.

The two vacant Caesarships were also filled.

With the death of Constantius in 305 the complications started. His son Flavius Valerius Constantinus was proclaimed Emperor by the troops. He became Caesar. Already in 307 Constantine is in the rank of Augustus. As chaos increased, even four Augusti occurred to be active at the same moment.

In 313 two Augusti, Constantine and Valerius Licinianus Licinius, met at Milan. They issued the famous Edict of Milan which granted complete religious toleration in Empire. But Eastern provinces were still facing a persecution of the Christians.

In 324 Constantine defeated Licinius. Starting from this very point till the death (337), he is sole Augustus with his sons and nephew as Caesars.

In 330 Rome with its strong republican and pagan feelings was substituted by Constantinopolis as Constantine's new Christian capital. Western provinces were already thought to be hopeless against the Barbaric invasions. Holy Virgin was proclaimed protector of the city. Already a dying man, Constantine was baptized thus securing for himself a label "Great".

Till 395 only few men extended their rule over the entire Empire. And after, nobody ever managed to put the Western and Eastern divisions together.

Next problem for the Empire was more dramatic. Romanization and stipulation of the Marine and Humid Continental Europe was an economic sense of the Roman Empire. With this functions gone, the whole system started to drain the European resources. The only salvation for non-Italian Europeans seems to be as follows: Nordic blow on metropolis, *receptio*-system acti-

vated for Italy with a result of the Barbarians settled there permanently thus breaking its economics and hegemony. Still, in the 4th c. Rome managed to settle Germanic people in the provinces and not in the centre.

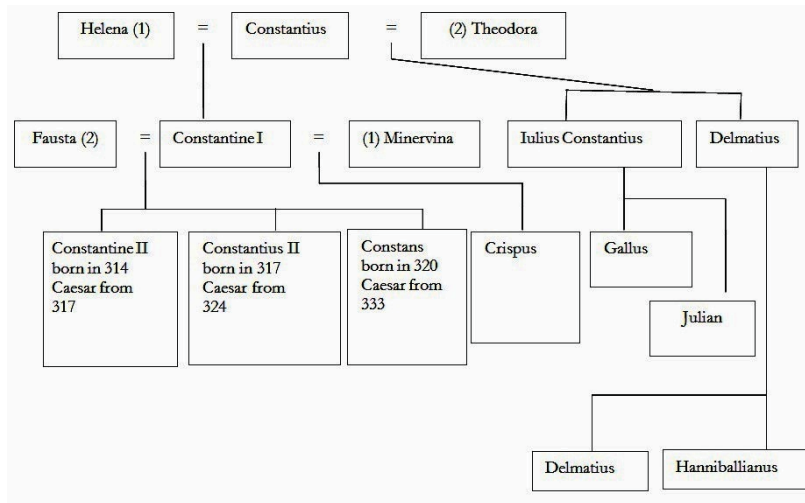
Ostrogoths and Visigoths fled before the Huns, starting their move to the West in the seventieth of the 4th c. In the 5th c. Alaric the Goth was still searching for permanent home for his people, but already within the Western Empire. Final picture of those migrations looks as follows: Gaul was occupied by the Franks, Britain – by Anglo-Saxons, Spain – by the Visigoths, Roman Africa – by the Vandals, and Italy – by the Ostrogoths. In 476 the last Western Emperor was deposed. German king in Italy at the same time had a title of Patrician being formally subjugated to Constantinople.

Research is focused on the events of 335-337. Constantine is sole Augustus with his sons and nephew (Delmatius) as Caesars, certain lands being ascribed to them. And next nephew, Flavius Hanniballianus, received special title – *Rex Regum et Ponticarum Gentium*.¹

Constantius and his descents – basic genealogy:²

¹ O. Seeck. “Hannibalianus (3)”. *Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, siebenter Band. ed. Wilhelm Kroll. Stuttgart. 1912, 2352-2353; A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris. “Hannibalianus 2”. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. v. I. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1971, p. 407; D. R. Sear. *Roman Coins and Their Values*. London. 1997, pp. 300-331 №№3934-3935, legend – FL. ANNIBALIANO REGI; J. J. Norwich. *A Short History of Byzantium*. London. 1998, pp. 16, 20.

² J. J. Norwich. *A Short History of Byzantium*, XXII.



. . . *Dalmatium filium fratris sui Dalmatii, Caesarem fecit. Eius fratrem Hannibalianum, data ei Constantiana filia sua, regem regum et Ponticarum gentium constituit. Itaque Gallias Constantinus minor regebat, Orientem Constantius Caesar, Illyricum et Italiam Constans, ripam Gothicam Dalmatius Tuebatur. Item Constantinus cum bellum pararet in Persas, in suburbano Constantinopolitano villa publica iuxta Nicomediam, dispositam bene rem publicam filiis tradens, diem obiit. Regnavit ann. XXXI* (Anon. Val. 6).^{*} Caesars were too young to have a real power.

After Constantine's death such division is still maintained. *Ita ad tres orbis Romani redacta dominatio est, Constantinum et Constantium ac Constantem, filios Constantini. Hi singuli has partes regendas habuerunt: Constantinus iunior cuncta trans Alpes, Constantius a freto Propontidis Asiam atque Orientem, Constans Illyricum Italiamque et African, Delmatius Thraciam*

^{*} Anonymi Valesiani, Pars Prior: Origo Constantini Imperatoris.

Macedoniamque et Achaiam, Annibalianus, Delmatii Caesaris consanguineus, Armeniam nationesque circumsocias (Epit. 40).** Soon both, Delmatius and Hanniballianus were killed.¹ But before Hanniballianus as King of the Kings (his future Asiatic domain was supposed to be Persia) kept formal power over Pontus.

“Pontus” was a name for large diocese (Pontica) and also, for two provinces within (Helenopontus, Pontus Polemoniacus).² At least, the latter belonged to Hanniballianus (...*Armeniam nationesque circumsocias*) together with the coastal strip of Lazica – indeed, copper coins could come there (i.e. in Lazica) for military purposes only, as a part of soldiers’ stipendium, and copper issues of the 4th c. in Pitius (Lazica) are especially prominent (v. p. 104, Fig. 2).³

If Eastern Black Sea Coast in Pontus Polemoniacus, then Hanniballianus had also Lazi subjects, still most of the Lazi people being subjugated to their native king living deep in hinterland.

Coin finds in Western Georgia include the issues of almost all members of Constantine’s large family. Those of Hanniballianus are absent. Indeed, they were of small amount and had both, formal and symbolic meaning.

1) Ar. Siliqua (c. 3.4 gr.). Constantinople. 335-337.

** Epitome de Caesaribus.

¹ J. J. Norwich. A Short History of Byzantium, p. 20.

² For this diocese v. T. S. Burns. Barbarians within the Gates of Rome. A Study of Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians, ca. 375-425 A.D. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 1994, p. 6, administrative map is a bit changed for this period.

³ T. Dundua. Influx of the Roman Coins in Georgia. Tbilisi. 2005.

Obv. FL. ANNIBALIANO REGI. Bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust, right.

Rev. FELICITAS PVBLICA. The Euphrates reclining left, holding fish and rudder; in exergue, CONS.

2) Æ (c. 16 mm.). Constantinople. 335-337.

Obv. FL. HANNIBALLIANO REGI. The same type.

Rev. SECVRITAS PVBLICA. The Euphrates reclining right, holding sceptre; in exergue, CONSS.¹

As we have mentioned before, Hanniballianus' future Asiatic domain was thought to be Persia beyond Euphrates, personification of which is now depicted on his coin.

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¹ D. R. Sear. Roman Coins and Their Values, p. 331 №№3934-3935.

Banished Pope Clement (Clemens Romanus) and His “Colchian” Proselytism

Διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν φήμην, προσέδραμε πᾶσα ἡ ἐπαρχία· καὶ οἱ ἐληλυθότες ἅπαντες πρὸς τὴν διδαχὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Κλήμεντος ἐπιστρέφοντες πρὸς τὸν Κύριον· ὥστε καθ’ ἡμέραν πεντακόσιοι καὶ περαιτέρω Βαπτιζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν. Ἐντὸς δὲ ἐνὸς ἔτους, γεγόνασιν ἐκεῖσε παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν ἐβδομηκονταπέντε ἐκκλησίαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ εἰδῶλα κατεθρύβησαν, πάντες οἱ ναοὶ τῆς περιχώρου καθῆρέθησαν, πάντα τὰ ἄλση ἐπὶ τριακόσια μίλια διόλου ἐν κύκλῳ κατεκόπησαν καὶ κατεστρώθησαν (“He assembled the whole province by preaching; everyone coming to Clement was converted to his doctrine about the Lord; more than 500 persons used to be baptized by him daily and then – dismissed. 75 churches were built there in one year by the true faith, and all the idols – destructed, all the temples in neighbouring regions – demolished, 300 miles around everything being destroyed and leveled due to his permanent work”).¹ This aggressive and obviously exaggerated proselytism is “apocryphal” deed of either the third, or the fourth Bishop of Rome (the Pope), Clement (92-101). Indeed, this is amalgam from apocryphal Greek acts of martyrdom, dated by the 4th c. Clement was banished from Rome to Chersonesus (Crimea) by Emperor Trajan (98-117) and set to work in a stone quarry. Still, he managed to go on with his Christian propaganda.²

Clement could really inspire a creation of Christian organizations in those regions. But nobody could have ever believed

¹ Martyrium S. Clementis. XXII. Patrologiae Graecae Tomus II. Paris. 1886, p. 630.

² Martyrium S. Clementis, pp. 627-630.

the story about destruction of the idols and the temples in the 1st c. A.D., stipulated by Clement. And under whose protection and by whose money could be those churches built?! So, the whole story is to be believed only partly. Then, what is about 300 miles (Roman mile is equal to approximately 1480 m.) mentioned there?! If it is true, then Pitius, city in Colchis/Lazica, and its outskirts come within it. Still, there is the main problem to be solved for Clement – was he in Crimea, or is this again a fiction? The narrative of his martyrdom in Crimea is not older than the 4th c. (Trajan orders Clement to be thrown into the sea with an iron anchor). Even Eusebius writes nothing alike.¹ But the lack of tradition that he was buried in Rome is in favour of him having died in exile.²

Mikhail Sabinin³ and Mikhail Tamarashvili⁴ thought of Clement's converts working hard in Colchis/Lazica for the faith, both of them having in mind a proximity of Northern and Eastern Black Sea Coasts, and not these 300 miles from the narrative.

¹ Ph. Schaff. History of the Christian Church. Vol. II: Anti-Nicene Christianity. A.D. 100-325. First Published 1882. Third Edition, Revised. <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/hcc2.html>, pp. 399-405; Clement of Rome. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. Edited by F. L. Cross. Third Edition Edited by E. A. Livingstone. Oxford University Press. 1997, p. 360; Eusebius. HE. III. IV. 6-11, III. XI. XV, III. XX. XXI, III. XXXVII. XXXVIII, Eusebius. The Ecclesiastic History. With an English Translation by K. Lake. In Two Volumes. I. London: W. Heinemann, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. MCMXXVI, pp. 197, 233, 235, 241, 289.

² Ch. G. Herbermann. Pope St. Clement I. The Catholic Encyclopedia. Volume 4: Clandestinity-Diocesan Chancery. New York. 1913, p. 36.

³ М. Сабинин. Полные жизнеописания святых грузинской церкви. В 2-х частях. СПб. 1871. Ч. 1, pp. 33-34. http://krotov.info/libr_min/18_s/a-b/inin_01.htm.

⁴ М. Тмарашвили. The Georgian Church from the Beginning to the Nowadays (in Georg.). Materials and Researches. 3. Tbilisi. 1995, pp. 189-190.

Very likely, the note about the exact distance is not to be ignored.

History of Pitius provides more arguments. If not an existence of early Christian communities in the outskirts of Pitius, nobody would ever think to strengthen the Mithraistic propaganda among the soldiers of the local garrison (stationed from the 3rd c. A.D.)¹, a priori, Mithra-worshippers, at the point when even pocket-money, distributed among them, was Mithra-type municipal copper of Trapezus. Municipal coins used for a payment first went to a local fiscus as a taxes from individuals, only then – to a camp ascribed to a province. Both, Pitius and Trapezus were the cities of Roman province of Cappadocia. Thus, Mithra-type municipal copper coins of Trapezus in the pockets of the Roman soldiers of Pitius could mean nothing, but money paid to the soldiers.² Still, some providential measures are not to be denied. The place with strong Mithraistic propaganda is the same place for strong Christian propaganda, for Mithraism was destined to lure the lower classes to enter its well-censored ranks, and not the Christian communities³. And Eparchy of Pitius is the first ever recorded one for Lazica.⁴

So, apocryphal acts of martyrdom show Clement's large-scale missionary labour.

Appendix of the research is as follows: the Sanigs, Lazi people, dwelt in the outskirts of Pitius in the time of Trajan; at

¹ Studies in History of Georgia (in Georg.). v. I. Tbilisi. 1970, pp. 545, 549.

² T. Dundua. Christianity and Mithraism. The Georgian Story. Tb. 1999, pp. 3-4; T. Dundua. Influx of Roman Coins in Georgia. Roman Coins Outside the Empire. Ways and Phases, Contexts and Functions. Proceedings of the ESF/SCH Exploratory Workshop. Radziwill Palace, Nieborow (Poland). 3- 6 September. 2005. Moneta 82. Wetteren. 2008, pp. 309-319.

³ T. Dundua. Christianity and Mithraism. The Georgian Story.

⁴ Studies in History of Georgia (in Georg.). v. II. Tbilisi. 1973, pp. 186.

least, they are at the spot a bit later, in 131 (Arr. Periplus. 11,18). Pitius itself was in ruins after attack of the Heniokhs towards the midst of the 1st c. A.D. (Plin. NH. VI. 16), restored only in the 3rd c. As to Chersonesus, the place of Clement's banishment, it was ruled by local oligarchy under strict Imperial control.¹

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Gaius the Iberian – First Ever Recorded Georgian To Be Baptized

With the Apostles scattered everywhere, the Christian institutional structures started to work. With the lower classes pouring into, they became very much socialized. With becoming so socialized, Christianity shaped itself as a real danger to the constitutional order. An immediate solution of the problem combined both, administrative measures and mystification. The latter was that of Mithraistic.

Socialistic upstart, but then being put totally under the state-control thus passing the red colour towards recently emerged Christianity, Mithraism was destined to lure proletariat to enter its well-censored ranks. Even Mithras' birthday was fixed on the 25th of December to strengthen that confusion between Christian-

¹ В. А. Анохин. Монетное дело Херсонеса. Киев. 1977, pp. 64-67, 74-79.

ity and Mithraism.¹

Then Mithraistic evidences from a site also carry a possibility of Christians being well-established right there.

For Lazica at the East Black Sea Coast with St. Andrew moving across Greek and Georgian narrative account and besides – a plenty of Mithraistic artefacts. Mithras as equestrian from Trapezus was worshiped there mostly.²

With also St. Andrew's tale but already an apocryphal one, Iberia (East and South Georgia) still possesses somewhat not very clear Mithraistic evidences.³ More arguments are needed for Early Christian communities being active there.

We have one, perhaps, also sophisticated. Bronze plate from Platea, Central Greece, offers 40 male names, mostly Greek, few Graeco-Roman. The positions are only for some of them and all they are Christian – πρεσβύτερος, ἀναγνώστης (reader of the Holy books)⁴. 11. 2, 7, 8, 16.

2, Διονυσόδωρος πρ(εσβύτερος)

7, Εὐτρόπιος πρεσβ(ύτερος)

8, Φιλοκράτης ἀναγνώ(στης)

16, Φίλων πρεσβ(ύτερος)

The plate, now in the National Museum at Athens, is thought to present Early Christian Community of Platea. The date corresponds to the verge of the 2nd-3rd cc.

¹ T. Dundua. Christianity and Mithraism. The Georgian story.

² G. Dundua. Money Circulation and Economic Relations in Pitius in the 2nd c. B.C.- 4th c. A.D. Great Pitius (in Georg.). Tbilisi. 1975, pp. 280-429.

³ G. Dundua. Money Circulation and Economic Relations in Pitius in the 2nd c. B.C.- 4th c. A.D., pp. 280-429.

⁴ M. Guarducci. Epigrafia Greca. IV. Epigrafi Sacre Pagane e Christiane. Roma. 1978, pp. 335-336.

For two persons we have special ethnic indicators.

11. 4 and 12: Κάιος ὁ Ἰβ(ηρ) and Ἀθηνόδωρος Ἀρμ(ένιος).

So, Gaius the Iberian – was he Iberian born, only then removed from the country, and thus bilingual? Perhaps, not. He bears Latin praenomen, nobody had it in Georgia. Then how had he found his way to Greece; and who was he socially? Too many questions.

Gaius' case is more Graeco-Roman, than Georgian. But he is still “Iberian”, not completely assimilated thus claiming for himself to be first ever recorded Georgian as Christian.

The whole country will follow him soon.

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Rome and Georgia – General Chronology

Iberians form an alliance with Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus; Colchis is annexed by him.

69 B.C. – Lucius Licinius Lucullus' Roman army attacks Mithridates' allies, Iberians are among them: victory for Lucullus.

68 B.C. – Lucullus intends to storm the Armenian capital Artaxates; Iberian spearmen assist Mithridates, yet another defeat for Mithridates.

65 B.C. – Roman forces under Gnaeus Pompejus Magnus defeat Artokes, king of Iberia. He now rules as Rome's ally.

Pompejus moves to Colchis. Long before Mithridates flees to the Crimea.

63 B.C. – Pompejus reorganizes Roman territories in the East, leaving Colchis under his client certain Aristarchus.

47 B.C. – Caesar moves onto Asia Minor where he defeats Pharnaces, king of Bosphorus, son of Mithridates, who had started a campaign to retrieve ancestral kingdom of Pontus. Pharnaces marched via Colchis, violating also Iberia.

37 B.C. – Polemo becomes client king of Pontus, gaining control over Colchis.

36 B.C. – Antony's general P. Canidius Crassus defeats Pharnabazes/Pharnavaz, Iberian king.

8 B.C. – Polemo is killed, succeeded by his wife Pythodoris. Now she rules Colchis. Lazi clans from Trapezus start invading Colchis changing name of the country to Lazica.

14 A.D. – Emperor Augustus dies at Nola, aged 76. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* names Iberians among those looking for his friendship.

23 – After death of Pythodoris, Romans have control over Colchis and Pontus, they man the local citadels.

34 (?) – Apostle Andrew, who preached the divinity of Jesus, visits Colchis.

35 – Iberians under prince Pharsmanes enter Armenia to oppose the Parthian threat. They are victorious and Pharsmanes' brother Mithridates is saluted as Armenia's pro-Roman king.

63 – Partho-Roman treaty putting Armenia under dual control; Pharsmanes, now already pro-Roman king of Iberia, receives some of the Armenia's lands. Polemo II abdicates as Pon-

tic king; Colchis forms part of the Roman province.

69 – Some Lazi clans in bilingual (Graeco-Colchian) Trapezus are disappointed by the Roman overlordship; they revolt led by Aniketes, Polemo's former admiral. The Romans crush the rebellion.

75 – To protect Mtskheta, capital of Iberia, from the Alani attacks, Roman engineers built a stone wall northwards, Vespasian paid this undertaking.

114 – Trajan marches out against the Parthians, Iberians are with him.

128 – Hadrian meets the client kings while in Asia Minor; only next Pharsmanes of Iberia is absent thus unnerving the Emperor.

131 – Flavius Arrian inspects the Roman garrisons stationed at the Black Sea Coast in Trapezus, Aphsaros, Phasis, Sebastopolis, sending report to Hadrian. Thus famous "Periplus" appeared. Lazi king dwelling in the valley of Phasis is Rome's client.

