

Surveying Georgia's Past **On The Use Of Cartographic Sources** **For Caucasian History**

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Abstract This study represents the historical geographer's approach to the History of cartography. Modern historians of the Roman Empire and archaeologists misuse geographical information from Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus–Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia in the standard set of twenty-seven maps, including a world map, all in the Ptolemaic model, with twenty-six regional maps. In fact, modern writers on ancient history think that the story of maps is linear–beginning, middle and end. But the case of Ptolemy is typical in that his work began to have a powerful influence in the fifteenth century. After Ptolemy's death in the second half of the second century, however, his Geography had disappeared for a thousand years, and with it the idea of coordinate-based mapping according to a mathematical grid system. No original copies from Ptolemy's own time have survived. A medieval Greek copy without maps only reappeared in fourteenth-century Florence, with maps first drawn by Florentine cosmographers in further copies in 1415. Here we have an antinomia, an apparent contradiction, which nothing but the History of cartography solves as “Ptolemy's paradox”. Ptolemy's maps of Roman Britain makes a striking contrast with the map showing our present state of knowledge about the British Isles. It has long been recognized as a puzzling fact that, in Ptolemy's map of the British Isles, the shape of Britain is turned abruptly to the east from the latitude 55° north, corresponding to Scotland, so as to make a right angle with the southern part of the country–England and Wales. But what is unknown still is how Colchis (West Georgia), Ibería of the Caucasus (East Georgia), Albània of the Caucasus (Alania / Daghestan), Upper or Greater Armenia, Media (Osroenê / upper Mesopotamia) and Assyria are misaligned west-east, and distorted as well. The “dogleg” appearance of the Mescit Mountains (currently Turkey) is a distorted feature which occurs exclusively on Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus. Since A.D. 114 the three Kingdoms of Colchis, Ibería and Albània of the Caucasus had been federated with Rome. Since A.D. 117 the neighbouring provinces of Greater Armenia, Media and Assyria had been annexed to the Roman Empire, when Ptolemy composed his system of geography about A.D. 150. As a result, the Ptolemaic map of the Caucasus is quite useless in the history of the Caucasus. Ignoring the set of Ptolemy's maps of all the countries and even the question of Ptolemy's distortion, however, modern historians of ancient Rome and archaeologists in the Caucasus consult Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia as a source of primary information.

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Keywords Ptolemy. Distortion. Georgian-Gorge. Gates-of-Ibería-or-Caucasian. Caspian-Gates. Alan-Gates.

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1 The Paradox of Ptolemy

By the time of Marinus of Tyre (fl. A.D. 107-114) and Claudius Ptolemy (A.D. c.90-168), Greek and Roman influences in cartography had been focused to a considerable extent into one tradition. Almost all our knowledge of Marinus is derived from Ptolemy's *Geography* about A.D. 150. Notwithstanding his immense importance in the study of the History of cartography, however, Claudius Ptolemy remains a complicated figure to assess.

Many questions about his work remain unanswered. Very little is known about Ptolemy the man. Moreover, in relation to the cartographic component in his writings, we must remember that no manuscript copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* earlier than the end of the fourteenth century has come down to us. The oldest extant Ptolemaic maps are products of the scholarly exertions of Manuel Chrysoloras after A.D. 1397 and manual labour of European map-makers about A.D. 1415 (*Codex Urbinas Graecus 82*).¹

Ptolemy's work lay hidden for countless years and found no one to bring it to light. Most serious of all is the whole debate about the true authorship and provenance of the general and regional maps that accompany the versions of the first surviving copies in Greek dating only from the second decade of the fifteenth century. As we elaborate in the upcoming sections, it was the work on geographical coordinates that a small group of scholars carried out in the 1410s and 1460s at Florence and Vienna, and nearby Klosterneuburg. Although Leo Bagrow, Gerald Crone, Roberto Almagià and other authors claim it cannot be established whether maps were drawn in connection with the *Geography* in the second century of the Christian era, a rereading of the early Greek version may demonstrate that such maps existed. And yet, there is no general agreement on this question, and it illustrates how the whole subject of Ptolemy's role in cartographic development must be handled with caution (Harley, Woodward 1987, 177-8).

Corresponding to our natural perception of time, we commonly consider time and mapping experience in the physical artefacts we now call maps as proceeding linearly from the Past to the Present, from a unique predeces-

1 Chrysoloras, a Greek scholar from Constantinople, was invited to the first Chair of Greek Letters in the Studium of Florence. The Byzantine monk Maximos Planudes is also credited with having found a copy of Ptolemy's work. But when and how the scholar Planudes (c.1255-1305) came across a Greek manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography*, which had disappeared for many years, is unclear and in need of judgement (Berggren, Jones 2000, 43, 46, 49-51; but see note 65 on Kugéas 1909, 115-8). Yet it seems in 1295 that this monk of Chora at last found a copy, sadly lacking maps, of the *Geographike Hyphegesis* of Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria. In a poem Planudes refers enthusiastically to Ptolemy's work and world map; cf. Dilke O. and Dilke M. 1994, 117. The more specific argument that the oldest extant Ptolemaic maps are products of the scholarly exertions of Maximos Planudes about A.D. 1300, however, depends primarily on a poem which had vanished for many years.

sor and successor. Unfortunately, this is dangerous, scientifically false and an all too common mistake in those who are not familiar with the History of cartography-map history. Chapters in the History of cartography do not proceed linearly with time. The oldest surviving copy of Ptolemy's Greek text was actually compiled more than a thousand years after he wrote in the second century. The last attestation dates back to the sixth century. There was utter silence then. The art of delineating maps, exhibiting either the figure of the whole earth as far as it has been explored, or that of particular countries, was known to the ancients. Some of these maps are mentioned by Herodotus and early Greek writers, but no Ptolemy's maps prior to those which were formed in 1415 from his listed geographical coordinates in order to illustrate his *Geography* have reached our times (Codazzi 1950, 15, 23-4, 28-9).

Ptolemy's *Geographike Hyphegesis* is a "Guide to Drawing a World" in eight books but better known as the "Geography". The paradox is that Ptolemy's map is more commonly used as a creation before the time of portolan charts in the early 1300s whereas it was first constructed in the 1400s. The oldest-known dated portolan chart was made by Pietro Vesconte of Genoa in 1311.

In any event, all that can be said with certainty is that Ptolemy provided raw material for future map-makers to work, and for modern writers to write fiction instead of history. In general, the historical geographer follows Bagrow's reasoning in concluding that manuscript and printed maps based on Ptolemy from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries cannot be regarded as reliable primary sources for answering questions on ancient geography. Bagrow even argued that Ptolemy's text must be inauthentic on the basis that some place-names demonstrably post-date Ptolemy's lifetime (Bagrow 1945, 318-87).

So how representative are those place-names? The object of this paper is to show how Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus seriously distorted the physical truth. Specifically, my analysis will focus on the following research questions:²

2 The work in this paper is an elaboration of ideas on my lecture delivered at the Vatican on 27 November 2013. H.E. Khétévane Bagration de Moukhrani, Ambassador of Georgia to the Holy See and the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, hosted a guest lecture on 'Georgia in the European Identity.' The occasion was the Third Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius, Lithuania, EU. H.R.H. Princess Khétévane Bagration de Moukhrani gave a 'Guest of Honour' address in which she pointed out how Georgia actively participated in the EU's Eastern Partnership programme. In her lecture H.E. Irena Vaišvilaitė, Ambassador of Lithuania to the Holy See, emphasized the importance of cultural, religious and social features in defining European identity (*Georgia and European Perspectives*). In her lecture Prof. Dr. Patrizia Licini, Geographer of the Italian Association (A.Ge.I.), called attention to historical Georgia, which was Europe on the Juan de la Cosa oceanic portolan chart of 1500 (www.mappaemundi.eu.ge. *Il contributo della Georgia al processo della costruzione europea*).

- a. Why did modern historians of the Roman Empire and archaeologists misuse geographical information from Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus?
- b. How might historical cartography create a Georgian identity that is not fixed over time but articulated in time, using legal documents and certified maps of location, plans, specifications, estimates, and statements?

A map is, after all, thought to illustrate the geography of a nation's domain, the legitimacy of a country's ancestry, as well as the nature of the people ruled over by a sovereign state. Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus, however, is made up of badly constructed parts. The latitude of Pontus is correctly known, and as an inscription says, the proper Pontus lies in latitude forty degrees north, inside what is now Turkey. It is bounded by modern Georgia (Colchis) on the north. Nonetheless, Ptolemy's Colchis (West Georgia), Iberia of the Caucasus (East Georgia) and Albania of the Caucasus (Alvania, Daghestan) are five degrees too far north, occupying the same latitudes as East Crimea. From these authentic facts it results that modern historians and archaeologists are deceived when they, aware or unaware, assume the Ptolemy map of the Caucasus as a resource for making their works sound coherent. Instead of assuming that the geographical testimony of Ptolemy is not true, they assume that the presentation of the Roman past flows naturally from this muddled and garbled source, largely indifferent to physical reality. In fact, from the point of view of the History of cartography, the source is a Renaissance revival of spurious knowledge lost in the long centuries when Ptolemy's *Geography* was not known nor read.

2 Ptolemy's Maps at Fault

One might suppose that Ptolemaic space has had a continuous existence from antiquity to the present, but that is not the case. Through most of the middle ages, Ptolemy's *Geography* was unknown. At the time of the last attestation in the sixth century, Cassiodorus the prime minister of Emperor Theodoric recommended Ptolemy's Greek codex to the monks of Squillace, high up on the Calabrian hills, Gothic Italy. With Ptolemy then disappeared the great geographers of antiquity. However, the fortunes of Ptolemy's *Geography* changed abruptly around the year 1406. The explanation of the *Geography's* renewed popularity is to be found in 1397 when Manuel Chrysoloras arrived from Constantinople to Florence via Venice

Details at the site <http://www.easydiplomacy.com/conference-georgia-in-the-european-identity-27-november-2013/?lang=en//>.

bringing a copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* in Greek. Iacopus of Angelus Acciajolus from Scarperia, a Florentine in Rome, completed Chrysoloras' translation into Latin in 1406; in the preface he tells us that Chrysoloras was his *praeceptor*.

Certainly Iacopus' translation had no maps according to Vespasiano da Bisticci, and the family of manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* with attached maps can be dated back to 1415. It was then that first Francesco di Lapacino made maps in Greek in the Greek codices and maps in Latin to accompany the Latin versions in Florence (Mai 1859, 515-6).

Its impact is shown by the number of surviving fifteenth-century manuscripts of the Latin version illustrated with maps and by the succession of the early printed editions. In 1475 the first printed edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* was issued at Vicenza. It consisted of a Latin translation but contained no maps. The first issue with maps came out at Bologna in 1477, Rome in 1478 and 1490, Ulm in 1482 and 1486. Other world maps quickly assimilated elements from Ptolemy's.

However, not all map-makers were affected by that mania. We see little trace of Ptolemy maps in Andrea Bianco's world map of 1436. We see no trace of a Ptolemaic copying method on any early portolan charts. And yet, the oldest extant portolan chart is the Pisan Chart dating from between 1275 and 1291 - that is, eleven centuries after Ptolemy's *Geography*.

The most important copies of Ptolemy's *Geography* are beautiful large-format parchment codices containing illuminated maps. These are of two types: world maps showing the whole surface of the earth and sea, and regional maps. All manuscripts containing maps have the world map laid out according to Ptolemy's first map projection, except for the manuscripts of so-called K version, which employs the second projection, but they fall into two different classes according to the number of regional maps they contain. The traditional class displays twenty-six regional maps, which begin with Britain and end with Taprobana Insula, modern Sri Lanka. Such are ten maps of Europe, four of Africa (Roman Lybia), and twelve of Asia according to Ptolemy (Ptol. *Geography*, book 8.2). The Latin translation was printed in many times from 1475 (Vicenza) on, with revisions of the text and additions of modern maps progressively depicting new lands and uncharted seas. However, old and new maps were framed in the Ptolemaic rediscovered grid of latitude and longitude circles, by which the position of any place on earth could be defined.

The fact is that Ptolemy's values for latitude were in error by up to 5°; longitude was even worse because there was no reliable method to determine geographic longitude, a problem that remained until the invention of the chronometer near the end of the eighteenth century.

Ptolemy drew his prime meridian at the Canary Islands, or, as the Greeks and Romans call them, *Fortunatae Insulae*, on the far western edge of the

known world, but as he went further east, errors accumulated. By the time his estimate reached eastern China (*SINARUM REGIO*), the world between the Canary Islands in the Atlantic Ocean and China stretched out through 180 degrees of longitude horizontally. The inhabited world known to Ptolemy did not yet extend eastward much beyond the Ganges and *Sērikē*, the Silk Country, that represents the Chinese terminus of the Silk road. Finally, his known world covered about 80 degrees of latitude vertically from the Equator to the Arctic Circle and North Pole (Berggren, Jones 2000, 33. Codazzi 1950, 9-10).

The problem is that the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy are widely different from modern reckoning, but the places and their distances being still the same, as they ever were, we have to consider what led to his idea of measurements and distanced. The whole known world, according to Ptolemy, had 180° 0' of longitude, extending horizontally from 0° 00' at the *Fortunatae Insulae* or Canary Islands in the Atlantic Ocean. Ptolemy connected Borneo, the Philippines, and Formosa into one line of coast, which he supposed joined to the south coast of China, and here shut in a large ocean gulf, with our Singapore and Borneo at its extremities.

However, Ptolemy made the mistake of stretching Asia out eastward to reach far beyond its real dimensions. Today we know that this distance is actually about 130 degrees of longitude horizontally around the globe, instead of 180. He made a big mistake. Ptolemy's erroneous estimate of the size of the world and his eastern extension of Asia made the distance west from Europe to India seem much smaller than it actually is. Notwithstanding Ptolemy's biggest mistake, and having been followed by institutions, Cristoforo Colombo sailed westward of the Canary Islands, for, on the evidence of Ptolemaic maps in which he had faith, India was at the same latitude. We see it in his copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* printed at Rome in 1478. In fact, he sailed for the Western "Indies" in 1492. But between 1497 and 1504 Americo Vespucci made four voyages to that fourth part of the world which was ever after to bear his name—America. On the authority of *Cosmographiae Introductio* printed at Saint-Dié of Lotharingia (Lorraine) to give America its name on 25th April 1507, the Reign and Empire of the Romans at the time, cosmographers understood that a fourth continent as large as America stood between Europe and Asia. New lands would be discovered, new maps would be drawn. And European explorers and cosmographers would eventually correct Ptolemy's mistakes.

Published in Antwerp in 1570, the great *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius was the first of the modern atlases, the work that led masters of maps definitely out of the Ptolemaic wilderness. Early in the fifteenth century the geography of the second century was rediscovered. The fact was that Ptolemy was all wrong but the mathematized space of Ptolemy's grid covering the whole of the globe was infinitely extendable from observations of the positions of celestial bodies in the heavens.

For a very long time many, indeed most, maps were not constructed within the Ptolemaic space, especially in the middle ages. Portolan charts in the meanwhile were a type of sea map designed to be of practical use to mariners by detailing sailing directions and coastal geography of the Mediterranean, Aegean (Greek) and Black Seas. During the Roman Empire, the Greek and Latin name for the Black Sea was Euxine Pontus, or the Hospitable Sea. Portolan charts were world maps for navigators. They began as mariners' sea charts during the thirteenth century, developing first among the mariners of Pisa, Ancona, Genoa and Venice, and then among the Catalans and Mallorcans. The origin of portolan charts is unknown. However, the compass directions drawn on them indicate the nautical origin of the chart from the use of the magnetic compass. Modern historical geographers call them compass-charts.

In any case, portolan charts in the 1300s are much more correct than Ptolemy's maps constructed on his original projections in the 1400s and 1500s. Anyway, surviving maps were not compiled by Ptolemy himself. The scientific implication of this is that we have no copies of ancient maps based on Ptolemy. Therefore we must constantly question the accuracy of the Ptolemaic texts that came down to us.

In 1466 Ptolemy's map of Britain at first sight is grotesquely inaccurate (Appendix, fig. 1). This is Ptolemy's 1st Map of Europe in the traditional series. Certainly something is wrong here. The map-maker turned Scotland north of the Tay River through 90 degrees so that Britain bends suddenly to the east instead of running broadly south to north. We see it in Nicolaus Germanus' manuscript copy of Ptolemy's world and regional maps displaying Ptolemy's geographical conceptions in 1466. With no exception, however, the maps examined here are the same in all editions. In Florence Nicolaus created the illuminated manuscript of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* in the Latin version of Iacopo d'Angelo da Scarperia and made the world and 26 regional maps for Borso d'Este, the Duke of Modena.³

It has long been recognized as a puzzling fact that, in Ptolemy's map of the British Isles (*ALBION INSULA BRITANICA. IBERNIA INSULA*), the shape of Britain is turned abruptly to the east from the latitude 55° north,

3 In a letter dated March 15, 1466, Borso d'Este, the Duke of Modena, gave the news that "domino Nicolao germanico" had come from Florence and the Duke had obtained a commission to examine his version of Ptolemy's text and maps; Modena, Regio Archivio di Stato di Modena, Cancelleria ducale, Archivio proprio a. 1466; Camera Ducale, Reg.to mandati 1466, f. 125v. Sources edited by Fischer 1902: 113, 2. Borsius Dux [Clarissimo viro Ludovico Casellae referendario et cancellario nostro secreto]; 114, 2a. Borsius Dux [Mandato. Aristoteles de Bruturijs scripsit xxx marcij 1466], 2b. Borsius Dux [Mandato. Aristoteles de Bruturijs scripsit viii aprilis 1466]; 115-16, 5. Lobhymnus des Domnus Nicolaus Germanus auf Italien; 116-21, Widmungsschreiben des Domnus Nicolaus Germanus an den Fürsten Borso von Este und den Papst Paul II. The emended word *Cosmographia* for *Geographia* appears in Iacobus's first Latin translation in Rome.

corresponding to Scotland, so as to make a right angle approximately with the southern part of the country—England and Wales. The strong west-to-east distortion of maps based on Ptolemy's deficient source for the knowledge of Britain, Italy, France, Spain and the Sea of Azov, is known to the History of cartography, but what is unknown still, as I shall try to present it in the next section, is how the fractured structures of the Mescit Mountains, or as the ancients call them, *moschivis montes*, are misaligned west-east, and distorted on Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus, the 3rd Map of Asia in the series. The Mescit Mountains are in what is now northeast Turkey. Not surprisingly, therefore, the geologic structure of the Mescit Mountains is wrongly represented on the map by contour lines based on the shape of a right angle, having two long corridors which give clear, separate channels to travel through.

The 27 Ptolemaic old maps are from Nicolaus Germanus, with the world map given in Ptolemy's first projection of the sphere. However Nicolaus added the new maps of France (*Gallia novella*), Italy (*Novella Italia*), Spain (*Spania novella*) and The Holy Land (*Palestina, Terra sancta*). The four additional *Tabulae Novae* of the manuscript edition are France, Italy, Spain, The Holy Land and Palestine. In fact, in 1466 they represent contemporary countries as opposed to the countries of Ptolemy's time.

The effect of Ptolemy's coordinates on maps drawn from them is also borne out in a number of other examples in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The point is that Ptolemy's *Geography* originally comprises a list of some 8,000 coordinates of places on the earth in the second century of the Christian era. In general, maps drawn from Ptolemy's coordinates are repeated without change.⁴ They are therefore inaccurate in many places, and distorted. However, editions of Ptolemy's text and maps multiplied after 1406 in Greek and Latin versions until they were expunged in the 1570s.

