

ქართლის (აღმოსავლეთ ქართული სამეფო) პირველი ქრისტიანი მეფე მირიანი და მისი წარმომავლობის საკითხი

სანაძე მანანა
საქართველოს უნივერსიტეტი

ძველი ქართული წერილობითი წყაროები გვაწვდიან, ერთი შეხედვით, ურთიერთგამომრიცხავ ინფორმაციას ქართლის პირველი ქრისტიანი მეფის - მირიანის წარმომავლობის შესახებ:

მირიანის მამა იყო რევი - „მოქცევაჲ ქართლისა“

მირიანის მამა იყო ირანის შაჰი ქასრე არდაშირი, შესაბამისად მირიანი სასანიანთა (ხოსროიანთა) დინასტიას ეკუთვნის - „ქართლის ცხოვრება“.

რადგან მირიანის უფროს ვაჟსაც რევი, ანუ პაპის სახელი ერქვა, ამიტომ ისტორიკოსებმა უპირატესობა მიანიჭეს პირველ ვერსიას და მეორე - „ქართლის ცხოვრების“ ცნობა, მირიანის, როგორც პირველი ქრისტიანი მეფის განდიდების მიზნით შექმნილ ლეგენდად მიიჩნიეს.

ქართლის მეფე ამაზასპის (დაახლოებით ახ. წ. 230-265) და მისი დისწულისა და შემდგომი ქართლის მეფის - რევი მართალის ეპოქის შესწავლისას, ჩვენი ყურადღება მიიქცია ფაქტმა, რომ რევი-მართალის შემდეგ, „მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ“ ასახელებს მირიანამდე ხუთ მეფეს მისი მამის რევის ჩათვლით, მაშინ როდესაც „ქართლის ცხოვრება“ ასახელებს ოთხს. ამ მიმართულებით კვლევამ გამოავლინა, რომ მირიანი რევი მართალის შვილი იყო, ხოლო მათ შორის დასახელებული მეფეები, მირიანის ჩათვლით, მეფეთა ჩმონათვალში ერთმანეთის მიყოლებით ორჯერ მეორდება. შეცდომის მიზეზად ძველი უცნობი მემკვიდრის მიერ მეფეთა რიგის შემცველი ორი ოდნავ განსხვავებული ნუსხის სხვადასხვად მიჩნევის გამო, მათი ქრონოლოგიური თანმიმდევრობით ერთმანეთის მიყოლებით მოთავსება იქცა.

„ქართლის ცხოვრების“ მიხედვით მეფე ამაზასპის შემდგომი ქართლის მეფეები არიან: რევი (რევი-მართალი), ვაჩე, ბაკური, მირდატი, ასფაგური, მირიანი, ბაკური, მირდატი, ვარაზ-ბაკური. აქედან ასფაგური ბოლო წარმართი მეფეა. მის შემდგომ მოდის მირიანი - პირველი ქრისტიანი მეფე და პირველი სასანიანი, ქასრე არდაშირის ძე. „მოქცევაჲ ქართლისაჲ“ მეფე ამაზასპის შემდეგ ასახელებს მეფეებს: რევი, ვაჩე, ბაკური, მირდატი, ასფაგური, რევი (მამაჲ მირიანისა), მირიანი, ბაკური, მირდატი, ვარაზ-ბაკური.

უნდა გავითვალისწინოთ, რომ დაახლოებით 368 წელს, რომელიც სარდალი და ისტორიკოსი ამიანე მარცელინი ქართლში მეფედ ასახელებს ასფაგურს და არა ვარაზ-ბაკურს. ამან ისტორიკოსებს აიძულა ასფაგური ქართული წყაროების - ვარაზ-ბაკურად ელიარებინათ.

თუ ჩვენ მეფეთა ზემოთ მოცემულ რიგს ორ მწკრივად დავწერთ და ვარაზ-ბაკურს ასფაგურით შევცვლით, რაც ამიანე მარცელინის გათვალისწინებით სრულიად უდაოა, შედეგად ვღებულობთ შემდეგ სურათს:

< რევი (მართალი), ვაჩე, ბაკური, მირდატი, ასფაგური

< რევი (მამა მირინის), მირიანი, ბაკური, მირდატი, ასფაგური (ვარაზ-ბაკური)

მეფეთა ამ ორი მწკრივის იდენტურობა სრულიად აშკარა გახდება, თუ გავითვალისწინებთ, რომ სახელი ვაჩე, რომელიც მირიანის ნაცვლადაა მოცემული ირანულად „ბავშვს“, „ყმაწვილს“ ნიშნავს. ხოლო მირიანი სწორედაც შვიდი წლის იყო, როდესაც მეფედ აკურთხეს.