135 – Roman troops under Iulius Severus storm Jerusalem. Georgian auxiliaries are with him.

138 – Antoninus Pius succeeds Hadrian. He invites Pharsmanes to Rome and is deeply impressed – indeed, Iberians were superb horsemen. This is to be commemorated by sculpture of Pharsmanes as equestrian in one of the temples of the City. Pacorus/Pacuros becomes king of Lazica, appointed by Antoninus.

197 – Lazi king surrenders to Septimius Severus.

252 – Huge Gothic fleet attacks Pitius in Lazica protected by Roman Suctianus. Goths are decisively defeated.

260 – The Emperor Valerian is defeated by Shapur, shah of Persia, at Edessa, and treacherously seized during a parley. Iberians made a formal attempt to save him. Amazasp, king of Iberia, ally of Shapur, king of Persia, is definitely killed for his Oriental aspirations.

298 – Treaty of Nizibis: Romans check the Persian advance towards the Caucasian range.

325 – The Council of Nicaea summoned by Constantine is the first council of the Christian church. Stratophilus, bishop of Pitius, attends the council.

359 – King of Iberia Mirian III is baptized by a lady from Cappadocia. Nino is her name.

360 – He is heavily bribed while the Romans' campaign against the Persians.

394 – Iberian-born Roman general Bacurius is killed in the battle along the Frigidus river in Pannonia.

Byzantines and the Georgians

Christianity and Mithraism. The Georgian Story

A pocket-size Georgia has amazingly different nature. Indeed, the West of the country is sunny and humid, while the East and the South lack latter character. The West is Colchis. And the East – Iberia; local folk call it Kartli. Georgia is a synthesis of the West and the East. Native name – Sakartvelo – has been derived from Kartli.

Georgia is Orthodox and very European; Colchis/Lazica and Iberia were also Orthodox and also very European with a solid pagan background.

Armazi, together with Gaim and Ainina were worshiped in Kartli (i.e. Iberia), before this country has been baptized.¹

The Greeks lived in Colchis; and Phasis, the bilingual (Graeco-Colchian) community of the East Black Sea littoral issued the silver coins with Graeco-Colchian types – kneeling female with a bull's head, local amalgamation of fertility, Hecate, male-moon and Arethusa, was worshiped thoroughly. Bull-headed or ram-headed schematic Nike on the Colchian imitations to

¹ Conversion of Kartli (Moktsevai Kartlisai) (in Georg.). Selected Tales from Shatberdi Monastery. edit. B. Gigineishvili and El. Giunashvili, p. 320; Die Bekehrung Georgiens. Mokcevey Kartlisay (Verfasser Unbekannt). Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von G. Pätsch. Bedi Kartlisa. Revue de Kartvélogie. Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes. Paris. 1975. v. XXXIII, pp. 291-292; The Life of Kartli (Kartlis Tskhovreba) (in Georg.). edit. S. Kaukhchishvili. v. I. Tbilisi. 1955, pp. 20, 25-27; Das Leben Kartlis. Eine Chronik aus Georgien 300-1200. Herausgegeben von G. Pätsch, pp. 69, 76-78.

Alexander's type gold staters defines the Hellenistic essence of the country. Gnaeus Pompejus while being there used to be treated like Helios, as seen in coinage of his local client certain Aristarchus; Obv. of the light drachm shows famous Roman general diademed and crowned with the rays.

An interesting site should be discussed – this is bilingual (Graeco-Colchian) Trapezus with a special confessional visage. Élite of Trapezus worshiped Mithras, but Mithras on municipal coinage of Trapezus seems to be beyond the traditional scheme /Pl. I/ – here Mithras, fellow in a radiant Phrygian cap, is a horseman accompanied by a snake. A horseman with a spear is already St. George; i.e. Mithras from Trapezus should be regarded as a prototype of St. George's iconography. And a bit later German Mithras, also mounted on a horse, was, perhaps, converted to St. George too. In the very heart of Empire Mithras is always pedestrian, at the frontier – often equestrian due to more rude and half-feudal ideas there. Colchis/Lazica tied up neatly with Imperial Trapezus, enjoyed this very special deity – a Pontic synthesis of Iranian Mithra and Cappadocian MHNE, young equestrian in a radiant Phrygian cap.

Then Christianity became overwhelming.

Christianity is a confession and a providential generalization, only slightly expressed social protest, a religious-political organization, and, at last, a certain badge for European integration.

Feudalism in Kartli and Egrisi (another name for West Georgia) is an obvious advantage over former socio-economic system – Protofeudalism, like the state position of monotheis-

tic Christianity there – over former paganism. And besides, an existence of Christian-feudal organization ceases an opportunity for an existence of Christian-peasant separate organization. Occidental aspiration of the Georgian states and their Christianity are linked up.

The lower classes of the Roman Empire worshiped very special deity – this is Mithra, Iranian god of the sun and the light, young and just; Mithra was abstracted from the late Iranian Zoroastrianism, and definitely changed. The lower classes of the Empire started to establish their own religious-political organizations – Mithra-worshippers communities. Of course, a Roman Emperor, perhaps, was an atheist, but only *de facto*, *de jure* he is pagan, and he can not attack Mithras/Appolo. There was one solution – Mithraistic conversion of the Imperial upper classes. Graeco/Asia Minor-Roman Mithraism should be considered as something mid, not real paganism and not real monotheism. Providential Mithraism was an apparent regress of the Roman society, it was due to the global Imperial stagnation. The lower classes converted to Christianity; oligarchy did the same, never feeling uncomfortable by an existence of not very clear social protest in the Testament. The state position of Christianity was a denunciation of half-pagan Mithraism; nobody had any chance to use it more.

This “socialized” Mithra went back again to feudal Iran. The Iranian knights engaged not Christianity, like Iberian aznauri (knights) did, but – Ahura Mazda-Mithra pseudo-monotheistic religious complex. Even Iranian nordic expansion towards Iberia, the very end of Europe, was accompanied by strong Mithra-

istic propaganda. The result was not an amazing one – some of common men started to worship Mithra thus demonstrating their hatred towards aznauri.¹ After an abortive attempt to break down the Georgian social system, Iranians concluded a treaty with the Georgian eristavi (dukes), and together they made the king of Iberia fly off the country (Procopius. BP. I. 12). Times after, free from Asiatic control, Georgian erismtavaris (princes) changed ātar (holy fire)-type reverse of the coins to cross-type reverse. “Georgian-Sassanian” silver is copied mostly from a drachm of Ohrmazd IV – personification of a ruler /Rev. Holy fire on altar; all protected by two guardians. Islamic conversion of Iran should be considered as an adoption of anti-European monotheism.

King of Iberia Mirian III was baptized in 337. This is traditional statement. Indeed, it is recorded mostly that he was assisted by Constantine.² But, maybe he lived in the times of Constantius, and not Constantine, being baptized in the late fifties. This idea is totally based on the revision of chronology of pagan Pharnavazid (Iberian ruling clan) kings. Amazasp, king of Iberia, ally of Shapur, of the king of Persia, who was definitely killed for his Oriental aspirations, is well fixed in about 260 A.D. using epigraphy (inscription from Ka’ba-i Zardošt).³ And after we have seven more pagan hereditary kings in national annals with

¹ The Life of Kartli. v I, p. 145; Das Leben Kartlis, p. 208.

² Conversion of Kartli, pp. 322-324; Die Bekehrung Georgiens, pp. 294- 295; Life of Kartli. v. I, p. 117; Das Leben Kartlis, pp. 172-173; Rufinus. HE. I. X; Theodoretus. HE. I. 23; Socrates. HE. 20; Sozomenus. HE. VII. VII – Georgica. Scriptorum Byzantinorum Excerpta ad Georgiam Pertinentia. Tomus I. Ediderant Al. Gamcrelidze et S. Kauchtschischwili. Tbilisi. 1961.

³ Г. А. Меликишвили. К истории древней Грузии. Тбилиси. 1959, p. 392.

Mirian (Mithraan) III as the last one.¹ Perhaps, it would be much comfortable to push his reign towards the midst of the 4th c. That is how Constantius was punished for his devotion to a doctrine of Arius – indeed, Constantius used to proselytize hard but all his deeds are prescribed to Constantine; of course, he also is a heretic from the major point of view, but still – the first Augustus to be baptized. And king Mirian seems to support the doctrine of Arius. From the very point onwards Iberia had strong confessional feelings towards Byzantium, though the local church has ceased to be a fraction. The feelings are that of Chalcedonian doctrine – never have been disputed since the 7th c. Georgian affiliation within Byzantine World was marked by an adoption of the Greek alphabetic order as a certain pattern and by a long-term devotion to Byzantinesque in architecture. Indeed, only in the 19th c. Georgia moved towards the Baroque, this all-European style. Everywhere in Asia (e.g. Syria) or in some marginal countries, like Armenia, Monophysites were supported by Iran. Iranians made an obvious attempt to build Asiatic confederation, but only Arabs managed this.

The second half of the 1st c. A.D. was marked by a genesis of Feudalism in Lazica (there is an economic recovery by that time after the lasting depression, as seen in the numismatic data). The state Mithraism in Lazica was determined by the Roman Imperial one. Early-Christian community-system in Western Georgia is an opposite conjuncture. Lazica, although baptized in the 4th c. (*Georgica*. t. I, pp. 3-4.), was still a bit sophisticated for a while – local kings (the 4th-the 6th cc.), sometimes irritated by the

¹ Conversion of Kartli, p. 321; *Die Bekehrung Georgiens*, pp. 292-293.

Byzantine hegemony, used to convert back to Mithraism (Prisci Fragmenta. 34; Theophanis Chronographia. Georgica. t. IV. fasc. I, pp. 77-78). Still, a confessional stylization of the country was up to Empire. In the 1st c. A.D. *receptio* system was activated in Colchis to strengthen the local social structure. Abasks and Aphsils settled in the North of the country. Actually, while not at home, they spoke Mingrelian (i.e. Colchian language), then – those one which is basic in Georgia. Still, there were some problems and a special Imperial expedition was launched in the 6th c. to calm and convert them finally (Procopius. BG.VIII. 9-10). Yeomanry living in the high-up mountains of the East Georgia opposed Christianity with no successful outcome.¹

In the 10th-13th cc. the Georgian money was struck in Byzantine style (with cross potent, St. Virgin Blachernitissa, Jesus Christ Pantocrator on them) and the Georgian kings claimed their Imperial titles – Kuropalates, Nobilissimos, Sebastos, Caesaros, stressing this way formal integrity of the Orthodox World. Georgian king David IV already wears stemma, i.e. Imperial crown with cross and the pendants, pendilia. His unique follis shows king in Imperial coat – wearing stemma, divitision and chlamis; holding in right hand scepter cruciger, and in left, globus cruciger.

The sources bound up with a problem of conversion of the Georgian states are of different type – archaeological and numismatic data, architectural complexes, epigraphy and narrative. The Greek and the Georgian information suit each other; Armenian records are different. By far the most useful is Georgian

¹ The Life of Kartli, p. 125; Das Leben Kartlis, p. 182.

narrative, and the Greeks like Socrates and Sozomenus are more precise. Story about a conversion of Kartli passed on by mouth in Iberia, only in the 8th c. everything was written down – how had St. Nino entered the capital Mtskheta, how had she started to agitate, how had she cured queen Nana; the king was impressed, and soon only his special prayer to Christ released him from a dangerous fog while hunting, he made himself converted, and the whole country followed him, envoys were sent to Constantine, the churches were built, mountaineers – suppressed etc. We can find this story into major Georgian selected records – “Conversion of Kartli” – the 9th c. work, and “Life of Kartli” – the 11th c. work, prolonged after.

Nino, i.e. the lady who agitated in Georgia, was thought to be from Cappadocia. A brief passage from a story about the conversion of Iberia figures her as a captive taken away to the foreign lands from this very country.¹ That does mean that the agitators were selected very carefully within the Empire just to fit the country.

Any research towards history of Early Christianity is welcomed, plenty of the problems need a solution. One could revise even the date of “incarnation” – 25/24-19 is a proper one. Indeed, according to John (8.56-57), Jesus was about fifty when crucified. And John the Baptist, who started his agitation after a death of Herod, was only six month elder than Jesus. The whole idea can be supported by other data of New Testament and Classics.

¹ Conversion of Georgia, p. 336; Die Bekehrung Georgiens, p. 314.

Plate I



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Appendix

Heliocentrism and I Cycle of Capitalism (as Seen in Coinage)

Comparative studies have been long carried on for the capitalistic cycles within the different spheres like constitutional and institutional arrangements, architecture and city-building, painture etc. Typological general resemblances are obvious with much more developed structures for II cycle.¹

American democracy faces the Athenian one; modern reinforced concrete construction – huge doom of Hagia Sophia; comfortable communication network of New York – that of Miletus and Alexandria; modern naturalistic anthropomorphism – Graeco-Roman heads.

What can we say about other branches, e.g. astronomy? Heliocentrism is today's concept of Universal order. Was there something like in Graeco-Roman World? Perhaps, yes.

Geocentric well-established ideas still were argued, both from philosophic and technical points of view. Pythagoreans are the first to place fire (i.e. the sun) in the centre of the Universe; and for Aristarchus the Samian (c. 310-230 B.C.) it seemed more reasonable the earth to move around the huge sun. A revision of Geocentrism failed, still there were the attempts even beyond the Graeco-Roman World, e.g. Egypt and India.²

¹ Tedo Dundua, Nino Silagadze. *Cyclic Dialectics and Philosophy of Art*. Books 1-7. Tbilisi. 1996-1998.

² Aristarchos von Samos. *Der neue Pauly*. Band I. Stuttgart. 1996; Tedo Dundua,

With Imperial power and Imperial Mithraism walking together and working hard to solve the crisis of the 3rd c., Heliocentrism was put under special Imperial interpretation.

Who stands in the centre of the whole mankind? Emperor of the Romans. Who is he? Living god – *Sol Invictus*. Indeed, that was the end for the claims of the Emperors for divinity. It seems quite easy to please Augustus by telling him about the sunshine observed in his eyes (Suet. Aug. 79. 2). He favoured Apollo/Helios. Caligula nearly fired the Jewish war by a stern demand to put his sculpture in the Great temple of Jerusalem thinking of himself to be a god (incarnated Iahwe/Ahurō Mazdāo as Mithras/Apollo?). Nero with his artistic ambitions is Apollo playing. Elagabalus' solar identity was even stronger. And at last “republican” princeps converts himself into *Dominus et Deus*. From that spring-board and with the eight identified planets on mind, which of them could had been centre for the Universe? The sun, without any means.

Numismatics provides some arguments towards the thesis.

Radiate crowns for the Emperors mostly in the 3rd c. show eight rays, sometimes – seven, denoting obviously seven planets and Emperor himself is the eighth one with the solar function /v. the plates below/.¹

With Rome gone and Christianity advancing, Heliocentrism was totally denounced just to be re-established in the 16th c. at a higher degree, as usually comes for II cycle.

Nino Silagadze. European Industrial Complexes of I Cycle of Capitalism and the Georgian Western Affiliations. Historical and Numismatic Tale, p. 17.

¹ For Emperor's solar perception v. Chr. Howgego. Ancient History from Coins, p. 79.

Sestertius. 22. Tiberius (14-37).¹



**Obv. *Divus Augustus* wearing radiate crown.
Rev. Temple of Vesta.**

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. München. 1973, pl. 40 №156.

Aureus. 201. Septimius Severus (193-211).¹



Obv. Caracalla as a boy.

Rev. Septimius Severus, wearing radiate crown, and Julia Domna.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 93 №388.

Gold-binio. 216. Caracalla (211-217).¹



Obv. Caracalla wearing radiate crown.

Rev. Jupiter Victor

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 97 №409.

Dupondius. 228. Severus Alexander (222-235).¹



Obv. Severus Alexander wearing radiate crown.

Rev. Emperor as *Restitutor Monetae*.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 100 №433.

Antoninianus. 238. Balbinus and Pupienus (238).¹



Obv. Pupienus wearing radiate crown.

Rev. Clasped hands.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 104 №446.

Dupondius. 238/239. Gordian III (238-244).¹



Obv. Gordian III wearing radiate crown.

Rev. Victoria.

¹J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 106 №450.

Double sestertius. 249/251. Trajan Decius (249-251).¹



Obv. Trajan Decius wearing radiate crown.

Rev. Felicitas.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 107 №467.

Antoninianus. 251. Trebonianus Gallus (251-253).¹



Obv. *Divus Antoninus Pius* wearing radiate crown.

Rev. Fire-altar.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 108 №475.

Aureus. 265. Postumus (259-268).¹



Obv. Postumus and Hercules.

Rev. Sol wearing radiate crown and Luna.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 113 №511.

Aureus. 265. Postumus (259-268).¹



**Obv. Postumus wearing radiate crown.
Rev. Salus and Aesculap.**

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. XXI №509.

Antoninianus. 268/270. Claudius II (268-270).¹



Obv. Claudius II wearing radiate crown.

Rev. *Fides militum*.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 116 №530.

Antoninianus. 274/275. Aurelian (270-275).¹



Obv. Aurelian wearing radiate crown.

Rev. Sol.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 118 №539.

Gold medallion (2 solids). 313/315. Constantine I (306-337).¹



Obv. Constantine I wearing radiate crown.

Rev. Fortifications in Trier.

¹ J. P. C Kent, B. Overbeck, A. U. Stylow. Die Römische Münze. pl. 136 №633.

Tetradrachm. 143 B.C. Antiochus VI (145-142 B.C.).¹



**Obv. Antiochus VI wearing radiate crown.
Rev. Dioscuri**

¹ Ch. Seltman. Greek Coins. London. 1955, pl. LIV №3.

**Æ., Ar. Last years of the 2nd c. B.C. Saulaces or Saumakos
(Colchis, Bosphorus).¹**



Obv. Radiate head.

Rev. Rose.

¹ G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. I, p. 73.

Light drachm. 52/51 B.C. Aristarchus from Colchis.¹



**Obv. Gnaeus Pompejus wearing radiate crown.
Rev. Tyche.**

This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua. Heliocentrism and I Cycle of Capitalism. Tbilisi. 2010.

¹ G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Georgian Numismatics. I, pl. III №19.

The Three-Church Basilica Type from Georgia

The spirit of nowadays is well packed with the multicultural and universal concepts, regarding all the cultures as being equal. i.e. we do have to enrich our culture and respect the minorities. And, perhaps, the historical background is needed to support this global idea. Georgia seems to be a good example as a permanent receiver of different ethnic groups and confessions treating them moderately. The chapter tells about one of the specific expressions of this idea.

The three-church basilicas form, indeed, very special architectural visage and normally they are concentrated in Georgia. The churches of the mentioned type were built mostly in the 6th-7th cc. Who needed those three separate sections in a basilica, thus restricting the space for the faithfuls? Christianity is a propaganda, and a propaganda needs an auditorium, and auditorium demands a vast interior. Then, why is this Georgian case so strange? The chapter deals with a problem of a functional meaning of the three-church basilica type.

The lines of the columns form a normal basilica, while the interior walls instead – a three-church basilica /Fig.1/. And the purposes are still obscure.