Another paradox was that Ptolemy's old maps gradually came to be no more than a traditional adjunction to Ptolemy's *Geography*, and more and more modern maps "extra Ptolemeum positae" were added to successive editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Even in Italy where Ptolemy's *Geography* was reborn in 1406 and Ptolemy's maps were born in 1415, this trend is apparent. The printed edition of Francesco Berlingeri, Florence, 1482, had four modern maps; Ptolemy's *Geography* printed at Ulm in 1482 presented maps of Spain, Italy, Gaul (France), The Holy Land, the countries of the North, and, for

4 All coordinates are from Stückelberger 2009, 1. Teilband, 122-33. See also 2. Teilband, 5. Buch, Kapitel 1-8 Asien, 480, 1. Karte (Türkei), Kapitel 10-13, Asien, 3. Karte (Kolchis, Armenien); 523, Asien, 1. Karte Klein-Armenien; 543, Asien, 3. Iberien; 544-45, Asien, 3. Karte Albanien 12. Kapitel Albanien/Aserbaidshjan [Asien, 3. Karte]; 547, Asien, 3. Karte Gross-Armenien.

the first time, a map of Eastern Europe and the Baltic littoral: the "Tabula Moderna Prussiae, Sueciae, Norvegiae, Gotciae et Russiae, extra Ptolemeum posita" which has a special explanatory chapter to itself in the 1486 edition (book III.5).

After Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus, we have no other delineation of the Caucasus, till much more recent ages. Although modern maps of Spain, Italy, France, The Holy Land, Prussia, Sweden, Norway, Gothia and Russia were first introduced to the reader as "Tabulae modernae extra Ptolemeum positae" and used as adjustment layers to alter the Ptolemaic set of 27 traditional maps that were not the work of Ptolemy himself but had been executed in accordance with his method in the 1460s and the early 1480s, European map-makers and cosmographers had to wait for another two centuries before Cristoforo Castelli could make the first map of modern western Georgia (Colchis renamed Mingrelia). Castelli's map bears the title *Totius Colchidis, Hodie Mengrelliae a Corace amne ad Phasim usque Descriptio* (Palermo, BC, Fondo Castelli, 3QqE92). It covers the Colchian region from the K'odori River (*Corax*) to the Phasis River, or, as the Georgians call it, Rioni (Lamberti 1654, 210). No doubt, the K'odori mountain valley and river mark the northern edge of Georgia (Colchis). The map was printed from a copperplate engraving at Naples in 1654. (Lamberti 1654, "Tavola De' Capitoli", Castelli's map, attachment. Guiorgazze 1977, 405, N. 525 as explanation of plate N. 524. Licini 1980, 1st map, La Mingrelia, disegno; 1989, 341-42; 2001, 341, N. 1).

Beginning in the 1400s and continuing in the 1500s, Ptolemy's map of Britain is seriously distorted in orientation compared to modern maps, a reflection of the incomplete and inaccurate descriptions of road systems and trade routes at Ptolemy's disposal in the second century, so that north-south distances are greatly compressed relative to west-east distances, and all outlines are accordingly distorted. Similarly, the Sea of Azov (*Palus Meotis*) is exaggerated and too far north, the Caspian Sea in a prone instead of upright position.

And thus Britain is not the only distorted map in the manuscript and printed collections of maps based on Ptolemy's rediscovered *Geography* in Renaissance Europe. Even the Ptolemy map of Italy and Corsica, Ptolemy's 6th European Map from Ptolemy's resurfaced copy of his eight books without maps, is seriously distorted in size and west-to-east orientation compared to modern maps (Appendix, fig. 3). Italy is oriented almost entirely east, having the Adriatic for its northern, and the Tyrrhenian for its southern boundary. In the Augustan period Ptolemy's coordinates for *ITALIA* showing the city of Rome, the capital of the Empire of the Romans, are not as good as one might expect for such a well-known area. It seems inevitable that anyone attempting to draw a map from them would have problems of orientation over the whole Italian Peninsula. And yet, the division into eleven administrative regions by Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavian

Augustus had already been made according to Pliny (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 3,46).

Northern and central Italy are bound to be portrayed with a largely west-east rather than northwest-southeast orientation. Although this applies throughout those areas, it can best be illustrated from the Po valley according to Harley and Woodward (1987, 193-5). If we plot the towns along the *Via Aemilia* (Ptolemy does not give coordinates for roads), we find that many of them lie in a west-east line; the striking result is that the Italian Peninsula appears in too north-south an orientation. This feature applies south of a line Naples - Benevento - Monte Gargano, so that the Italian Peninsula, from Ptolemy's coordinates, presents an unwarranted bend (Harley and Woodward (1987, 195; Lago 1992, I, 32).

In 1466 Nicolaus Germanus' edition of the Ptolemy's *Geography* showing grotesquely distorted maps of Britain and Italy does not differ in any respect from the first extant in a Greek manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography* in the early fifteenth century, the *Codex Urbinas Graecus 82* (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Urbinas Graecus 82*, ff. 63v-64r and ff. 71v-72r respectively).

In accordance with the preceding remarks, the observer should compare Ptolemy's map of North Britain with a modern map of Scotland laid upon it. As I will elaborate in this study, a similar distortion is shown on Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map, Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus. It shows *COLCHIS* (West Georgia), *IBERÍA* of the Caucasus (Kartli, East Georgia), *ALBÀNIA* of the Caucasus (Alvânia, Daghestan), and the neighbouring regions of *ARMENIA MAIOR* (Upper, or Greater Armenia), *MEDIA* (Mesopotamia) and *ASSIRIA* (above Syria). I will use, as an example, Nicolaus Germanus' manuscript copy of 1466 (Appendix, fig. 4).

The third Ptolemaic map of Asia shows Greater Armenia, Media, Assyria, and the three neighbouring Caucasian Kingdoms of the north all lying between the Black or Pontic Sea to the west and the Caspian Sea to the east. Ibería of the Caucasus or, in Georgian, K'art'li, is East Georgia, the historical nucleus of the Georgian nation. In English, the corresponding word is Kartli. The problem of distortion, it appears, can not be separated from the problem of how modern historians on ancient political geography and archaeologists approach, unintentionally, the acquisition of knowledge about the past from Ptolemy's wrong interpretation of the region of the Pontus and Caucasus as it resurfaced in the Renaissance. Ignoring the History of cartography as a discipline, historical and archaeological examination of evidence grounded in Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus is, therefore, utterly worthless and would be rejected by serious historians.

Picking just one map from a complete collection of twenty-seven maps is a daunting task without the support of the History of cartography. Modern Armenians are particularly proud of the copy of Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus which shows Armenia extending from the Black or Pontic Sea to

the Caspian according to Deirdre Holding (2014, 153). And yet, however, a very brief review of Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus in the same series of regional maps showing distorted Britain and Italy would have set its imperfections in a clear light. Indeed, the outline of Armenia is spectacularly wrong. North of the Taurus Mountain front lay a portion of Armenia in what is now northern Turkey (*Thaurus mons-Niphates mons*). However, the map-maker turned Greater Armenia (*ARMENIA MAIOR*) north of the Aras River (*araxes f.*) through 90 degrees so that Mesopotamia (*MEDIAE PARS*), Iraq in ancient times, bends suddenly to the east instead of running broadly south to north. We see it in Nicolaus Germanus' manuscript copy of Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus (Appendix, fig. 4). In this way, Mesopotamia is so incorrectly placed on the map, that it borders the Caspian Sea (*HIRCANUM [SIJVE CASPIUM MARE]*) and is situated on the bottom right of the map. Meaning 'between rivers', Mesopotamia is the West Asian region between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, north of the bottle-neck at Baghdad, in modern Iraq; it is Al-Jazīrah of the Arabs—The Island.

In 1890 Ramsay's *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* was a pioneering work of classical geography and topography, but it should not remain a key reference for archaeologists, classicists, historians of the Roman Empire, Byzantinists. In fact, it examines the trade routes and road systems of Roman and Byzantine Asia Minor and its political divisions into cities and regions. It shows, in the innumerable quotations on historical Armenia from sources, how very much we have really advanced in the knowledge of ancient geography and Ptolemy's inaccuracy. Remarkably, however, Ramsay totally failed to mention Colchis (West Georgia) and Iberia of the Caucasus (East Georgia) in his work. And yet, Colchis and Caucasian Iberia occupied what mostly was then the Kingdom of all-Georgia, stretching from the foot of the Caucasus mountains to İspir, the Geogian Gorge (Gürcü Boğazı) and Bayburt (A.D. 928) in what is now Turkey (see below, note 14).

Rouben Galichain most appropriately concludes his study of Armenia and the region south of the Caucasus on medieval western and Islamic maps, by frankly asserting that "Countries south of the Caucasus can also be seen in the maps of Ptolemy, which are outside the scope of this volume. In maps attributed to Ptolemy, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Greater and Lesser Armenia feature prominently and even have demarcated borders, but one should bear in mind that these maps were made during the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, based on the data provided by the second century texts of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, therefore these borders can hardly be regarded as true second century demarcations" (2007, 198-9).

In criticising the correctness of maps attributed to Ptolemy and attached to his *Geography* in 1415 at the earliest, it should be remembered that he had to depend for his information on the reports of travellers and navigators who were unfurnished with the instruments which we consider indispensa-

ble for the ascertaining of geographical data. The ancient ship's pilot had no mariner's compass, no sextant, and no chronometer in the second century.

But when I consider these maps as primary sources in modern studies of historical geography and connected cartography of the Caucasus, I am unable to accept this explanation as satisfactory, for two reasons. In the first place the mistakes and exaggerations of Ptolemy no doubt have resulted in a very distorted delineation of the outline of the coast, and in a regular and consistent substitution of due north for due east, which is what we find in world and regional maps that customarily accompany manuscript and printed editions of Ptolemy's text resurfaced in the context of Florentine humanism around 1400. The deformation is general in that it extends over the entire length of the Greek *oikoumenē*, or, the "known world" in the second century of the Christian era. In the second place, as for Britain, Cornelius Tacitus did not share at all in Ptolemy's mistake. Tacitus is a near contemporary of Ptolemy. He states that earlier writers had compared the shape of Britain up to Scotland to that of an oblong, small shield (Tac. *Agricola* 10,3):

formam totius Britanniae [...] oblongae scutulae adsimulavere.

This comparison is fairly correct for the nearer half of Britain, but the remoter half extends northwards in the shape of a prolonged wedge or diverging 'V' east of the shoreline on Ptolemy's distorted map of Britain, Ptolemy's 1st European Map in the series (Appendix, figs. 1-2). Indeed, the outline of Scotland is spectacularly wrong, with an eastern protuberance extending far towards the German Ocean (*Oceanus Germanicus*) and modern Denmark.

Certainly, Scotland is bent eastward with an axis at a right angle to that of England on Ptolemy's 1st European Map. This is a usual degree of error for Ptolemy. The Mediterranean basin as a whole has been badly distorted in overall length. In fact, Ptolemy showed the length of its axis as 62° rather than its correct extent of 42° from west to east (Bennett Durand 1952, 100). The distortion of the Mediterranean followed from its fundamental error in seriously underestimating the earth's size (Appendix, fig. 5). Ptolemy also extended the continent of Asia too far to the east by some 50°.

In Ptolemy's Britain, - as, I suppose, is also the case in the Caucasus, - there is a big distortion.

3 The 'Dogleg' Appearance of the Mescit Mountains

The revival of Ptolemy in Europe was almost entirely the work of members of humanistic circles in the century when America was discovered. Ptolemy's erroneous estimate of the size of the world and his eastern extension of Asia made the distance west from Europe to India seem much

smaller than it actually is. In fact, editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* misled Colombo into thinking that in the Carribean Sea he had reached India across the Western Ocean in 1492.

Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map in the standard set, then, belongs to a whole group of maps which can not be seen as a culminating development in a line of tradition going back to the Roman period. In the fifteenth century it depicts the Caucasus region on the basis of Ptolemy's erroneous calculations in the second century.

The ancient writers locate Ibería of the Caucasus in a country stretching from the Caucasus Mountains to the Meschic, or Moschic Mountains, formed by the last range of high and steep mountains belonging to the Euxine Pontus, that is to say, the Pontic Alps on the Black Sea.⁵ Not at all the questions that this paper seeks to answer are immediately obvious, at least to modern historians of ancient Rome. I should perhaps therefore briefly attempt to clarify my approach. I believe that ancient Mescit Mountains and modern Mescit Dağları in northeastern Turkey were Caucasian Ibería (East Georgia). Native speakers call it Kartli. The third side, towards the west, is terminated by a chain of mountains to which Pompey's campaign gave the general name of *Meschici montes* in the year 65 before Christ, or, as Strabo calls them, the Moschic mountains (Μοσχικοῖς), touching Armenia.⁶

Twice Nicolaus Germanus explains them as *moschivis montes* (*mosch[vi] s montes-moschivis mon[te]s*). On Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus they are laid in a simple grid pattern, the coordinate system of latitude and longi-

5 "a Scriptoribus Byzantinis omnibus appellantur Iberes (Ἰβηρες), [...] Anno enim ante C. N. 65 a Caucaso usque ad Meschicos montes et Pontum Euxinum pertinebant". Stritter 1779, 25; see also 268 note a "Ioannis Zonaræ Annarium X.4: Pompeius Afranio: Iberi, hi ad Meschicos montes et Pontum pertinentes" and paragraphs dedicated to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great), 66-65 before Christ, 3rd Mithridatic War against Mithridates the King of Pontus escaping to Colchis (West Georgia), Pompey's campaign in Ibería and Albània 65 B.C. (source: *Plutarchi Pompeius*, c. 36-46 et 50).

6 Strabo 1877, *Geographica*, 691, 698-699, 11,2,1, "After the Heniochi is **Colchis, lying at the foot of the Caucasian and Moschic mountains.** [Μοσχικοῖς], 11,2,13, "The whole of the coast of the **Achæi**, and of the other nations, as far as Dioscurias, and the inland places lying in a straight line towards the south, are at the foot of the **Caucasus**. [15] This mountain overhangs both the **Euxine** and the **Caspian** seas, forming a kind of rampart to the isthmus which separates one sea from the other. To the south it is the boundary of **Albania** and **Iberia**, to the north, of the plains of the **Sarmatians**. It is well wooded, and contains various kinds of timber, and especially trees adapted to shipbuilding. Eratosthenes says that **the Caucasus is called Mount Caspius by the natives, a name borrowed perhaps from the Caspii. It throws out forks towards the south, which embrace the middle of Iberia, and touch the Armenian and those called the Moschic mountains,** and besides these the mountains of Scydises, and the Paryadres. All these are portions of the **Taurus**, which forms the southern side of **Armenia**, and are broken off in a manner from it towards the north, and extend as far as **Caucasus**, and the coast of the **Euxine** which lies between **Colchis** and **Themiscyra**. [16"]. For the English versions, see Strabo 1856 (Falconer ed.), 1928 (Jones ed.).

tude; nearer the Caucasus they are in alternating rows, with a distinctly dogleg effect (Appendix, figs. 4, 6).

These mountains have never been identified on Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia. Originating in the western part of the Mescit Mountains, however, the Č'oroxi River flows 466 km (290 miles) before reaching the Black Sea in modern Georgia. The Mescit Mountains are called, in the Georgian language, Meskhes (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 124, n. 1).

How was it, that the Mescit Mountains have never been identified? The Mescit Mountains in the real world, however, do not turn abruptly to the east from the latitude 45° north as to make a right angle from west to east, that is to say from the Pontic or Black Sea to the confluence of the rivers Aras (*araxes f.*) and Kur (*Cirus Fluvius* = *Cirus fluvius* = *Cyrus River*) on Ptolemy's erroneous map. The Turks call it Kura Nehri and the Georgians call it Mtkvari. The Azeri call it Kür, 70 miles south of Baku (Appendix, fig. 6). On a map of the fifteenth century, *Boschis mons* and *Boschius mons* are graphic variants of the same name, Moschic, in an altered shape as a 'dogleg right' (Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, *cod. Lat. V F. 32*).

There is evidence for sudden changes in direction at Sebastopolis, lower Colchis (West Georgia), where the Mescit Mountain range stretches into the valley of the Phasis River (*F. phasis* = *Fluvius phases*), current Rioni River, modern Georgia. The range then reaches the valley cut by the confluence of the river Kur (Cyrus) and Aragvi before artificially climbing up to Albània of the Caucasus, the third of the Caucasian countries depicted on Ptolemy's map in 1466. The Cyrus is the transboundary Kur River in modern Turkey and Mtkvari in modern Georgia. Here we see Mcxeta (*mescheta*), the ancient capital of Iberia of the Caucasus (Kartli. Eastern Georgia) since the people called Kartveli had been associated with a set ethnonym, and the mythical city of Armazi (*armatica* = *armatica*).

The sinking city of Colchian Sebastopolis was still visible on portolan charts of the middle ages. To the south of Poti, Sebastopolis was where the Horse River (Hippus, ცხენისწყალი) and the Phasis River (Fasso, Rioni) end in an extensive coastal swamp, as it was depicted on Castelli's map 1654 (Lamberti's report on Colchis, or, Mingrelia).⁷

In any event, Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus is quite useless in the history of the Caucasus, showing the wrong latitude of 45° north for the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains (Appendix, fig. 4). It actually corresponds to the latitude of Crimea (45°3'N). And yet, there is a note in red ink in the right margin, the outside margin, which states that the

⁷ Inscriptions are *Fasso Fl. accolis Rion*; *Hippus Fl. accolis Scheni schari*; *Puti*; *Sebastopoli*. See also Lamberti 1654, § Delli Fiumi, 209; Castelli's map, attachment; Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, Fondo Castelli, 3QqE92, fol. 52v "Predica nella villa di Sebastopoli, dove fu anticamente una città famosissima"; and *Totius Colchidis*, map. See Guiorgazze 1977, 389 and image n. 338; Licini 1980, map 1, reproduction.

parallel of mid-Pontus corresponds to the latitude of 40° North (“Quartus decimus Paral[lelus] p[er] mediu[m] Pontum”). To the south the Pontic Alps are actually located at latitude 40° North. Strangely enough, however, the map-maker did not take notice of the given latitude.

The geographical latitude of 45° north, erroneous as it is *per se*, also conveys the false and misleading information that the three States of Colchis (West Georgia), Iberia of the Caucasus (East Georgia) and Albania of the Caucasus (Alvania) in what is now Daghestan, Azerbaijan, were all aligned in parallel in a west-to-east direction from the *Phasis* River, ancient Colchis, currently the Rioni River, modern Georgia.

At first sight the Mescit Mountains are grotesquely inaccurate on Ptolemy's 3 Asian Map, the map in the series Nicolaus Germanus made covering the Caucasus and neighbouring regions in 1466 (Appendix, figs. 4, 6). It shows the wrong latitude of 45° north for the upper Mescit Mountains, and 47° and a half (1/2) for the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains.

In design the dogleg is the absolute change of direction; a dogleg is a route, way, or course that turns at a sharp angle, originally a type of staircase; a road doglegged through the mountains is something bent like a dog's hind leg. In any event, the “dogleg” appearance of the northern Mescit Mountains is a distorted Ptolemaic feature which occurs throughout the series of 27 maps from the early fourteenth century, and which we first see on Ptolemy's map of Britain—the 1st Map of Europe in the series. In any event, the “dogleg” appearance of northern Britain is a Ptolemaic feature that becomes more conspicuous with mapping (Harley, Woodward 1987, 190).

In fact, the prominent feature in the physical geography of Pontus is presented in its vast mountain-system, which should have stretched in unbroken line along the southern flank of Pontus. Here the chain of the Mescit Mountains stretches almost unbroken northeast from Bayburt to İspir, Yusufeli, Kara Dağ near Dere in the province of Artvin, currently, Turkey.