„ქართლის ცხოვრების“ მიხედვით რევ-მართალი სომხეთის მეფის შვილია და ქართლის მეფე ამაზასპის დისწული. უნდა გავითვალისწინოთ, რომ შაბურ I-ის მიერ სომხეთის მეფის ხოსროს მოკვდინების შემდეგ, რასაც ადგილი ჰქონდა 253 წლისათვის, 253-272 წწ.-ში, შაბურის გარდაცვალებამდე სომხეთის მეფე იყო შაბურ I-ის უფროსი ვაჟი და ირანის ტახტის მემკვიდრე - ჰორმიზდ-არდაშირი. შესაბამისად, ერთადერთი სომხეთის მეფე ვისი შვილიც შეიძლება ყოფილიყო რევ-მართალი, შაბურის ვაჟი ჰორმიზდ-არდაშირი იყო. ვინაიდან რევ მართალი ამაზასპის დის წულია, ჰორმიზდ-არდაშირი დაქორწინებული ყოფილა ამაზასპის დაზე.

არაპირდაპირი მოწმობა ამისა, უნდა იყოს „ზოროასტრი ქაბას“ ცნობილ წარწერაში, ჰორმიზდ-არდაშირის მეუღლის მოუხსენებლობა, რამაც მეცნიერებს ამ ქალის არასასანური წარმოშობა აფიქრებინა.

საბოლოოდ უნდა დავასკვნათ, რომ „ქართლის ცხოვრება“ სწორია, როდესაც ქართლის პირველ ქრისტიან მეფეს, მირიანს, სასანიანად მიიჩნევს, შეცდომა მხოლოდ რიგითობაშია: მირიანი იყო ქართლის ტახტზე სასანური დინასტიის რიგით მეორე წარმომადგენელი, თავისი მამის რევ-მართლის შემდეგ.

Mirian - the First Christian King of Kartli (Eastern Georgian Kingdom) and the Issue of His Descent

Sanadze Manana
The University of Georgia

Sources relating to the descent of Mirian contain conflicting, mutually exclusive data:

1. Mirian is the son of the Persian Shah Ardashir – *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* (*The Georgian Chronicles*)
2. Mirian is the son of the King of Kartli Rev – *“Moktsevai Kartlisai”* (*Conversion of Kartli*)

Since the elder son of Mirian was also called Rev, which - similar to the current trend of giving the name of the grandfather to a child - was common in the Middle Ages and the Antiquity, Georgian historians chose to rely more on the information of *“Moktsevai Kartlisai”* and considered the information of *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* about Mirian’s origin - as a deception intended to glorify him.

A special study of the issue has revealed that Mirian was really of Sassanid descent, but he was the son of the King of Kartli Rev, too. The fact of the matter is that Rev himself was the son of the Persian Shah Hormizd-Ardashir, the son of Shabur I.

There is just a minor imprecision in *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”*: the son of the Shah of Persia was Mirian’s father Rev and not Mirian himself; however - through his father’s line - Mirian was naturally of Sassanid descent.

So, the information of the sources, which seems mutually exclusive at first glance, turned out quite compatible and well-matched as a result of the study.

The above-mentioned ancient written sources have preserved information on the number of pagan kings of Kartli, which is 28.

“Moktsevai Kartlisai” refers to Azo as the first king of Kartli. However, *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* – that starts numbering the 28 pagan kings with Parnavaz - seems to contain more precise information on the issue. The chronicle that the historians used were the Parnavaz family chronicles, aimed at registering the reign of the dynasty. The process of the division of Kartli into two kingdoms – Mtsketa and Armazi – lasted for about 80-90 years (approx. 60 BC- 40/50 AD). In that period there reigned the following kings on the two sides:

Bartom//Bratman - Kartam//Kardzam;
Parsman// Parnabazi – Ka-os//ake-os;
Arzok//Arsuk (Arshak,) – Armazel//Amazaer (Qardzam II);
Hamazasp//(Hamazaspuhi) – Deruk (Ardok//Artag//Artok//Aderk III)
Parsman II – Mirdat//Mitridates