We are largely indebted by some brilliant contributions within the field. Ernst Badstübner¹ thought of a Benedictine presbytery /Fig. 2/ as a derivation from some Eastern Christian, maybe even Georgian, prototype, with the Swiss sample /Fig. 3/ being a transitional stage. In the Middle Ages the small sections

¹ E. Badstübner. Zum Ursprung des dreischiffigen Presbyteriums an Klosterkirchen des benediktinischen Reformmönchtums (ein Vergleich mit den Drei-Kirchen-Basiliken in Georgien). "Georgica". Jena-Tbilisi. Heft 7. 1984, pp. 77-81.

of a presbytery served either as a stock for the Holy relics, or as a collecting area for the monks before prayer. Badstübner wants to regard the Georgian division of a church in the same way. This comparison is still hypothetic needing many arguments to prove that the Benedictine rules were the same as that of Georgia. And if the type had been adopted by the West via Byzantium and the Mediterranean, as Badstübner thinks, why do not we have any remnants there? Theoretically a division of a church is more a necessity, than – an influence. We are still inclined to think that Zaza Aleksidze from Georgia was quite accurate in a decision that those isolated spaces in Georgia served for the different Christian confessions – Monophysitism and Diophysitism¹. Indeed, there had been a substantial confessional dualism in East Georgia (Iberia) in the 6th-7th cc. and those three-church basilicas could have served as an architectural compromise for the sake of unity. And Iberia was a special case in this solution. One more three-church basilica comes from Egypt (6th-7th cc.) and it is thought to be a Georgian foundation.²

In the 6th-7th cc. Iberia, being a traditional ally of Byzantium, was badly threatened by the Sassanids who made their attempt to build an Asiatic empire and who demanded the Caucasian range to be considered as a certain barrier for their political influence. Iranians supported Monophysites while the Georgians felt like to be Diophysites thus demonstrating their fidelity towards Byzantium and Europe. Still the lower classes mostly,

¹ Liber Epistolarum. Textum Armenicum cum Versione Georgica Edidit et Disputatione Commentariisque Instruxit Z. Aleksidze. Tbilisi. 1968, p. 262-266.

² U. Morrenet de Villard. Una Chiesa di Tipo Georgiano nella Necropoli Tebana. Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum. Boston. 1950, pp. 495-500.

inspired by the Iranian aid and irritated by the local magnates, stressed their loyalty towards the pro-Iranian branch of Christianity, some ambitious nobles did the same. Moreover, the Armenian *receptio* (community) was there in Georgia and they were the faithful Monophysites. The situation seems to be even more complicated by the Iranian Zoroastrian propaganda conducted either by the Persian *receptio* dwelling in the Iberian cities, or by the new native converts to this Iranian confession. So, Diophysites, Monophysites and even Zoroastrians were present and one had to deal with them trying to keep the national unity and social security within the country. What was supposed to be done? To collect them in one space, to neglect their confessional division, not to allow the appearance of truly independent, dominated by the Iranians, religious and political structures. These three-church basilicas were destined to serve to the basic purpose, especially in the villages, where the serfs were rudely suppressed by their lords. So those churches are very small, but still, divided into the sections. One could argue that there was no place for the Zoroastrians in a Christian church, but we do have to take into a consideration the fact of Iranian (Sassanid) Zoroastrianism being largely influenced by the European Mithraism according to which even the date of birth of Mithras was fixed to the 25th of December.¹ The Armenians, brightened and strengthened by the support of Khusrau II, the Persian pro-Monophysite shah, accused the Georgians in a disloyalty to the Monophysite faith and to the loyalty to any Christian confessions, admitting even the Nestorians to the churches. Of course, the Georgians preferred their country to be neatly Orthodox, but failing to achieve this

¹ T. Dundua. Christianity and Mithraism. The Georgian Story.

comfortable situation, they tried to achieve a national and not religious unity putting all the confessions in one church.¹

Europe had faced the same problem earlier in the 4th- 5th cc. with the Christian Orthodox folk, the Arians and the Mithra-worshippers living together. And we are inclined to expect something like also there. Indeed, the joint basilicas /Fig. 4-5/ or a Mithraeum inserted into a Christian church (Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Santa Prisca at Aventin Hill) could serve to the same purposes.

And the Egyptian case included the three separate sections, perhaps, with the Greek, Coptic and Armenian languages being involved for a church service. It is thought that a certain Cyrus from Iberia prolonged his activity founding the three-church basilica in Thebes in the 7th c.²

This pattern of confessional pluralism has been accurately maintained further. Being mostly Orthodox country, Georgia still embraced the different communities, like Jewish (from the 2nd c. B.C.), Muslim (from the 8th c.), Armenian, Roman Catholic etc.

So, a co-existence was easily achieved, that means that it could be achieved any time anywhere.

¹ Liber Epistolarum. Textum Armenicum cum Versione Georgica Edidit et Disputatione Commentariisque Instruxit Z. Aleksidze, p. 191. Pope Gregorius I is said to be delighted by the Georgian religious tolerancy.

² Liber Epistolarum. Textum Armenicum cum Versione Georgica Edidit et Disputatione Commentariisque Instruxit Z. Aleksidze, pp. 167-272; Г. Чубинашвили. Архитектура Кахетии. Тбилиси. 1959, p. 142.

Plates

Fig.1. Bolnisi, Georgia. The three-church basilica. The 6th-7th cc.

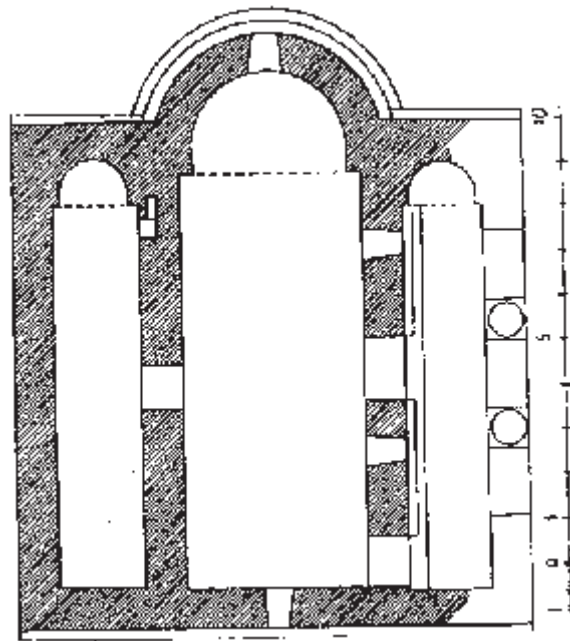


Fig. 2. Cluny II.

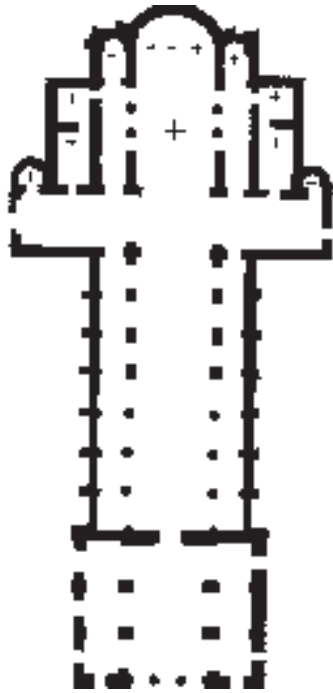


Fig. 3. The Church of St. John in Canton Graubünden. 800.



Fig. 4. The cathedral in Trier. The first half of the 4th c.

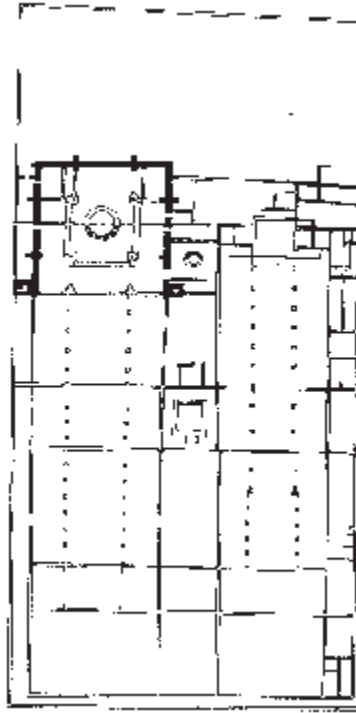
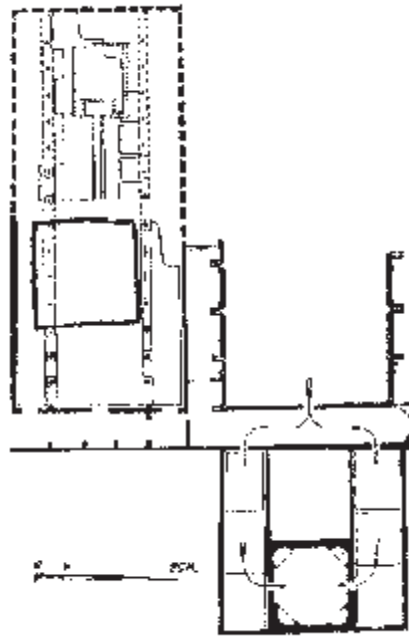


Fig. 5. The cathedral of Aquielea. The 5th c.



This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua, Nino Silagadze. The Three-Church Basilica Type in Georgia. Fidelio. Washington. v. X. n. 1. 2001, pp. 79- 80.

Review of Georgian Coins with Byzantine Iconography

This chapter deals with the monetary issues of Georgia in the 10th-15th cc.¹ The aim of the research was a precise attribution of numismatic data and consideration of the corresponding historical information.

The period under discussion is very important in view of the Byzantine-Georgian relationship. The numismatic expression of this conjuncture forms a special interest – particularly, as Georgian money was struck in Byzantine style and Georgian kings claimed their Imperial titles stressing this way a formal integrity of the Orthodox World. Byzantium and Georgia were regarded to form unique Orthodox space.

It is appropriate to split the whole period into two stages: I. the 10th c.-the beginning of the 13th c. is a time of very strong Imperial feelings; II. and the 13th-15th cc. – of their reminiscence.

The initiator of the Georgian coinage inspired by Byzantine style was David III Kuropalates, seignior of Imier Tao, a part of historical Southwestern Georgia. The description of his miliaresion (drama in Georg.) is as follows:

David III Kuropalates*. Miliaresion. The weights range from 3.05 to 3.5 gr. d≈23-24 mm. Half drama (?) – 2.1 gr. d=22.9

¹ The author is largely indebted by the general works about the Georgian coins: E. A. Пахомов. Монеты Грузии. Часть I. С.-Петербургъ. 1910; D. M. Lang. Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia. New York. 1955; Д. Г. Капанадзе. Грузинская нумизматика. Москва. 1955. Still the attributions presented here totally differ from the previous pattern.

* In the 10th c. the kingdom of Kartvelians (i.e. Iberia) was a system of the principalities formally ruled by one king. And the others, including David, were his formal vassals.

mm. Oltisi /Pl. I fig. 1/.

Obv. Georgian legend (abbreviation everywhere) – “Christ, forgive David”.

Rev. Cross potent on the three steps and Georgian legend – “Kurapalati”.

Only four specimens are known from this emission.

The dating of this issue rests on a precise knowledge of the year in which David was granted the title of Kuropalates. And it is thought that this title was bestowed upon him for his special help to the Emperor Basileios in the struggle against mutinous grandees. The army of Bardas Sclerus was annihilated by David’s generals near Halys-river. This event took place in 979. The study dates the emission of the coins of David III to 979, it was in that year that he received the title of Kuropalates and coins bearing that title would have served as a magnificent memorial to that historical event.¹

From the 4 specimens now discussed none of them was found in Georgia. They were discovered far away from there, in Russia, Estonia, Germany and Sweden.² How did they find their

¹ But still we have a suspicion. Why do these coins copy Imperial silver of 977; maybe David was already Kuropalates while preparing auxiliary for the Emperor? Ph. Grierson. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. v. III part two. Washington. 1973, p. 610, pl. XLVI, n. 16. And one more question – there is Patriarchal cross on the supposed prototype. Still another pattern was used also while modelling this coin v. Ph. Grierson. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*. v. III part two, pp. 536, 554-555, nn. 16, 17-18, pl. XXXVII, nn. 16, 17-18.

² Near St. Petersburg, place Lodeinoe Pole, Russia; place Völlja, Estonia; Mecklenburg-Schwerin, place Schwaan, Germany; Gotland, Dalhem, Hallföse II, Sweden. P. В. Кебуладзе, В. М. Потин. *Монеты Давида Курапалата в кладках западноевропейских денариев*. Matsne (Historical issue). 1970. №2. Tbilisi;

way to those regions? Two hypotheses exist concerning this item:

1) typologically these coins are very close to almost synchronous silver pieces of Basileios II and Constantine VIII, and they have the same weight and fineness. So it was good money and could circulate everywhere together with Byzantine currency. Russian merchants used to come to Constantinople regularly and then they took the silver pieces of David Kuropalates to Europe;

2) trading contacts between Georgia and Russia must account for the findings of these coins on the territory of Europe, effected via Tmutaracan (modern Taman Peninsula), this view being corroborated by other evidence as well. A rare Tmutaracanian piece was found in Georgia – the imitation of a Miliaresion.¹

The supposed mint for coins of Kuropalates is Oltisi, his residence (modern Oltu in Turkey).

The kings of Georgia – Bagrat IV (1027-1072)**, Giorgi II (1072-1089) and David IV (1089-1125) – were enjoying St. Virgin Blachernitissa type taken from the coins of Constantine IX² and maintained after.

The very characteristic trait of the 11th c. Georgian numismatics is an obvious tendency towards weight lightening – a reception of a new standard, the Byzantine 2/3 miliaresion, called tetri (Ar.) took place during the reign of Bagrat IV. This term

Corpus Nummorum Saeculorum IX-XI, qui in Suecia Reperti Sunt. Catalogue of Coins from 9th-11th Centuries Found in Sweden. 1. Gotland. 3. Dalhem-Etelhem. Stockholm. 1982, p. 5, pl. I, 2:12.

¹ Р. В. Кебуладзе, В. М. Потин. Монеты Давида Курапалата в кладах западноевропейских денариев, p. 219.

** We have a gap in national minting until this time; only Arabs blocked in Tbilisi/Tiflis continue their issues (Д. Г. Капанадзе. Грузинская нумизматика, pp. 49-53).

² Ph. Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. v. III part two, pl. LXII, n. 3.

already figures in the 11th c. documents.¹

Now let us describe the material:

Bagrat IV. I emission. Tetri. The weights range from 1.47 to 2.2 gr. d≈23/24-27/28 mm. 1055.*** Kutaisi (Western Georgia)**** /Pl. I fig. 2/.

Obv. Facing bust of Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing pallium and maphorium. Greek legend – Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ – “The Holy Virgin”, close to nimbus, in different ways.

Rev. Marginal Georgian legend – “Christ, exalt Bagrat, the king of the Abkhasians” (i.e. Western Georgia). In the centre – “and Nobilissimos”.

Only 12 specimens are known. The dating is based on the king’s Byzantine title and other political traits.

Now briefly about the mentioned Georgian title – “king of the Abkhasians”. A country is economic-geographical region. Unique culture is formed within on a basis of the intensive interior economic links. And Georgia is such complex. It was formed by economic synthesis of the East (Iberia) and the West (Colchis), and since the Mingrelian (i.e. the Colchian) language has been transferred to a position of a family-language. A bit earlier the Svanetian and the Abkhasian languages were put on the same position by the Mingrelian language. In the 8th c. new dynasty was founded in Colchis, or Lazica. And this ruling house was from the province of Abkhasia, part of Lazica. Lazica now is called “Kingdom of Abkhasians”, and the languages spoken here are Mingrelian, first, then – Georgian. And soon after, Geor-

¹ T. Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C.-1453), pp. 200-201.

*** The dating will be argued below.

**** Capital by that time.

gia – a new economic complex – came to realization, and some times later the country was unified by Bagrationi ruling house. This house also claimed to be “king of the Abkhasians”, i.e. of Western Georgia.

Bagrat IV. II emission (28 specimens). Tetri. The weights range from 1.2 to 2.23 gr. d=24-27/28 mm. 1068/69.***** Kutaisi. Everything is the same except of the central legend – here we have “Sebastos” /Pl. I fig. 3/.

The extant specimens of Giorgi II, some 100 pieces, can be divided into three emissions, taking into account the alterations of Byzantine title.

Giorgi II. I emission. Tetri (debased). The weights range from 1.1 to 2.15 gr. d≈21/26-27/29 mm. 1073.¹ Kutaisi.

Obv. Facing bust of Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing pallium and maphorium. Distorted Greek abbreviation for “the Holy Virgin”, to l. and r. from nimbus.

Rev. Marginal Georgian legend – “Christ, exalt Giorgi, the king of the Abkhasians and the Kartvelians” (i.e. Eastern and Southern Georgia).***** In the centre – “and Nobilissimos”.

***** Again the dating will be argued below.

¹ Giorgi as a prince already possessed the title of Kuropalates. Towards the end of 1072 he became king receiving gradually the titles of Nobilissimos and Sebastos. In 1074 Giorgi as Caesaros was put in charge of the Imperial Eastern limits. So, the issues with the titles of Nobilissimos and Sebastos fit 1073-1074 (v. T. Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C.-1453), pp. 148-149)

***** The royal descents left without the special domain in Amier Tao (Southwest Georgia) had to strip themselves of the title – “king of Kartvelians”. This happened twice with Bagrat IV (see above). In 1055 his rival duke Liparit captured Tao, and in 1068 – Alp Arslan himself. So, the coins with the sole title “king of Abkhasians” should be dated by 1055 and 1068 (v. T. Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C.-1453), pp. 146- 147).

II and III emissions have “Sebastos” and “Caesaros” instead. And Greek legend – MP ΘΥ Η ΒΛΑΧΕΡ – NITICA (St. Virgin Blachernitissa) – appears also sometime.

Giorgi II. II emission (“king ... and Sebastos”). Tetri. The weights range from 1.21 to 2.03 gr. $d \approx 24/25-27/28$ mm. 1074. Kutaisi /Pl. II fig. 4/.

Giorgi II. III emission /“king ... and Caesaros”/. Tetri and half tetri. The weights range from 1.01 (?) to 1.9 gr., from 0.43 to 0.99 gr. $d \approx 25-27$ mm. 1075-1089. Kutaisi /Pl. II fig. 5/.

Within the 8 pieces of David IV three types can be identified.

David IV. I emission. Half tetri. The weights range from 0.4 to 0.7 gr. $d = 22/23-25/26$ mm. 1089-1099. Kutaisi /Pl. III fig. 6/.

Obv. Facing bust of Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing pallium and maphorium. Greek legend – MP -- ΘΥ, to l. and r. from nimbus.

Rev. Marginal Georgian legend – “Christ, exalt David, the king of the Abkhasians”.***** In the centre – “and Sebastos”.

And the second type has the cross on Rev. while St. Virgin is maintained. II emission. Half tetri. The weights range from 0.56 to 0.87 gr. $d = 23/24-26/28$ mm. 1089-1099. Kutaisi /Pl. III fig. 7, Pl. IV fig. 8/.

Thus St. Virgin Blachernitissa series came to an end.

David IV. III emission. Follis. Weight – 10.7 gr. $d = 35$ mm. 1118-1125. Kutaisi /Pl. IV fig. 9/.

***** David gained almost full control over the country only about 1099, and before he had been just “king of Abkhasians”. First two issues show the king in this troubled position.

Obv. Bust of a king in Imperial coat – wearing stemma (Imperial crown with cross and the pendants, pendilia), divitision and chlamys; holds in right hand scepter cruciger, and in left, globus cruciger. And Georgian legend – “king David”.

Rev. Cross in a centre and marginal Georgian legend – “Christ, David the king of Abkhasians, Kartvelians, Ranians, Kakhetians, Armenians”***** (Rani and Kakheti are very Eastern provinces of Georgia).

The obverse type of this coin is patterned on the reverse of the post-reform aspron trachy (billon) of Alexios I Comnenos.¹ But the Imperial coat of the Georgian king is not a fiction.

After this period and for some time, only copper coins were struck in Georgia. Credit money was founded. Asia lacked silver for some time. So Georgian currency was put safely in the royal treasury. A copper issued after could buy the same goods as silver within ratio. Indeed, mostly the Georgian copper pieces are labelled as “silver”. Arabic legends on these “irregularly” struck coins are an indication that these were intended to function within the Asian monetary system. Georgian king is referred to as “the sword of the Messiah”. The western typology is however preserved.