To an eye accustomed to modern maps of the world, Ptolemy's Europe is the most instantly recognizable of the three known continents. The outline of the European mainland is complete as far north as the east coast of the Baltic Sea. But distortions of direction and scale are obvious in the more remote parts toward the north and west, as in the outlines and relative position of the British Isles; and even in the Mediterranean there is a surprising error of orientation in the shape of Italy (Appendix, figs. 1, 2, 3, 5).

No doubt it is only with hindsight, and a knowledge of correct coastal outlines that we can see this in the Ptolemy maps of Britain, Italy and France. These regional maps were constructed from Ptolemy's text and added to the book by a copyist at any date between the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* around 1397 in Europe and the earliest known manuscript editions in Greek and Latin with maps in 1415. But indeed, the outline of Scotland and Italy on the portolan chart is more accurate.

When we examine the Ptolemaic maps that have survived since 1415, however, it becomes clear that the basic principle of linear perspective was not yet practised as the “vanishing point” was still to be invented (Valerio 1998, 265-90).⁸

Rather, Ptolemy's *Geography* is driven by the idea of simply rendering visible the form and pattern of the earthly sphere considered as a mathematical, solid figure. We have to imagine a canvas enveloping the sphere in miniature form. Importantly, there are three ways to get input coordinates of points painted on a canvas as a two-dimensional surface resembling a map. The three ways discussed in Ptolemy's books are very different. The resulting three-dimensional model projected onto the flat table is then employed to locate, on the simulated earth's surface, points in respect of which no direct measurements have been actually taken (Farinelli 1995, 139; Neve 1999, 207).

So is Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map, *Tertia Asiae Tabula*, the map depicting the Caucasus (Appendix, figs. 4, 6). However, geographical objects such as settlements and isolated cities are not fuzzy in themselves, but they are fuzzy with respect to the precision of the underlying knowledge. Inland frontiers and broad boundaries, such as those shaping collective identities in terms of sovereignty in Caucasian Iberia (Kartli, East Georgia), are harder to identify than the extended lateral seaward boundaries of a coastal State. Consequently, today historical geographers have to rely on literary sources, although this does not necessarily mean that the source is the most accurate one. One of the primary sources of evidence in history is testimony by witnesses, or others who have firsthand knowledge of the geographical area in question. Witnesses who provide inaccurate testimony may face oblivion and their testimony may be impeached, or set aside, when it can be demonstrated that it knowingly did not provide truthful testimony.

Primary sources such as Strabo's geography and the Elder Pliny's natural history are original materials. Strabo was born to a Greek family from Amasya Pontica, south Pontus under Roman rule, in 64 or 63 B.C. in what is now Turkey. And Pliny had the opportunity to see what he describes as *situs depicti*, “places drawn”, or “coloured plans” at Rome within A.D. 79. The Caucasus is depicted in a series of full-coloured maps (Plin., *Naturalis historia* 6,15):

After we pass the mouth of the Cyrus [the Kur River], it begins to be called the ‘Caspian Sea;’ the Caspii being a people who dwell upon its

⁸ Francesco di Lapacino first made maps in Greek and Latin to accompany Ptolemy's editions in Florence about 1415. In 1425, only 10 years after the first extant Ptolemaic maps, Filippo Brunelleschi discovered the vanishing point, which would give to two-dimensional works of art the illusion of depth and consistent scale.

shores. In this place it may be as well **to correct an error into which many persons have fallen**, and even those who lately took part with Corbulo in the Armenian war. **The Gates of Ibería, which we have mentioned as the Caucasian, they have spoken of as being called the 'Caspian,' and the coloured plans which have been sent from those parts to Rome have that name written upon them** [hi Caspias appellavere Portas Iberiae, quas Caucasias diximus vocari: situsque depicti et inde missi, hoc nomen inscriptum habent]. **The menaced expedition, too, that was contemplated by the Emperor Nero, was said to be designed to extend as far as the Caspian Gates [*ad caspias portas*], where as it was really intended for those which lead through Ibería into the territory of the Sarmatae; there being hardly any possibility of approach to the Caspian Sea, by reason of the close juxtaposition of the mountains here.** [...] There are, however, other gates, which join up the Caspian tribes; but these can only be distinguished from a perusal of the narrative of those who took part in the expedition of Alexander the Great.

For my purposes, this puts the matter very clearly. The Kur flows from north to south, and takes its rise in the Caucasian Mountains of Ibería, currently, Georgia (Kartli, East Georgia). We have no difficulty in finding the mouth of the Kur River, or, as the ancients call it, the Cyrus, on whose banks the Caspii live. They give the Caspian Sea its name according to Pliny. The mouth of the Kur River fronts on the Caspian Sea and extends 70 miles south of Baku in what is now Azerbaijan. The Emperor Nero organized an Armenian campaign, which was to extend as far as Sarmatia, currently, Russia, through the territory of Ibería of the Caucasus. Immediately after the Armenian campaign in the year 63, however, the Roman Army never reached the objective. Pliny is saying that the primary reason for the worst days in Roman military history was the failure of Nero's general Corbulo to proceed by neutralizing the enemy's defence and strongpoints through surveying and cartography. In fact, Pliny's new drawings are inscribed "The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates". Yet here Pliny says that "The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates" are not to be confused with "The Caspian Gates", as the Gates of Caucasian Ibería "do not" lead from Ibería of the Caucasus to the Caspian Sea.

Where are the Gates of Ibería, or, the Caucasian Gates, which lead from Armenia northwards across the mountains of Ibería of the Caucasus (Kartli) into Sarmatia (Russia)? Nor is it a very easy task to trace their topographical situation and origin. Maps serve to clarify complex areas where you might go wrong. And really, in point of fact, to use for the conveyance of land, inaccurate maps is worse than useless; it is likely to lead to dispute and litigation. Ptolemy's map of France, Europe, is one of the 26 regional maps in a fifteenth-century manuscript of the Latin

version of Ptolemy's *Geography*. And yet, it exemplifies the strength and the weakness of Ptolemy's maps. Positions of places are determined by geographical coordinates, and even degrees of latitude and longitude are entered in the margin. The work seems perfect. But the coordinates are often incorrect, and contemporary portolan charts offer a more accurate map of the French Atlantic coast (Harvey 1991, 58).

Although Ptolemy's lists locate 8,000 places by their geographical coordinates, it is clear that these did not all come from immediate observation of the earth but they were worked out from whatever information was available to him, such as accounts of journeys giving distances from one place to another and tables of coordinates. This means that their appearance of great accuracy is often spurious.

No wonder, then, that the map of the Caucasus displays the same type of distortion (Appendix, figs. 4, 6). On Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map, the inland State of Iberia of the Caucasus (Kartli, Eastern Georgia) lies at the same parallel of latitude as the coastal State of Colchis (Western Georgia) to the west on the Pontic or Black Sea, and the coastal State of Albania of the Caucasus (Alvania, Daghestan) to the east on the Hircanian or Caspian Sea: the wrong parallel of latitude 45° North.

The name Mesopotamia comes from two Greek words that mean "middle" and "rivers". Both the Tigris and the Euphrates, currently, Dicle Nehri and Firat Nehri, still begin in mountains that are modern-day Turkey and Iraq. Roman Mesopotamia, or, as Ptolemy calls it, Media, should be a land surrounded by two rivers, but incredibly, it is a sea-coast land on Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map (*MEDIÆ PARS*). The land of the Medians here stretches from the Euphrates and the Tigris eastwards, to the shores of the Caspian Sea (*HIRCANUM [SI]VE CASPIUM MARE*. Appendix, figs. 4, 6).

In 1466 Nicolaus Germanus, the map-maker, duly added land to land till no space was left on the graph paper according to Ptolemy's grid methodology. As a result, the Hircanian or Caspian Sea is in a prone instead of upright position. Even so, a bit of Mesopotamia (*MEDIÆ PARS*) protrudes eastwards into the frame and it ends unfinished.

Indeed, the outline of Upper or Greater Armenia (*ARMENIA MAIOR*) and Mesopotamia (*MEDIÆ PARS*) on Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map are spectacularly wrong, with an eastern protuberance of the land of the Medians extending far towards the Caspian Sea. Mesopotamia is bent eastward with an axis at a right angle to that of Greater Armenia.

We see it in how misaligned west-east are the fractured structures of the Mescit Mountains, currently, Mescit Dağları, Turkey, and how they turn abruptly to the east from the latitude 45° north so that one parallel line can be drawn through the wrong points Colchis (West Georgia, Caucasian Iberia of the Caucasus (East Georgia, Kartli) and Caucasian Albania (Daghestan) on Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map. The Mescit Mountains are *moschivis montes*, which are seriously distorted in size and west-to-east orientation

compared to modern maps. We can see the level of distortion in the way in which the Mescit Mountains are represented as a series of peaks, forming a pattern similar to the letter Z on the Ptolemaic 3rd Map edited by Nicolaus Germanus in his codex of 1466, the exemplar we are following (Appendix, fig. 6).

From this description I can conclude that Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus is as distorted as that of Britain. At the very best, distorted as it is, the course of the Euphrates River, currently, Firat Nehri, is an utter confusion of names at pleasure, a conjectural location of nonsense within geographical coordinates of "nowhere" that could have deceived even Trajan's commanders in A.D. 114.

Yesterday and today, reasoning about single cities, mountains, lakes, sites often involves uncertainty and imprecision. For example, when we talk about Kayseri of Kapadokya in modern Turkey today, that was *Caesarea Cappadociae* in Greek Anatolia in the Roman reign, or, as the Greeks called it, *Romània*, we usually do not know exactly the boundaries of the region called Kapadokya. Nonetheless, purely geographic names as posts along the Roman public road can be very problematic if we decide to enlarge the view of the scene in progressive steps through Greek Anatolia including Kapadokya and the river Euphrates (Firat Nehri mod. Turkey). Cities, mountains, lakes, sites are no more than spots on the regional map if they have no reference whatsoever to the administrative situation of the territory as a whole through the creation of transportation links with the rest of the area, whether included in one sovereignty or another. It simply regards the fact whether grants arise under the same or under different States. Of all geographical indications and ancient limits of Greek Anatolia, Kapadokya is the Anatolian portion of the Roman Empire at the "Head" of historical Syria and Cyprus, currently, south-east Turkey, according to primary sources.⁹ Matters of such importance as the conveyance of sovereignty and political jurisdiction of lands are not left to inference or conjecture.

History reveals that Colchis, the eastern end of Pontus, occupied the territory that is modern Georgia. But the Colchian coast-line on Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia is nothing more than the Cappadocian coast turned the wrong way! In fact, the Pontic port of Trabzon (*trapesoz*) is depicted to the west of Kapadokya (*Capadotię pars*. Appendix, fig. 6). This is yet another case of the inlet and outlet connections being wrongly located on Ptolemy's maps.

Today the Ch'orokhi is a trans-boundary river, currently, Çoruh Nehri in Turkey and ჭორღობო in Georgia. From the west summit of the Mescit

9 Bongars 1611, 30-81, Roberti Monachi Historia Hierosolimitana, 3, vv. 16-18 "Dehinc prospero successu venerunt ad *Caesaream* Cappadociae. *Cappadocia* autem regio est in capite *Syriae* sita, ad Septentrionalem plagam porrecta; cujus incolae civitatis ultro se tradiderunt eosque benique receperunt".

Mountains, currently, Turkey, the Ch'orokhi River flows through Bayburt. The Ch'orokhi River, at its sources, flows and extends across the western part of the Bayburt Plateau on the isolated Mount Uzundere, and it marks the west flank of the Mescit Mountains. At the Bayburt Plateau's western edge is Vardzahan, renamed Uğrak today. Then the river suddenly bends to the east and runs to the İspir Plateau. It flows through the cities of İspir, Yusufeli and Artvi, and passes out on the east to the Pontic or Black Sea at Batumi, modern Georgia.

Mount Uzundere is the isolated one of the chain of the Mescit Mountains stretching almost unbroken northeast from Bayburt via İspir and Yusufeli to Kara Dağ near Dere, which is a town in the province of Artvin, currently Turkey.

Trabzon is the Hellenic colony in the Roman Empire on the frontier with Colchis (West Georgia), as Arrian observes in his survey report to Emperor Adrian about A.D. 132. West of wrong Kapadokya (*Capadotię pars*) as it is, however, the port of Trabzon (*trapesoz*) looks strange on Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus. In fact, on Xenophon's authority as eye and ear witness, Arrian says that the Trapezuntines have inhabited the eastern end of Pontus bordering on Colchis since the Hellenic colony from Sinop in Pontus settled east at this spot. And when Arrian was himself at the spot, he must have possessed the very best means of information (Arrian 1885, *Periplous*, 15,1). Arrian was a native of Greek Pontus, and born in Nicomedia, Roman Bithynia (currently İzmit, Turkey). Since A.D. 129 Arrian had been appointed as governor of the Roman province of Kapadokya when he set sail for Colchis.

Ptolemy wrote a text describing world geography as it was understood around the year 150. And yet, in the year 132 Arrian says that the Colchians border on the Trapezuntines. Thus the Trapezuntines and the Colchians (western Georgians) were neighbouring peoples. Nonetheless, *Capadotię pars*, the wrong section of Kapadokya, thus covers the sea route north from Trabzon (*trapesoz*) to the Roman fort called Apsarus and takes a northeastern direction to the Colchian shore. After all, it may be said, the fort is correctly located at the mouth of the river of the Apsua, *Apsor[orum] fluvius*] on Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus (Appendix, fig. 6). Its position, however, as the third river of Kapadokya, is wrong. In the myth, the river Apsarus was named after Apsyrtus, the man who was murdered by Medea. Now Gonio Fortress, previously called Apsaros, or Apsaruntos, is a Roman fortification in Adjara (Aç'ara), modern Georgia, on the Black Sea as the Pontic Sea is called today, 15 km south of Batumi, at the mouth of the Ch'orokhi river (Tsetschladze 1999, 118-9, Gonio-Apsarus; Kakhidze et al. 2002, 251-62).

Ptolemy's west-to-east orientation sharply contrasts with the north-south geography of the Mediterranean region and connected seas, including those basins such as the Black or Pontic Sea, the Sea of Azov or Lake

Maiōtis, and the Western Ocean all connected by the Strait of Hercules to the larger Ocean basin (Ptol., *Geography*, 7,5,7). But in spite of the egregious errors on all of Ptolemy maps, his *Geography* was an unsurpassed masterpiece for almost a hundred and fifty years. The reintroduction of his geography into the Latin West in 1406 influenced cartography decisively for more than two centuries. Many editors had laboured to reconstruct Ptolemy's maps in manuscript, but it was the multiplied production made possible by the arrival of the movable type printing press that made them accessible to a wider audience late in the fifteenth century.

Thus, the importance of the Ptolemy maps does not lie in their accuracy. It lies in the merits of the mathematical method of their construction as plane representations of the surface of the sphere, irrespective of the accuracy of the information they display.

A map based on Ptolemy's instructions is puzzling in many ways. It is hard even to draw, as his text places long rivers only by their sources and mouths, and strings of notable peoples loosely "above" or "below" each other in the great days of the Roman Empire (Thomson 1948, 245).

And the districts of the native peoples are only roughly delineated by Ptolemy (Berggren, Jones 2000, 90, 120).

World and regional maps that show information about the past or where past events took place are called historical maps today. Historical maps are important tools in understanding history on the clear understanding that geographical information obtained from transmitted copies of ancient texts is accurate. In the critical study of ancient texts today, the general principle in the formation of the best version of a text is that of following evidence, and in cases of discrepancy, of discriminating those which have originated in mistakes (Prindeaux Tregelles 1856, 140-1).

The assumption that Ptolemy made an erroneous estimate of the value of the degree of the equinoctial line from west to east is deeply embedded in the History of cartography. It is thus surprising to find that modern historians of the Roman Empire and archaeologists are not aware of Ptolemy's mistakes and take everything the Ptolemaic map of the Caucasus displays for truth.

4 The Gates of Ibería or the Caucasian Gates

Different authors put the natural boundaries of the Caucasian region in different places. On the one hand, on Ptolemy's authority about A.D. 150, in 1466 Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus should show where the three Kingdoms of Colchis (West Georgia), Ibería of the Caucasus (Kartli, East Georgia) and Albània of the Caucasus (Alvànìa, Daghestan) actually end, and where the neighbouring Roman provinces of Armenia the Greater, Media (Mesopotamia) and Assyria begin in the Roman Principate in A.D. 117

according to *Breviarium historiae romane* of Eutropius (*Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 363). The section in Eutropius' *Compendious History of Rome* is based on fragment 4 from *Principia Historiae* by M. Cornelius Fronto, a man of consular authority (c.100-late 160s). On the other, Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis historia* writes a topographical account of the Caucasus within A.D. 79 of the Christian era. And as we have just seen, Pliny the Elder describes Albània of the Caucasus, Colchis, Ibería of the Caucasus, Armenia and Media (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,15, 17,14, 17,15).

From Pliny we learn three things on the Caucasus within A.D. 79. The first concerns surveying plans of Ibería (Kartli) of the Caucasus in Rome; the second, local place names and their geographical features; the third that the error of many should be corrected at this point, even of those who were recently on campaign in Armenia with Corbulo, the Roman governor of Syria. In 61-2 the military expeditions of Nero's governor Corbulo in Armenia produce what Pliny describes here as *situs depicti*, places drawn, coloured plans in form of a coloured map. But Corbulo made a big topographical mistake according to Pliny. Corbulo fought a number of campaigns to recover Armenia from Parthia and planned operations in the Caspian theatre. In this place, however, it may be as well to correct an error into which many persons had fallen, and even those who lately took part with Corbulo in the Armenian war: two are the passes which through Caucasian Ibería lead, alternatively, into Sarmatia, currently, Russia, or the Caspian region.