We replace Hamazasp - presented as the father of Parsman by mistake (in reality she was his wife and reigned after him together with her little Mirdat//Mitridates) - with Mirdat//Mitridates and thus restore the name and place of Parsman's father on the list, who was well-known from Tacitus. It turns out that his pair was Deruk (Ardok III), the son of Armazel//Kardzam II (known from Movses Khorenatsi as the king of one part of the Kingdom of Kartli) and at the same time a descendant of Ardok II - Aderk of *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"* (90-60 BC). The reign of two kings actually came to an end here. Mirdat//Mitridates, presented as the pair of Parsman II (35/40-68), was actually his brother, and not a pair. Mirdat//Mitridates reigned in Armenia in the same way as Ghadam//Radamist//Adam - the elder son of Parsman. Nonetheless, they have still been entered into the list of kings. And this is not in the least surprising. What really matters is who reigned out of the Parnavazians and how long the reign lasted and not where these people reigned.

After that, there was the reign of the son of Ghadam//Radamist//Adam whom we identify with Flavius Dades; after him reigned Hamazaspuhi - the wife of Parsman II with her son - Mirdat//Mitridates, and then — the son of Mitridates - Parsman III.

Thus, the number of kings is 24. Apart from this, from epigraphic inscription (Armazian Bilingua) we also know Kseparnuk and we can suppose the father of Hamazasp - Parsman IV (according to *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"*), then Hamazasp himself and after him his nephew Rev. We can see how the number of pagan kings goes up to 28. Thus, we get 28 pagan kings, including Rev. The issue is the rest 4 pagan kings: Vache, Bakur, Mirdat and Aspacures. In fact, none of them was pagan. They were all Christian kings. After missing Qseparnuk and Parsman IV, the father of Hamazasp, from the list, the author of *"Moktsevai Kartlisai"* who used the chronicle, got a smaller number. Since the historian got the number of pagan kings, which was smaller than 28, he continued the list and failed to pay attention to the fact that he included some of the kings twice. The kings coming after Hamazasp are: Rev, Vache, Bakur, Mirdat, Aspacures. After the latter, *"Moktsevai Kartlisai"* points out: "Rev, the father of Mirian". After Rev, the author lists: Mirian, Bakur, Mirdat, Varaz-Bakur.

If we compare the two lists of kings, the mistake of the the historian will become evident. It would be enough to note that Amiane Marcelini refers to Aspacures as the King of Kartli for 368. This way in historiography Aspacures is identified with Varaz-Bakur of *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"*. It is considered that Varaz-Bakur is the same Aspacures of Amiane Marcelini. Let us put it the way it is:

Rev, Vache, Bakur, Mirdat, Aspacures

Rev, Mirian, Bakur, Mirdat, Aspacures //(Varaz-Bakur of "Kartlis Tskhovreba" and Moktsevai Kartlisai)

It becomes obvious that the two lists are the same, especially if we realize that Vache, written instead of Mirian, is an Iranian word, which means "a youngster, a child" and Mirian was really a child (7 years old) when he was crowned. Thus, Vache is the same Mirian, and in this way - a Christian King. That is why we get 28 pagan kings, including Rev.

Amiane Marcelini before Aspacures mentions Miriban as the king of Iberia (361/2), whom some historians identify with Mirian. But, he could not have been Mirian and must have been Mirdat, the king who reigned before Aspacures (mentioned as Varaz-Bakur by mistake in *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"* and *Moktsevai Kartlisai*)

In this way, we can get the chronology of the kings of Kartli from the reign of Hamazasp (about 230 AD) to Aspacures (368 AD).

Hamazasp - about 230-265
 Rev (the same Rev the Righteous) - 265-280
 Mirian//Vache - 280-330
 Bakur, his son - about 330s -350s
 Miriban//Mirdat grand son of Mirian about 355-365/367
 Aspacures - from 368

Out of the listed kings, only Rev and Hamazasp were pagan.

Hamazasp is an important figure in the history of pre-Christian Kartli. *"Kartlis Tskhovreba"* gives us a detailed description of his life. In this chronicle, which we call "Mtskheturi" conditionally, there is a clear indication of the trace of blending. The chronicle starts with the description of the life of Hamazasp and the narration continues till Aspacures. A historian of the later period could not understand the chronological bounds of the chronicle. He linked the beginning to Parsman III and unconsciously doubled the last three kings. This happened because the historian seemingly had the list of the chronicle, where Mirian was referred to as "Vache" - a youngster and where Aspacures was replaced with Varaz-Bakur. That is why the historian provides information on Mirian, Bakur and Mirdat (Miriban) and does not tell us anything about the rule of Vache, Bakur and Mirdat, apart from mentioning the fact of their reign: "and after Vache, his son Bakur came to the throne; and after Bakur - Mirdat, the son of Bakur reigned..."

