

*Tedo Dundua*

**Publicius Agrippa, Flavius Dades and  
a Dual Citizenship – a Pattern for Europe  
in Future?  
Georgians and Roman Frontier Policy in the East<sup>\*</sup>**

Dual citizenship or bipolis-system 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.

1. CHPAEITICZHOYXOY
  2. TOYNεWTεPOYΠITIAEXOY
  3. ΘYΓATHPΠOYΠAIKIOYAGPIΠIATIT
  4. AEOYΥIOYIWΔMANΓANOYΓYNE
  5. TOYΠOΛΛACNεIKACΠOIHCAHTOC
  6. EΠITPOΠOYBACIΛWCIBHPWN
  7. MEΓAΛOYEHΦAPNOY ΓOYAIΠE
  8. ΘANε NεWTεPAETWN K̄A
  9. HTICTOKAΛΛOCAMεIMHTON
- εIXε<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup> ეს სალექციო ტექსტი 2003 წლის ნოემბერში განსახილველად გადაეგზავნა პიზის უნივერსიტეტის რომის ისტორიის სპეციალისტებს.

<sup>1</sup> Г. В. Церетели. Армазская билингва. Двухязычная надпись, найденная при археологичес-

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

This text was curved on tombstone from Mtskheta, the Iberian capital. It is prolonged by the Aramaic version.<sup>2</sup> ἡἑπείροπος corresponds to the Aramaic trbs, which occurs to be used also towards Agrippa, now trbs of the king Pharsmanes.<sup>3</sup> 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*.<sup>4</sup>

From the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup>

Then the enfranchisement of *Gallis Cisalpins* 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.<sup>7</sup>

Under Caesar and Augustus comes the first large-scale extension of the Roman citizenship in the provincial areas. This extension is based upon the firm

ких раскопках в Мцхета-Армази. Тб. 1941, pp. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup> Г. В. Церетели. op. cit., pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup> Г. В. Церетели. op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> A. N. Shervin-White. The Roman Citizenship. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1939. Second Edition. Oxford. 1973, pp. 46, 73, 96, 98, 109.

<sup>5</sup> A. N. Shervin-White. op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> A. N. Shervin-White. op. cit., pp. 150, 153.

<sup>7</sup> A. N. Shervin-White. op. cit., p. 159.

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.<sup>8</sup>

But then Caracallus gave the franchise to all free inhabitants of the Empire.<sup>9</sup>

As to personal grants, *Domitii*, or *Fabii*, or *Pompeii* in the Western provinces are thought to drive their citizenship from grants made to their forebearers by Domitius Ahenobarbus, Fabius Maximus, or Pompeus Magnus, the generals.<sup>10</sup>

Beyond the Roman rule, Caesar was the first to make a king Roman citizen.<sup>11</sup> 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 Rhometalcus, 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.<sup>12</sup>

Iberian case of Publicius Agrippa is very interesting. He was Pharsmanes minister and 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*.<sup>13</sup>

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

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<sup>8</sup> A. N. Shervin-White. op. cit., pp. 225, 233.

<sup>9</sup> A. N. Shervin-White. op. cit., pp. 280, 287.

<sup>10</sup> A. N. Shervin-White. op. cit., p. 295.

<sup>11</sup> D. Braund. *Rome and the Friendly King. A Character of the Client Kingship*. Beckenham, Kent, Fyshwick, Australia. 1984, p. 45.

<sup>12</sup> D. Braund. op. cit., pp. 39, 41-42, 44.

<sup>13</sup> *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saec. I. II. III. Pars VI. Consilio et Avtoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis. Iteratis Curvis ediderunt Leiva Petersen, Klaus Wachtel. Adivvantibus M. Heil, K.-P. John, L. Vidman. Berolini. Novi Eborau. MCMXCVIII*, pp. 433-434, №№1038, 1042.

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*.<sup>14</sup>

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 serving 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.<sup>15</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

Roman names like Aurelius are still vital in the 4<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>17</sup>

Much of the Romans' long hegemony was spent in carrying through the major reform programmes 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

<sup>14</sup> W. Eck. The Bar Kokhba Revolt. The Roman Point of View. The Journal of Roman Studies. v. LXXXIX. Leeds. 1999, pp. 83-85.