Thus, Pliny, in the sixth book, is at pains to make this clear. The "other pass" should properly be called "The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates" and they must be clearly distinguished from the Caspian Gates as Corbulo erroneously called them. Along the coast of the Caspian Sea, Pliny explains (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,15, 16,16, 6,17,14, 6,17,15):¹⁰

10 Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,5 "Flumina per **Albaniam** decurrunt in mare, Casius et Albanus: deinde Cambyses in **Caucasiis** ortus montibus: mox Cyrus in **Coraxicis**, ut diximus. **Oram omnem a Casio praealtis rupibus inaccessam, patere [ccccxxv] mill. auctor est Agrippa.** A Cyro Caspium mare vocari incipit; accolunt Caspii. Corrigendus est in hoc loco error multorum etiam, qui in Armenia res proxime cum Corbulone gessere. Namque hi **Caspias appellavere Portas Iberiae, quas Caucasias diximus vocari: situsque depicti et inde missi, hoc nomen inscriptum habent.** Et Neronis principis comminatio, **ad Caspias Portas** tendere dicebatur: quum peteret illas, **quae per Iberiam in Sarmatas tendunt, vix ullo propter adpositos montes aditu ad Caspium mare. Sunt autem aliae, Caspiis gentibus iunctae:** quod dignosci non potest nisi comitatu rerum Alexandri Magni. XVI. Namque **Persarum regna, quae nunc Parthorum intellegimus, inter duo maria, Persicum et Hyrcanium Caucasii iugis adtolluntur.** Utrumque **per devexa laterum Armeniae maiori** a frontis parte, quae vergit in **Commagenen, Cephena**, ut diximus, copulatur eique **Adiabene, Assyriorum initium:** cuius pars est Arbelitis, ubi Darium Alexander debellavit, **proxima Syriae.** Totam eam Macedones Mygdoniam cognominaverunt a similitudine. **Oppida: Alexandria, item Antiochia quam Nesebin vocant.** Abest ab Artaxatis [dcl] M. passuum. Fuit et Ninus, imposita Tigri, ad solis occasum spectans, quondam clarissima. Reliqua vero fronte, qua tendit ad Caspium mare, Atrapatene, **ab Armeniae Otene**

there are the Albani, the descendants of Jason, it is said; that part of the sea which lies in front of them, bears the name of 'Albanian.' This nation, which lies along **the Caucasian chain, comes down, as we have previously stated, as far as the river Cyrus, which forms the boundary of Armenia and Iberia** [*Armeniae confinium atque Iberiae descendit*]. Above the maritime coast of Albania and the nation of the Udini, the Sarmatae, the Utidorsi, and the Aroteres stretch along its shores, and in their rear the Sauromatian Amazons, already spoken of. The rivers which run through Albania in their course to the sea are [...] and next **the Cyrus, rising in the mountains of the Corax** [*in Coraxicis*], as already mentioned. Agrippa states that the whole of this coast, inaccessible from rocks of an immense height, is four hundred and twenty-five miles in length, beginning from the river Casius [*a Casio*]. After we pass the mouth of the Cyrus, it begins to be called the 'Caspian Sea;' the Caspii being a people who dwell upon its shores. In this place it may be as well to correct an error into which many persons have fallen, and even those who lately took part with Corbulo in the Armenian war. **The Gates of Iberia, which we have mentioned as the Caucasian, they have spoken of as being called the 'Caspian,' and the coloured plans which have been sent from those parts to Rome have that name written upon them** [*Namque hi Caspias appellavere Portas Iberiae, quas Caucasias diximus vocari, situsque depicti et inde missi hoc nomen inscriptus habent*]. The menaced expedition, too, that was contemplated by the Emperor Nero, was said to be designed to extend as far as the Caspian Gates [*ad caspias portas*], where as it was really intended for those which lead through Iberia into the territory of the Sarmatae [*ad Caspias Portas.. per Iberiam in Sarmatas tendunt*]; there being hardly any possibility of approach to the Caspian Sea, by reason of the close juxtaposition of the mountains here. There are, however, other gates, which join up the Caspian tribes [*aliae, Caspiis gentibus iunctae*]; but these can only be distinguished from a perusal of

regione discreta Araxe. Oppidum eius Gaza, ab Artaxatis [cccc] M passuum: totidem ab Ecbatanis Medorum, quorum pars sunt Atrapateni. XVII.14. Ecbatana caput Mediae, Seleucus rex condit, a Seleucia magna [dccl] M passuum: **a Portis vero Caspiis** [xx] M. **Reliqua Medorum oppia, Phazaca,** Aganzaga, Apamia Rhapsane cognominata. **Causa portarum nominis eadem quae supra, interruptis angusto transitu iugis, ita ut vix singula meent plastra, longitudine [viii] mill, passuum, toto opere manu facto. Dextera laevaue ambustis similes impendent scopuli, sitiente tractu per [xxviii] mill. passuum. Angustias impedit corrivatus salis e cautibus liquor atque eadem emissus. Praeterea serpentium multitudo, nisi hieme transitum non sinit.** XVII.15. **Adiabenis connectuntur Carduchi quodam dicti, nunc Cordueni, praefluente Tigri:** his Pratitae, παρ' ὀδὸν appellati, qui tenent Caspias Portas. Iis ab latere altero occurrunt deserta Parthiae, et Citheni iuga". Latin edition 1906, Mayhoff. English version 1855, Bostock and Riley. Words are evidenced for sake of convenience.

the narrative of those who took part in the expedition of Alexander the Great. And indeed the kingdom of the Persians, by which we now understand that of Parthia, is elevated upon the Caucasian chain between two seas, the Persian and the Hyrcanian. As we said, to the Greater Armenia [*Armeniae maiori*], which in the front slopes towards Commagene,¹¹ is joined Cepheneia, which lies upon the descent on both sides thereof, and next to it is Adiabene, the place where Assyria begins; a part of which is Arbilitis, where the army of Darius was defeated by Alexander, and which joins up to Syria. The whole of this country was called Mygdonia by the Macedonians, on account of the resemblance it bore to Mygdonia in Europe. Its cities are Alexandria, and Antiochia, also called Nisibis; this last place is distant from Artaxata seven hundred and fifty miles. There was also in former times Ninus, a most renowned city, on the banks of the Tigris, with an aspect towards the west. (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,15, 6,16)

A few chapters later, Pliny remarks that (*Naturalis historia*, 6,16, 6,17,14, 6,17,15):

[6,16, end] Adjoining the other front of **Greater Armenia, which runs down towards the Caspian Sea, we find Atropatene, which is separated from Otene, a region of Armenia, by the river Araxes.** Gazae is its chief city, distant from Artaxata four hundred and fifty miles, and the same from Ecbatana in **Media, to which country Atropatene belongs.** [6,17,14]. Ecbatana, the capital of Media, was built by King Seleucus, at a distance from Great Seleucia of seven and fifty miles, and twenty miles **from the Caspian Gates** [*a Portis vero caspiis*]. **The remaining towns of the Medians, the people of Media, are Phazaca, Aganzaga, and Apamea, surnamed Rhagiane. The reason of these passes receiving the name of "Gates", is the same that has been stated above. The chain of mountains is suddenly broken by a passage of such extreme narrowness** [*interruptis angusto tran-*

11 Samosata (currently Samsat) is the capital town of the Seleucid kings of Commagene. The land lies outside the River Euphrates according to Procopius. It was a crossing point on the River Euphrates. By reason of its strong position on the right bank of the River Euphrates (currently Fırat Nehri, Turkey), the city of Samosata / Samsat was the terminal road of the great Euphrates via Sadak (anc. Satala) and Eski Malatya (anc. Melitene) in Armenia. Procopius (1833, *De bello Persico*, 2,17,18-2,17,30) says that "The land which lies outside the River Euphrates, beginning with Samosata, was called in ancient times Commagene, but now it is named after the river. But the land inside the river, that namely which is between it and the Tigris, is appropriately named Mesopotamia; however, a portion of it is called not only by this name, but also by certain others. For the land as far as the city of Armida has come to be called Armenia by some, while Edessa together with the country around it is called Osroene, after Osroes, a man who was king in that place in former times, when the men of this country were in alliance with the Persians".

situ iugis that, for a distance of eight miles in longitude, a single chariot can barely find room to move along: the whole of this pass has been formed by artificial means. Both on the right hand and the left are overhanging rocks, which look as though they had been exposed to the action of fire; and there is a tract of country, quite destitute of water, twenty-eight miles in extent. This narrow pass, too, is rendered still more difficult by a liquid salt which oozes from the rocks, and uniting in a single stream, makes its way along the pass. Besides this, it is frequented by such multitudes of serpents, that the passage is quite impracticable except in winter. [6,17,15] **Joining up to Adiabene are the people formerly known as the 'Carduchi,' now the Cordueni, in front of whom the river Tigris flows [*praefluence Tigri*]:** and next to them are the Pratitae, entitled the *Par Odon* [on the road], who hold possession of the Caspian Gates. On the other side of these gates we come to the deserts of Parthia and the mountain chain of Cithenus.

Two are then the geographic objects in the four cardinal directions which are both erroneously described as "Caspian Gates" in the reign of Nero. We must bear in mind that there are "other gates" leading through Caucasian Iberia into Sarmatia, Russia in the future, than the "Caspian Gates", and that Pliny the Elder can now see the exact location of "the Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian" leading through Iberia of the Caucasus into the territory of Sarmatia. In fact, the coloured plans which have been sent from those parts to Rome have that name written upon them. To the west of the mouth of the Kur River (*Cyrus*) flowing into the Caspian Sea from the K'odori mountain valley (*Corax*, Colchis, currently West Georgia), the former "Caspian Gates" are labelled "the Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian" in Pliny's time.

They set a course in an unknown direction to us, and by attending to the possibilities which such a new direction gives we can now gain the means of putting the question rationally as to whether "the Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian" exist or not. We have to assume that Pliny the Elder had at hand "places drawn / *situs depicti*" and drew upon a number of them to complete his book on the Caucasus.

At first sight the "Caspian Gates" in the Caucasus are easy to identify. The Caspian Gates are, currently, the "Gates" at Dariali Gorge (Darialis Kheoba) at the east base of Mount Kabegi (Kazbek) linking northern Georgia and southern Russia in current geography. The Dariali Gorge is pierced by the river Terek. Today, the Dariali Gorge has many names: the Caspian Gates, the Caucasian Gates, the Gates of Iberia of the Caucasus, and even the Gates of the Alans as the Albanians of the Caucasus were called in what is now Dagestan.

However, in book six Pliny the Elder has given an independent descrip-

tion, founded on the actual knowledge of his time. These observations apply especially to book 6,15, where he corrects the Roman notion that “the Caspian Gates” are those leading through Ibería of the Caucasus into the territory of the Sarmatians (Russia). A story is fictitious which has no foundation whatever in truth. Among the Romans guilty of the mistake which Pliny the Elder corrects is Corbulo, Nero’s general in the Armenian war. Failing to reach targets across an enlarged theatre of operations, which the war now demanded, he had to beat a retreat to the south side of the Armenians.

Thus “The Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian”, which lead north along Caucasian Ibería into Sarmatia (Russia), are still to be rediscovered.

My specific aim is then to find out where the distinction between Ibería of the Caucasus (Kartli, East Georgia) and Armenia at the geographical level occurs, and whether Ptolemy or Pliny should be the model for modern historians and geographers. I shall start with Pliny’s comments on the Gates of Ibería, which he mentioned as the Caucasian Gates.

Thus there were full-colour maps depicting the Gates of Ibería, otherwise called the Caucasian, on display in Rome in the first century of the Christian era. Pliny fairly describes them as topographical maps of the Caucasus (*situs depicti*). In some convenient part of the plans the Roman surveyors wrote the title of the place, “The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates”, in large characters.

Then, a few lines further on, Pliny catapults us into mystery. Joining up to *Adiabene*, the place where Assyria begins, are the people formerly known as the “Carduchi” now the *Cordueni* in front of whom the river Tigris flows. But where is *Adiabene*? A large portion of Armenia consists of plains, and a large portion also of mountains, as *Cambysene*, where Armenians approach close both to the Iberians and the Albanians of the Caucasus. From Greek Pontus, Strabo tells us that, “Armenus of Armenium, a Thesalian city, accompanied Jason, in his expedition into Armenia, and from Armenus the country had its name, according to *Cyrsilus* the Pharsalian and *Medius* the Larisaen, persons who had accompanied the army of Alexander. Some of the followers of Armenus settled in *Acilisene*, which was formerly subject to the *Sopheni*; others in the *Syspiritis*, and spread as far as *Calachene* and *Adiabene* beyond the borders of Armenia” (Strabo 1856, *Geografica*, 11,4,1; and 4,8).

So *Adiabene*, where Assyria begins, lay beyond the borders of historical Armenia, currently, Turkey. Therefore *Adiabene* is out of Armenia. According to this disposition, then, the first portion towards the north of *Adiabene* (Assyria) is inhabited by the *Cordueni* of Pliny. In fact, joining up to *Adiabene* are the people formerly known as the *Carduchi*, now the *Cordueni*, in front of whom the river Tigris flows (*Naturalis historia*, 6,17,15).

Very often, however, Eduard Böcking observes, Byzantine translators

of Pliny's Latin text use the term "Cardueni" in Greek.¹² And the variant name "Kardueni" can be taken from any source.¹³

The Cardueni, or, Kardueni remain unidentified and the case is still unsolved. Other peoples can be rather easily identified in geographical terms in Pliny's time. From north to south, the land called *Adiabene* is the place where Assyria begins beyond the borders of Armenia; a part of it is Arbilitis, the capital town (Pliny). The name is preserved in the modern place-name Arbīl in northern Iraq today. Ninus is Niniveth, Roman Assyria, located on the Tigris River (Pliny), on the outskirts of Mosul in modern-day northern Iraq. Nisibis in Roman Assyria is Antiochia (Pliny), Antiochia Migdonia in Greek, now Nusaybin in south-east Turkey at the border with modern Syria.

And the river *Cyrus* is currently the Kur (*Cirus Fluvius*). Having its sources in Georgia, it is a trans-boundary river, Kura Nehri in the Turkish language, Mtkvari in the Georgian language, Kür south of Baku in the Azeri language (Albània of the Caucasus). The Mtkvari, or, Kur, flows through the very heart of Tiflis, currently Tbilisi, and the province of Trialeti, Georgia.

The Aras River (*araxes f.*) takes its rise in the Başçayı mountains. The valley of the Başçayı River was originally in Armenia. Flowing from the Başçayı mountains today, currently, Turkey, the Aras River joins the Kur River in Albània of the Caucasus (Alvànìa) in what is now Daghestan, and the two pour their united waters through three mounths into the Caspian Sea from the west. Başçayı is *Pasiani* on Delisle's map of 1722 (Appendix, fig. 7).

Beyond the Mescit Mountains is the Başçayı River where the Aras River takes its rise.

It is crucial, in our view, that if Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili the Prince of Georgia says that the valley of the Başçayı River ("le Basian") had originally belonged to Armenia when the Bagratid dynasty conquered it, there is clear evidence that the Iberians, or, as the Georgians call themselves, the Kartlians (eastern Georgians), conquered the Armenian valley of Başçayı at some point of their history. In the Mescit Mountains, Oltu was the highest, southernmost point of the Kingdom of the Iberians of the Caucasus (Kartli) above Armenia, Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili says. The post-war frontier changes have brought the Armenian valley of the Başçayı within the confines of Iberia of the Caucasus. And Aşkale, province of Başçayı, is situated in the southern part of the valley, the town lying on the northern bank of the Aras

12 Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,15,17 "Adiabenis connectuntur Carduchi quodam dicti, nunc Cardueni, praefluente Tigri". See also Böcking 1839, 416,32 "Notitia Orient. Dux Mesopotamiae: Cordueni, qui et Cardueni scribuntur".

13 Peter the Patrician, *Fragments*, from the edition by Karl Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, IV, 187, published in Paris in 1928.

River (*Araxes*).¹⁴ It happened in A.D. 928, when Romanos I Lakapenos and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, the co-emperors of the Romans, agreed that the Aras River should serve as the boundary line between the two States of the Romans and the Caucasian Iberians (Kartlians). Thus from Constantinople the co-emperors “abandoned all the country north of the said river to the Iberes” as Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus observes in *De administrando imperio* (Bekkerus 1840, Const., *De administrando imperio*, § 45, 204-5).

From Constantinople, or, as the Turks call it, İstambul, Constantine's diplomatic codex of the Roman administration has very justly said that the King of the Iberians is a *socius*, or, ally of the Roman Empire when they sign the treaty with him in A.D. 928 containing the clauses on the northern bank of the Aras River and Armenia.

A Roman province since A.D. 117, Armenia is directly controlled by the Emperor of the Romans through a strategos, a commanding general. Consequently, the two sovereign parties to the treaty still are the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Iberia of the Caucasus in A.D. 928.

Then we see something odd on Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus, the 3rd Map of Asia in the distorted set of 1466. The northern section of the Caucasus Mountains gradually dies away east of the sources of the *albanus-Albana* river towards the Caspian Sea (Appendix, fig. 6). Two bolted doors point to a passage on the map. The Caucasus Mountains that constitute this interrupted chain stretch along in uniform ridges. The legend reads: “The Gates of Albània” (*Porte albaniae*). And it is strange enough to find the course of a single river with a double name, *albanus. Albana Flu*. It independently flows to the Caspian Sea (*HIRCANUM [SI]VE CASPIUM MARE*).

The twin river system is represented by a single waterway sector, specified in the Ptolemaic model as Albània of the Caucasus in what is now Azerbaijan. The Alazani option seems to me by far the most probable, since there are two rivers bearing the name of Alazani (Alazan), within few miles

14 Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 121-2, “Il y a des bourgs sur les rivières; les habitants ressemblent à ceux des contrées déjà décrites. Idi et Naroumac [**Narman**] sont entièrement comme le Thrialetth [**Trialeti**] et le Djawakheth. - Au S. d'Olthis [**Oltu**], de Nariman et d'Idi, au delà du **mont Iridjlou**, est le **Basian** [**Başçayı**]; bien que ce pays appartienne à l'**Arménie** [**Armenia**], ayant été conquis par les Bagratides, il fit depuis partie de Samtzhké [**Mesxeti**]. Le Basian est aux sources du **Rakhs ou Arez** (l'Araxe). Sa ville principale s'appela autrefois Basian, et tout le pays en prit le nom. Maintenant la ville se nomme Asan-Qala [**Aşkale**] et se trouve au milieu du Basian, sur le bord septentrional du Rakhs [**Aras / Arax**]: ce n'est pas une ville considérable. Le pays est borné: à l'E., par un rameau de la montagne du midi qui est celle d'Arménie; à l'O., par la montagne d'Iridjlou et de Déwaboïn; au N., par les mont Iridjlou et Qalnou; au S, par une montagne partant du Déwaboïn et par celle de l'Arménie. Dans ce pays le Rakhs reçoit, à droite et à gauche, des rivières sortant des montagnes, et dont les rives sont garnies de bourgs”. From now on Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili will be used to refer to Prince Vaxušt'i (Bagrat'ioni / Bagration, 1696-1757), the son of King Vaxt'ang VI.

of each other. Greater Alazani and Lesser Alazani, or, as the Georgians call it, Iori (Jor), flow in parallel valleys in a southeastern direction and eventually joint together before emptying into the much larger Kur River (*Cyrus, Cirus Fluvius*). Indeed Greater Alazani in K'axeti, and Lesser Alazani in Tušeti, both derive their name from Alan, Alban. The latter of these is now scarcely known under that name; Iori is also called in modern documents, from "Iora", split in two (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 289).

Place-names are the most perceptible indicators of the reticulate Caucasian Iberian-Caucasian Albanian linguistic bond. Both the Alazani may be the rivers mentioned as *albanus-Albana Flu.* in Albània on Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus. However, Greater Alazani is a river in inner K'axeti, Georgia. It flows through the Caucasus Mountains near Telavi, the largest town in K'axeti. Similarly, Lesser Alazani or Iori is a river in Tušeti, currently, Georgia (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 283-5, 317-27).

Upon Alexander's death, *The life of the Kings (K'art'lis c'xovreba)* reports the partition of his empire into four sections. The descendants of the eponym *K'art'los*, from whom the *K'art'velians* arose, soon ascended to the vanguard of eastern Georgia's political and cultural life. In these mountains the waters of both the Alazani take their rise and flow in a south-east direction through *K'art'li* (Kartli), as the *K'art'velians* (Kartvelians) call their own land, that is to say, through Ibería or Hibería of the Caucasus in classical sources and geography.

Consisting of *k'art'vel-* and the geographical circumfix *sa...o*, S'akart'velo has been used in modern times as the official, native name of the country that the ancient writers call Ibería of the Caucasus both in Greek and in Latin. The Georgian circumfix *sa-X-o* is a standard geographical construction designating "the region/place where X dwell", where X is an ethnonym or name of a founding ancestor. Thus, S'akart'velo literally means "the region/place where the K'art'velians dwell". But the ethnonym *k'art'veli* acquired a double meaning: first, its earliest sense, the dominant population of *K'art'li* proper (Kartli), progressively encompassing adjacent peoples and lands in eastern Georgia; and second, the crown's "Georgian" subjects distributed from the Pontic or Black Sea littoral to the far eastern regions of K'axeti and Hereti, bordering and overlapping with Albània of the Caucasus (cf. Rapp 2003, 420; Shurgaiia 2014, 80-1). The toponym *K'art'li* underwent a similar transformation, its "all-Georgian" reach being extended by Kings and their contemporaries.