Giorgi Lasha (1210-1222). Follis. Weight – 5.6 gr. d=23-24 mm. 1210. Tbilisi***** /Pl. V fig. 10/.

Obv. King with labarum and anexikakia – roll of parch-

***** David is “king of Armenians” from 1118, so his follis was struck between 1118-1125 (T. Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C.-1453), p. 151).

¹ M. Hendy. Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire (1081-1261). Washington. 1969, p. 86, pl. 7, nn. 2-4.

***** His capital.

ment, wrapped in cloth and filled with dust – a symbol of mortality. He wears stemma (like Giorgi III (1156-1184) on his copper coin). Corresponding Georgian legend.

Rev. Here Lasha claims in Arabic to be “a sword of Messiah” and “King of the Kings”.

External pressures from the areas of present-day Iran and Turkey led to a weakening of economic potency of the kingdom of Georgia, as well as to a diminution of its territorial extent. But Imperial attributes still exist.

The bust of Christ appears on the silver “Botinatur”***** of queen Rusudan (1222-1245). Drama. The weights range from 2.4 to 2.7 gr. d≈21-22 mm. Sokhumi/Sebastopolis*****/Pl. V fig. 11/.

Obv. Bust of Christ facing, wearing nimbus, pallium and colobium, and raising right hand in benediction, holds ornamented book of Gospels in left hand; to l. IC, to r. XC.¹ And Georgian marginal legend, denoting the year when it was struck – 1230.

Rev. Specific badge with the name of Rusudan inside. And Arabic legend – “the Queen of the Queens, glory of the country and faith, Rusudan, daughter of Tamar, champion of Messiah.”

Georgian kings, David Ulugh and David Narin, flew off

***** Nomisma of Nicephorus III Botaneiates was still in circulation in Georgia in the 13th c.

***** We have the references in the Georgian documents to “Botinatur tetri”, sometimes substituted by “Tskhumuri (another form for Sokhumi) tetri”. That means as follows: 1) a certain sum of the Rusudan’s dramas was reckoned up in tetri; 2) the queen’s coins were struck in Sokhumi/Sebastopolis (Western Georgia). Indeed, Tbilisi, already the capital, is occupied by Jalal al-Din the Khwarazmian.

¹ Ph. Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. v. III part two, pp. 827-828, nn. 4-5, pl. LXIX, nn. 4-5. Tetarteron class I and II.

from the Mongols to a safety of Western Georgia. The crowns on their drama struck in Kutaisi mint in 1261 are with Emperor's pendants, i.e. this is again stemma. The weights range from 2.3 to 2.9 gr. d=23/24 mm. /Pl. VI fig. 12/.

Obv. Labarum in the centre and the kings' effigy on the both sides. Georgian legends – “King of the Kings, David” and “king David”.

Rev. St. Virgin seated upon a throne like on the Imperial issue of Michael VIII Palaeologos¹ and corresponding Georgian legend.

Georgian imitations to the aspers of Trebizond keep the effigy of stemma within the limits of Georgian culture. The rulers of Imereti (Western Georgia) issued these coins.

Money called “Kirmaneuli”. Several monetary units exist within this group – drama, tetri and half tetri. Kutaisi, mostly /Pl. VI fig. 13/.

Obv. St. Eugenius standing, holding long cross; and distorted Greek legend.

Rev. Emperor standing, holding labarum. Distorted Greek legends for the names of Comneni. Georgian origin is outlined by a six-pointed star typology.²

This especially interesting period of the Georgian numismatics came to an end in 1453-1461.

¹ M. Hendy. *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire (1081-1261)*, p. 263, pl. 45, n. 12.

² O. Retowski. *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt*. Moskau. 1910, pl. VIII, n. 8.

Plate I



Plate II



4



5

Plate III



6

7

Plate IV



Plate V



10



11

Plate VI



12



13

This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua. Review of Georgian Coins with Byzantine Iconography. Numismatica e Antichità Classiche. XXIX. 2000. Quaderni Ticinesi, pp. 387-396.

**The Tale of Two Sebastoses and the Orthodox
Alliance. David the King of Georgia and
Theodoros Gabras**

The Empire of Trebizond is thought to be of a Georgian design as a permanent threat to the Sultanate of Rum. Queen Tamar (1184-1210) engineered everything. Still she had had a certain pattern.

The family of Gabras (Gavras) seems to be involved in the story.

Theodoros Gabras of Chaldia was a brave soldier and a man of a noble birth, but he had never been trusted in the capital. Alexios I was just happy to get rid of him at a good pretext – victorious over the Turks and thus allotted with a rank of the dux of recaptured Trebizond, Theodoros found himself far away in province. Still, this solution turned out to be less effective. Anna Comnena claims that he considered Trebizond as his possession.¹

Gregorios, son of Theodoros, had been suggested as the prospective bridegroom for a member of Comneni family. Yet, there was one more failure. Young Gabras found himself in hostile Constantinople as a hostage. Father freed him by sea-borne expedition. Alexios was furious and he did his best to get him back. Poor Gregorios had nothing to do but to plot against the Emperor. He was isolated in Philippopolis.²

We do not know much what was Gabras' real power in

¹ J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210). München. 1974, p. 22.

² J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), pp. 22-23.

Trebizond; or how he ran the administration. He is killed¹ while campaigning against the Seljuks, being still a dux.²

Theodoros was substituted by certain Dabatenos. By the autumn 1103 Gregorios Taronites, either a son of Theodoros Gabras, or a nephew of Alexios' courtier John Taronites, is a dux of Trebizond. Gregorios seems to be related to the family of Gabras.³

In 1105/1106 Gregorios was first defeated near Colonea, then – imprisoned by John Taronites for obvious disobedience. Still he proved to be hopelessly restive. Released in 1107, residing in Trebizond in 1117, Gregorios started his dangerous participation in Seljuks' matter. First jail, and then huge ransom was his punishment.⁴

The next dux, illustrious general Constantine Gabras⁵, feels himself like an independent toparch⁶ for several years starting from 1123.⁷ After John's glorious campaign in 1139, the Empire controlled the whole Southern Coast of the Black Sea – Bithynia, Paphlagonia and Pontus. At last Constantine⁸ becomes a real dux,

¹ Theodoros, *σεβαστός και δούξ Χαλδίας*, besides a martyr, died in 1098. v. W. Seibt. *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*. Wien. 1978, p. 290.

² J. Hoffmann. *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210)*, p. 23.

³ J. Hoffmann. *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210)*, pp. 23-24.

⁴ J. Hoffmann. *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210)*, p. 24.

⁵ Who is he, a nephew of Theodoros Gabras?! In 1118 John Comnenos was proclaimed basileus. Very soon afterwards Constantine became *δούξ Χαλδίας*. v. W. Seibt. *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, p. 290.

⁶ For more information about toparch v. J. Hoffmann. *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210)*, p. 148 n. 53

⁷ Especially from 1126. W. Seibt. *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, p. 290.

⁸ He is *πρωτωνωβελίσσιμος* by 1118, and *πρωτοσεβαστός* or *πανσέβαστος σεβαστός*

without legislature.¹ In 1163/64 Manuel Comnenos sent him as an ambassador to sultan Kilij-Arslan II.²

In 1175 during the siege of Amaseia, Manuel met next Gabras, Michael, leader of the contingent from Trebizond. Married to Comnena, Michael had taken part also in Hungarian campaign.³

Gabrid's political affiliations were even more complicated. Some of them served the Seljuks; and one was especially unlucky. After their victory over the Turks in 1146, the Byzantines executed Gabras, who had been brought up among the Turks and fought for them.⁴

later. The former title occurs on his lead seal /picture 1/.

Obv. Full-length figure of St. George, facing. The Saint wears armour and chlamys; holds spear in his right hand and long sword – in his left.

Legend –	Θ	Γ
	.	I
	E	O
	.	C
	.	
Rev.	+KĒRΘ	+K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει)
	KῶNANO	Κων(σταντίνω) (πρωτο)νο-
	REΛICIMO	βελισίμο
	TOΓARP	τὸ Γαβρ-
	A	ᾶ

v. W. Seibt. Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich, pp. 289-290, 154.

¹ J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), pp. 24-25.

² J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), p. 25.

³ J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), p. 26. The Hungarian campaign took place in 1161-1167. v. J. J. Norwich. A Short History of Byzantium, pp. 286-287; История Византии. т. 2. Москва. 1967, p. 326.

⁴ J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), p. 25.

One more Gabras was a big man, and a courtier of Kilij-Arslan II. He is Muslim for sure, because of his name – Ikhtiyar ad-din Hasan ben Gavras. We are aware of his diplomatic missions to Manuel during the siege of Amaseia, and after the battle at Myriocephalum, also – to Salah ed-Din after the fall of Jerusalem.¹ Hasan ben Gavras is thought to be son of the man killed in 1146. Hasan was on good terms with sultan, but not for a long time. The prince intrigued against him. Hasan started for his domain, located Southwards from Trebizond. On the way home he was assassinated by the Turks (1189).² According to another version, Hasan ben Gavras was charged with poisoning the sultan (1192).³

John Gabras is already a Christian, but he too serves sultan. Keikubad delegated him to pope in 1235. It is not probable for him to be descended from Hasan.⁴ Maybe John belongs to the principal line, that of the toparchs of Trebizond?! Then, how did they find their way to Melitene, a dwelling place for Michael Gabras, a physician, in 1256?! The only explanation exists – the Chaldian domains are lost together with the power to Comneni family. Some consider Nicephoros Palaeologos as the last dux of Trebizond.⁵

¹ J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), p. 26; Manuel lost the battle of Myriocephalum in 1176, and Jerusalem fell in 1187. J. J. Norwich. A Short History of Byzantium, pp. 289, 295.

² J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), pp. 26-27.

³ J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), p. 27.

⁴ J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), p. 27.

⁵ Ф. И. Успенский. Очерки из истории Трапезунтской Империи. Ленинград. 1929, p. 31.

Comneni cared much also about their Paphlagonian domains. Alexios stayed in Trebizond, while his brother David hasardously marched on Westwards. Maybe he even intended to restore Comneni rule over Constantinople?! We shall never know. Nicaeans, Latins and Seljuks calmed him down finally. He is killed near Sinope.¹

¹ J. Hoffmann. Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im Byzantinischen Reich (1071-1210), pp. 72-76. Comneni imperial ambitions fit properly the schedule of the Fourth Crusade – on 8 November 1202 the army of the Fourth Crusade set sail from Venice. On 24 June 1203 the fleet dropped anchor off Constantinople. On 5 July the Crusading army crossed the Bosphorus and landed below Galata, on the Northeast side of the Golden Horn. On 6 July the chain that barred the entrance to the Golden Horn was lowered and the fleet swept in. Soon the assault came, it was directed against the weakest point in the Byzantine defenses – the sea frontage of the Palace of Blachernae, at the extreme Northwest corner of the city. Crusaders poured into the city. On 1 August 1203 Alexios IV Angelus was crowned. Crusaders, his allies, withdrew to Galata to await their promised reward. January 1204 – Alexios Ducas Murzuphlos was crowned, he refused to pay. April 9, 1204 – fall of Constantinople. v. J. J. Norwich. *A Short History of Byzantium*, pp. 300-305. The same April saw Alexios Comnenos in Trebizond. *Georgica. Scriptorum Byzantinorum Excerpta ad Georgiam Pertinentia. Tomus VII. Textum Graecum cum Versione Iberica Edidit Commentariisque Instruxit Sim. Kauchtschischwili. Thbilisiis. MCMLXVII*, pp. 165-166; J. J. Norwich. *A Short History of Byzantium*, pp. 307-308. Georgian chronicle puzzles us even more – She (i.e. Tamar, T. D.) sent a few of them from West Georgia, and they captured Lazica, Trapezus, Limen, Samsun, Sinope, Kerasount, Kotiora, Amas-tris, Herakleia and all the places of Paphlagonia and Pontus. She gave (those lands – T. D.) to her relative Alexios Comnenos... As soon as the Franks learnt about the relief expedition to assist the Greeks, the Venetians captured the city (Constantinople – T. D.). *The Life of Kartli (Kartlis Tskhovreba) (in Georg.)*. Edit. S. Kaukhchishvili. v. II. Tbilisi. 1959, p. 142.

Family Tree

The duxes

Theodoros Gabras, contemporary
of Alexios, + 1098

Constantine Gabras
(1118(?)/1123-1163/64)

Michael Gabras (1167-1175)

| (?)

John Gabras, delegated to pope in 1235

| (?)

Michael, a physician from Melitene

Those from Rum

Gabras + 1146

|

Ikhtiyar ad-din Hasan
ben Gavras (1175-
1189/92)

After many years a plenty of Gavras dwelt at Northern Black Sea Coast.

We all are largely indebted to Anna Comnena, John Zonaras, John Kinnamos, Michael of Syria, Niketas Choniates etc. for their works.

After Manzikert (1071) the economic system of Byzantium showed every sign of political disintegration. The result was as follows: (I) either a creation of *de jure* and *de facto* independent provincial political structures, or (II) a genesis of a border “baron”, Imperial dux, with *de facto* legislature. He is a toparch. Even the Norman soldier of fortune Roussel de Bailleul tried to establish such a rule in Anatolia, opposing Michael Ducas.² Would

¹ Georgica. Scriptorum Byzantinorum Excerpta ad Georgiam Pertinentia. Tomus VI. Textum Graecum cum Versione Iberica Edidit Commentariisque Instruxit Sim. Kauchtschischwili. Thbilisiis. MCMLXVI, p. 111 n. 1.

² J. J. Norwich. A Short History of Byzantium, p. 243; История Византии. т. 2, p. 289.

not it be much easier for a local Chaldian authority, Theodoros Gabras, to do the same?!

The reason of a disintegration is as follows: Byzantine prosperity had been linked with Anatolian agriculture which could find a market in Constantinople and prosperous cities of the coast. With no constitutional estates and special privileges for agricultural section, the prices on the industrial goods were comparatively high, and money used to be invested mostly in manufacturing. I cycle of Capitalism¹ never cared much about technical improvements – only few hands were engaged in, and the steam-engines – completely ignored.² Who needs to restrict the comfort and the services, while a country is at the top, with no one being in pursue?! Eventually, the growth of population reduced amount of the industrial goods *per capita* and stipulated even higher prices of manufactures. The stratiots bankrupted. A strategus, who had money, snapped up every available acre while the peasant smallholders were left to survive as best they might. This military aristocracy declared war on coastal strip high class. Iconoclasm, the Anatolian rebels – the Phocas and Skleroi, provincial Emperors demonstrate the very clash. No changes took place. The moment of crisis had come. Irritated and obviously in a great despair, the Anatolians were ready even to be converted to Islam. Soon almost the whole world allied itself with them.

Byzantium, old European pattern, died hard, menacing Italy and the Balkans. New Europe, with new economic concept, thought of Eurasian alliance to force the metropolis to a heavy *receptio*. The decline begins...

¹ T. Dundua. The Cyclic Dialectics.

² «Сила Пара». Словарь Античности. Перевод с немецкого. Москва. 1989.

In the 6th c. Justinian faced “Barbaric” Europe and Iran acting in harmony. The result was as follows – Slavs swarmed into Imperial territory via the Danube Frontier. Byzantium lost the most important recruitment areas – Moesia and Thrace.

In the 7th c. the Empire evacuated its armies from Syria and Egypt.

In the 11th c. Byzantium found itself caught between two fires – the Crusaders and the Turks. The Empire had to be calmed finally.

The Crusaders (after 1204) and the Turks (after Manzikert, 1071) did this job properly overpopulating the country. Anatolia had been lost for the centre. Military aristocracy welcomed the Turks willingly with the natural desire to join the upper classes.¹ Economic complex never disintegrated, but Sultanate of Rum already offered to Constantinople comparatively high prices on food and raw materials. The metropolis had nothing to do, but to accept this new unfavourable conjuncture. Towards the end of the 13th c. Byzantium is nothing but a lot of principalities with very different confessional visage (Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim). In the 11th-15th cc., with no expansions on the agenda, capitalistic complex now discussed disintegrated politically. *Receptio*-system laid its own contribution.² As soon as Syria and Egypt were destined for the Ottoman use, they reintegrated almost the same economic system, and from this time on, Hellas has been re-established as a different economic structure.

¹ S. Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*. Printed in Great Britain at the University Press, Cambridge. 1996, pp. 26-27.

² T. Dundua. *Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C.-1453)*, p. 18.

Chaldia secession is just a part of the whole story.

New Europe emerged; Byzantium had been sacrificed, without any Georgian participation. *The different climate zones are found around the world. Climate can have a major effect on people's lives. One factor that affects climate is latitude. Lands close to the Equator have tropical climate with high temperatures and rainfall. Areas farther North or South of the Equator have temperate climates, with a warm and a cold season. Nearness to oceans also affects climate. Ocean currents carry warm or cool water in circular patterns around the world. These warm and cold currents influence the climate of nearby coastal areas. Elevation, or height above the sea level, also influences climate. The seas have helped to shape European societies since ancient times. Much of the Atlantic coast has a mild marine climate, with warm winters and springs, cool summers, and plentiful rainfall. North Mediterranean climate means even warmer winters and springs with many rainy days.*

Towards the hinterland, they do not benefit from ocean winds that carry much moisture and moderate the extremes of heat and cold. Humidity is still normal, but much of inland Europe has a cold continental climate. Along the Northern coast of Africa small areas enjoy a sort of mild Mediterranean climate, but it is as dry as that of East Mediterranean Coast and hinterland towards East with hot springs. At the Southern tip of Africa the climate is already mild. America and Australia are the mirror images of the scheme. Heavy vegetation for New England is due to arctic winds from Canada.

To a large degree, it is rainfall – or lack of it – that deter-

mines climate and we have Europe and Asia beyond the continental division.

New technologies are due to greater number of hands in industry. As farming and crafts improved, some villages grew into towns and cities. City dwellers relied on the surplus food that farmers raised. Cities were a key features of the civilization – that means specialized industrial skills and jobs. People developed new technologies, and they had important effects on agriculture. New technologies has been developing gradually. Surplus food and skilled craftworkers, where could they appear first?

Vegetation beneath the heat while near a surface is a heavy life for a seed, but still – less heavier than the same position during the cold spring. Heat works deep, unlike cold. That means as follows: hot South emerges civilizations just to lose the top position to much cooler North. Thus, geography determines zone confrontation – “the clash of civilizations”.