<sup>15</sup> W. Eck. op. cit., pp. 79-80.

<sup>16</sup> Очерки Истории Грузии. т. I. Тб. 1989, p. 415; David Braund. op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> Очерки Истории Грузии. т. I., p. 19.

every sign of disintegration, losing Gaul, Spain and Britain to the central government, the Empire still used this system, which proved to be comfortable 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, she 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 the bipolis-system 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 the economic potency of the kingdom of Georgia, as well as the diminuation 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 finding of Hadrian's seven aurei

in Iberia, twice in number than aurei of any other Emperor. So, the Iberians received a handsome present.<sup>18</sup>

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.<sup>19</sup>

Ibero-Roman attitudes were much more complicated as seen in general chronology of the events.

### **Rome and Georgia – General Chronology**

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

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

68 B.C. – Lucullus intends to storm the Armenian capital Artaxates; Iberian spearmen assist Tigranes of Armenia and Mithradates, yet another defeat for Mithradates.

65 B.C. – Roman forces under Gnaeus Pompeus Magnus defeat Artokes, king of Iberia. He now rules as Rome's ally. Pompeus moves to Colchis. Long before Mithradates flees to the Crimea.

63 B.C. – Pompeus 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 Mithradates, who had started a campaign to retrieve ancestral kingdom of Pontus. He 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, Iberian king.

8 B.C. – Polemo is killed, succeeded by his wife Pythodoris. Now she

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<sup>18</sup> Г. Ф. Дундуа. Монетное дело и монетное обращение в Грузии в античную эпоху. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени доктора исторических наук. Тб. 1982, р. 247.

<sup>19</sup> А. И. Амиранашвили. Иберия и римская экспансия в Азии. Вестник древней истории. 1938. №4, р. 164.

rules Colchis. Lazi clans from Trapezus start invading Colchis gradually changing the name of country to Lazica.

14 A.D. – The Emperor Augustus died 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(?) – The Apostle Andrew, who has preached the divinity of Jesus, visits Colchis.

35 – Georgians (Iberians) under prince Pharsmanes enter Armenia to oppose the Parthian threat. Georgians are victorious and Pharsmanes' brother Mithradates is saluted as Armenian pro-Roman king.

63 – Partho-Roman treaty putting Armenia under dual control; Pharsmanes now already pro-Roman king of Iberia receives some of the Armenian lands. Polemo II abdicates as Pontic king; Colchis forms part of 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 crash the rebellion.

75 – To protect Mtskheta, capital of Iberia, from 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 Sebastopolis, Phasis, Aphsaros, Trapezus, sending report to Hadrian. Thus his famous "Periplus" appeared. Lazi king dwelling in the valley of Phasis is Rome's client.

135 – Roman troops under Iulius Severus storm Jerusalem. Georgian auxilias 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. Pacores 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 Sucetianus. Goths are decisively defeated.

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

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

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 Roman's campaign against the Persians.

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

Of the ancient authorities for the period some give the most detailed and clearest account. They are as follows: Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Arrian, Plutarch, Appianus, Dio Cassius etc.

The great chance of Transcaucasian transit of the Asiatic goods inspired the good relations between Rome and the Georgian states.

### **Transcaucasian Transit**

An idea of the Transcaucasian and Pontic transit of the Asiatic goods was also very important one. As far back as in the 4<sup>th</sup> 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 /Plin. NH, VI, 101/. 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. Alexandrian merchants profited from this route mostly. According to Strabo, some one hundred and twenty big Alexandrian ships sailed a year to India bringing



back the spices, and the precious woods, and the stones /Strabo, II, 118; XVI, 781; XVII, 789/. But the Southern coast of Eastern Iran was very wild, without harbours, so one had to load a ship very heavy with food and water for direct sail, and only small section had been left for the commercial goods. There existed one more sea route from India by the Persian Gulf to the mouth of Tigris and Euphrates. 2. Trans-Iranian transit. This second route was really very expensive. Starting in India, it climbed to the Iranian highlands, crossing the Iranian plateau to Mesopotamia and Syria. And there the spices were placed on the European ships. Iranians and Graeco-Syrians profited from this route. 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. According to Herodotus, the Caspian Sea could be easily covered in eight days on a large boat /Herod., I, 203/. One could find the river Amu-Daria (Oxus) in the past joining the Caspian Sea in its South-Eastern section. Amu-Daria – Balkh (Bactra) – Indus is the last section of the route. And the Western 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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.