"Roman age" references to Ibería of the Caucasus and "Bagratid age" references to S'akart'velo in the sense of the all-Georgia realm often occur as a derivation from the Ibero-K'art'velian nucleus; and in this way the term *k'art'vel* came to mean both Iberian (East Georgian) and Georgian, between the year 928 (Roman-Iberian Treaty on the Aras River), and 1008. Before this, it is hardly correct to speak of Georgia as a political unit.

Considering their origin and historical context, K'axeti and Tušeti are

Kartli, that is to say, Iberia of the Caucasus, eastern Georgia. Lastly, this huge Kingdom of Kartli (Iberia) and its states remained undivided right up to the year 1466 of our era, so that K'axeti and Tušeti were Kartli (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 283).

Both the Alazani Rivers are Ibero-K'art'velian—geographically, and historically (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 283). Their lower paths now form the border between modern Georgia and Azerbaijan before they meet the Kur River in northwestern Azerbaijan in what was Albània in ancient geography. Then, the twin Alazani should not have been represented as an independent river, all Alban, or, Alvan, from the head to the mouth on Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus in 1466. The Alazani are misplaced on the map by several hundred miles eastward. They are really tributaries of the Kur River (*Cirus Fluvius*). And yet, no junctions are seen that can be correlated with the Kur, or, as the Georgians call it, the Mtkvari. Moreover, the Kur flows from north to south, and takes its rise in the Caucasian Mountains of Georgia (currently, K'odori River mountain valley: *Corax*, ancient Colchis, western Georgia).

Great Alazani is impassable except at one place: Mosabronu; it was known as "the entrance gate" from the point of view of Russian Transcaucasia (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 307).

If so, the "Albanian Gates" are modernly known as the Abano Pass in the central part of the Caucasus Mountains connecting K'axeti, and Tušeti on the northern side of the Caucasus via Pancia. These are two inner provinces of modern Georgia, Kartli, Iberia of the Caucasus through times of history. On Delisle's map about 1722, K'axeti is the place where the Alazani takes its rise (*Karahulki, Alax R.*), and Tušeti is the place where the Iori as the Lesser Alazani takes its rise (*Tusheti, Iori R.*). Both are tributaries of the Kur River (*Kor ou Mekvari R.*) (Appendix, fig. 8).

We see it in the way Nicolaus displays two bolted doors that here represent the double gates—K'axeti (Greater Alazani) and Tušeti (Lesser Alazani or Iori). If so, however, in 1466 Nicolaus Germanus makes a number of surprising mistakes. In contrast with his map, Kur's important tributaries are Greater Alazani and Lesser Alazani (Iori) on the northern bank, and the Aras on the southern side. The two Alazani do not discharge independently into the Caspian Sea, however, but into the Kur flowing from modern Tbilisi, Georgia, to Azerbaijan. To the south, the confluence of the great Aras (*araxes f.*) and Kur (*Cirus Fluvius*) is shown as the upper end of the zigzag Mescit Mountains stretching eastward into the interior of Albània of the Caucasus, in what is now southwestern Azerbaijan. In this way the Aras and Kur look very far from the twin Alazani (*albanus-Albana Flu.*) on Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map. After this junction at Javād, Azerbaijan, the depth and breadth of the Kur are so much increased, that it immediately becomes navigable for larger boats in the real world. And so the Kur flows onward for fifty miles, through the region where the Caspii dwell upon its

shores according to Pliny, and empties into the Caspian Sea. The Caspii are the people who gave the sea its name.

To sum up our conclusions from this evidence: The twin Alazani (*albanus-Albana Flu.*) are mislocated in places. Once again, we see the strong west-to-east distortion of maps based on Ptolemy's mistake in making Scotland trend to the east instead of the north.

A map supplies a frame of reference without which most passages of history are unintelligible. But so far as I have been able to learn, nowhere except in northern Georgia (Iberia, Kartli) can all these elements (gates, river, the Caucasus, and the Caspian) be found. At the east base of Mount Kazbek, one of the major mountains of the Caucasus, northern Georgia, the Dariali Gorge or Pass alone is at the very centre of the Caucasus where the Terek River takes its rise next to the two Alazani. The Terek flows through modern Russia, or, as the ancients call it, Sarmatia, into the Caspian Sea.

The ancient "Albanian Gates" and the modern "Abano Pass", even if misplaced on the 1466 map, remains the Georgian (Iberian) sector of the Dariali Gorge which does not issue in a pass into the Caspian Sea. From this it follows that Nero's general Corbulo failed to find "The Caspian Gates" through Iberia of the Caucasus when he organized the Armenian campaign, which was to extend as far as Sarmatia, currently, Russia. Now Pliny refers to "the Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian" that he has at hand (*N. h.* 6,15). In fact, the coloured plans which have been sent from those parts to Rome have that name written upon them instead of "The Caspian Gates". Here there is a mistake made by many Romans: they have all called the "Caspian Gates" those of Iberia, or, the Caucasian.

We then go on to get through the entrance and the exit gates. From the ancient "Albanian Gates" and the modern "Abano Pass" where said gates are in position to open the exit to Russia (*Sarmatia*) via Tušeti (Lesser Alazani or Iori) and K'axeti (Greater Alazani), Iberia or Kartli (currently Georgia), we will have to find the route back from B to A, that is to say, from the exit gates to the entrance gates. Indeed, the coloured plans and the places drawn upon, which have been sent from those parts to Rome learn to follow a route all indicated by "the Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian". The plans should lead back through Iberia of the Caucasus from the north side of Sarmatia (Russia) down into the territory of Armenia and the mouth of the Kur River (*Cyrus, Cyrus*).

On the Roman side of the story, around the year 18 A.D. Strabo, the geographer from Pontus, first juxtaposes the *Georgi*, or "tillers of the ground" as the description is based on Greek from *geo*, "earth", and the Sarmatians who are Scythians extending as far as the Caucasus Mountains toward the south. Some of these tribes are nomads, or shepherd tribes, other are *Scenitae* or dwellers in tents, and *Georgi*, or tillers of the ground (Strabo 1856,

Geographica, 11,2).¹⁵ The Georgi from *geōrgos*, farmer, have a different manner of life and take the ethnic name from it. In the Roman language the ethnic word comes via Latin from Greek. In fact, Pliny the Elder calls them *Georgi* about A.D. 79 (*N. h.* 6,14).

There are, however, other gates, Pliny says, and these unknown gates are of extreme narrowness. Pliny brings out very clearly the characteristic features (Plin., *Naturalis historia* 6,17,14). He describe the movement from Media to the land of the Cordueni, even if he does not give the coordinates of the point on the coloured plans. Now the question is: Where are the Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian, that the Romans could see in the first century? Joining up to *Adiabene*, the place where Assyria begins, Pliny says, are the people formerly known as the “Carduchi”, now the *Cordueni*, in front of whom the river Tigris flows. Variants of the name are *Cardueni* and *Kardueni*. And Adiabene lay “beyond” the borders of Armenia according to Strabo of Amasya. Therefore the Cordueni, or, Kardueni are neither the Armenians nor the Assyrians, though there is still not enough information and detail.

Ptolemy’s inexact method resulted in some spectacular mislocations on Ptolemy’s map of the Caucasus made in 1466. Although three passes were often confused by Greek, Roman and Syrian authors and indistinctly called the Caucasian Gates, the Caspian Gates, or, the Albanian Gates, yesterday and today no author can actually point to three passes in the Caucasian region.¹⁶

And, yet, however, further to the south, across the street from Media, Pliny the Elder can see another pass, “The Gates of Iberia as the Caucasian Gates” as the “places drawn” which have been sent from those parts to Rome have that name written upon them (*Naturalis historica* 6,17,14, 6,17,15). He knows it with certainty. The whole of this pass has been formed by artificial means according to Pliny. But we have to find more evidence.

An argument of correct logical form based on false premises can lead to a false conclusion. From the point of view of the historical geographer, my goal in this paper is to prove that Ptolemy’s 3rd Asian Map, the map

15 Strabo 1877, *Geographica*, 11,2 “According to this disposition, the first portion towards the north and the Ocean is inhabited by certain tribes of Scythians, shepherds, (nomades) and Hamaxoeci (or those who live in waggon-houses). Within these tribes live Sarmatians, who also are Scythians, Aorsi, and Siraci, extending as far as the Caucasian Mountains towards the south. Some of these are Nomades, or shepherd tribes, others Scenitæ, (or dwellers in tents), and Georgi, or tillers of the ground [γεωργός]. About the lake Mæotis live the Mæotæ. Close to the sea is the Asiatic portion of the Bosphorus and Sindica”.

16 See, for example, Chrisholm 1911, 832. Michael the Syrian points to two passes in the Caucasus range: the Derbent Pass in Caucasian Albània, present-day Daghestan, also known as “Guard of the Huns” and to the Darial Gorge or Pass in Eastern Georgia (Kartli); see van Donzel, Schmidt 2009, 52-3. Derbent is the city located on the Caspian Sea.

of the Caucasus and the level of the Caspian Sea, has remarkable west-to-east distortion of the geographical features within wrong coordinates of latitude and longitude. Historians of the Roman world and archaeologists should dismiss Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus as having no value as historical evidence.

Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus at first sight is grotesquely inaccurate. Yet if we look at the world map that Pietro Vesconte was drawing at Venice in the 1320s, the scene suddenly changes (London, BL, Add. MS 27376, ff. 187v-188). The Mediterranean and the Black Sea (*mare po[n]ticu[m]*) are no longer an unrecognisable pattern of shapes that can be identified only by the names attached to them, when possible. Instead we see, more or less accurately drawn, the outline that we are familiar with today. This reflects the advent of the portolan chart. A portolan chart can be defined as a catalogue of directions to follow between notable points and mnemonics for recalling lists of ports. The directions are made graphically vivid by the so-called rhumb lines, the radiating lines, measured clockwise from 0° to 360°. The notable points are brought lucidly to our attention by various cartographic images, iconic and symbolic alike. The word *portolano* is Italian and means written sailing directions to accompany wind and current charts. A *portonano* is then prepared by the master of marine charts for a more detailed account of the navigational system.

Portolan, or nautical charts share a characteristic: a network of rhumb lines for the eight primary winds or directions, like a web of a spider, that forms a grid for the map. The network of lines is made within a circle which defines the grid. The radiating lines, called rhumb lines, are for the purpose of plotting a sailing course at sea. Rhumb lines, therefore, converge at the circle's centre. Patterns of squares, triangles and parallelograms are thus visible within the circle on a portolan chart. The navigator can now define and describe the direction in which he is sailing at any particular moment—*e.g.*, N. E. b. E., or N. 56° 10' E. He is also able to take this direction by the help of the magnetic needle, which carries a card divided by rhumb lines exactly similar to those making the division of the horizon. The horizon is divided according to the common method of dividing any circle into 360°.

Let us now consider the case of two places on the earth's surface from one of which we wish to conduct our ship to the other. Sailing to a rhumb line so that a constant direction is maintained in the presence of a steady wind is easy with the aid of our compass. By the 1320s navigators read *GEORGIA* on Vesconte's world map 35 centimetres across, oriented with East at the top.¹⁷ This is actually the modern name for the United Kingdom

17 Kingdoms of Abasgia and Iberia of the Caucasus (Kartli, East Georgia) were united in 1008 (all-Georgia). Christian Abasgi lived in the Kingdom of Abasgia; the land is not to be confused with modern Abxazija and the Abxazi as the Apsua were originally called until the

of the Georgians that the ancients knew as the three Kingdoms of Colchis (West Georgia), Christian Abasgia (mod. Abxazija) and Caucasian Iberia (Kartli, East Georgia). The world map illustrates the manuscript by Marino Sanudo *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis, sive de recuperatione terrae sanctae* when Christian Armenia was invaded from the east by the Turks. An earlier political version of the map of the Caucasus then appeared across a manuscript copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* in Florence first in 1415.

Meanwhile, developments in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries particularly affected the content of portolan charts, compiled from the sailing directions; these works were for the practical navigator. The most important of these developments was the succession of voyages along the African coast, culminating in Bartolomeu Dias rounding the Cape of Good Hope for the King of Portugal in 1488 and presaging voyages of exploration still further afield, in the old world as well as the new. The whole continent of America and whole Oceans wait discovery.

Europe had by now acquired the standard set of maps to accompany Ptolemy's resurfaced *Geography*, a single world map and twenty-six regional maps. But the geographical coordinates were often incorrect, and contemporary portolan charts offered more accurate maps of the coastal areas. The History of cartography deals with original materials from the past. Physical environments did not change significantly in the Pre-industrial World. While historical details, as far as we know, did not survive, the fact is that the maps did. Where was Roman Greece, or, as the ancients call it, *Romània*, now is modern Turkey. Geographically, Constantinople was Greece according to Byzantine-Greek and Latin authors before modern Turkey was created. Greeks in antiquity did not use the term Georgia, but referred instead to western Georgia as Colchis and to eastern Georgia as Iberia of the Caucasus, or, Hiberia. Ancient Colchis was on the border with Trabzon of the Greeks (*Trebisonda*), Chaldia, Roman Pontus. The Georgians, as an ethnic group, identify themselves as *Kartveli / Kartvelians*, and call their land *Sakartvelo*, or the Land of the Georgians. The Georgian language, or, as the Romans call it, "Cardveli" in the seventeenth century, is the only one in the Caucasian family to have its own unique alphabet.¹⁸

nineteenth century. The Apsua or modern Abxazi were partly Sunnah Muslims and partly Pagans from Kuban' Plain and the Sea of Azov in the eleventh century. The tribe of the Apsua moved across the rivers K'odori and Enguri and invaded the lands of Colchis (West Georgia) in the seventeenth century; slowly the name changed to Abxazi as the Apsua did not distinguish themselves among the lowest layers of the original Abasgian or Abxazian society. They still call themselves Apsua. Cf. Magarotto, Shurgaiia 2008, 725-44.

18 Beyond the United Kingdom of Georgia was Greece according to official reports to Popes at Rome and Tsars at St. Petersburg until the eighteenth century, as a result of the Roman Empire's collapse in the East. See Constantinus Porphyrogenitus 1588, Pars Lat., ff. 1-8 "*De Thematibus Liber. Bonaventura Vulcanio interprete: De Thematibus pertinentibus ad regnum Romanum, unde appellationem duxerint, et hae ipsae appellationes quid significant, et quod*

Constantinople is Istanbul today. On the one hand, historical geographers record facts with special reference to spatial organization; they record – in varying forms – who drew what, where, and when. Historical geographers, on the other hand, are concerned not only with reconstructing past geographies, but also with studying geographical changes in political and administrative boundaries over time.

Indeed a map is real when it shows part of the physical universe we live in. However, geographical knowledge of right and wrong is the prerequisite for selecting real and unreal maps before a scientific sequence is made. The best idea may be formed of Ptolemy, by following his own words about A.D. 150. As Ptolemy tells us in the first book, the cartographer's task is not to gather and digest afresh all the information that is to go into the map, but to take as his starting point the most recent comprehensive and competent work of the same kind, correcting and augmenting it using his critical skills and the most up-to-date specialized sources (Berggren, Jones 2000, 23, Ptolemy, *Geography*, 1,4,6).

Consequently Ptolemy is not interested in fresh information that is to go into a map. In Ptolemy's time, however, Emperor Trajan's treaty of alliance has been the most up-to-date specialized source for the Caucasus region since A.D. 114. Then Trajan devoted the years 114 and 115 to the Parthian war. As we have seen, Pliny the Elder says that Parthia is the kingdom of the Persians (*Naturalis historia* 6,15, 6,16). When Pliny the Younger became governor of Bithynia in autumn and winter of 110-111, or 112-113 at the latest, and asked for land surveyors, Trajan turned him down on the ground that he had scarcely enough for the public works in progress in Rome (Plinius junior, *Epistolae*, 10,17b, 8; Sordi 2004, 91 and n. 6). Bithynia was Roman Pontus and Trajan chose Pliny the Younger as his representative for a special mission. Pliny's first task was, in Trajan's words, to inspect the accounts of the various towns as they were evidently in confusion. As for land surveyors, Trajan noted that reliable surveyors were to be found in every province and no doubt Pliny would not lack assistance (*Epistolae*, 10,18). Pliny the Younger then arrived in Bithynia,

nonnullae Graecanicae". And Roma, Curia Generalizia dei Chierici Regolari in Sant'Andrea della Valle, Archivio Generale, Pietro della Valle, *Informazione della Giorgia data alla Santità di Nostro Signore Papa Urbano VIII. Da Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino l'anno 1627*, ff. 1-14; f. 1 "E più à basso nelle parti più Occidentali verso Trabisonda, se non m'inganno, qualche parte anco della Cappadocia. Tutta questa terra, che hoggi parla una sola lingua, a quei popoli propria, è comune, detta da noi Georgiana, ma da loro Cardveli". Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, Description du Karthli actuel; ses frontières, ses montagnes, ses fleuves, les diverses localités et les édifices qu'elles contiennent. Description des lieux remarquables du Samtzhké ou Saathabago, 40, 61, 129-27, 175, 196, 200, 220, 249, 251, 261, 273, 346, 521; 27 "Gourdij Boghaz est précisément à l'O. de Khendzoreth. Cette vallee, jusq'au mont de Baibourd, est la limite de la Géorgie et de la Grèce; elle est étroite, rocheuse et boisée. Au-dessus de l'endroit ou le Gourdji-Boghaz tombe dans la rivière d'Ispira, sont les montagnes que projettent celles de ce dernier pays et qui le séparet de Baibourd, ainsi que nous l'avons dit".

along the shore across the Bosphorus in what is now Asian Turkey. There it is supposed that he remained until his death, which probably occurred in A.D. 113, or 114. Meantime via Kapadokya, Parthamasiris the Parthian had laid aside the style and title of King of Armenia before Trajan since A.D. 106. Trajan was now at Elegia, a town of Armenia (currently Elaziğ, Turkey). Since 106 Parthamasiris had surrendered Armenia, when Trajan replied that Armenia should obey none but a Roman sovereign (Dion Cassius, lxxviii, 779). Accordingly, having drawn an army composed of legions from the Danube, the future Emperor Adrian entered the Roman territory of Satala, a town of Armenia (currently Sadak, Turkey). Here Adrian joined Trajan the Emperor who was planning a massive invasion of Parthia, Persia. The provisions of the 114 treaty of alliance between the Roman state and neighbouring states were carefully preserved by the two fourth-century chroniclers, Sextus Rufus Festus and Eutropius. Accompanied by a geographical list of those countries, a formal treaty of alliance, or, as the Romans called it, *foedus*, could effectively bind the parties to the commitments laid down by the clauses. Based on ancient records, in the *Breviarium* of Roman history Sextus Rufus Festus and Eutropius list the six Kings who finally did homage to the Emperor of the Romans at Satala, Armenian Pontus, in A.D. 114.

The Kings of the Iberians of the Caucasus (East Georgians) and the Bosphorians, the Arabs, the *Osdroëni* and the Colchians (West Georgians) presented to the Emperor of the Romans certain gifts, and claimed in return a right to federate with Rome. For the Albanians, the people of Caucasian Albània, the Emperor Trajan appointed a King: "Albanis regem dedit" (Eutrop. *Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 362-3).

On numismatic evidence, then Trajan went by, and the Armenian war against the Parthians went on until A.D. 115 (Migliorati 2001, 235-7).

For thirty years the six Kingdoms had been federated with Rome, when Ptolemy composed his *Geography* about A.D. 150. Now the question arises: Did Ptolemy best represent the current state of geographical knowledge on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire with the Caucasian Kingdoms after A.D. 114? He, himself, after all, declares that the cartographer's task is not to gather and digest afresh all the information that is to go into the map.