In semiarid areas the civilizations and social structures are already there even with a seed placed nearly on a surface. Situated a bit Northwards and besides, possessing elevation, Iran faces some very cold days in mostly hot spring. Eventually, the seed had to go even deeper there. An emergence of civilization is one thing, and the best temperature for vegetation – another. And the best temperature is that produced by burning humous layers. This is achieved in Iran at lesser depth, than, perhaps, in Egypt, where the climate is hotter. Agricultural tools are shaped in the same way either in Egypt at bay, or Iran. But copper was used in the South and bronze – in the North. Agricultural characteristic of the Mediterranean with its warm spring corresponds to com-

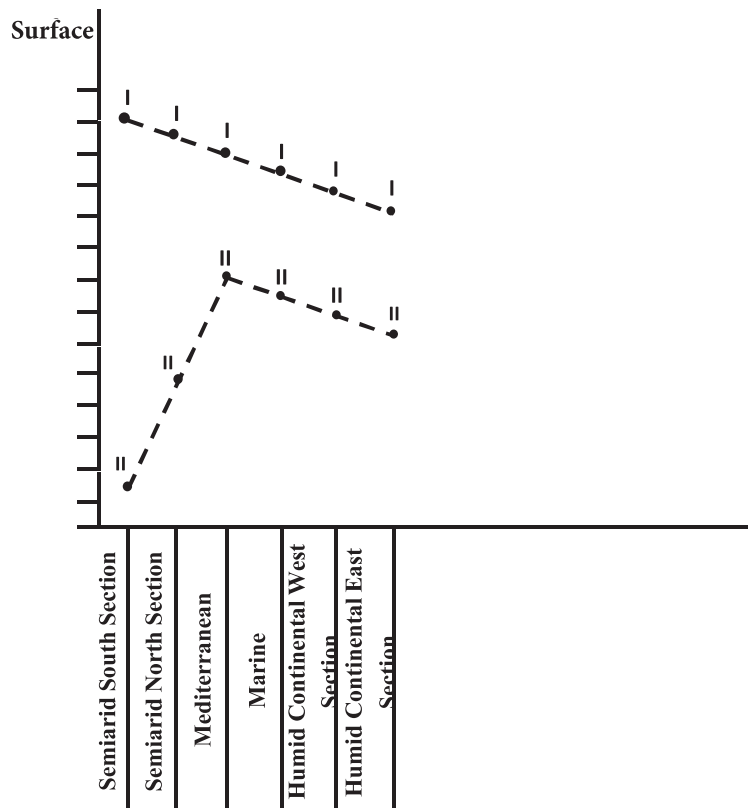
paratively prominent depth of the first level, and also comparatively superficial second level. Marine and Humid Continental Europe enlarges both parameters, but the second one has never surpassed that of Asiatic. Iron contributed mostly to civilizations in Europe.

From the 8th c. B.C. Hellas and Italy had been expanding, gradually becoming the capitalistic superpowers. Marine Europe was retarded. So the Greeks and the Romans had to colonize it. Equipped with the best farming tools, they put a seed at a safe depth. Gaul and Britain chose Italy as industrial metropolis, like Thrace, Moesia, and Anatolian inland – Hellas and Ionia. Should this had been maintained, we might be facing bilingual, Graeco-Latin Europe. But it did not. Only few hands used to be engaged in production of the instruments in Athens, or maybe, in Rome without any industrial revolution. Again, the population in metropolis was on the increase, thus reducing amount of industrial goods per capita, and stipulating their high prices. Prices on food were kept under. This was followed by European tension and disintegration of the Empire.

The same happened later with Byzantine Commonwealth. New Europe focused upon industrial revolution. Technologies now have been much better than those of I cycle of Capitalism.

From Alaska Eastwards to Japan, from the straits of Messina Northwards to the fiords, from the Black and the Caspian Seas to the Arctic Ocean Marine, Mediterranean and Humid Continental climates have always been contributing to maintenance of very special evolutions, to a specific zone of integration – Europe in a broad sense. Extreme North confronts South. And

the extreme South already possesses an industrial profile.



Georgia never wished to lose strong neighbour and partner with whom she shared even the money types – universal Orthodox symbols prevail, like cross potent, St. Virgin Blachernitissa etc.¹

¹ T. Dundua. Review of Georgian Coins with Byzantine Iconography. *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*. XXIX. 2000. Quaderni Ticinesi, pp. 387-396.

St. Virgin Blachernitissa.

The Byzantine Case

1. Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) – 2/3 miliaresion
2. Theodora (1055-1056) – 2/3 miliaresion
3. Michael VI Stratioticus (1056-1057) – 2/3 miliaresion
4. Constantine X Ducas (1059-1067) – 1/3 miliaresion
5. Romanus IV Diogenes (1068-1071) – 1/3 miliaresion
6. Michael VII Ducas (1071-1078) – 1/3 miliaresion
7. Nicephorus III Botaneiates – 2/3 miliaresion (1078- 1081)¹
8. Alexios I Comnenos (1081-1118) – tetarteron³

St. Virgin Blachernitissa.

The Georgian Case

1. Bagrat IV. I emission. Tetri (2/3 miliaresion). 1055. Kutaisi (West Georgia) “... king and Nobilissimos”
2. Bagrat IV. II emission. Tetri. 1068/69. Kutaisi. “... king and Sebastos”
3. Giorgi II. I emission. Tetri. 1073. Kutaisi. “... king and Nobilissimos”
4. Giorgi II. II emission. Tetri. 1074. Kutaisi. “... king and Sebastos”
5. Giorgi II. III emission. Tetri and half tetri (1/3 miliaresion). 1075-1089. Kutaisi. “... king and Caesaros”
6. David IV. I emission. Half tetri. 1089-1099. Kutaisi. “... king and Sebastos”
7. David IV. II emission. Half tetri. Kutaisi. 1089-1099. “... king and ...”. Cross on Rev.²

¹ Ph. Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. v. III part two, pp. 747, 753, 758, 773, 795, 817, 831.

² T. Dundua. Review of Georgian Coins with Byzantine Iconography, pp. 389-391.

³ M. Hendy. Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261, p. 88. Alexios never intended to issue good silver. v. Ph. Grierson. Byzantine Coinage. Washington. 1982, p. 11.

It is quite clear that for Georgia Virgin type had been rather taken again and again, than – maintained.¹ David IV of Georgia (1089-1125) copies Alexios I in his issues.² But whom he copies while placing cross on reverse? Again Theodoros Gabras appears with his coins as a prototype³; i.e. any of the Byzantine “rudiments” seems to be allied with Georgia.

Georgia had been in touch with Trapezus/Trebizond and suburbs from the very ancient times, and the Mingrelian (West Georgian) language had been once spoken mostly along the Southern and Eastern Coasts of the Black Sea. Colchis (West Georgia) could find a market of its agricultural products in the

¹ Still the Georgian and Greek legends of the 10th-11th cc. differ. Greek legends are mostly as follows:

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τοῖς βασιλεῦσι – Basil II and Constantine VIII

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τὰς βασίλισσας Ζώνην καὶ Θεωδώραν – Zoe and Theodora

Θεοτόκε βοήθει Κωνσταντῖνῳ δεσπότη τῷ Μονομάχῳ – Constantine IX

Θεοτόκε βοήθει Θεοδώρα δέσποινη τῇ πορφυρογεννήτῳ – Theodora

Κύριε βοήθει Ἰσαακίῳ ὀρθοδοξῷ δεσπότη τῷ Κομνηνῷ – Isaak I

Κύριε βοήθει Ῥωμανῷ δεσπότη τῷ Διογένει – Romanus IV

Κύριε βοήθει Μιχαὴλ δεσπότη τῷ Δούκα – Michael VII

Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικηφόρῳ δεσπότη τῷ Βοτανειάτῃ – Nicephorus III

Σταυρὲ φύλαττε Νικηφόρον δεσπότην.

Ph. Grierson. Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. v. III part two, pp. 875, 877, 881-882.

i.e. “God, do assist...”, “Holy Virgin, do assist...”, “Cross, protect...”. And we have another pious formula on Georgian money: “Christ, forgive...”, “Christ exalt...”.

v. T. Dundua. Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to the Numismatic Material (the 6th c. B.C.-1453), p. 138 №23, p. 142 №№24-25, p. 148 №№26-28, pp. 149-150 №№29-30.

² T. Dundua. Review of Georgian Coins with Byzantine Iconography, p. 391.

³ Will be discussed a bit later. And for a distinctive group of hyperpyrons issued in the name of Alexios, there does exist a certain attribution to the mint of Trebizond. And for M. Hendy that is unlikely. v. M. Hendy. Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261, pp. 93-94.

prosperous cities of Pontus. During the reign of Mithridates VI Eupator Pontus and Colchis were bound together by the most special bonds. And the starting point for the Roman *Limes Ponticus* was also Trapezus. Mithras from Trapezus had been worshiped thoroughly in Colchis. Within the Byzantine Commonwealth the city was the nearest Roman site. Gabrids from Chaldia, first, and then Comneni of Trebizond allied themselves to Georgians. Genoa organized silk and spice supply of Europe via the North Caspian regions and the regions Northwards from the Caucasian range to Crimea (Caffa). And the rest of the route was as follows: Sebastopolis (Sokhumi, Georgia) – Trebizond – Galata – Italy. Because this route ran via both, Sebastopolis and Trebizond, common transit perception of the sites emerged. In the 17th c. boats from Trabzon were heavily loaded with the Mingrelian goods. Now Trabzon is a busy center for Georgian-Turkish commercial relations.

Gabras is Byzantine and he speaks Greek. But even now some folk in Trabzon speak Mingrelian while at home. Maybe, Gabrids from Chaldia¹ were also bilinguals?!² We shall never know.

¹ This theme emerged in the 9th c. In the 10th c. 16 themes are mentioned in Asia, including Chaldia. G. Ostrogorsky. History of the Byzantine State. Translated from German by Yaan Hussey. New Brunswick, New Jersey. 1957, pp. 184, 219.

² Some want to see them Georgians. v. Georgica. Scriptorum Byzantinorum Excerpta ad Georgiam Pertinentia. Tomus VI, p. 111, n. 1. Many Georgians from Georgia proper took service in the Imperial structures, and many of them became celebrities. But we do not know much about Constantine Iberopulos, a contemporary of David IV of Georgia and Theodoros Gabras.

Description of his lead seal is as follows /picture 2/:

Appendix I

Anatolian upper classes allied themselves with the Turks. This story has been already told. But still there were some men ready to retreat Westwards in spite of losing their lands, Skleroi among them. The seals and narrative provide few information (v. W. Seibt. *Die Skleroi. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie.* Wien. 1976).

At least, two of Skleroi kept a position of strategus in Peloponnesos in the 9th c. with the domain in Sebastea. And Antonios Skleros is στρατηγὸς Ἑλλάδος towards the closing years of the same century. Next branch provided the akritai, border barons, sometimes even being subjugated to the Arabs.

Celebrated Bardas seems to be very busy in administration. He had been holding several offices, like μάγιστρος καὶ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς; commander-in-chief; δοῦξ Ἀντιοχείας. Towards the end of the 10th c. Bardas is in the western provinces. His son, Romanus, married a Muslim girl; and his grandson Basil wished to see himself as a strategus of Bucellarion.

Skleroi enjoyed their domains in Anatolikon under Monomachus' reign.

Obv.	+KĒRO	+Κ(ύρι)ε βο-
	ΗΘ, ΚΩΝ	ἦθ(ει) Κων(σταντίνω)
	ΔVCV	δυσυ-
	ΠΑΤ	πάτ(ω)
Rev.	TWI	τῷ Ἴ-
	REPO	βερο-
	ΠΟΛW	πο(ύ)λω.

W. Seibt. *Die Byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, pp. 239-240 №110.

But then the Turks started to march, and Leon Skleros had to move Westwards – to Opsikion and Bucellarion.

The rest of Skleroi enjoyed high positions either in the Balkans or in centre, that is drungarios, senator, strategus in Peloponnesos, etc.

In 1308 certain Michael Gabras sent a letter to Skleros who dwelt in the city.

Appendix II

General chronology of the Crusades and Eurasian confrontation is given here. For the world history dates v. R. Castleden. The Concise Encyclopedia of World History. London. 1998.

1080 Rudolf of Swabia (anti-king) is defeated and killed, ending the civil war in the German states. Henry IV, having regained his position, is once again deposed and excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand), but this time the Pope is deposed by a synod which attempts to install a new Pope. Turks devastate Georgia. King Giorgi II can not deal with them.

1081 The Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus III abdicates, Alexios I Comnenos succeeds. The German king Henry IV invades Italy; he accepts the Lombard crown at Pavia and sets up a council to recognize the archbishop of Ravenna as Pope Clement III.

1082 The German king Henry IV besieges Rome and finally gains entry. Romans agree to call a synod to rule on the dis-

pute between Henry and Gregory. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, with his Norman knights defeats the Byzantine forces of Alexios I Comnenos and takes Durazzo.

- 1083 A synod meets in Rome to resolve the quarrel between Pope Gregory and the German king Henry IV. Giorgi II of Georgia promises the Seljuk sultan to pay tribute.
- 1084 The synod of Rome declares Pope Gregory deposed and recognizes the anti-pope Clement III. Clement crowns Henry. The newly recognized Emperor attacks fortresses still in Gregory's control but withdraws across the Alps as Robert Guiscard's Norman forces advance from Southern Italy. Normans sack Rome. Pope Gregory is unable to remain in Rome; he leaves for Salerno.
- 1085 Alfonso VI king of Castile takes Toledo; the centre of Arab science and learning falls into Christian hands. Pope Gregory VII dies at Salerno; Henry IV extends the "Peace of God" over the Holy Roman Empire. Robert Guiscard dies of fever; the duke is succeeded by his brother Roger, who has conquered Sicily.
- 1086 The Oath of Salisbury makes English vassals directly responsible to the crown, prohibiting them from private wars. The Almoravid army in Spain defeats Alfonso VI of Castile's army at Zallaka.
- 1087 William I of England dies. Genoa and Pisa take control of the Western Mediterranean from the Arabs.
- 1089 David IV, son of Giorgi II, ascends the Georgian throne.
- 1091 Duke Roger completes his conquest of Sicily and goes on to take Malta.

- 1094 Castilian soldier Ruy Diaz de Bivar, better known as El Cid, takes Valencia after a nine-month siege. The anti-pope Clement III is deposed and Pope Urban II is installed in his place.
- 1095 The Byzantine Emperor Alexios requests aid against Seljuks. Pope Urban proclaims the Crusade at the Synod of Clermont.
- 1096 Alexios Comnenos provides food and escort for the Crusaders, exacting an oath of fealty from the leaders in an attempt to protect his rights over any “lost provinces” of the Greek Empire.
- 1097 Battle of Nicaea: a combined force of Crusaders and Greeks take the Turks’ capital.
- 1098 After a nine-month siege by Bohemund of Taranto, Antioch falls to the Crusaders.
- 1099 El Cid is defeated by the Almoravids at Cuenca and dies. Jerusalem falls to the Crusaders. A kingdom of Jerusalem is founded under the Norman knight Godfrey de Bouillon: he is elected king and assumes the title Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. On hearing that Jerusalem fell to Christians, David IV of Georgia refuses to pay tribute to Seljuks. He begins a war against them.
- 1100 Godfrey de Bouillon king of Jerusalem dies, and is succeeded by his brother Henry count of Flanders.
- 1102 Alfonso VI lifts the Almoravids siege of Valencia, he empties and burns the city.
- 1103 The council of the Georgian Orthodox Church, summoned by David IV, places church under king’s strict control.

- 1104 Baldwin I of Jerusalem takes Acre; Raymond of Toulouse takes Byblos. Bohemund of Taranto appears at Epirus with an enormous army raised in Italy to challenge the supremacy of the Byzantine Emperor.
- 1105 The Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV is captured by his son, also called Henry, who declares that he owes his excommunicated father no allegiance. The diet at Mainz forces the Emperor to abdicate, but the conditions of the abdication are broken and the ex-Emperor is imprisoned. Battle of Ertukhi, Georgians defeat the Asiatic Turks.
- 1106 Henry IV escapes and begins to gather an army, but soon he dies. He is succeeded by his son as Henry V.
- 1108 The Byzantine Emperor Alexios defeats Bohemund of Taranto at Durazzo.
- 1109 Crusaders take Tripoli and Beirut.
- 1110 Henry V invades Italy and concludes an agreement with Pope Paschal II. The Pope promises to crown him Emperor.
- 1111 Henry V arrives at St. Peter's, Rome, for his coronation. The Pope is unable to crown him, so Henry leaves Rome taking the Pope with him as a hostage; the Pope crowns him under duress.
- 1112 The Holy Roman Emperor Henry V is excommunicated by the Synod of Vienna.
- 1113 The knights of the Hospital of St. John resolve to fight for the defense of the Holy Land.
- 1114 Toledo withstands an attack by the Almoravids.
- 1118 The Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Comnenos dies. He is succeeded by his son, John II Comnenos. Alfonso of Ara-

gon retakes Saragossa from the Almoravids, and makes the town his capital. King David IV of Georgia invites Cumans as settlers to form a light cavalry.

- 1121 The Byzantine Emperor John II Comnenos takes Southwest Anatolia back from Turks. In the battle of Didgori David IV, with his Georgians and some 200 Crusaders in the army, attacks the Asiatic Seljuks more than twice as much in size; Turks are decisively defeated.
- 1122 The Emperor John II Comnenos and his Byzantine troops wipe out the Pechenegs in the Balkans. Concordat of Worms ends the dispute between Holy Roman Empire and Papacy. David's army retakes Tbilisi; Muslim rule is brought to end.
- 1123 The Byzantine Emperor John II defeats Serbian forces in the Balkans.
- 1124 Hungarians are defeated by Byzantine Emperor John II. David IV of Georgia invades Armenia and Shirvan to exercise Georgian rule.
- 1125 Venetian forces pillage Rhodes, occupy Chios and attack Lesbos and Samos. The Holy Roman Emperor Henry V dies. David IV, king of Georgia, dies; his son, Demetre I, ascends the Georgian throne.
- 1126 Peace treaty ends the war between the Byzantine Emperor and the Venetians and Hungarians.
- 1133 Lothair II, the German king, arrives in Rome, he is crowned by the Pope.
- 1135 The Byzantine Emperor John II implores the Holy Roman Emperor Lothair II to help get rid of Roger II of Sicily.
- 1136 In response to the appeal of the Byzantine Emperor, the

Emperor Lothair II invades Southern Italy and takes Apulia from Roger II, king of Sicily.

- 1137 Antioch is forced to pay homage to the Byzantine Emperor John II. The Holy Roman Emperor Lothair dies.
- 1138 The house of Hohenstaufen in Swabia begins its century-long domination of the German states when Conrad is chosen German king. A struggle between “Ghibellines” (the Hohenstaufens) and “Guelphs” (Henry’s family) ensues.
- 1139 Demetre I of Georgia takes Ganja in Azerbaijan.
- 1143 The Byzantine Emperor John II dies, and is succeeded by his son Manuel.
- 1144 Zangi sultan of Mosul takes Edessa after conquering Muslim Northern Syria; this prompts calls for another Crusade.
- 1145 Almoravid rulers lose their hold over Spain.
- 1147 The Second Crusade begins under leadership of Louis VII of France and Conrad III, but there is no overall command. The diversion of the Second Crusade enables king Roger II of Sicily to seize the Greek islands and pillage Corinth, Thebes and Athens. The war begins between Sicily and the Byzantine Empire.
- 1148 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I buys Venetian aid to resist Roger II.
- 1149 The Venetian mercenaries retake Corfu for the Byzantines.
- 1152 The Holy Roman Emperor Conrad III dies, and is succeeded by his nephew Frederick III, duke of Swabia.
- 1153 Baldwin III king of Jerusalem takes Ascalon, the last remaining Fatimid possession in the Holy Land.

- 1154 Damascus surrenders to the sultan of Aleppo.
- 1156 King William of Sicily destroys the Byzantine fleet at Brindisi and recovers Bari from Greeks who have been encouraged to revolt by the Pope. Demetre I, king of Georgia, dies; his son, Giorgi III, ascends to throne.
- 1157 Frederick I Barbarossa's (Frederick III of Swabia) army is wiped out by plague in Rome.
- 1158 Frederick Barbarossa leaves on a second expedition to Italy, beginning a long struggle with the Pope.
- 1160 Frederick Barbarossa destroys the city of Crema, Italy. Georgians face the Asiatic Turks; Seljuks are defeated again.
- 1162 Barbarossa destroys Milan, dispersing its citizens among four villages.
- 1163 Georgia's victory over the Turks of Erzerum.
- 1165 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I forms an alliance with Venice against Frederick Barbarossa.
- 1167 Frederick Barbarossa enters Rome by force on his fourth Italian expedition. He has the anti-pope Paschal III enthroned, but a sudden outbreak of plague destroys his army and he returns to Germany.
- 1169 Salah ed-Din becomes vizier of the Fatimid Caliph of Cairo; as vizier, Salah ed-Din holds more real power than the Caliph, who is mainly a ceremonial figure.
- 1171 Salah ed-Din abolishes the Caliphate, becoming effective sovereign of Egypt.
- 1172 Georgians are victorious near the Armenian city of Dvin.
- 1173 Salah ed-Din seizes Aden. Giorgi, king of the Georgians,

attacks Derbend; he is accompanied by his close friend and relative Andronicos Comnenos, future Emperor.