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 (Sukhumi, Georgia) – Trapezus – Galata – Italy. And when the Ottomans diminished the Italian trade, Africa was

rounded by the Portuguese vessels.

Romans in Colchis and Iberia brought their money just to be extravagantly copied by the Georgians.

### **The Imitations to the Roman Aurei**

1. Imitation to aureus of Augustus (27 B.C.-14 A.D.). 3.5 gr. (Pl. I N 1).

Obv. Laureate head, right. Distorted Legend – CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE.

Rev. Caius and Lucius Caesars standing facing, shields and spears between them. Distorted Legend – CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT.

2. Hybrid imitation to aurei of Augustus and Commodus (180-192). 3.1 gr. (Pl. I N 2).

Obv. Laureate head, right, bearded. Legend.

Rev. Laureate head, right. Legend.

3. Imitation to Roman aureus. 3.5 gr. (Pl. I N 3).

Obv. Laureate head, right. Legend.

Rev. Victoria. Legend.

4. Imitation to aureus of Philip I (244-249). 4.01 gr. (Pl. I N 4).

Obv. Laureate and cuirassed bust, right. Distorted Legend – IMP PHILIPPVS AVG.

Rev. Virtus in complete armour, with spear and shield. Curious legend – ANNONA AVGG.

5. Imitation to aureus of Volusian (251-253). 4.8 gr. (Pl. II N 5).

Obv. Laureate head, right. Distorted legend – C VIBIO VOLVSIANO CAES, or IMP CAE C VIB VOLVSIANO AVG.

Rev. Woman with corn-ears and cornucopiae. Legend (Philip's coin is copied for prototype).

6. Imitation to Aureus of Valerian (253-260). 3.6 gr. (Pl. II N 6).

Obv. Laureate and draped bust, right. Distorted legend – IMP C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG.

Rev. Victoria in biga. Distorted legend – VICTORIAE AVGG.

7. Imitation to aureus of Numerian (283-284) (Pl. II N 7).

Obv. Laureate head, left. Legend.

Rev. Victoria, left. Legend.

Romans brought their deities in Colchis, Mithras – among.

### **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 later 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 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.<sup>20</sup>

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 Alexander's type gold staters defines the Hellenistic essence of the country. Gnaeus Pompeus while being there used to be treated like Helios, as seen in

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<sup>20</sup> Conversion of Kartli /Moktsevai Kartlisai/ /in Georg./, Selected Tales from Shatberdi Monastery. edit. B. Gigineishvili and El. Giunashvili. Tbilisi. 1979, p. 320; Die Bekehrung Georgiens. Mokcevai Kartlisai /Verfasser Unbekannt/. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von G. Pättsch. Bedi Kartlisa. Revue de Kartvêlologie. Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes. Paris. 1975. v. XXXIII, pp. 291-292; The Life of Kartli /Kartlis Tskhovreba/ /in Georg./, edit. S. Kaukhchishvili. Tbilisi. 1955. v. I, pp. 20,25-27; Das Leben Kartlis. Eine Chronik aus Georgien 300-1200. Herausgegeben von G. Pättsch. Leipzig, pp. 69, 76-78.

coinage of his local client certain Aristarchus; Obv. of the light drachm shows famous Roman general diademed and crowned with the rays (Pl. III N 8).