Because drawing the boundary line is so important in public policy, and on maps, and because it is an illustrative example of geographers' relationship with knowledge about history, let us take a closer look at how the two Roman chroniclers handle the issue of federation in A.D. 114.

The development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Octavius Augustus to Trajan passed through several phases. At last during the Principate of Trajan (98-117 A.D.), actions were taken. In the happy time of the Roman Empire of the second century which goes under the name of the Antonines, from Trajan onwards, the reign is called the Principate, from *princeps* - the

best citizen (Sordi 2004, 87-9).¹⁹ Around A.D. 111, thus the Emperor Trajan took the most effectual measures to put the frontiers of the Principate of Rome in a state of defence. After the treaty of Sadak (Satala) was signed, he studied ways of improving the public road system from the federated Kingdom of Colchis (West Georgia) to the Red Sea. On the western bank of the Euphrates, or, as the Turks call it, Firat Nehri, the camp of what is now Eski Malatya (*Melitene*) was converted into the metropolis of Melitene in Armenia, the new province within the Roman Principate (Angeli Bertinelli 2000, 34-5).

The Roman stations are given in the Antonine Itinerary (early third century). Finally, Ammianus Marcellinus from Syria named the public road *Regia Via* in the fourth century (*Codex Theodosianus* 1665, t. 2, 328).

From Trajan's time onwards the terrestrial route which we are describing possessed some considerable importance not merely as a connection with many great provinces in the Roman reign, but also as an overland road, ultimately the Imperial post-road, to the East.

Thus Trajan's Parthian War 114-17 has been explained as an attempt to establish a "scientific" frontier beyond the Euphrates River. Trajan's Parthian War was not, however, a limited border rectification offensive. It happened that the Arsacid Osroes I, the King of Parthia since A.D. 110, replaced a fellow Arsacid, Axidares, the King of Armenia by Roman approval, with another, Parthamasiris, who had not been approved by Rome as required by the terms of the Roman-Parthian agreement. Between 113 and 117, diplomacy failed (Luttwak 2016, 121-2). By the end of 113 Trajan was in Antioch, the capital of Roman Syria, currently Antakya, Turkey, to review the situation. Consequently, Trajan moved north to the Roman part of Armenia. He gathered his army and made himself available at Satala to an invited gathering of client Kings from the Caucasus and neighbouring reigns. Parthamasiris, the King of "the other part of Armenia", could have come to this meeting, but did not. At Satala in Armenia, north of the Euphrates River, Trajan then held court in A.D. 114. Here all the Caucasian Kings were assembled, and some Kings around the Black Sea as we noted before.

Trajan first recovered Armenia, which the Parthians had "occupied". Now Sextus Rufus Festus and Eutropius list the six Kings who did homage in the following order at Satala in A.D. 114 (*Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 362): the King of the Iberians from the Caucasus (Eastern Georgians), and the King of the Sarmatians who ruled the territory at the mouth of Tanais, the Don, according to Strabo (Strabo 1877, *Geographica*, 11,1,1, 12,1,1). Then came the King of the Bosphorians, and the King of the Arabs, the King of the Osroenians and the King of the Colchians

19 Trajan styled himself Imperator Nerva Caesar Augustus.

(Western Georgians). Now Trajan gave Albània of the Caucasus a King (Alvànìa, currently, Daghestan). But the Parthian nominee to the throne of Armenia, Phartamasiris, whose installation had provided Emperor Trajan with the *casus belli*, did not appear (Eutrop. *Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 362-6).

Trajan first stationed at Satala, Roman Armenia, and then departed for Parthia, Persia, to conduct the Parthian War, which lasted from A.D. 114 to 117. Trajan's march from Satala to the Red Sea was made in two stages, Seleucia on the Tigris (southeast of Baghdad currently Iraq) marking the mid-way point. And soon we will see the Roman Army conduct operations against the Parthians in the field and against their fortified cities and positions.

Trajan advanced as far as the frontiers of India and the Red Sea, "and there he made three provinces, Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia with those peoples which border on Madena" in A.D. 117 according to the *Breviarium* of Roman history (Eutrop. *Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 363). Thus, three provinces were created and added to the Roman Empire.

It is essential to note that at this stage in Roman history the Emperor Trajan abolished the Kingdom of Armenia. It was then that "Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia with their peoples were constituted as fully organized provinces of the Roman Empire and added to the Roman Empire" and the new Roman frontier was established on the closer bank of the Euphrates River, currently Firat Nehri (Eutropius *Brev.* VIII.III, Sylburgii 1762 I. s., 366).

There was no Roman protectorate in Armenia, but instead Armenia was simply added to the Roman state when it was constituted a province of the Roman Empire in A.D. 117. The limits of the Roman Empire were demarcated on the ground, so that all could tell what was Roman, and what was not. Armenia was Roman, Iberia of the Caucasus (Kartli) was not. Since then Armenia has been a province of the Roman Empire under the centralized administration of the Roman government from Rome first, and afterwards from Constantinople. The mentioned act shall continue in force until the first crusade in Alexius' reign in A.D. 1097.²⁰

On Eutropius' authority, on the one hand Trajan strengthened border defences and secured Roman power by perimeter infrastructures that complemented the natural barriers of rivers. Enemies were kept aloof by the Euphrates River. On the other hand, "into faith" Trajan received the King of Iberia of the Caucasus (Kartli, East Georgia) in the name of the Roman people ("in fidem accepit"). When Trajan came to hold court at Satala in 114 the seven friendly states of the Caucasian Iberians, the Sarmatians along the Don, the Bosphorians, the Arabs, the *Osdroëni*, the Colchians,

20 Alexius 1 Comnenus then had himself crowned as Emperor of the Romans at Constantinople; see Bongars 1611, Fulcherii Carotensis Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum cum Armis Hierusalem Pergentium. Balduinus Rex, 387-8.

and the Albanians of the Caucasus were all admitted into the federative alliance with Rome (Eutropius *Brev.* VIII.III, Sylburgii 1762 I. s., 363).

Since 114, the existing political system of the Caucasus has consisted of states subsidiary, federative, and independent. The first condition of this subsidiary alliance is that the Roman government should protect the native states from external invasion and internal dissention, but the troops assigned for this purpose are not to be employed in the civil administration, or collection of the revenue. An aspect of Trajan's regime which is specially relevant here is the constitution of the three new provinces within the Roman Empire, that are Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia.

Politically, federated Kingdoms were on a par with any of the neighbouring states and the Roman Empire. The Latin word *fidēs* in the passage *in fidem accepit* translates into Latin as treaty. Trajan respected their laws and their privileges. Consequently, we should see the three federated Caucasian Kingdoms depicted on Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map, Colchis, Iberia of the Caucasus and Albània of the Caucasus, and the three new Roman provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, that is, Media, and Assyria in the Roman Empire around the year 150 (Appendix, figs. 4, 6).

At this point, Eutropius relates that "Trajan occupied" the lands of two peoples: *Cardueni* and *Marcomedi* (Eutropius *Brev.* VIII.III, Sylburgii 1762 I. s., 364).

About forty years before Ptolemy's time (c.150 A.D.), at Satala then the Emperor Trajan defined an easterly direction for the boundary line between the three easternmost provinces of the Roman Empire along the Euphrates River, Armenia, Mesopotamia (Media) and Assyria, on the one hand, and the federated Kingdoms in the East on the other. These Kingdoms only were independent states federated to the Romans.

The oldest traces of Roman public international law, in the sense of law regulating relations with other polities, are to be found in the contemporary context of the *foedus* in return for military assistance and transit. The federative alliance with Rome is a Roman institution that is practised to hold kingdoms, peoples or tribes, and cities together. A treaty, *foedus* in Latin, is a pact entered into by sovereigns for the welfare of the states in perpetuity. It is used in an international context, and accompanied by ancient ritual; the treaty allows the Roman state to enter into bilateral relations with any other federated state, but it does not allow federated states to enter into relations among themselves (Valvo 1992, 122-5; Zecchini 2005, 129-48).

Federated Kings proclaim the alliance with Rome publicly. What Emperor Trajan really projects in his *foedus* in A.D. 114 is a multitude of fully sovereign states voluntarily submitting themselves to a single body of international laws in accordance with which conflicts and disputes between them could be properly adjudicated and authoritatively resolved.

The Roman *foedus*, the federative alliance with Rome, on the one hand, was made by Kings alone and not all Kings received such a privilege. Every

sovereign on his accession should seek not only to be recognized by Rome as friend and ally, but to be addressed by the royal title. However, there was no interruption caused by death; the eldest son was *ipso facto* King and was proclaimed immediately. Every King then upon his succession, if he wished to have behind him the support of Rome, sought recognition in one of three ways (Sands 1908, 70-1).

Yet on the other hand, Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia entered the Empire of the Romans as new provinces. The closer bank of the Euphrates River became the outer frontier of this militarized Roman territory fronting Parthia. From the larger point of view the history of Parthia is that of Persia and Central Asia under the Arsacid dynasty. Now Trajan wanted the Euphrates River to be a median between the Romans and the Parthians, or, as Pliny the Elder calls them, the Persians. Since A.D. 114 Trajan had regained Armenia from the Parthian Kings and abolished the Kingdom of Armenia, when he made three new Roman provinces, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria in A.D. 117 according to the *Breviarium* of Roman history.

Emperor Trajan, however, had other plans for the land of the people called *Cardueni*, with the variant name *Cardiveni* in critical editions of the *Breviarium* often accompanied by vocabularies and palaeographic notes.²¹ In fact, after the 114 treaty, the federative alliance with Rome, Eutropius relates that "Trajan occupied" the lands of two peoples: *Cardueni* and *Marcomedi* (Eutropius *Brev.* VIII.III, Sylburgii 1762 I. s., 364).

However, joining up to *Adiabene* are the people known as the *Corduani*, in front of whom the river Tigris flows according to Pliny The Elder. Variants of their name are *Cardueni* and *Karduani*. Clearly *Adiabene* lay beyond the borders of *Armenia* according to Strabo from Amasya. And *Adiabene* is the place where Assyria begins according to Pliny The Elder. A spelling variant occurs for the people called *Cardueni*, not far from Mesopotamia: *Cardveni*. Such is the German editor's reading of the text by Sextus Rufus Festus the chronicler.²²

Now Trajan, occupying the country of the *Cardueni*, a country with definite boundaries above Assyria, crossed the new frontier of the Roman Empire with a formidable army. It is clear, that the *Cardueni* are not within the Roman Empire.

Immediately after the ratification of the treaty (*foedus*), the federative alliance with Rome, we assume that Trajan's forces "occupied" the country of the *Cardueni* according to Eutropius. But the Romans did not keep it.

21 Eutrop., *Breviarium*, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 364; and 8,3 *Variae Lectiones: Corduenos pro Carduenos; Cardivenos, Carduena autem.*

22 Reinhold 1898, 6, Sextus Rufus, *De Victoribus Populi Romani*, 3 "Ponti regnum occupatum; et Armenia minor, quam idem tenuerat, armis obtenta est. In Mesopotamiam Romanus pervenit exercitus: cum Parthis foedum initum est, contra Cardvenos ac Saracenos et Arabas bellatum est, Judaea omnis victa est".

Otherwise Eutropius would have said that Trajan “conquered and kept” the country of the *Cardueni* as he did for other peoples around them according to his *Breviarium* of Roman history, as we shall see.

We notice that the *Cardveni*, the people that Trajan occupied, are to be found also in the Elder Pliny’s natural history, book 6. *Cardueni* and *Karduani* are likewise attested in variant editions. Pliny opens chapter sixteen by defining the Kingdom of the Persians, “by which we now understand that of Parthia, which is elevated upon the Caucasian chain between the two seas”, the Caspian from the Caspii on the one hand and the Persian from the Persians on the other. To the *Greater Armenia*, Pliny reports, which in the front slopes towards *Commagene*, is “joined *Sophene* which lies upon the descent on both sides thereof”, and “next to it is *Adiabene*, the most advanced frontier of *Assyria*” (Plinius *N. h.* 6,16).

Further information is required at this point. We understand that *Commagene* is the land of the Seleucid Kings which lies “outside the River Euphrates” according to Procopius; it is a crossing point on the River Euphrates (Procopius 1833, *De Bello Persico*, 2,17,18, 2,17,24-2,17,30).

There was also in former times *Ninus*, a most renowned city, on the banks of the Tigris “with an aspect towards the west. This then allows Pliny to finish off the speech by remarking on how the Aras River (*Araxes*) separates Greater Armenia from Media, which closes chapter sixteen. The *Ninus* of classical antiquity can be identified with the *Niniveth* of Roman records, on the outskirts of Mosul in modern-day northern Iraq. “Adjoining the other front of Greater Armenia, which runs down towards the Caspian Sea”, Pliny says, we find *Atropatene*, which is separated from *Otene*, a region of *Armenia*, by the river *Araxes*. And Gazae is its chief city, distant from Artaxata four hundred and fifty miles, and the same from Ecbatana in *Media*, to which country Atropatene belongs (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,16, end).

Thus chapter sixteen ends with the geography “of the other front of Greater Armenia” bounded to the north by the Aras River, the *Araxes* of classical antiquity, which runs down toward the Caspian Sea along the far boundary between Greater Armenia (*Armenia Maior*) and Media. Ancient *Araxes* River and modern *Aras* rises in what is now eastern Turkey and flows eastwards, until it joints with the ancient *Cirus* River and modern *Kur* before emptying into the Caspian Sea. Now the *Kur* becomes navigable. Meanwhile from its junction with the *Alazani* River, the *Kur* traverses a hilly country of some extent, *K’axeti*, modern Georgia, and then enters that extensive plain which extends along the Caspian Sea from Baku to the Bay of Kizil-Agatch.

The description of the direction is correct. In fact, in describing the towns of Media, Pliny describes them from “The Caspian Gates”, that is to say from the mouth of the *Kur* River fronting on the Caspian Sea, 70 miles south of Baku in what is now Azerbaijan (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,15).

We understand that the Caspian Sea and the Caspian Gates have not as reference point the same meaning in physical geography. The Caspian Gates mark the mouth of the Kur's River where the Caspii dwell upon its shores (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,15).

Chapter seventeen begins with the geography of Media in two paragraphs. Here "the other front of Greater Armenia which runs towards the Caspian Sea" on the one hand, and Media from the boundary of "The Caspian Gates" on the other, being in accordant directions, converge to a single point. It is here, to this converging point, that we stop.

In the territory of Media are four towns in an east-westerly direction from the boundary of "The Caspian Gates". Ecbatana, the capital of the Medians, was built by King Seleucus "at a distance of twenty miles from The Caspian Gates", and the remaining towns of Phazaca, Aganzaga, and Apamea lead to gates. The reason of these passes receiving the name of "Gates", is the same that has been stated above, Pliny notes. The reference goes to chapter 6,15, as follows: "After we pass the mouth of the Cyrus [the Kur River], it begins to be called the 'Caspian Sea;' the Caspii being a people who dwell upon its shores. In this place it may be as well to correct an error into which many persons have fallen, and even those who lately took part with Corbulo in the Armenian war. The Gates of Iberia, which we have mentioned as the Caucasian Gates, they have spoken of as being called the 'Caspian,' and the coloured plans which have been sent from those parts to Rome have that name written upon them. The menaced expedition, too, that was contemplated by the Emperor Nero, was said to be designed to extend as far as the Caspian Gates, where as it was really intended for those which lead through Iberia into the territory of the Sarmatae; there being hardly any possibility of approach to the Caspian Sea, by reason of the close juxtaposition of the mountains here".

It follows, that the accordant directions converge to a single point: "The Gates of Iberia, which we have mentioned as the Caucasian Gates". From the Median towns, the position of these gates, Pliny notes in chapter seventeen, is where "the chain of mountains is suddenly broken by a passage of such extreme narrowness that, for a distance of eight miles in longitude, a single chariot can barely find room to move along: the whole of this pass has been formed by artificial means. Both on the right hand and the left are overhanging rocks, which look as though they had been exposed to the action of fire; and there is a tract of country, quite destitute of water, twenty-eight miles in extent. This narrow pass, too, is rendered still more difficult by a liquid salt which oozes from the rocks, and uniting in a single stream, makes its way along the pass. Besides this, it is frequented by such multitudes of serpents, that the passage is quite impracticable except in winter. Joining up to *Adiabene* are the people formerly known as the 'Carduchi,' now the *Cordueni*, in front of whom the river Tigris flows" (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,17,15).

From Media westwards along the northern side of the Aras River “The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates” mark the entrance to the land of the *Cordueni / Cardueni / Kardueni / Cardveni*. Next to the land is *Adiabene* (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,17,14), where the land of the Assyrians begins (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,16). However, *Adiabene* is located beyond the borders of *Armenia* (Strabo 1857, *Geographica*, 11,4,1 and 11,4,8). In fact, *Adiabene* is the most advanced frontier of Assyria (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,16).

We conclude that the ancient authors provide us with a response to basic administrative questions on the Roman government in the East. So we can say that the other front of Greater Armenia which runs down towards the Caspian Sea, Media and the *Cardueni* make a tri-border ethnic area at the “The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates”. Two provinces since A.D. 117, however, Armenia and Media are constituent elements of a larger state unit called the Roman Empire. A federated Kingdom since A.D. 114, Ibería of the Caucasus has the right of government over the province of the *Cardueni* which is constituent element of this state through “The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates” (“in fidem accepit”). That is presumably why Trajan’s army “occupied” the *Cardueni* province of federated Ibería before advancing through Niniveth (currently Mosul) into the territory of Assyria.

Further, the *Notitia dignitatum imperii romani*, from the early fifth century, refers to an *Ala*, the Roman cavalry regiment “Fifteenth Ala Flavia *Carduendorum*”, stationed at Caini. The spot on Delisle’s map may be the modern place-name Gania (*Kanja*), which refers to the place that is situated immediately below the triple junction of both the rivers Alazini (Greater Alazani and Lesser Alazani or Iori) into the Kur River (anc. *Cyrus / Cirus Fl.*), Azerbaijan. The Roman Army has a complex history of integration that is characterized by numerous organizational changes. The chain of command from the Senate of Rome to the army was reorganized. Each duke was in charge of a *Notitia Dignitatum*, and listed in a dedicated section of the *Notitia* at the head of a military force in the field. The administrative register known as *Notitia Dignitatum* records troop dispositions for both the western and eastern halves of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, we can identify nations and establish their sovereign and independent existence according to their military status in the Roman Armed Forces. The term *ala*, literally a wing, reflects the position of the allied troops on each flank of the two-legion army; later, under the Empire, the term *ala* was used exclusively for cavalry (Keppie 1984, 10, 22f and 36f, 69, 216, 272). Cavalry was the most distinguished arm in the Roman Army; cavalry men were called *equites* (Kennedy 1965, Iulius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1,42).

It also appears that the confederate *Alae Sociorum* were engaged as regular military units in the early Empire (27 B.C. -A.D. 200). In the army of the early Empire, confederate *Alae* were provided by allied nations. The

Romans always relied on their allies, or, *socii*, to provide native cavalry, that is to say non-citizen cavalry, either recruited in the subject provinces or supplied by allied Kings.