This is comprehensible: indeed, the chronicler placed the three kings on the king list twice and thus doubled the number of kings. But he could not tell us about "the life" of the same king twice!

Let us return to the reign of Hamazasp. Two epigraphic inscriptions lately discovered in Bagineti (1993 and 1996) give us some important notes from the biography of this king of Kartli. Though these two inscriptions were discovered at different times, it is obvious that they belong to the same person - Queen Drakontis, the wife of king Hamazasp. From the inscription it becomes clear that Drakontis was the daughter of the king of Armenia - Vologezes (Valarsh).

Inscription #1: "the kings (the name of the kings are not decipherable) Mamamdzudze and Ezosmodzgvari (tutor and governor) had an underground construction (or: a water-pipe and a bath or a water-pipe for a bath) made at his own expenses and contributed it to the Queen Drakontis".

Inscription #2: (the name of the person in the dative case) to the daughter of the king of Armenia Vologezes and the wife of Hamazasp the King of Iberians, Anagranes, Mamamdzudze and Ezosmodzgvari contributed an underground construction (or: a water-pipe and a bath or a water-pipe for a bath) built with their own hands."

In Armenian historiography the death of Valarsh (Vologezes II) cannot be dated precisely. However it is assumed that he reigned in the period before 198. According to Movses Khorenatsi, Valarsh II was alive before 216 and Khosro, the father of Trdat, was his son and direct heir. Based on the above-mentioned inscription and the Zoroastrian Kaaba, we can conclude that Movses Khorenatsi was right in dating the death of Valarsh II to 216. Hamazasp, who was the King of Kartli in the 260s and was at the age when he could participate in his last fight (about 265 AD) - where he died ("The Life of Hamazasp") - could not have been the husband of a woman whose father died in 198 AD.

The current inscriptions clarify the dates of king Hamazasp's reign. Zoroastrian Kaaba's inscription told us that he was the king of Kartli by 262. The Baginetti inscriptions, discovered in 1990s, make it clear that it was King Hamazasp and not Aspagur that reigned at the time of Armenian king Khosro. And the passage from "Aspagur's Life", which describes the struggle of Georgians and Armenians against Sassanids, tells us about the joint fight of Khosro and Hamazasp and not Khosro and Aspagur. And all this was possible till 256 before Shabur I killed Khosro. As for Hamazasp's nephew (son of sister) Rev, who - after the death of Hamazasp in the battle - as the son of an Armenian king becomes the governor of Kartli - is the first Sassanid on the throne of Kartli; because in the middle of 260s, when the above-mentioned should have happened, the only Armenian king was Shabur's son and his heir Hormisd-Ardashir. Consequently, Rev could have been the son of only Hormisd-Ardashir.

This can explain why Hamazasp occupies such an important place in the Zoroastrian Kaaba Inscription. There is another fact confirming the above statement. In the inscription, apart from the sons of Shabur, there are also their Sassanid wives. Just two of the wives of princes are not mentioned on the inscription, which makes V. Lukonin doubt their non-Sassanian origin. One of the two princes is Hormizd-Ardashir. By the way, the son of Hormize Ardashir - Hormizdak - is mentioned in the inscription of the Zoroastrian Kaaba. However further he disappears. We consider that named Rev, he became the king of Kartli after the death of Hamazasp, approximately in 265.

A few years later Shabur I died (272) and his son Armenian King Hormizd Ardashir became Persian Shakh. Hormizd-Ardashir was not Shah for a long time. Soon he died. After his death the heredity of the Shah throne continues through his brothers and their sons: Varakhan I (274-276), his son Varakhan II (276-293) and later Shabur's brother Nerse (293-302). Afterwards, descendants of Nerse ascended the throne. As for the descendants of Hormizd-Ardashir, they disappeared from the political arena of Iran for ever.

Upon the confrontation of the inscriptions of "*Kartlis Tskhovreba*", *Moktsevai Kartlisai*, Zoroastrian Kaaba and the Inscriptions of Baginetti, we can see that after the killing of Hamazasp, inspired by Iran, the Sassanid branch came to the throne in Kartli. Namely, the son of the King of Armenia - the nephew of Hamazasp, known as Rev in Georgian sources, was actually the son of the Shah of Iran Hormizd-Adashir, probably the same Hormizdak. Presumably, that is why he disappears from the Sassanian Palace after the death of his father. Hormizdak//Rev was removed from the Iranian throne because of the non-Sassanian origin of his mother and to him was given "a northern

province” of the Sassanid Iran. In *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”*, information on the size of the territory where he ruled is presented accurately (though the chronicle mixes facts from the lives of Rev and his son Mirian). There is the following list there: Kartli, Armenia, Ran, Movakan, Hereti. Facts from the life of Mirian are presented in a different way. In the biography of Mirian, there is a confluence of his life with that of his father Rev.