- 1174 Barbarossa buys Sardinia, Corsica, Spoleto and Tuscany.
- 1175 Salah ed-Din gradually welds Egypt and Syria into a single pan-Arab power, with serious implications for the Holy Land in the middle; Salah ed-Din plans to take the Holy Land for himself.
- 1176 Battle of Legnano: the Lombard League defeats Frederick Barbarossa, who is severely wounded. Salah ed-Din mounts a campaign to drive Christians from the kingdom of Jerusalem.
- 1177 Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III sign the treaty of Venice, settling a six-year peace between the Lombard League and the Holy Roman Emperor. Salah ed-Din is defeated by Baldwin IV of Jerusalem at Ramleh.
- 1178 From this time on Giorgi of Georgia rules the country together with his daughter Tamar. He has no male issue.
- 1180 The Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenos dies. He is succeeded by his son with his mother as the regent.
- 1182 Andronicos Comnenos leads a revolt against the Empress. This prompts a massacre of Italians. The Emperor Alexios, now 14 years old, is forced to sign a death warrant for his mother's execution. Andronicos is proclaimed Emperor; he co-rules with Alexios.
- 1183 Alexios II Comnenos is strangled by agents of Andronicos. He now assumes sole power. The peace of Constance ends the conflict between Lombards, Pope and Barbarossa. Salah ed-Din conquers Syria, takes Aleppo and becomes

Sultan.

- 1184 Giorgi III of Georgia dies; Georgians make young Tamar their queen; she raises Georgia's prestige and political power to a peak.
- 1185 The Norman army attacks the Byzantine Empire, taking Durazzo, storming Thessalonica and routing the Greeks. Isaac Angelus deposes Andronicos I, who is executed. A large-scale Bulgarian rebellion begins, many Greeks in the Balkans will be annihilated. Salah ed-Din seizes Mosul and begins his conquest of Mesopotamia.
- 1186 Barbarossa prepares for the Third Crusade.
- 1187 Salah ed-Din takes Jerusalem.
- 1188 Philip II of France imposes a Salah ed-Din tithe to raise money for the Third Crusade.
- 1189 Richard I becomes king of England.
- 1190 The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa drowns, while crossing, or bathing in the river Calycadnus in Cilicia. He is succeeded by his son Henry VI. Philip II prepares to join the crusade.
- 1191 Richard I of England embarks on the Third Crusade but spends a winter quarrelling with Philip II in Sicily. Then he leaves Messina and conquers Cyprus. Richard joins the siege of Acre and plays a major part in reducing Acre. Philip II falls ill and returns to Paris after concluding an alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI against Richard. Richard meanwhile gains a victory over Salah ed-Din at Arsuf and leads the Crusaders to within a few miles of Jerusalem.

- 1192 The Crusaders follow unreliable and dishonest guides into the desert; famine, disease and desertion reduce their numbers. Richard I makes a truce with Salah ed- Din; under it the Christians are allowed to keep the ports they have taken and have unrestricted access to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.
- 1193 Salah ed-Din, the sultan of Egypt, dies, and his empire is divided among the quarrelling relatives.
- 1194 Norman rule in Italy ends as Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI reduces Sicily with help from Genoa and Pisa. Henry is the crowned king of Sicily and plans a huge empire with its base in Italy.
- 1195 Isaac II Angelus is deposed by his brother Alexios. He captures Isaac, has his eyes put out and imprisons him. Battle of Shamkori; Georgians are victorious, Asiatic Turks – decisively defeated.
- 1197 Henry prepares to set off on a crusade against usurper Alexios III Angelus, but soon he dies.
- 1202 Pope Innocent III offers the commands of the Fourth Crusade to Boniface III count of Montferrat. The doge of Venice Enrico Dandolo agrees to provide ships in exchange for half of all the booty and an undertaking from the Crusaders that they first sack Zara on the Dalmatian coast for him. The Crusaders sack Zara; in consequence, the Pope excommunicates the Fourth Crusade. Battle of Basiani; Georgians face the sultan of Rum Rukn ad-Din, Turks are defeated.



1



2

This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua. The Tale of Two Sebastoses and the Orthodox Alliance. David the King of Georgia and Theodoros Gabras. Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies. v. 5-6. Tbilisi. 2003, pp. 71-89.

Byzantine Provincial Coinage. The Gabrids and Their Money Issues

In the last chapter we wrote about the Georgian money with Byzantinesque – both from the metropolis and province, Constantinople and Trebizond. That is silver issue of David IV of Georgia (1089-1125), having Virgin Orans labelled Blacheritissa on obverse, and cross – on reverse, generally dated by 1089-1099.

Former type had been provided by metropolis itself, latter – by the coins of Gabrids from Trebizond.¹

The order of those provincial toparchic issues is only approximate, based mainly on consideration of size, shape and style /Pl. I-VII/. But typological and epigraphic structure could be as follows:

1. Bust of St. Theodore/Cross /Pl. V fig. 10/.
2. Bust of Christ/St. Theodore standing /Pl. VI fig. 11/.
3. Bust of Christ/Bust of St. Demetrius /Pl. VI fig. 12/.
4. Bust of Christ/Plain cross, AΛBP in quarters /Pl. VII fig. 14/.
5. Bust of Christ/Jewelled cross, AΛBP in quarters /Pl. VII fig. 13/.
6. Bust of Christ/Rayed cross with letters [A]ΛΔP at ends /Pl. I fig. 2/.
7. Bust of Christ/Jewelled cross with IC XC NI KA in quarters /Pl. II fig 4/.
8. Bust of Christ/Cross with IC XC NI KA at the ends /Pl. IV fig. 8/.

¹ Ph. Grierson. Byzantine Coins. First Published in 1982. London. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles, pp. 228-229, pl. 58.

9. Bust of Christ/Cross on leaved baze in pellet border /Pl. I fig. 1/.
10. Christ seated/Jewelled cross on crescent /Pl. III fig. 5/.
11. Bust of Christ/Bust of Emperor /Pl. IV fig. 7/.
12. Cross with $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \text{NI KA}$ in quarters/Bust of Emperor /Pl. II fig. 3/.
13. Bust of Virgin/Letters $\Phi\Phi\Pi\chi$ around cross /Pl. III fig. 6/.
14. Crude cross/Crude cross.
15. Patriarchal cross on the steps. Xs in angles/As obverse but Es in angles /Pl. V fig. 9/.

Comments:

One point is clear enough, we have to start with the coins that of St. Theodore depicted on. For he was patron- saint of Theodoros Gabras – ctistes of the toparchy. №2 as the starting point could had broken continuity of Christ-bust typology on obverse. Then №1 is exactly what we need now. St. Theodore is substituted by St. Demetrius (№3). And next are to come the issues with Alexios' initials inscribed on (№№4-6). Then $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \text{NIKA}$ appears on reverse (№№7-8). After the legends totally vanish (№9), and Christ is shown first seated (№10), and then with Emperor on reverse (№11). Emperor type meets cross (№12), cross meets Virgin (№13), and at last cross is left alone (№№14-15).

№№1-2 are, perhaps, the issues of Theodoros Gabras,

№№3-6 could be again his, while the rest (№№7-15) are to be distributed among the next toparchs.

David IV chooses the design of either №1, or №4 for his reverse slightly simplifying the cross; or, maybe, reverse of №5 is exact prototype for his silver coins /Pl. VIII/.

Plate I

11th-12th cc. Follises of Trebizond



Plate II



Plate III



Plate IV



7



8



Plate V



9



10



Plate VI



11



12



Plate VII



13



14



Plate VIII

Follises of Theodoros Gabras



Halt Tetri of David IV of Georgia



This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua. Byzantine Provincial Coinage. The Gabrids and Their Money Issues (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2011.

Coin, as a Means of Propaganda.

Money of Giorgi III

“ . . . I witnessed all these privileges, when I entered Tiflis in the year 548/1153. And I saw how the king of the Abkhaz (i.e. Georgians), Dimitri, in whose service I was, arrived in Tiflis and sojourned there some days. The same Friday he came to the cathedral mosque and sat on a platform opposite the preacher and he remained at his place while the preacher preached and the people prayed and he listened to the *khutba*, all of it. Then he went out and granted for the mosque 200 gold dinars”.¹ This is what Arabian al-Farik says about demonstration of tolerancy of the Georgian king Demetre I towards his Muslim subjects. Perhaps, the king wished them to be more faithful. His son Giorgi III selected even more powerful method for the same propaganda /Pl. I fig. 1; Pl. II fig. 2/.

The coin shows ruler in the Persian dress, with the false-sleeves, and loose trousers, seated also in a very Persian manner, with a falcon on his hand. If not the Arabic legend on reverse claiming that he is Giorgi, King of the Kings and the Sword of

¹ D. M. Lang. Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia, p. 17.

Messiah, Georgian initials on obverse and Imperial stemma on the head, he could have been any of the Muslim dynasts.¹

But that is the schematic effigy for Giorgi III of Georgia (1156-1184), victorious and celebrated.

Neither his grandfather David IV (1089-1125), nor his grandson Giorgi IV Lasha (1210-1222) used to be dressed like him; all they wore divitision, loros and chlamis, common uniform for the Georgian kings within the Byzantine Commonwealth /Pl. III fig. 3; Pl. IV fig. 4/.² Even David Ulugh and David Narin, vassal kings of Georgia under the Mongols, are in the Imperial dress, as seen on their drama struck in 1261-1262 /Pl. V fig. 5/.³ Georgian imitations to the silver aspers of Trebizond (with Emperor's effigy on reverse) keep the Imperial insignia within the Georgian culture until the 15th c. /Pl. VI-XII fig. 6-12/.⁴

There is no obvious reason to deny the Imperial clothes for Giorgi III. Then his Persian style is completely unrealistic.

Each baroque demands good reason and also a pattern for itself.

It could be a gentle pose towards his Muslim subjects dwelling mostly in Tbilisi, recaptured by David IV, but only recently re-established as Georgian capital.

It could be a contribution towards great Eastern monetary pact imposing the same ratio for copper, basic metal in circula-

¹ T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage, p. 18; T. Dundua, G. Dundua, N. Javakhishvili, A. Eristavi. Money in Georgia, p. 34, №№67-68.

² T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage, p. 16.

³ T. Dundua. Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage, p. 17.

⁴ G. Dundua, T. Dundua. Western Georgian Money Issues in the 13th-15th cc. (in Georg. with Engl. summary). Tbilisi. 2010, pp. 22-27, 32, Pl. I-III, №2-8.

tion due to the “silver famine”.

But it still demanded some pattern for itself – a certain kind of Muslim and Christian Imperial mixture. And only land, which could have provided such composition, was Sultanate of Rum, Muslim entity within the Eastern Roman structure.

Towards the 12th c. two powers claimed a hegemony over what was still called Byzantium – Comneni from Constantinople and the Seljuks from Conia. The latter’s imperial ambitions led to an invention of curious picture – sultan holding stemma, or even dressed in Byzantine fashion. It figures extensively on medals and coins.

e.g. Kaichosroe I (1192-1196, 1205-1211). Æ.

Obv. Bust of sultan in stemma and loros, holds a sword in his right hand, and one more stemma – in left.

Rev. Arabic legend.¹

Mengujakids from neighbouring Erzinjan show the same tendencies.

Fakhr al-Din Behramshah (1162-1225). Æ. d=20/24 mm. 4.25 gr. 1167.

Obv. Ruler in stemma and loros, holding sceptre and globe (or akakia).

Rev. Arabic legend /Pl. XIII fig. 13/²

Later, Artuqids of Mardin placed even double-headed eagle on the coin.

Nasir al-Din Mahmud (1200-1222). Æ. d=26 mm.

¹ Eberhard Karls University of Tuebingen. Numismatic Collection, inv. №91-16-102. For the monetary type v. Sevki Nezihi Aukut. Türkiye Selçuklu Sikkeleri. I. Istanbul. 2000, pp. 287-288.

² The Wind is Blowing from Asia to Anatolia. An Exhibition of Beylik Period Coins. 1994, p. 15.

1220/1221.

Obv. Double-headed eagle.

Rev. Arabic legend /Pl. XIV fig. 14/.

Some of these Islamic coins are not synchronous to the reign of Giorgi III, they were struck a bit later. Still, they do reflect earlier tendencies in policy and fine arts of the Anatolian Seljuks.

It seems to us that Giorgi owes both, Suni and Shi'a, Seljuks and the Persians for his concrete type. Fiction as it was, still it contained the real trait – stemma itself, being a permanent attribute of the Georgian kings in the 12th-15th cc.

Plate I



1.

Giorgi III. Follis. d=22/23 mm. 5.56 gr. 1174.

Obv. King in stemma and Persian dress, with the false-sleeves, loose trousers and oriental boots, seated also in a very Persian manner, cross-legged, facing. His right hand rests on his thigh, on his left hand up lifted sits a falcon. Georgian letters for the name of Giorgi, and also representing date, 394 of the Paschal cycle.

Rev. King of the Kings/Giorgi, son of Demetre,/Sword of Messiah – in Arabic.

Plate II



2.

Giorgi III. Follis. d=23 mm. 5.75 gr. 1174.

Obv. King in stemma and Persian dress, with loose trousers, seated also in a very Persian manner, cross-legged, facing. His left hand rests on his thigh, on his right hand up lifted sits a falcon. Georgian letters for the name of Giorgi, and also representing date 394 of the Paschal cycle.

Rev. King of the Kings/Giorgi, son of Demetre,/Sword of Messiah – in Arabic.

Plate III



3.

David IV. Follis. d=35 mm. 10.73 gr. 1118-1125.

Obv. bust of a king in Imperial coat – wearing stemma, chlamys and diadem; holds in right hand scepter cruciger, and in left, globus cruciger. And Georgian legend – “king David”.

Rev. Cross in the centre and marginal Georgian legend – “Christ, David the king of Abkhasians, Kartvelians, Ransians, Kakhetians, Armenians”.

Plate IV



4.

Giorgi IV Lasha. Follis. d=23/24 mm. 5.6 gr. 1210.

Obv. King in loros and stemma, with labarum and anexikakia. Corresponding Georgian legend.

Rev. Here Lasha claims in Arabic to be “a sword of Messiah” and “King of the Kings”.

Plate V



5.

David Ulugh and David Narin. Drama. d=23/24 mm. 2.81 gr. 1261-1262.

Obv. Labarum in the centre and the kings' effigy in Imperial coat on the both sides. Georgian legends: "king David" and "King of the Kings David".

Rev. St Virgin seated upon throne. Corresponding Georgian legend.



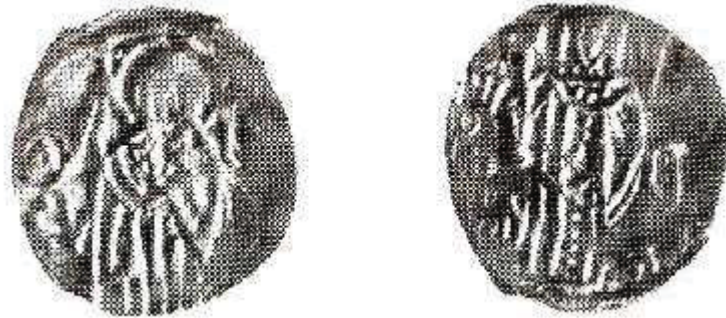
6.

Money called “Kirmaneuli tetri”, Georgian imitation to the silver aspers of Trebizond, with the name of Manuel Comnenos. Drama. d=21/23 mm. 2.77 gr. The 13th c.

Obv. St. Eugenius standing, holding long cross, and Greek legend.

Rev. Emperor in loros and stemma, standing, holding labrum and akakia. Greek legend.

Plate VII



7.

Money called “Kirmaneuli tetri”, Georgian imitation to the silver aspers of Trebizond, with the name of John Comnenos. Drama. d=20/21 mm. 2.69 gr. The 13th-15th cc.

Obv. St. Eugenius standing, holding long cross, and Greek legend.

Rev. Emperor standing, holding labarum. Six-pointed star. Greek legend.



8.

Money called “Kirmaneuli tetri”, Georgian imitation to the silver aspers of Trebizond, with “Emperor in three-arched stemma”. Tetri (“silver”). d=20/21 mm. 2.12 gr. The 13th-14th cc.

Obv. St. Eugenius standing, holding long cross, and Greek legend.

Rev. Emperor in loros and stemma, standing, holding labrum and globus cruciger. Six-pointed star. Greek legend.

Plate IX



9.

Money called “Kirmaneuli tetri”, Georgian imitation to the silver aspers of Trebizond, with “Emperor in three-arched stemma”. Tetri. d=19 mm. 1.38 gr. The 13th-14th cc.

Obv. St. Eugenius standing, holding long cross, and Greek legend.

Rev. Emperor in loros and stemma, standing, holding labrum. Six-pointed star. Greek legend.



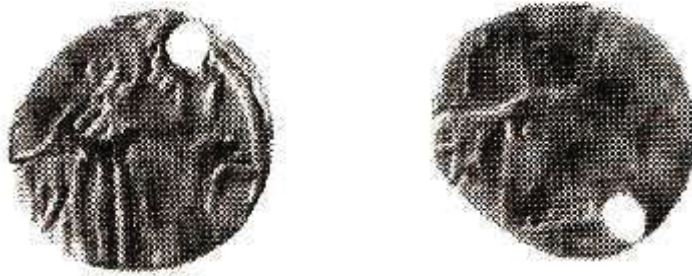
10.

Money called “Kirmaneuli tetri”, Georgian imitation to the silver aspers of Trebizond, with Emperor’s bust. Tetri. d=19/20 mm. 1.32 gr. The 13th-14th cc.

Obv. Bust of St. Eugenius, holding labarum and cross. Traces of the Greek legend.

Rev. Bust of Emperor, holding labarum and long cross.

Plate XI



11.

Money called “Kirmaneuli tetri”, Georgian imitation to the silver aspers of Trebizond, with Georgian letters. Tetri. d=18/19 mm. 1.13 gr. The 14th-15th cc.

Obv. St. Eugenius standing, in usual manner. Greek legend. Georgian letters for the name of Giorgi (?).

Rev. Emperor (king) in loros and stemma, standing, holding labarum. Georgian letters for a “king”.



12.

Vamek Dadiani (1384-1396). Drama. d=20/21. 2.91 gr.

Obv. Georgian letters for the name of Vamek.

Rev. St. Eugenius standing, in stemma, holding labarum or long cross. Greek legend.

Plate XIII



13.

Fakhr al-Din Behramshah (1162-1225). Mengujakid. Æ.
d=20/24 mm. 4.25 gr. 1167.

Obv. Ruler in stemma and loros, holding sceptre and globe
(or akakia).

Rev. Arabic legend.



14.

Nasir al-Din Mahmud (1200-1222). Artuqid. Æ. d=26 mm.
1220/1221.

Obv. Double-headed eagle.

Rev. Arabic legend.

This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua. Coin, as a Means of Propaganda. Money of Giorgi III. Tbilisi. 2010.

European Integration and Genesis and Geography of Architectural Styles

Introduction

History of idea of the “united Europe” has come to the fore in the context of the European Union’s obvious pull to the East. Today public interest is not limited to the history of political and economic integration of the European countries – it goes much further, to the development of zones of cultural integration inside the European home. The past of the European continent suggests that they practically coincide with the political and economic forms of European integration. This chapter covers history of the monumental architectural styles of Western and Eastern Europe and compares them with various forms of European unity.