Allied cavalry men were *equites foederati*. In the eastern part of the Roman Empire, the unit of the allied *foederati* called *Cardueni* under the title *Ala XV. Flavia Carduenum* was at the command of the Duke of Mesopotamia. In the western part of the Roman Empire, another cavalry unit of *Cardueni* serving in Rome's military forces stationed in Mauritania Tingitania.²³

We dare not argue from silence that “Ala XV Flavia Carduenum” was recruited in a region called Cordyene, skirted by the Tigris River. Neither can we argue from the neighbouring Roman provinces that *Cardueni* were recruited in Armenia. It is evident instead that in the Roman Empire of the East a series of military ordinances, published by the *Notitia Dignitatum*, stamped the ducal authority upon the personnel, organization and command structure of the army. Accordingly, the military units are numbered progressively. The Duke of Mesopotamia and the Duke of Armenia were given, respectively, office number XXXVI and office number XXXVII; they were to be stationed at different posts, and spread over a very large extent of country. No doubt Ala XV. Flavia Carduenum was at the command of the Duke of Mesopotamia, that is to say, Media.²⁴

23 Graevius 1698, “Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Orientis: Notitia. Sub dispositione viri Spectabilis Ducis Mesopotamie. Et qua de minore Laterculo emittuntur [along with the following units from a lesser register]”, coll. 1729-34, Or. XXXVI, 18-36: (Mesopotamia), Notitia. DUX MESOPOTAMIAE Cum Insignibus: XXXVI.34, “Ala quintadecima Flavia Carduenum Caini” coll. 1730 and 1734; coll. 1735 and 1738, Or. XXXVII, 10-30: “Armenia, Notitia. DUX ARMENIAE Cum Insignibus”; “Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Occidentis: Notitia. Qui numeri ex praedicti, per infrascriptas provincias habetur”, coll. 1855-62, Occ. VII.209: “Intra Tingitaniam cum viro spectabili Comite Tingitane: Equites Cardueni Comitatusenses” col. 1858. From Pliny, and some inscriptions in Gruter, it appears that *Mauritania Tingitania* was simply called *Tangitania*, from its principal city, *Tingi*, in order to distinguish it from *Mauritania Caesariensis*. The Kingdom of Mauritania Tingitania, being reduced to a Roman province in the reign of Claudius, as we are informed by Dio, was not included in the corresponding parts of Mount Atlas lying more to the southwest. Then Augustus divided Spain (*Hispania*) into three provinces; fifty years after his death, Otho added to Spanish Baetica, or rather incorporated with it, the African province of Tingitania.

24 It has been argued, not convincingly in my view, that Ala XV Flavia Carduenum may mean that the regiment was recruited in Cordyene. However Michael Dodgeon's and Samuel Lieu's study focused on where the various *Limitanei* Units were stationed: “The title of the unit implies that it was recruited in the early part of the fourth century in Cordyene, one of the five *regiones*, ceded to Rome by Narses. Caini: Site unknown; Dilleman (1962: 239, n. 3) believes it was listed in error under the ducate of Mesopotamia”; cf. Dodgeon, Lieu 1991, Appendix 5, 341, nn. 38-9. But this does not appear and we cannot presume it without evidence. The reference goes to the peace settlement between Diocletian and Narses, the King of the Persians, in A.D. 298, but the treaty no longer exists. The treaty is described in a commentary by Peter the Patrician (c.500-564). It established the Tigris River as Rome's new eastern boundary with the eastern Trans-Tigris regions of *Intilene* (aka Ingilene), *So-*

5 Are the Kartveli the People called Kardueni or Cardveni in Trajan's Time?

Finding errors on Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus requires knowledge of physical and political geography in Ptolemy's time, otherwise no comparison can be made. Now, if we are able to make out the logical and appropriate line between the sovereign jurisdiction of the Roman State and the sovereign jurisdictions of the various Allied States in the Caucasus, and to do so with precision and clarity as to the degree of latitude to which the Romans extended it, then we should determine whether Ptolemy in person and map-makers based on Ptolemy's geographical information, and deformation, committed any mistakes in the map of the Caucasus in the set of twenty-seven maps wholly based on Ptolemy's rediscovered *Geography* in Renaissance Europe and first made in 1415.

What we know of the international relations of the Caucasus and the Roman Empire is confined to a treaty, or, as the Latins call it, *foedus*. The treaty was carried on by the Emperor of the Romans, Trajan, who, in A.D. 114, promulgated, from Satala, Armenian Pontus, the federation edict for six Kings only. Thus the federal alliance is known about forty years before Ptolemy's time. Meantime, Trajan's Parthian war of 114-7 saw Roman armies thrusting across historical Armenia (currently Sadak, Turkey). Armenia, says Tacitus, had been then assailed by Parthian influence (Tac. *Annales*, 2,3; *Jos. Ant.* 15,104; Dio 49,5).

This century was one of annexation by Rome and direct confrontation with Parthia and Parthian-occupied Armenia. The Emperor Trajan required Parthamasiris the Parthian to lay his diadem in abject submission in A.D. 114. It happened when Trajan came to hold court at Satala in the land of Armenia, north of the upper Euphrates (currently Firat Nehri, Turkey). Of particular importance in the geographical context is Eutropius' use of different verbs to describe assorted military actions in Latin in his *Breviarium* of Roman history.

Thus Eutropius wrote that (*Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 363):

Trajan recovered Armenia, which the Parthians had occupied, after killing Parthomasiris who controlled it [Traianus Armeniam, quam occupaverant Parthi, receipt, Phartamasire occiso, qui eam tenebat]. He gave a King to the Albani [Albanis regem dedit] and received

phene, *Arzanene*, *Corduene* (Cordylene), and *Zabdicene* ceded to Roman control. However, such treaty does not exist. Sextus Rufus Festus and Eutropius attest that the Kingdom of Iberia of the Caucasus has been federated with Rome since Satata 114. As subjects of the Iberian government, the Cardueni have enjoyed the right of serving in the region unit under the title Ala XV Flavia Carduenorum at the command of the duke of Mesopotamia, as a consequence of the federative alliance with Rome.

into alliance the Kings of the Caucasian Iberes [Iberorum regem], the Sarmates [et Sauromatarum], the Bosphorians [et Bosphoranorum], the Arabs [et Arabum], the Osroenians [et Osdroënorum] and the Colches [et Colcorum in fidem accepit].

[Trajan] **occupied the Cardueni** and Marcomedi [Carduenos et Marcomedos occupavit].

He also occupied Anthemusium in the great region of Persia, but conquered and kept Seleucia and Ctesiphon, Babylonia and the Messeni [vicit at tenuit], down to the borders with India and the Red Sea [accessit]; and **there he made three provinces, Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia with those peoples** which border on Madena [atque ibi tres provincias fecit, Armeniam, Assyriam, Mesopotamiam cum his gentibus, quae Madenam attingunt]. Arabia he afterwards reduced to the government of a province. On the Red Sea he established a fleet, so that he might go and ravage the borders of India.

Now we can trace an accurate map of Trajan's march down the rivers Euphrates and Tigris from Satala, Armenian Pontus, to Persia, and follow the places along the route of march that are easily recognizable on a modern map. Satala (mod. Sadak), the starting point in historical Armenia, lies north of the River Euphrates (Firat Nehri), and southwest of, and mostly adjacent to, the Mescit Mountains, currently, Mescit Dağları, Turkey. Modern Sadak is located south-west along the mountains between the Kelkit River basin, the *Lycus* River of the ancients, and the city of Köse where it takes its rise.

The second stage of Trajan's march from Osroenê to Persia: The reconstruction of the second part of the route to Persia is easier to follow, and we trace it first. *Anthemusium* was a battlemented town in Osroenê, the upper portion of Mesopotamia (*Media*) bordering on southern Chaldia (*Chaldaea*). Trapezus, currently Trabzon, Turkey, will be the metropolis of "The Eighth Thema of Chaldia" on the Pontic or Black Sea.²⁵

Then comes Seleucia. It will form "The Thirteenth Thema called Seleucia" as one of the military districts in the Roman Empire of the East. Seleucia was bordered by the Taurus mountain range to the west and the mounts of Cilicia to the east, currently, İçel, Turkey; its second name was Decapolis,

²⁵ Constantinus Porphyrogenitus 1588, Pars Lat., 22, Thema octavum, dictum Chaldiae. Cellario 1786, 100, § 23 De Mesopotamia et Chaldaea. For the first century and a half, the themata were created only in the East. Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus compiled his *De Thematis* with the clear understanding that themata had been created before Emperor Heraclius' reign between the years 610 and 641, except when otherwise specified. The 8th Theme of Chaldia was created in the first century of the Christian era.

the ten towns. Thus in Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De thematibus*.²⁶ Seleucia stood on the west bank of the Tigris River opposite Ctesiphon, within the present-day Babil Governorate in Iraq. From across the river, Seleucia and Ctesiphon formed the metropolis of Media under the Parthian Kings. Seleucia on the Tigris lay southeast of modern Baghdad, Iraq.

Babylon lay close to the Euphrates, some 90 km to the south of modern Baghdad, in what is today Iraq. The Messeni are the inhabitants of Edessa, currently Urfa or Şanlıurfa; the upper reaches of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers drain the tableland of the Urfa region in what is today south-east Turkey. Finally, the region of Madena belongs to the Armenians; Plutarc says that the Greeks call it Migdonia (currently Nusaybin, in what is now southeastern Turkey at the border with modern Syria).²⁷

The first stage of Trajan's march from Satala to Osroenê: The reconstruction of the first part of the route to Persia is more complex in Trajan time. The mountainous part of the route starts at Satala in the portion of Armenia that the Parthians "had occupied". First we may call attention to the Latin verbs *occupare* and *tenere* in the passage describing the coming of Parthamasiris the Parthian in Latin. In A.D. 114 Trajan recovers Armenia, which the Parthians "had occupied", after killing Parthomasiris who controlled it: "Traianus Armeniam, quam occupaverant Parthi, receipt, Phartamasire occiso, qui eam tenebat. Albanis regem dedit. Iberorum regem et Sauromatarum et Bosphoranorum et Arabum et Osdroënorum et Colcorum in fidem accepit. Carduenos et Marcomedos occupavit". (Eutrop., *Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 363).

The lines including "Armeniam, quam occupaverant Parthi" and "Phartamasire occiso, qui eam tenebat" should be taken, I think, in the political sense. The starting point of action is, in English, expressed by the modern verb "to occupy". Nevertheless, the translation is doubtful from a grammatical and semantic point of view. Not only is the verb "to occupy" in the pluperfect tense but it must be treated as a purely Roman verb from the legal point of view. In effect, the legal point of view privileges an "as if" condition or possibility. From the legal point of view, an authorized norm directs that an individual, the Emperor of the Parthians in the case of Armenia, must follow a certain conduct. The legal person assumes that the legal institutions are a premise from which practical conclusions may be inferred with deep consequences for the political content of any one norm. In fact, Eutropius has preferred rendering the verb "to occupy" in the pluperfect tense (*occupaverant*, "Armenia, which

26 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus 1588, Pars Lat., 27-8, Thema decimumtertium, dictum Seleucia.

27 Eutrop. *Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 365-6, *Variae Lectiones*: k. Messenios, Edesios vulgo; n. Madenam, Sextus Rufus c. xv vocat optimam Armeniarum regionem.

the Parthians had occupied”, third-person plural pluperfect active form, indicative of *occupo*).

In the subsequent action, Eutropius uses the verb “to hold”, *tenere*, which marks the subsequent action of Parthamasiris the Parthian in Armenia as immediate after the preceding action here. But Parthamasiris nonetheless “holds” the Kingdom of Armenia against the will of Rome. I more particularly think that the Latin verb *tenere* takes up the political meaning of violating Rome’s right to be respected and relates, if we are to believe to Eutropius, to the preceding action”.²⁸ Here the verbs *occupare* and *tenere* actually mean “the Arsacid Osroes I, the King of Parthia since A.D. 110, replaced a fellow Arsacid, Axidares, the King of Armenia by Roman approval, with another, Parthamasiris, who had not been approved by Rome as required by the terms of the Roman-Parthian agreement”. Thus Osroes’ nominee Parthamasiris was killed at Satala in A.D. 114, and so the Armenians were without a King and government the space of three years.

What had happened is this. After leaving Armenia without a King, then Trajan conquered Persia “down to the ancient borders with India and the Red Sea”, Eutropius concludes, and “there he made three provinces, Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia with those peoples which border on Madena”, currently Nusaybin, in what is now southeastern Turkey at the border with modern Syria. In A.D. 117 thus Trajan annexed Armenia as a Roman province constituting the region of the imperial domain.

As a verb, “to occupy” (*occupare*) appeared in Latin around A.D. 114 meaning, quite logically, “as required by the terms of the Roman-Parthian agreement”, either physically or in competition policy and rivalries. The line “Armeniam, quam occupaverant Parthi” can thus be viewed as offering one kind of political experience. The verb *occupare* predicates a political situation: a King of the Armenians by Roman approval as required by the terms of the Roman-Parthian agreement. In other words, the verb predicates the status of a people under the law.

Trajan’s route from Satala via the Meschit Mountains is much more difficult to trace than the second stage described above, as shifted boundaries now obliterate tracks. When the events and locations described in the *Breviarium* are placed next to a modern map, however, geographic logic suggests one possible route out of here.

In A.D. 114 Trajan, the Emperor of the Romans, held court at Satala, to the east of modern Sadak along a trail now known as the Kelkit River valley, the *Lycus fl.* of the ancients. From here Roman troops could only push north along the Görçedere River to reach Vardzahan, or, Varzahan, in what is now Uğrak, Bayburt İli, on the Çoruh River, Turkey. The Georgians

²⁸ Please note the equal description of Trajan in the episode of Parthamasiris’ murder as narrated by Marcus Cornelius Fronto (c.100-late 160s) in his *Principia historiae*, 2,1, 16 (Romanorum fama impune).

call it Č'oroxi River. At the confluence of the rivers Görçedere and Č'oroxi lies Vardzahan on the far left side of the Bayburt Plateau. The Bayburt Plateau stands on the isolated Mount Uzundere that the Č'oroxi River (Çoruh Nehri) cuts from the west side of the Mescit Mountains (Mescit Dağları) where the Č'oroxi takes its rise, in what is now Turkey.

Here, nonetheless, it is Eutropius who once again provides the verb *occupare* ("to occupy") in the Roman sense. What we read here is not that Trajan "conquered" the *Cardueni* and *Marcomedi*, but only that he "occupied" them. Unlike modern historians who relegate the *Cardueni* to the margin of Roman history, chroniclers of their own age credited Emperor Trajan with planning a general administrative change of system. The Latin text says "Carduenos et Marcomedos occupavit" (Eutrop. *Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 364). Trajan did not "take possession" of the *Cardueni* and the *Marcomedi*, neither did he "seize" their lands. That Eutropius, or his sources, described Trajan's action in terms of Roman legal language and procedure is what one would expect of an educated writer from the Roman period. This passage is similar to the passage from the Parthian occupation of Armenia I quoted in the preceding paragraph. By the terms of the agreement between the Emperor of the Romans and the King of the X peoples subjected to him, a King of a people so called may take his people by Roman approval.

In reading Eutropius we simply understand that both the *Cardueni* and *Marcomedi* were neither conquered nor kept in subjection by violence. It must be remarked, that this is a route of march which has in view only to convey a body of Roman troops from one position to another, being connected with military operations relative to the Parthian enemy ahead of them in A.D. 114-7.

In other words Trajan, the Emperor of the Romans, did not oppose those two peoples. The *Marcomedi* possibly were the Osroenians, as Malkutā d-Bēt Ōsrā Īnē in Syriac translates the reign of Osroenē in Latin. In fact, the King of the Osroenians had been federated with Rome since A.D. 114 according to the *Breviarium* of Sextus Rufus Festus and Eutropius, written after 364.

Thus may the two great peoples' appellations, *Cardueni*, and *Marcomedi* as one of the Osroenian peoples, be still traces among them. The *Cardueni*, the former people dwelling along some route across the mountains between the Kelkit River in Armenia (Satala) and the Kingdom of the Osroenians, are still to be found there. A general description of Emperor Trajan's progress from settlement to settlement is confirmed by cartographic sources. Empires follow one another. Physical geography, however, remains the same from age to age, or, if there be change, it is unimportant in a general view.

We see it in the way Guillaume Delisle made the map *L'Arménie, la Géorgie, et le Daghistan*. This Delisle map, first published in 1722, depicts the Başçayı mountains (*Pasiani*) which contain the springs of the Aras

River (*Araxi ou Kaksi R.*) flowing to the district of Malazgirt (*Manzikerd*) (Appendix, fig. 7).²⁹ The map's title leads the eye to the all-Georgia realm, Ottoman Armenia and Persian Daghestan, exactly as Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia should have done from Nicolaus Germanus' manuscript copy in 1466.

In the biographical note alongside the coat of arms of the King of France, Guillaume Delisle is described as "The First Cartographer of the King" on another map dated the 15th August, 1723, Paris. Delisle distinguished himself as one of the most important cartographers of the eighteenth century. And, perhaps most significantly, his regional maps are highly reliable sources in the History of cartography. Following the meeting with Peter the Great, Delisle was sent maps from Russia. He received improved maps of the Caspian Sea based on surveys made in 1719, 1720 and 1721 (Allen 1953, 99-121; Urness 1993, 30). In pursuance of his work on this project, Delisle drew heavily from a manuscript memoir of Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani (1658-1725), a Prince of Georgia in the reign of Vaxt'ang VI, a towering figure among contemporary scholars in Europe. We see it in the fact that Orbeliani is included in the map's title cartouche, 1723: *Carte des Pays voisins de la Mer Caspienne*.³⁰ Since 1712 Vaxt'ang, being King over Kartli alone (Iberia, East Georgia), had been living in captivity in Isphahan, Persia, when Orbeliani sailed to France to ask for help and sent letters to Pope Clement VI in 1713-14 (Salia 1980, 336-44).

Data were collected at a more detailed scale of investigation on the map of 1722 for the areas contained in Georgia, Armenia and Daghestan. The title says what the map shows—*L'Arménie, la Géorgie, et le Daghistan*. A thousand and six hundred years later, what Delisle's map shows through the spelling and transliteration of place-names are Colchis, Iberia of the Caucasus (Kartli), Albania of the Caucasus, or, Alvania, Armenia, and Mesopotamia or Osroenê.

And therefore Delisle's map can serve as a guide in following that line of march which Trajan pursued in the narrow valley of the Č'oroxi River in the Parthian campaign (Persia) in 114-15. We left Trajan marching northeast from the Kelkit River valley (Satala), towards the confluence of the rivers Görçedere and Č'oroxi. At the junction of the rivers lies Vardzahan (*Variuhan*), today's Uğrak, on the far left side of the Bayburt Plateau (*Baiburdi*)

29 Now let me refer back to Licini 2001, 346-56, 349 and map 4.

30 30 "Carte des Pays voisins de la Mer Caspienne, dressée pour l'usage du Roy. Sur la Carte de cete Mer faite par l'ordre du Czar, Sur les Memoires manuscrits de Soskam-Sabbas Prince de Georgie, Sur ceux de M.rs Crusius, Zurabek, et Fabritius, Ambassadeurs a la Cour de Perse, et sur les éclaircissements tirez d'un grand nombre de personnes intelligentes du pais. Assujettie aux Observations Astronomiques Par Guillaume Delisle, Premier Geographe du Roy, de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, 15 Aout 1723 (A Paris, Quay de l'Horloge)". Decorative cartouche upper right. Philippe Buache printed the map on 30 April 1745. Soskam-Sabbas should be Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani; he died in Moscow in January 1725.

that the Č'oroxi River cuts from the west side of the Mescit Mountains, currently Mescit Dağları, Turkey (Appendix, figs. 7 and 8). The ancients call them *moschivis montes*.