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. IV N9/ – 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 is an obvious advantage over former socio-economic system – Protofeudalism, like the state position of monotheistic Christianity here – 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 Mithraistic propaganda. The result was not an amazing one – some of common men started to worship Mithra thus demonstrating their hatred towards aznauri.<sup>21</sup> 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 erismtavari (princes) changed atar (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 Constantinus.<sup>22</sup> But, maybe he lived in the times of Constantius, and not Constantinus, 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 about 260 A.D. using epigraphy (inscription from Ka’ba-i Zardošt).<sup>23</sup> And after we have seven more pagan hereditary kings in national annals with Mirian (Mithraan) III as the last one.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps, it would be much comfortable to push his reign towards the midst of the 4<sup>th</sup> 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 Constantinus; of course, he also is a heretic from the major point of view, but

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<sup>21</sup> The Life of Kartli. v I, p. 145; Das Leben Kartlis, p. 208

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> Г. А. Меликишвили. К Истории Древней Грузии. Тбилиси. 1959, p. 392

<sup>24</sup> Conversion of Kartli, p. 321; Die Bekehrung Georgiens, pp. 292-293.

still – the first Caesar 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 7<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> c. Georgia moved towards the baroque, this all-European style. Everywhere in Asia /ex. 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 on 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 4<sup>th</sup> c. /Georgica. t. I, pp. 3-4./, was still a bit sophisticated for a while – local kings (the 4<sup>th</sup>-the 6<sup>th</sup> cc.), sometimes irritated by the 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 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. a *receptio* system was activated in Colchis to strengthen the local social structure. Abasgs and Apsils 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 6<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup>

In the 10<sup>th</sup>-the 13<sup>th</sup> 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 a king in

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<sup>25</sup> The Life of Kartli, p. 125 ; Das Leben Kartlis, p. 182

Imperial coat – wearing stemma, divitision and chlamis; holding in right hand scepter cruciger, and in left, globus cruciger.

The sources bounded 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 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 8<sup>th</sup> 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 Constantinus, the churches were built, mountaineers – suppressed etc. We can find this story into major Georgian selected records – “Conversion of Kartli” – the 9<sup>th</sup> c. work, and “Life of Kartli” – the 11<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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.

Europe is a special term for the part of the earth, which stipulates, in the main, the same level of the consciousness. An idea of the European integration is a fixation of this reality.

Notwithstanding some crisis, a level of the Georgian culture seems to be still European. Occidental aspiration of the country should be considered as normal.

An idea of European integration and of Georgia, as its participant, is a perspective conjuncture.

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<sup>26</sup> Conversion of Georgia, p. 336; Die Bekehrung Georgiens, p. 314.

Is this something very new?

If not, it should not be revised at all.

The first very clear pan-European perception is Hellenic phenomenon. And Colchis was exactly a part of the Hellenic or Hellenistic World.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup>-the 1<sup>st</sup> cc. B.C. Hellenistic Pontus and Colchis formed one state. And Gnaeus Pompeus put Colchis within the Roman hegemony.

The Roman Empire, as well as Byzantium should be thought to be very nice examples of the European integration.

And Christianity is a certain badge for the European integration. The Georgian states were baptized in the 4<sup>th</sup> c.

Byzantium and Georgia were regarded to form unique Orthodox space; that is why their monetary types are unified. The Georgian kings claimed their Imperial titles. Imperial stemma is a familiar trait for the 12<sup>th</sup> - the 13<sup>th</sup> cc. Georgian kings.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Russia started to realize its function of a predominant within the Orthodox World. Georgia was subjugated to this hegemony from the 19<sup>th</sup> c.

So, Georgia has been a permanent subject of the European integration, and the modern aspirations of the country are very logical.

The Roman Empire included diverse peoples and cultures. The Romans promoted unity by offering citizenship to all peoples. And that worked perfectly.



## Plates

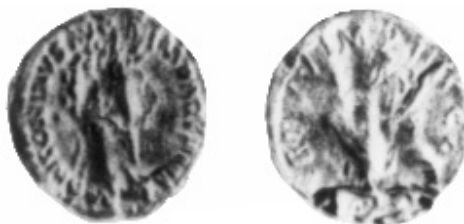
### PL. I



1



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4



PL. III



**PL. IV**



9

**Principle literature used for the plates:**

1. Г. Ф. Дундуа. Монетное Дело и Монетное Обращение в Грузии в Античную Эпоху (VI в. до н.э. - IV в. н.э.). Альбом.
2. T. Dundua, Georgia within the European Integration as Seen in Coinage. Tbilisi, 1999.