Based on *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* the King following Hamazasp in Kartli was Rev. At the same time from one of the segments of the old Iranian text describes the voyage of the disciple of Mana – Mar Amo - we can learn that the King of the Varuchan country (Iberia//Kartli) by 272 is HBZA, whom M. Tsotselia wrongly identifies with Hamazasp. The thing is that the Mana Teaching is one of the early-Christian sects. It is closely associated with other Judaic Christian Gnostic sects. We can see from the inscription of Mar Amo that the king of Kartli became one of the followers of the sect in question. Georgian sources have no similar information about Hamazasp. Though, they contain the following statement on king Rev. *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”* relates the following about him: “However king Rev was pagan, he was merciful and gracious to all those in need, since he had listened to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and he had love for Christ. During the reign of Rev there was no killing of youngsters in the Kingdom of Kartli for sacrificing to idols, as before. And while he reigned no one ever killed youngster for idols. Instead, the King suggested to people to offer sheep and cows in sacrifice. For this the king was called Rev the Righteous”.

Based on the above given information we should have no doubts regarding to which of the kings of Kartli came to Mar Amo and to whom he preached his doctrine. While considering the name “Rev” M. Andronikashvili states that it should be an abbreviated form of the composite “Rev Niz”, which is translated into Georgian as the defearer of falsehood (Rev is an Iranian name which means “false, perfidious”). The scholar also remarks that the Georgian “Martali” (Righteous) should be the translation of this “Revniz”. Thus, name Rev(niz) and the Georgian equivalent “Martali” is the nickname of the king, the same way as the name “Vache” is the nickname of Mirian. The real official name of the king should have been Hormizdak, as we have stated. Most probably that is what the inscription HBZA means, where “baza” is the second constituent word of the religious name of the Kings of the Parnavazian Dynasty in Kartli (Parna-baza). As for “H” - we consider that this must be the first letter of the name “hormizdak”.

One thing is evident. By the time Mar Amo came to Kartli in 272, it was ruled by the nephew of the King of Kartli Hamazasp – the son of the “Armenian King” Shah of Iran Hormizd-Ardashir – possibly Hormizdak. Hormizdak, is known in Georgian sources as Rev(niz), that is “Righteous” because of his tolerance of the Mana Doctrine, soft-heartedness and justice to his subordinates. Hence, at the end of the 260s the Sassanid Branch set in Georgia

According to *“Kartlis Tskhovreba”*, the first Sasanid was Mirian and not Rev. This unintentional mistake proceeds from the big mistake of the chronicler, when he failed to identify the sameness of two parallel chronicles and doubled three kings. The chronicler was informed on the settlement of the “Sassanids (Khosroians) and the “Sassanid origin” of King Mirian. Nonetheless, since he missed the direct link between Mirian

and his father Rev, he presented Mirian as the first Sassanid. This is how the information on “the Life of Rev” and “the Life of Mirian” interflowed and got mixed.

Hence, since Rev the Righteous was already the king of Kartli when Mar Amo arrived, he was presumably crowned no later than 266. We have come to this conclusion based on the following judgement: True, Hamazasp agreed to the situation in South Caucasus and recognized the rule of Shabur at that time (this connection of Iran and Iberia, as we have stated above, was also strengthened by marital ties: the sister of Hamazasp married the son of Shabur Hormizd-Ardashir) in reality he stayed an adherent of Rome. Such a dual position (from the point of view of Iranians) of Hamazasp came to the surface when Shabur arrested the emperor of Rome Valerian. According to the biographer of Valerian, Shabur I sent letters regarding the event to the rulers of various countries. Iberians showed a refractory position regarding the Iranian ruler. “and Iberians, Baktrielians, Albanians and Tauro-Scythian did not get the letters of Shapor. Instead they wrote letters to Roman military leaders and promised to send to them additional troops to release Valerian from captivity”.

The captivity of Emperor Valerian was directly preceded by the inscription of the Zoroastrian Kaaba. Therefore, in spite of the privileged place that Hamazasp occupies on this inscription (as he was the brother of the wife of the heir of Iranian throne), Shabur did not forgive his treachery. Shabur’s elder son and the heir of his throne, the King of Armenia of those times Hormizd -Ardashir - invaded Kartli on the command of his father, killed the king of Kartli in the fight and raised his son Rev (Hormizdak) to the throne.