History of Western and Eastern Europe, two zones of today’s integration, goes back to hoary antiquity. From very old time Christianity has been one of the most important and highly visual symbols of European affiliation while the continent’s division into West and East was confirmed by the countries’ confessional affiliation to Western and Eastern Christianity. The Catholic and Protestant Countries, on the one hand, and the Orthodox world, on the other hand, constitute two cultural communities with a rich history behind them. The present trend, which leads to unified Europe, is the most important feature of Europe’s cultural development. Georgia has a place of its own in East European integration and, via this, in the common European home. History of monumental architecture in the country belongs to the same problem range.

Why is history of the architectural styles in Europe espe-

cially important in the integration context? Architecture, monumental architecture in particular, is a part of economic landscape of any country or region to a much greater extent than any other art. This means that it is much more closely associated than any other type of human creative effort with political and economic ideas embraced by those who call themselves Europeans.

Eastern Europe and the Byzantine Style of Monumental Architecture

History of the Christian monumental architecture goes back to the 4th-5th cc., yet the official status of Christianity was conducive to a cosmopolitan style of sorts in art, and in architecture as its part. Stylistic unification makes Christian architecture typologically close to Antique World and sets it apart from the stylistically varied architecture of the Ancient Orient.

In the 4th c., when Roman Empire fell apart, its Eastern provinces became the cradle of a new style of monumental architecture. At this stage (represented by the early Christian art of Byzantium) the elements of Antique Roman tradition, on the one hand, and the elements inherited from the architecture of the Empire's oriental fringes, on the other hand, were easily discernable. This structure (which a casual observer may call dual) can not conceal the main thing: Byzantine art was the heir to Antique art, genetically connected with Late Roman art (in architecture this genetic kinship is confirmed by basilicas and central-plan buildings, groined vaults, domes, similar construction techniques, etc.).¹

¹ С. Кауфман. О взаимосвязях ранневизантийских сводчатых перекрытий с позднеримскими. Византийский временник. XX. Москва. 1961, pp. 214-215.

This time is marked by the popularity of the domed cultic constructions, visible across the Orthodox world (the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea countries). The obvious bias toward architectural central plan (that predominated in the absolute majority of churches) and the highly developed dome forms and groined vaults in general can be described as “special features” of the Byzantine or Mediterranean-Black Sea style.¹

The fact that the domed construction came to the fore in East Christian architecture after a fairly short period of domination by the basilicas is worth of special mention.² What can be called basilica stage, in Byzantium and Georgia it remained popular in the 4th-5th cc., when there were no clear stylistic divisions between the architectural styles of the Western and Eastern parts of the former Roman Empire.

Rome and Ravenna in the West, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Syria, North Africa, Caucasian Albania, Georgia and Armenia in the East have the classical examples of the early Christian basilicas. They stand side by side with circular shaped cultic objects of simple central-plan forms: rotundas, the Greek cross, etc.

Under Justinian the situation in the Eastern Christian World (represented by the Byzantine Empire and the Christian states in "Transcaucasus") evolved toward the central-plan forms

¹ Дж. Бошкович. Соображения о взаимоотношениях между средневековой архитектурой и скульптурой Грузии и Средиземноморья. II международный симпозиум по грузинскому искусству. Тбилиси. 1977, pp. 42-43

² Г. Чубинашвили. К вопросу о начальной форме христианского храма. II международный симпозиум по грузинскому искусству, р. 3; Х. Фаензен. К вопросу о зарождении архитектуры церквей с крестообразным основанием и центральным куполом. II международный симпозиум по армянскому искусству. Ереван. 1981, pp. 200-201; Г. Чубинашвили. Архитектура Кахетии. Тбилиси. 1959.

that gradually moved to the fore in cultic architecture: they were represented either by pure (central-dome building) or synthetic (domed basilica) forms. The latter is a splendid achievement of Byzantine architecture: a cross between the Basilica of Maxentius and the domed Pantheon was unthinkable in Antiquity. Hagia Sophia in Constantinople bears witness to the extreme fruitfulness of the idea.¹

The above suggests that the architecture of the East European integration zone (represented at its earliest stage by Byzantium and the “Transcaucasian” countries) demonstrates a two-stage development pattern:

1. the 4th-5th cc., dominated by the basilica;
2. the 5th-6th cc., when domed buildings come to the fore to remain unchanged throughout the lifespan of the Byzantine style.

This can easily be traced in the architecture forms of Constantinople, the Balkan and Eastern provinces², Georgia³, Caucasian Albania and Armenia. In the vast integration zone of Eastern Europe exceptions were available. This relates primarily to the areas which embraced Christianity much later and which, therefore, developed corresponding monumental architectural style in the 9th-10th cc., and in some cases in the 11th-12th cc. We have

¹ К. Афанасьев. Геометрический анализ храма Софии в Константинополе. Византийский временник. V. Москва. 1962, p. 207; J. D. Alchermes. Art and Architecture in the Age of Justinian. The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian. Cambridge. 2005, pp. 343-375; R. G. Mainstone. Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church. London. 1988.

² D. T. Rice. The Art of Byzantine Era. London. 1985.

³ Г. Чубинашвили. Грузинское искусство VIII-IX вв., его характер и историческое место. В кн.: Н. Чубинашвили. Самшвилдский Сион. Тбилиси. 1989, pp. 46-50; P. Zakaraia. Georgian Central-Domed Architecture of the 11th-18th cc. (in Georg.). Tbilisi. 1975.

in mind Russia and the Southern Slavs who missed the earliest basilica stage. The Hellenistic-styled basilicas dated to the 9th c. scattered across Bulgaria are the only exception in the Slavonic world. All other more or less important earliest churches in this region belong to the synthesized cross-dome type of church architecture borrowed from the contemporary architectural schools of Constantinople and Thessalonica. This means that the Slavonic countries joined the common East European home later.

Western Europe and its Specific Integration Style

Unified stylistic complex of any economic-geographical region is a logical phenomenon; it serves as the cornerstone of the large, epoch-making architectural styles that spread to countries bound by zonal and confessional principles. Domed buildings were the hallmark of the Byzantine or Mediterranean-Black Sea style. Western Europe developed its own style, which reached its summit in the Romanesque and Gothic periods. It has nothing in common with the style popular in Byzantium and the countries in its sphere of influence. The Romanesque and Gothic styles mainly originated from France.¹ Here we shall discuss them as a single phenomenon because of certain shared characteristics (geography of genesis and distribution, the typological range, other stylistic features, etc.).

The main distinguishing feature of the Byzantine style is the domed forms absent from the Romanesque-Gothic architecture. In Western Europe church architecture was dominated by so-called Latin Basilica. The process of “eviction” of the domed

¹ Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe. Ed. by G. Holmes. Oxford. 1992.

forms from the typological range of the new “Barbarian” states (accepted earlier in Western Europe under the Roman and Byzantine influences) is easy to trace. The central-plan buildings, quite frequent under the Merovingians (the 6th-8th cc.) and Carolingians (the 8th-9th)¹, became an exception in the Romanesque period (the 10th-11th cc.), limited to certain peripheral non-classical schools, only to disappear completely during the Gothic period (the 12th-15th cc.). Still, the domed churches reached their peak of popularity during the Crusades: Europe imitated, with enthusiasm, some of the celebrated buildings in Jerusalem (the Church of Holy Sepulchre and others being pertinent examples).²

Both, the Western European and the East European zones of integration are rooted in remote past. The young “Barbarian” states that had established themselves on the ruins of the Roman Empire and drew on Late Roman traditions, frequently turned to Byzantine architecture. The traces of the Byzantine influence in West European architecture indicate the still far from fully developed West. In the Romanesque period the West freed itself from this influence (in the case of architecture this is confirmed by the noticeably fewer central-plan buildings). The opposition to the East developed Romanesque style into its classical form.

The above suggests that the two architectural styles correspond to the two main European zones of integration: Byzantine in Eastern Europe and Romanesque-Gothic in Western Europe.

Italy with its somewhat dualistic architectural style stands apart: up to the Renaissance, it had been developing both the

¹ See: J. Beckwith. *Early Medieval Art*. London. 1964.

² П. Франкль. Проблема Востока в романском стиле. В кн.: *История архитектуры в избранных отрывках*. Москва. 1935, pp. 285-289.

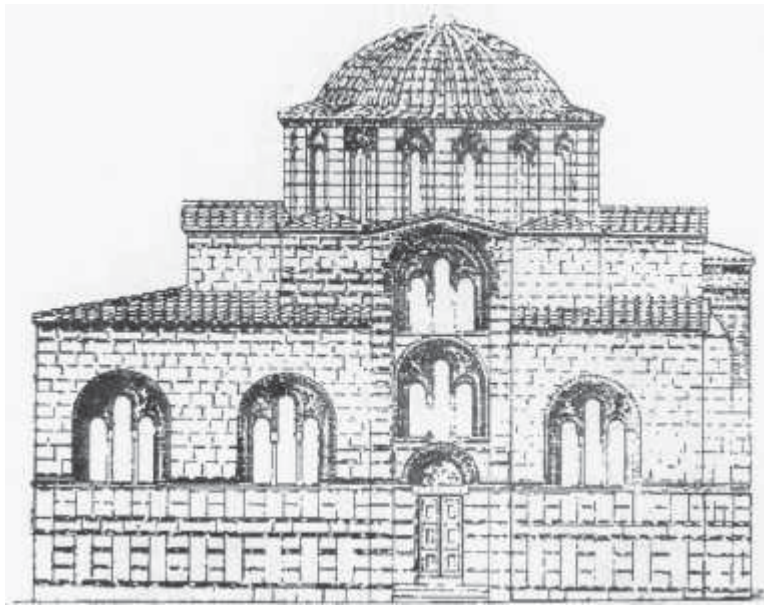
basilica and central-plan forms. There were neither typical Romanesque nor Gothic schools – Italy created its own highly specific Gothic style (it was Italian who coined the term Gothic to describe the architecture beyond the Alps). On the other hand, it never forgot the Roman tradition of domed buildings.

Baroque as a Common European Integration Style

Both, the Byzantine and Romanesque-Gothic styles remained popular until the 15th c. when Gothic entered its last stage of development. In 1453 Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks, yet the Byzantine style remained popular by momentum in some of the East European countries (Georgia, Armenia, Russia, etc.), although its end was just around the corner. Gothic was also retreating from its positions in Western Europe; the Renaissance and later, Baroque moved in to change the face of Europe beyond recognition.

The Renaissance and Baroque were universal styles that covered vast expanses – this was their main feature. The Renaissance architecture quickly conquered France, Germany, the Netherlands, Austria and Spain while Baroque moved even further, to Eastern Europe and even far-away Russia.

The European capitals and cathedrals acquired a more or less unified European style. Baroque changed the image of many cities: Rome, Paris, London, Madrid, St. Petersburg acquired new buildings that very much resembled each other. These European architectural styles reached Georgia much later, in the 19th c.



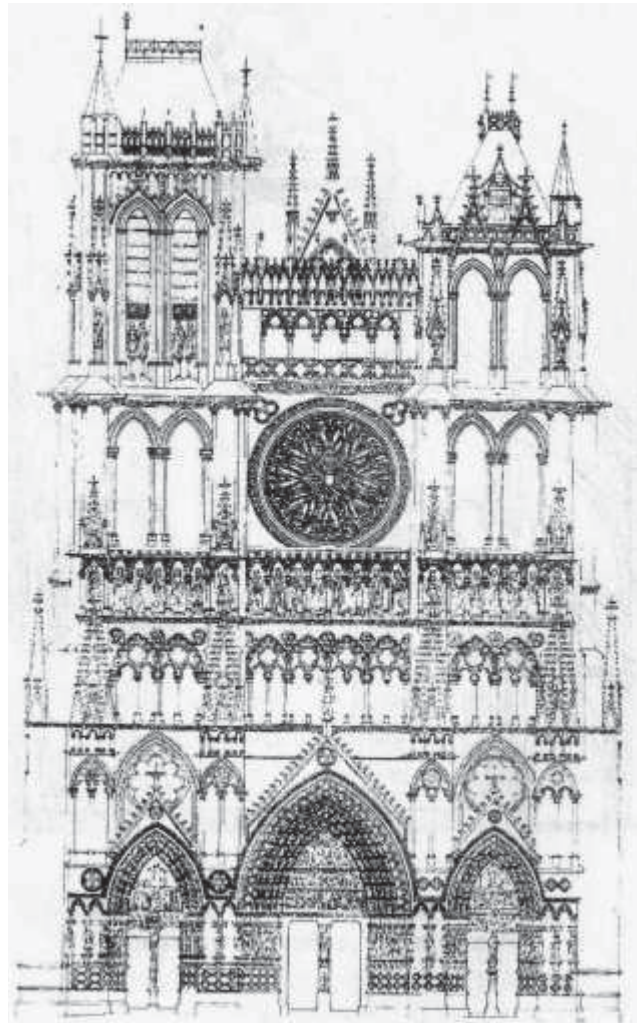
The Monastery Church at Daphne. Greece. The 11th c.
Byzantine Style.



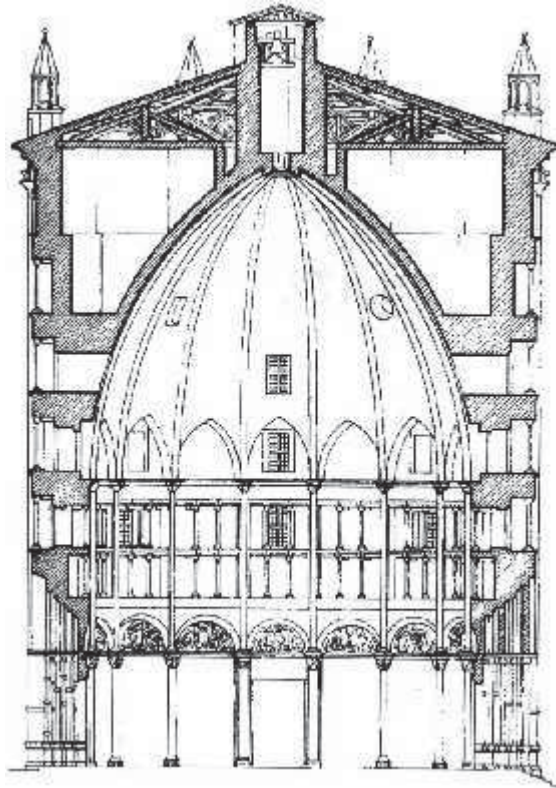
Church in Katskhi. Georgia. The 10th c. *Byzantine Style*.



**The Church of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin on the Nerl River. Russia. The 12th c. (reconstruction).
Byzantine Style.**



The Amiens Cathedral. France. The 12th c. *Gothic Style*.



The Parma Baptistery. Italy. The 12th c.



Tempietto. Italy. The 16th c. Baroque.

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Simon the King of East Georgia and Church of the Virgin Pammacaristos in Constantinople

Fetiye Camii is architectural celebrity of Istanbul, and beloved place for the tourists. The Turkish term seems to be the 16th c. label for the church of the Virgin Pammacaristos, turned into a mosque by that times.¹

By well established Ottoman tradition, if a city surrendered of its own will to them, the Christians could retain their churches, otherwise they were to be converted into a mosque.²

Constantinople fell on 29 May 1453. When the news spread that the land-walls had been breached, some isolated quarters of the city, possessing their own wall, surrendered at once. This legal evidence, together with some pragmatic issues – now sultan was also emperor of the Greeks – helped millet, a self-governing Greek community within the Ottoman Empire, to keep some of the churches in Constantinople.³

The Pammacaristos was to be the Patriarchal church for more a century with a Patriarch residing there as a head of millet.⁴ As the most prominent Orthodox shrine, it had been under a permanent pressure of sultan, being either badly enraged, or – extremely happy, does not matter.

For Murad III in 1586 the both feelings are present and vivid – former, because that was not real victory over invincible Simon, the king of Kartli (East Georgia), and latter, because

¹ S. Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, p. 201.

² S. Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 145, 199.

³ S. Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 202-204; J. J. Norwich. *A Short History of Byzantium*, pp. 375-381.

⁴ S. Runciman. *The Fall of Constantinople 1453*, pp. 200-201.

the fortresses in Georgia had been recaptured, and Ottoman garrisons – strengthened basically.¹ Later in 1600 Simon’s capture was followed by three days festival all-over Empire², and now Murad III annexed the Pammacaristos as he celebrated his victory over the infidels.³

Simon was to blame for a loss of residence for the Greek Patriarch. He was, indeed, a superb warrior.

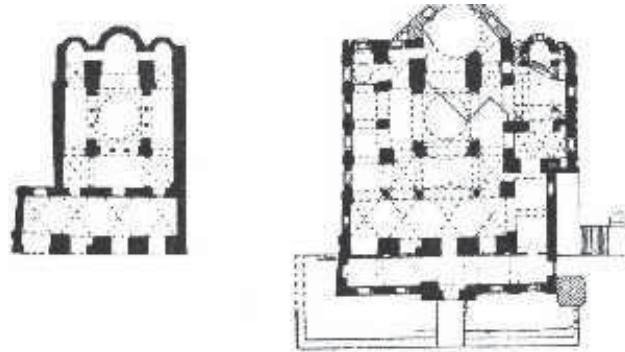
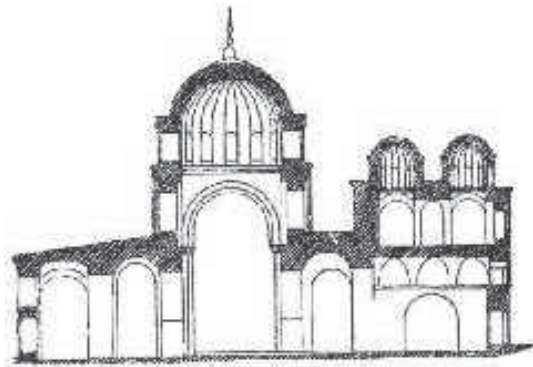
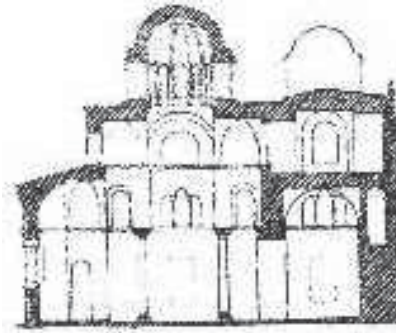
But only within what can still be called Byzantium, legacy of which they claimed for themselves, the Ottomans insisted the churches should at once be transformed into a mosque. It seems a bit strange how one could bind Simon the Georgian with Pammacaristos. We have to look at Mehmet the Conqueror titled both as emperor and sultan on the famous Western-manufactured medal of 1481 to make things clear. Sultan is basileus and he needs his “Byzantine Commonwealth”, thus humiliating Serbs and Bulgarians and stripping them from Tsar-claim. In the eyes of the Ottomans, with Georgians being defeated, “Byzantine Commonwealth” is already theirs and with the Pammacaristos confiscated, that is already styled upon the crescent.

There was one Orthodox power into whose lands the Ottomans never entered. Ottomans merely had to imitate their disdain towards Russia, never calling Muscovy head autocrat (Tsar). In the late centuries it would be impossible to act in this way.

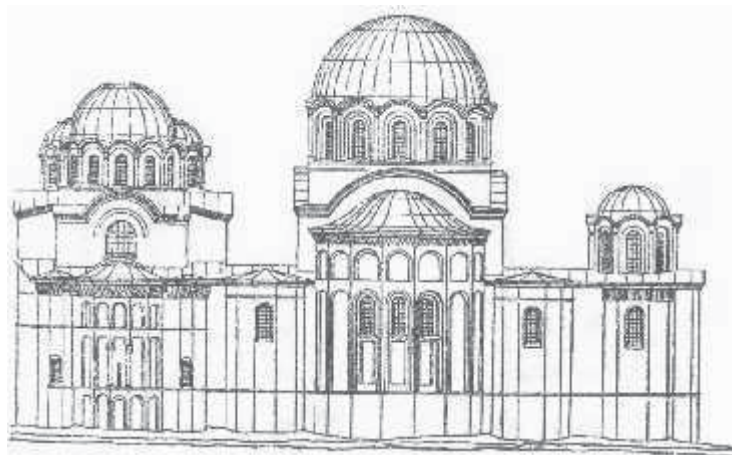
¹ Studies in History of Georgia (in Georg.). v. IV. Tbilisi. 1973, p. 138 and n. 4; for the last phase of the war v. D. Cantemir. History of the Othman Empire (transl. N. Tindal). London. 1734, pp. 233-34.