“*Kartlis Tskhovreba*” considers that Hamazasp was defeated by Rome and its allies because of Hamazasp’s friendship with Persians. As we have seen, Hamazasp’s friendship with Shabur was conditional and the outlook of the former was clearly pro-Roman. Hamazasp was not a victim of Rome and its allies; rather, he was the victim of a joint military operation of Iran and its subordinates at that time (Egrisi – Western Georgian Kingdom - and Armenia). The fact that Hamazasp was confronted by Iran and its adherents (or the subordinates) becomes obvious if we consider the participation of Ovs (Alans) in the coalition. In this period, Alans were a pro-Iranian force. Iran should have been the inspirer the first attack of Alans on Kartli, which Hamazasp beat off nearly by 245/50 with the help of the Armenian King Khosro and King of Egrisi.

Right here, we would like to draw attention to “the Life of Mirian”, which contains a reference to the argument of Mirian with his step-brother over the inheritance of the throne after the death of the Shah of Iran. Actually, this was an argument of Rev, the same Hormizdak, with his uncles after the death of Hormizd-Ardashir in 274/75. Hormizdak, determined as the king of Kartli, who was the son of a mother of a non-Sassanid descent, was refused to ascend the throne of the Sassanids. Kartli and the nearby countries were given to him and his descendants to rule over. It is evident that Rev (Hormizdak) must have died at a rather early age since his son Vache, the same Mirian, ascended the throne at the age of 7.

Hence, Mirian could participate in the battle near Nissibin (in 298 he would be at least 18). The Shah of Iran – Nerse was his close relative and Mirian was perceived as the ruler of one of the northern provinces of the Unified Iranian State.

Based on the above-mentioned, we can have a different perspective of the note of “*Kartlis Tskhovreba*” that Mirian got a portion of the divided Sassanian wealth: Jazirat (the North part of Mesopotamia), a half of Shami (Syria) and Adarbadagan. It is not surprising at all that Rev and his heirs, after dethroned in Iran and after the separation of Kartli and the nearby countries as principedoms, they were given a part of the general Sassanian income in Mesopotamia, Syria and Adarbadagan, as a form of compensation.

In the end, we can conclude that the new historical sources presented in the current report, and based on them the re-consideration of information of old historical sources, open up a completely different, new perspective on the reconstruction of historical developments of third century Kartli, Egrisi and Armenia and the whole South Caucasus.

References

- Amiane, Marcelini. (1961). *Georgica, Information of Byzantine Writers on Georgia*, v. I, Tbilisi.
- Kartlis Tskhovreba. (1955). Texts according to the basic ancient manuscripts determined by S. Kaukhchishvili, *Volume I*.
- Kaukhchishvili, T. (1998). *New Greek Inscriptions from Mtskheta-Armazi, a scientific session devoted to the memory of Revan Kiknadze*, Session Materials, Tbilisi.
- Tacitus. (1979). *The Notes of Tacitus on Georgia*, Latin text with Georgian translation, with the introductory essay and commentaries published by Alexandre Gamkrelidze, Tbilisi.
- Khorenatsi, Movses. (1984). *The History of Armenia*; translation from old Armenian, Introduction and Notes – Aleksandre Abdaladze, Tbilisi.
- Tsereteli, G. (1948). Epigraphic Finds in Mtskheta, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, N-2.
- Tsotselia, M. V. (1975). *From the History of Relations of Kartli with the Sassanid Iran* (according to the Monuments of Material Culture), Tbilisi.
- Andronikashvili, M. (1962). *Essays from the Language Relations between Iran and Georgia*, I, Tbilisi.
- Lomouri, N. (1975). *Essays from the History of the Kingdom of Kartli (Iberia) (in the Third Century and the Beginning of the Fourth Century)*, Tbilisi.
- Sanadze, M. (2001). *Kartlis Tskhovreba and The Ancient Period of the History of Georgia*. (From Kartlos to Mirian), Tbilisi.
- Lukonin, V. G. (1979). *Iran in the Third Century*, M.
- Lukonin, V. G. (1969). *The Culture of the Sassanid Iran* M.
- Mommzen, T. (1945). *The History of Rome* т. V, M.
- Herzfeld, E., Paikuli. (1924). *Monument and Inscription of the History of the Sassanid Empire*, I Glossary, Berlin.