² Studies in History of Georgia. v. IV, p. 149.

³ R. Janin. La Géographie Ecclésiastique de L’Empire Byzantin. Première Partie. La Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique. t. III. Les Églises et les Monastères. II Edition. Paris. 1969, p. 210.



Fetiye Camii.
Cuts, plans, fronts and photo.



**v. Всеобщая история архитектуры. т. III. Москва-Ленинград.
1966.**



This part of the story has been published as Tedo Dundua, Nino Silagadze. Simon the King of East Georgia and Church of the Virgin Pammacaristos in Constantinople. Tbilisi. 2004.

Golden Fleece is Back – Russian Fiction

After adoption of Christianity, Eastern Slavonia, with Kiev as capital, joined the Byzantine Commonwealth. That clearly meant enlargement of the Eastern European unity towards Eastern section of Humid Continental Europe, into the direction of the river Volga. Russians were the loyal subjects of the Commonwealth, looking calmly at the decline of Constantinople's hegemony, and the Bulgar and Georgian kings seizing the titles of "Tsar" and "Autocrat".

Becoming stronger, Russia vividly protested Ottoman reintegration of what was formerly labelled Byzantium, and Muslim overlordship over the Orthodox World by taking the title of "Tsar" for Grand Prince Ivan in 1547. New centre of East Europe has been shaped, and then long-term war started for hegemony, Russia being victorious.

The 18th c. was marked by revolutionary improvement of the Russian technologies due to strengthening of state industrial segment. Still with its serfdom, Russia became full-scale European partner.

Basic changes took place also in historiography. Thorough study of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine literature had yet another reason – political one. Seeing itself as East European super-power, thus Russia claimed Byzantine political heritage. For Russians Georgia had to be within the East European Union, and also this country has been acknowledged as a successor state of Colchis and Iberia. If this country back to Orthodox alliance, that could only be compared to symbolic return of Golden Fleece – honour, glory and rich is coming back.

One must bear on mind this narrative while observing the numismatic piece below.

At the beginning of the 19th c. Kartalino-Kakhetian Kingdom (Eastern Georgia) became a part of the Russian Empire. Administration and courts were paid in assignations and chervonetzi – Dutch ducates, called Lobanchiks. Army needed even more money to buy local supplies. And the local population neglected assignations even firmly seeing how the taxes were collected in old silver money. Scarcity of silver lowered the rate of Russian gold coin, which was quite high in other places. Scarcity of silver and copper coins seems due to the problems of their transportation – indeed, St. Petersburg and Ekaterinburg were far away. Merchants had good profit thanks to low exchange rate of gold, and the prices rushed high. Cheap Iranian goods flooded Georgian market taking back coins, thus making crisis more severe.

The situation was to be changed. Preparations were made for reorganization of old Tbilisi mint, now under the Russian control. On September 15 of 1804 there was the mint inaugurated in the former royal bath celebrated by issue of the commemorative medal.¹

Quite a rare one, it comes to a description as follows:

Ar. 8.23 gr.

Obv. Russian double-headed eagle (former coat of arms of Palaeologi) soaring towards Iberia and Colchis, bearing in its claws the Golden Fleece, with the Russian legend – “it restores what was stolen”.

Rev. Russian legend – “Tbilisi mint opened on September

¹ T. Dundua, G. Dundua, N. Javakhishvili, A. Eristavi. Money in Georgia, p. 98

Russo-Georgian Relations

Changing the Imperial Pattern: Life in South-west Georgia under the Ottomans and the Russians (1870-1914)

The following common features can be traced for the Ottoman and the Russian Empires starting from the 70-s of the 19th c. onwards:

1) Byzantinism – both empires saw themselves as heir of “Kingdom of the Romans”, i.e. East European hegemonic power, former rapidly regressing, from this point of view, latter yet being desirable protector

2) Continental imperialism; these multinational empires comprised both, Europe and Asia. European and Asian provinces had different statuses, Asians being beyond the favour as usually

3) Both metropolises (Eastern Thrace and Anatolia, for the Ottoman Empire, and Russia itself, for the Russian Empire) still possessed prominent agricultural sections

4) At a certain degree, both metropolises used the state socialistic way to run the economics (state property was especially prominent in the Russian industry)

5) Moderate rates of modernization.

And the differences are as follows:

1) Nonhereditary autocracy of the Ottomans, and hereditary monarchy in Russia

2) Absence of the estates (i.e. privileged restricted group) in the Ottoman Empire; and, on the contrary, existence of the estates everywhere through the Russian Empire

3) The Ottomans had reputation for cosmopolitanism while selecting the bureaucracy in the centre, and some respect for national feelings in the provinces. And the Russian imperial structures were served by the Russian aristocrats

4) Russian aristocracy, holding the imperial offices, was Orthodox Christian totally, and Islam was prerequisite to have a job in the Ottoman structure.

Very prominent Georgian-Turkish commercial relations pass through the small towns like Ardahan and Artvin, Oltu and Yusufeli, and the outskirts, with the local folk being thoroughly engaged in this service. Many of them, the Turkish citizens, speak also the Georgian language, as a family one. And Georgian historical monuments, scattered everywhere, are under special care of the Turkish government. Knowledge of history of this interaction is a way to build the most rational network.

Georgian principality of Samtskhe-Saatabago was incorporated by the Ottomans in the 16th c. as they wished to secure their Anatolian domains while confronting the Safavis. Georgian feudals lost their lands just to receive them back as the state property now in their use instead of military service rendered to sultan. As zaims and timariots, the Georgians also packed the local administration, i.e. of Gurgistan (Childir) Vilayet, maintain-

ing the Georgian language due to the permanent economic links with the rest of Georgia.¹

These bilingual warriors resisted the Russian army bravely, while assault of Akhaltsikhe on August 15th, 1828.² Indeed, they cared much for their social privileges. Reunification with the rest of Georgia was a great idea, even under Russian hegemony, but there was no need for the timariots in the Christian Empire. They never knew what could be the next step – the lands in their use, were they to be delivered to them in hereditary possession, or – just taken away forever. There was only one thing they were quite sure about – namely, no administrative positions for them in the Russian Empire, these positions were all reserved for the Orthodox Russians.

Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829 gave to Russia control over two Georgian-speaking provinces of Childir Vilayet – Samtskhe (with Akhaltsikhe as principal town) and Javakheti (with Akhalkalaki as principal town). Some of the timariots received land in possession thus obtaining the same rights as the

¹ T. Dundua, A. Tabuashvili. Emancipation of the Serfs in the Southern and South-western Georgia (Childir Vilayet) (in Georg. with Engl. summary). To the Splendid Hermitage Places of Klarjeti. Special Issue. Proceedings. Institute of Georgian History. Faculty of Humanities. Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. Tbilisi. 2012, pp. 134-141.

² Military reports show heavy fightings while the sieges of small Georgian towns like Akhalkalaki, Akhaltsikhe and Atskuri (to outline their strength, the defenders of Akhalkalaki used to say – “guy from Kars is better than three from Yerevan, and two guys from Kars are no match for one from Akhalkalaki”; defenders of Akhaltsikhe used to say – “it is easier to hunt down the moon from the sky, than moon from Akhaltsikhe mosque”). The garrisons of these fortresses refused to surrender and they fought severely. v. Утверждение русского владычества на Кавказе. Т. 4. Ч. 2. Под ред. генерал-майора В. Потто. Время Паскевича. Турецкая война. 1828-1829 годы. Тифлис. 1908, pp. 59, 86.

rest of the Georgian aristocracy – only few auxiliary provincial administrative positions were reserved for them. Those working on the state lands preserved the same status.¹ And local commercial classes were too tiny either to protest, or not the changing of constitution. Perhaps, there was enough reason for many Muslim Georgians to leave the Christian empire. Still, economic reintegration of Georgia to its logical and historical boundaries was in action, progressive from every point of view.

Capture of Artaaani/Ardahan fortress while Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 again shows Georgians fighting against the Russians.² No other signs of local activities are traced. Why? What made Muslim Georgians so indifferent? What happened in the Ottoman Empire towards the midst of the 19th c.?

Even up to 1878 the commodity turnover between Muslim Georgia and Georgia proper was prominent. It is well recorded that Southwest Georgia produced definitely more food than needed just to be sold Northwards, and this was happening while the Ottoman rule.³ By 1877 even the Chans from Rize district,

¹ T. Dundua, A. Tabuashvili. Emancipation of the Serfs in the Southern and South-Western Georgia (Childir Vilayet) (in Georg. with Engl. summary). To the Splendid Hermitage Places of Klarjeti. Special Issue. Proceedings. Institute of Georgian History. Faculty of Humanities. Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, pp. 139-140.

² Russian officer reports about enemy forces of about 5000 moving through Shavshti region after they had left Ardahan. Then they quarrelled with pasha being left with only 700 men, the rest went home, i.e. that was local militia. v. Материалы для описания русско-турецкой войны 1877-1878 гг. на Кавказско-Малоазиатском театре. Т. 1. Санкт-Петербург. 1904, p. 337. Next report contains note about militia gathering in Artanuji/Ardanuç. v. Материалы для описания русско-турецкой войны 1877-1878 гг. на Кавказско-Малоазиатском театре. Т. 1, p. 360.

³ С. С. Эсадзе. Историческая записка об управлении Кавказом. Т. 2. Тифлис. 1907, p. 260.

speaking the Mingrelian/West Georgian language, and having sultan as supreme ruler, “. . . move intensively to Adjara, Guria, Kartli (provinces of Georgia) and Tiflis itself”.¹ There could be only one way – that is economic reintegration of Georgia. That is also why the Muslim Georgians were so indifferent towards the Ottomans.

Due to the Russian advance, the sites of Batumi, Artvini and Artaani² were left by many Turks from former provincial administration.³ So, the Turks and not bilingual Muslim Georgians formed the local administration by that time. That is also why the Muslim Georgians were so indifferent towards the Ottomans.

System of the timars was abolished in the 30s of the 19th c. Former timariots were offered pension instead of land. Still, there was a possibility for them to buy former timar as mulk, i.e.

¹ I. Chavchavadze. Georgia of the Ottomans (in Georg.). “Iveria”. April 21, 1877. №8, p. 11.

² Places where the Georgians dwelt and captured by the Russians were divided into two newly formed provinces (область): that of Kars and Batumi. v. С. С. Эсадзе. Историческая записка об управлении Кавказом. Т. 2, pp. 256, 258, 260; Ekv. Takaishvili. Archaeological Expedition of 1907 in Kola-Oltisi and Changli (in Georg.). Paris. 1938, p. 3. Province of Kars included the following Georgian historical provinces: Tao, Kola, Artaani, Erusheti, Photskhovi (С. С. Эсадзе. Историческая записка об управлении Кавказом. Т. 2, p. 261; Ekv. Takaishvili. Archaeological Expedition of 1907 in Kola-Oltisi and Changli (in Georg.), p. 3; Ведомость о количестве коренного населения Карсской области в 1904 году. Памятная книжка и адресь-календарь Карсской области на 1906 годъ. Карсъ. 1906 г. №1). Province of Batumi included the following Georgian historical provinces: Adjara, Klarjeti, Shavsheti (С. С. Эсадзе. Историческая записка об управлении Кавказом. Т. 2, p. 260).

³ We know for sure that former Turkish administration evacuated itself from the town of Kars. v. National Archive of Georgia. Central Historical Archive. F 1438. Descr. 1. From the Material Collected by B. Esadze. Case 712. Emigration and Migration in the Province of Kars (in Russ.), p. 3. This model can be used for the whole province.

in hereditary possession, from which they would pay taxes to support new regular army.¹ Only few Georgian begs, i.e. Muslim Georgian nobles, mostly Khimshiashvilis, are mentioned in the second half of the 19th c. and later, as the subjects of Tsar.² That means as follows: Georgian timariots failed to get the mulks. Later, the Russians allotted only some of them, receiving pension, with the lands.³

Very feudal in essence, local Muslim élite suffered from the other changes too. Legal equality, now introduced in the Ottoman provinces, cut their privileges at provincial level. Here is the whole story narrated by “Iveria”, very popular in the 19th c. Georgian newspaper, issued in Tbilisi/Tiflis: “...now sultan’s government decided to deal with the begs. In 1856 they summoned the leaders of the Georgian nobles (the begs) to Istanbul. The request was as follows: old family charters were needed to be checked and substituted by the new ones. The begs, willingly presenting all the charters, signed by the Georgian kings, sultans or the shahs, thought of sultan’s grace. As soon as the government cheated them out of these charters, they locked them in archives saying the words of Tanzimat: all the subjects of the Empire are

¹ M. Svanidze. History of Turkey (1299-2000) (in Georg.). Tbilisi. 2007, pp. 289-290, 313.

² Ekv. Takaishvili. Archaeological Expedition of 1907 in Kola-Oltisi and Changli (in Georg.), p. 17. Most of the population are Muslim Georgians, and the begs are Khimshiashvilis – that is what he tells while describing Oltisi district (окыр) in the province of Kars.

³ e.g. Only small part of land in Batumi district (окыр) was private (13500 desetinas from total 345594). The rest is state property. v. A. Bendianishvili, M. Samsonadze, S. Kokrashvili, D. Tchumburidze, O. Janelidze. Russian Colonialism (in Georg.). Tbilisi. 2008, p. 170.

equal before the law”.¹ “With Tanzimat and legal equality being established by the Ottomans, the aznauris (Georgian nobles) lost their privileges. The begs started to receive the pension and aznauris became equal to the peasants”.² That is also why the Muslim Georgians were so indifferent towards the Ottomans.

The Muslim Georgians, what did they receive after being incorporated into the Russian Empire?

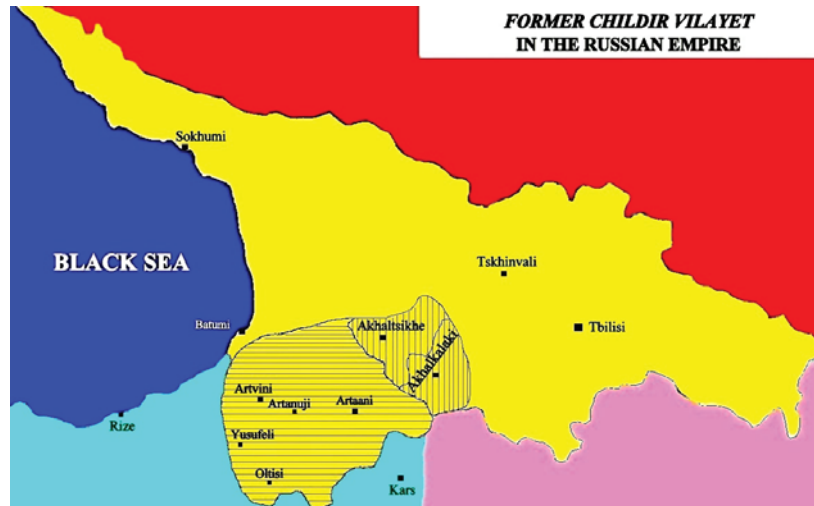
1. There was land reserved for some of the former begs and membership in local militia;
2. Peasants remained mostly at the state lands.
And all they joined the Christian Georgians.

¹ P. Umikashvili. Georgia of the Ottomans. Adjara (in Georg.). “Iveria”. May 26, 1877. №13, p. 14.

² P. Umikashvili. Georgia of the Ottomans. Shavsheti (in Georg.). “Iveria”. June 30, 1877. №18, p. 9.







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Major Events

At the very beginning of the 19th c. Georgia put itself within the Russian imperial system. And before the country gradually received heavy onslaughts, losing lands and population. Russians brought safety and demographic stability in the region together with economic integration and territorial restoration. Early years of the 19th c. were marked by scientific revolution in Georgia, promoted by peace and prosperity within the East European integration, i.e. the Russian Empire. The lands were taken back from the Ottomans. Agriculture and industry expanded. Gradually, lower classes started to demand some social improvements. Indeed, in 1864 Tsar Alexander II emancipated Georgian serfs. Education spread as new schools were built. With yet no university at home, Georgians received their higher education in Russia. In the closing years of the 19th c. machines replaced hand tools, and new source of power, steam – human power. That was industrial revolution. Factory system appeared together with the steam-powered railroad network. So the nation started to be industrialized. But still neither middle class, factory owners and merchants, nor the bottom, workers (proletariat) had any power. The small class of nobles kept it for himself. Those who had money needed the right to vote. Illustrious writer Ilia Chavchavadze was a leader of liberals. Growing educated classes and the workers wanted to overthrow the Tsar and establish socialism, a system with the whole industrial complex sharing equally in the result of labour. Noe (Noah) Jordania was a leader of the Georgian social democrats. Discontent grew among different groups and national minorities. Riots and strikes swept imperial cities

and Tbilisi among them, metropolis of Georgia. Russia suffered terrible defeats in World War I. Tsar Nicholai abdicated. Provisional government, who introduced civil equality in 1917, was powerless. Soon Russian socialists seized the power. Civil war started. The empire disintegrated.

Majority of Georgian socialists saw no reason to overthrow Capitalism at once. They hoped to build a welfare state, but failed (1918-1921). In the end, former Russian Empire was reorganized into union of republics – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Russian federation dominated the Union. Georgia found herself in this very system with Southern lands lost once again. That is why a lot of Georgians live in Turkey now. Meanwhile, the socialistic ideas also failed and they were revised by Joseph Stalin – state socialism had to be established. Technologically Russia was really very retarded, and so was East Europe with not even clear perspective to catch the West. That is why new socio-economic method, labelled as state socialism, came into sight in the USSR in the twenties and thirties of the 20th c., which meant as follows: state property was overwhelming, the economic branches – tied up neatly, industry prevailed, forced labour – used, in all there had been a lot of machines and few services, and mostly illiterate Russia converted into a nuclear country. State socialism was indeed brutal, but still – profitable. And education system was for everyone with eight years at school at least. Men and women were treated equally. Former officials, landlords, businessmen lost their property, but new élite emerged. Leaders of the communist party became privileged class with general secretary of the communist party being

the most powerful person in the country.

Standard of living rose, but then the whole system collapsed with the republics needing no more political aid of Russia, and with the economic method losing its sense. Prolongation caused a decline.

The reforms were needed. In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachov became the head of the communist party. Under “Perestroika”, restructuring of the Soviet economy, factory managers rather than central planners had to decide what to produce. That meant that they should be converted into the owners. Gorbachov never took risks. He eased the censorship. He tried to transfer power from communist party to an effective legislature. But he was a bit slow. Crisis began. And one by one the republics declared independence. The Soviet Union ceased to exist.

Georgia faced enormous challenges as a tiny country with limited resources, and – some regional problems. Georgia set out to establish market economy and democratic political system. This process has been accompanied by lock out, high unemployment, corruption. Still, the Georgian people have a supreme power. They choose their leaders to represent them. And business people decide what to produce. There are some other achievements, like growing cooperation with the West, economic investments. Georgia is very comfortable highway for the Asian oil towards European industry. Being already a member of the Council of Europe, Georgia hopes to gain admission to the European Union and NATO.

In June 2014 the EU and Georgia signed an Association Agreement, which entered into force on July 1, 2016.

თედო დუნდუა

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