We see the Bayburt Plateau (*Baiburdi*) and the İspir Plateau (*Ispira*) on Delisle's map. There is a gorge there, I understand, "The Georgian Gorge" (Appendix, fig. 7). Different spelling of the same place-name are entirely normal, but here we have a calque, a loan translation, two words borrowed from another language by literal, word-for-word translation. On Delisle's map the Georgian Gorge is Gürcü Boğazı (*Gurdzis Bogasi*), in modern Turkey today. During the Caucasian Wars (1553-1648), the Georgians lost some territory to the Ottoman Turks, and in 1648 İstanbul, the Constantinople of the Romans, was able to push its state borders far inland. Thus the English adjective "Georgian" is rendered into Turkish by the adjective "Gürcü" and the English word "Gorge" by "Boğazı".

Nor should it pass unnoticed that Trajan trod the road that Roman surveyors had laid out, measured his passages by Roman milestones, crossed rivers and swamps on Roman bridges and causeways. The sight of geographical objects told Trajan's troops that they were near their intended destination. Ancient gates marked their entry onto city streets and the territory of a host country. There are, however, other gates, which join up territories and peoples: "After we pass the mouth of the Cyrus [**the Kur River**], it begins to be called the '**Caspian Sea**;' the Caspii being a people who dwell upon its shores. In this place it may be as well to correct an error into which many persons have fallen, and even those who lately took part with Corbulo **in the Armenian war. The Gates of Iberia, which we have mentioned as the Caucasian, they have spoken of as being called the 'Caspian,' and the coloured plans which have been sent from those parts to Rome have that name written upon them.** The menaced expedition, too, that was contemplated by the Emperor Nero, was said to be designed to extend as far as the Caspian Gates [ad caspias portas], where as it was really intended for those which lead **through Iberia into the territory of the Sarmatae** [currently Russia]; there being hardly any possibility of approach to the Caspian Sea, by reason of the close juxtaposition of the mountains here" according to Pliny.

Pliny the Elder thus testified as an eye-witness before A.D. 79 (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,15).

But, in fact, I believe that there is more to the story, and that the more does concern the Kartvelians (*K'art'velians*) specifically. When we speak of Trajan's time, we have to use the word Kartvelians in its earliest sense in the second century of our era as the people who dwell in Kartli. However, in 1722, the toponym Kartli (*K'art'li*) has undergone considerable transformations during one thousand and five hundred years of time. We have already seen that the ethnonym *k'art'veli* acquired a double meaning in Georgian history: first, its earliest sense, the dominant population

of *K'art'li* proper (Kartli), encompassing adjacent peoples and lands in eastern Georgia; and second, the crown's "Georgian" subjects distributed from the Pontic or Black Sea littoral to the far eastern regions of K'axeti and Hereti, bordering and overlapping with Albánia of the Caucasus (section 4).

The toponym *K'art'li* underwent a similar transformation, its "all-Georgian" reach being extended by Kings and their contemporaries. But translating the Greek and the Latin, we say "Ibería of the Caucasus", which are the Greek and Latin words here.

To judge from the context, I rather think that the Turkish words "Gürcü Boğazı" (*Gurdzis Bogasi*), The Georgian Gorge on Delisle's map, here translate The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates. Following the coloured plans, in fact Pliny could read with ease the title ("Namque hi Caspias appellavere Portas Iberiae, quas Caucasias diximus vocari: situsque depicti et inde missi, hoc nomen inscriptum habent").

Therefore, on Delisle's map, the inscription "Gürcü Boğazı", the Georgian Gates, says that these are "The Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates" in 1722. That is to say, "The Gates of Kartli as the Caucasian" in the first century, or "The Gates of all-Georgia as the Caucasian Gates" in the Bagratid era, or "The Georgian Gorge as the Caucasian" in the modern era, or "Gürcü Boğazı" as "Kafkas".

At the Bayburt Plateau's western edge is Vardzahan (*Variu-Han*), renamed Uğrak today; the Č'oroxi River (*Turak R.*) flows to water it (currently Çoruh Nehri, Turkey). Delisle shows that there are variant regional spellings of the name still in use in 1722 to designate, at the same time, the principal branches of the river: *Tchoroki ou Bitumi, Turak R., Tshorola R.*

Further to the south is the Georgian Gorge (*Gurdzis Bogasi*), Gürcü Boğazı in modern Turkish. That is, if our identification hypothesis is accepted, the geographical object called the Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates on Roman maps in the first century.

The place-name is given in many languages in the royal description of Georgia by Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili: Gourджи-Boghaz, Sakharthwélos-Qel, défilé de Géorgie. It is situated on the eastern slope of the Tortum River Valley, in Mount Uzundere (*Kenzoreti*). This is the westernmost extension of historical Georgia (*GIURGISTAN ou GEORGIE*) according to the royal description that Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili compiled as the Prince of Georgia and dated the 20th October, 1745. The point is *Khendzoreth* in the royal description; it has the distinction of being the last place in historical Georgia, Kartli (East Georgia).³¹ On the main road of Tortum-Uzundere,

31 See more fully Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, "Description du Royaume de Géorgie: Description du Karthli actuel; ses frontières, ses montagnes, ses fleuves, les diverses localités et les édifices qu'elles contiennent: Description des lieux remarquables du Samtzhé ou Saathabago": 72, Cette contrée s'appelle **proprement Karthli**, parceque ce fut la portion

Tartomisi-Kenzoreti on Delisle's map, Oški Monastery (Öşk Manası) is a Georgian church of the second half of the tenth century (Kartli, Iberia of the Caucasus). Cascading 50 metres high off a cliff in Uzundere (*Kenzoreti*), the impressive Tortum Waterfalls (*Tartomisi*) are situated as high up as this point and the narrowing Georgian Gorge upwards marks the commencement. They have been sufficient to serve as a stable western frontier of Caucasian Iberia (Kartli) for five dynasties until 1801 (Appendix, fig. 7).

At the start of the Parthian campaign in A.D. 114, Trajan begins a new march of conquest. He has recoreved Armenia and now the Armenians are without a King. The Emperor is on horseback at the head of the line of march. From Satala, Armenia, through the Kelkit River valley (*Lycus fl.*) leading into the valley of Bayburt (*Baiburdi*) the Roman march progress down to the far side of the Georgian Gorge (*Gurdzis Bogasi*), the Kingdom of all-Georgia in 1722 (*GIURGISTAN ou GEORGIE*). Thence along the river Aras (*Araxi ou Kaksi R.*) through Roman

de Karthlos, dont elle prit le nom; et après sa mort, elle fut appelée Sakarthwélo ou Sakarthlo, nom qu'elle porte encore de nos jours; 121, Au-dessus d'**Arthwan** [Artvin mod. Turkey], jusqu'à Idi, à l'O. du **Dchorokh** [Çoruh Nehri mod. Turkey], à l'E. du pays de **Thorthom** [Tortum mod. Turkey], est **Parkhal, Taos-Car ou Tao** [Tao-Klarceti mod. Turkey], limité à l'E. par le **Dchorokh** [Çoruh]; 121, **Basian, Olthis** [Başçayı and Oltu mod. Turkey] Basian :Au S. d'Olthis, de Nariman et d'Idi, au delà du mont Iridjlou, est le **Basian; bien que ce pays appartienne à l'Arménie, ayant été conquis par les Bagratides, il fit depuis partie du Samtzkhé**; 123, **Ispira** [mod. İspir]; 124, **la rivière d'Ispira reçoit celle du Sakharthwélos-Qel** (défilé de Géorgie) **ou Gourdji-Boghaz** [Gürcü Boğazı mod. Turkey. Georgian Gorge]; 124, **Baïbourd** [**Bayburt** mod. Turkey]; 125, La rivière de **Thorthom** reçoit, à son tour, celles des monts de Thorthom et de Chiphaklou, sur lesquelles il y a des bourgs grands et petits. La vallée de Thorthom a pour limites: à l'E., la montagne de Thorthom, qui la sépare de **Tao**, et court du S.O. au N.E., c'est un rameau de l'Iridjlou, qui le rattache à **la montagne d'Ispira** [İspir mod. Turkey]; 126-7, **Khendzoreth** [Uzundere]; 121-7, Gourdij Boghaz est précisément à l'O. de Khendzoreth. Cette vallée, jusqu'au mont de **Baïbourd, est la limite de la Géorgie et de la Grèce**; elle est étroite, rocheuse et boisée. Au-dessus de l'endroit où le **Gourdji-Boghaz** tombe dans la rivière d'Ispira, sont les montagnes que projettent celles de ce dernier pays et qui le séparent de **Baïbourd**, ainsi que nous l'avons dit.; 127, **Gourdji-Boghaz** [Gürcü Boğazı. **Georgian Gorge**]. A l'O., par-delà la montagne de Chiphaklou, **est la vallée de Gourdji-Boghaz, ou Sakarthwélos-Qel**. En effet, quand les Osmanlis s'emparèrent d'Azroum [Erzurum, historical Armenia in mod. Turkey], ils donnèrent au pays le premier de ces nomes. Sa longueur court du mont Déwaboïn à **la rivière de Sper** [İspir valley], qui en sort et coule du S. au N. **Gourdji Boghaz** est précisément à l'O. De **Khendzoreth** [Uzundere mod. Turkey]. **Cette vallée, jusqu'au mont de Baïbourd, est la limite de la Géorgie et de la Grèce**; elle est étroite, rocheuse et boisée; 127-9, **Baïbourd** [**Bayburt**]; 130-1, Le **Dchaneth**, aussi appelé **Las**. The modern names of ancient places are added, when known. See also Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1849, 1^{re} Partie: Histoire ancienne, jusqu'en 1469 de J.-C., 327 / n. 1 An. 1053: **Baberd**, cf. Tchamitch, t. II; 628 **Sper, Baberd** (1301-1307); 955; 274 / n. 8- 276 / n. 3. The **Mescit Mountains** are called, in the Georgian language, **Iridjlou**. Beyond the mountains is the valley of the **Başçayı River (le Basian)** where the Aras River takes its rise (**I'Araxe**); the valley had originally belonged to **the Armenians**, when the Bagrat'ioni conquered it (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 121-122; see section 4.

Armenia (*IRMINIA* ou *ARMENIE*), the next identified destination is Malazgirt (*Manzikerd / Mantzicierte*), that is Media (Mesopotamia) in Trajan's time.³² Meanwhile the forward troops push down to the city of Erzurum (*Arzrum*), or, as the ancients call it, Theodosiopolis, Armenia (*IRMINIA* ou *ARMENIE*).

While it is still unclear who the people called *Cordueni*, *Cardueni*, *Kardueni*, *Cardveni* actually were in the time of the Elder Pliny and Trajan, the fact remains that the existence of the land Καρδουήνων is also attested in the Greek text of Zosimus Historicus around A.D. 598 (Zosimus 1837, *Historia*, 3.31, 167).³³

Narrow "Gates" lead through Media into another territory. Joining up to *Adiabene* are the people known as the *Cordueni*, *Cardueni*, *Kardueni*, *Cardveni* according to Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, 6,17,14-6,17,15). And *Adiabene* lies "beyond the borders of Armenia", according to Strabo from Amasya Pontica, currently Turkey (Strabi 1856, *Geographica*, 11,4,1 and 4,8).

And although modern historians do not give us any information, the purpose of my study is to understand where the unidentified people lived, and why they intersected the line of march which Trajan pursued.

A spelling variant occurs for the people called *Cardueni* in Roman history. From Pontus to Mesopotamia, dwell the *Cardveni*; such is the German editor's reading of the *Breviarium* by Sextus Rufus. As for letters "v" and "u", Latin texts make no distinction between consonant [v] and vocalic [u], writing both as v in epigraphs. The two spellings of the ethnic name *Cardueni* and *Cardveni* probably belong to the same root as the Georgian word *kartu*.

The ethnonym *k'art'veli* acquired a double meaning in history: first, its earliest sense, the dominant population of *K'art'li* proper (Kartli); and second, the crown's "Georgian" subjects distributed from the Pontic or Black Sea littoral to the far eastern regions of *K'axeti* and *Hereti*, bordering and overlapping with *Albânia* of the Caucasus. In this way the term *k'art'vel* came to mean both Iberian (East Georgian) and Georgian, between the year 928 (Roman-Iberian Treaty on the Aras River), and 1008 (see section 4).

32 Stritter 1779, Ex Scriptoribus Byzantinis: Lazica, Avasgica, Tzanica, Svanica, Meschica, Iberica, Alanica, Index Historicus: 129, "*Mantzicierte*, urbs: *Iberes* cum *Mantziciertanis* amicitiam colunt"; and particularly 95-6, chapter 3, "*Urbs a Tangrolipice Sultano appugnatur*"; 122, "*Turci paret, Romanus Diog. ad eum venit, et oppugnatam capit*; Index Geographicus"; 278, "*Mantzicierte, Mediae*: urbs munitissima, (olim, ut quidem Isaac Catholicus auctor est, *Theodosiopolis* dicta, de quo tamen dubitari potest)"; 286-7, chapter 4, "*Lazica*: a.C. 555, Imp. Iustiniano, Gubazem". In fact, Malazgirt is not to be confused with Theodosiopolis, the ancient name of Erzurum, historical Armenia, currently Turkey.

33 See also Eutrop., *Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 364-5, *Variae Lectiones*. Notae: Coduenos pro Carduenos. Nostram lectionem confirmat Sextus Rufus c. xx. Zosimus *Hist.*, Lib. III in Joviano, Καρδουήνων". The text of Zosimus survives in a single manuscript now in the Vatican Library, Codex Vat. Graecus 156; this copy was written over a period of two centuries, the tenth-twelfth, Constantinople.

In its earliest sense, as given in section 4 (Rapp 2003, 420; Shurgaiia 2014, 80-1), the people of *K'art'li* is both an ethnic group and a political designation for a collective region. Geography has the power to politically define territory and to name regions. Once a territory has become associated with a set ethnonym, the ethnonym can remain in use for a considerable period of time. For example, writing from the Roman Empire of the East. in the first half of the sixth century, Procopius uses the same ethnonyms in Emperor Justinian's reign to describe Italy as Strabo from Amasya Pontica 500 years earlier. Indeed, it was only when the local population came into contact with a central authority from Rome, the *iuridicus*, the curator of a public road, for example, or the prefect of the *alimenta*, that there was contact with the notion of a wider collective region. However, what is important, in the context of the use of ethnonyms by Roman geographers, is the division of territory according to ethnonym and the association of a common mythology. The eleventh regions of Italy and their associated names, ethnonyms and others, were not a natural division of territory. For the regions to have coherence, they depended upon a mythology of descent that denied heterogeneity of native population to create a number of unified regions, which were associated with one or two ethnonyms. Perhaps we see in the Italy of Augustus, during the first two centuries A.D., a shift from the ethnonym representing the people to the ethnonym representing a territorial division (Laurence 1998, 106-7).

The people of Kartli (*K'art'li*) is both an ethnic group and a political designation for a collective region. Such a view can be seen as a simple principle in Roman geography even for the foreign nations entering reports and chronicles. The Marcomedi possibly were the Osroenians, as Malkutā d-Bēt Ōsrā Īnē in Syriac translates the reign of Osroenē in Latin. As such, the ethnonym entered the *Breviarium* of Roman history. And *Cordueni*, *Cardueni*, *Kardueni*, *Cardveni*, the land Καρδοῦνων, as a word for the ethnonym representing a territorial division appears at least four times in Roman history.

Trialeti is in central Georgia today. The Trialeti culture is attributed to the early second millennium before Christ. It naturally evolved into that of the Kartli of Mxeta during the Late Bronze Age. Mxeta is located 20 km north of Tiflis, currently Tbilisi (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 157-9, Thrialeth; Shurgaiia 2014, 81).

We see Trialeti (*Trialeti*), Tbilisi (*Tiblis*), Mxeta (*Msketa*) in the Georgian region of the people called Kartveli (*CARDUEL*) on Delisle's map *L'Arménie, la Géorgie, et le Daghistan* of 1722 (Appendix, fig. 8). *Carduel* is then the modern variant of *Cordueni*, *Cardueni*, *Kardueni*, *Cardveni*, the land Καρδοῦνων, the land of the ethnic group called the Kartvelians after Kartlos.

Moreover, the Georgian language is still known as *Cardueli* in 1627

(Pietro della Valle, *Informatione*, p. 1/a). Trabzon, Constantinopolitan Greece, borders on Bayburt, Georgia (see also Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 127).

By A.D. 114, the federal alliance with Rome was widespread among the Kings of the Caucasus and Osroenê, clear-cut, and politically irresistible. At the head of the Roman Army, from Satala, Roman Armenia, through the Kelkit River valley (anc. *Lycus Fl.*) and the Ch'orokhi River valley (currently Çoruh Nehri) Trajan could actually reach the upper and far end of the narrow Georgian Gorge, or, as Roman surveyors call it, the Gates of Iberiá as the Caucasian Gates, which led into the territories of Media and Armenia.

In A.D. 114 Trajan's Army "occupied" the *Cardueni*, that is to say the region called *CARDUEL* on Delisle's map about 1722. The Romans did not occupy Iberiá of the Caucasus with those peoples which border on Media and Armenia, but the Kartvelians, one of the Iberian peoples of the Caucasus, the descendants of the eponym *K'art'los*. After we pass the course of the Ch'orokhi River, modern Georgia, it begins to be called *CARDUEL*; the Kartvelians being a people who dwell beyond its northern bank in Trajan's time. In the context of the use of ethnonyms by Roman geographers, this is a division of territory according to ethnonym and the association of a common mythology. Since Trajan's time the Romans have called the unified region *Cordueni*, *Cardueni*, *Kardueni*, *Cardveni*, Καρδουήνων, that is to say *CARDUEL*, a province of the all-Georgia realm on Delisle's map of 1722.

The Kartvelians are the people who dwell in Mcxeta and other Kartlian towns within the Kingdom of the Iberians of the Caucasus in Trajan's time. The passage from the *Breviarium* contains the oldest reference to the people of Kartli which I am aware: [Trajan] occupied the *Cardueni* and *Marcomedi* ("Carduenos et Marcomedos occupavit"). In this southern region of Iberiá of the Caucasus, all the people who are placed under the ethnonym *k'art'veli* and dwell along the northern bank of the Kur River, the State's frontier, have been consecrated to separate rule since A.D. 114, the year of the treaty (*foedus*) of Satala with Rome.

Ibero-Kartvelian place-name harks back to Ptolemy's maps. We see Mcxeta (*mescheta*), and the mythical city of Armazi (*armatica* = *armatica*). In the myth the people called Kartveli have been associated with a set ethnonym and Mcxeta (*mescheta*), the capital of Iberiá of the Caucasus, was built on the bank of the Kur River, the *Cirus* / *Cyrus* of the Romans, or, as the Kartvelians call it, Mtkvari. Its geographical position is a few miles north of the Pontus. The Kur takes its rise in the Caucasus Mountain according to Pliny (*Corax*, currently K'odori River; Plinius, *N. h.* 6,15). It passes Iberiá and the line of the State frontier on the south side near Mcxeta. Receiving from the west a great affluent, the Aras River from Greater Armenia, the Kur runs through Albània of the Caucasus in an east direction and falls into the Caspian, or Hircanian Sea. The geographical work of Nicolaus Germanus includes the Kur River. Here *Cirus Fluvius*,

the Greek form, flows along the southern frontier of the Kingdom of Ibería of the Caucasus, bordering on the Mescit Mountains. The Kur is traced correctly but it wrongly receives from the south its great affluent, the Aras (*araxes fl.*), Greater Armenia (*Armenia Maior*). The proper Pontus actually lies at a latitude of between 40 and 41 degrees north latitude, marking off the Caspian, or Hircanian Sea. However, we see Mcxeta (*mescheta*) on Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia in Nicolaus Germanus' copy showing the wrong latitude of 45° north in 1466 (Appendix, figs. 4, 6).

Ptolemy's measurement is not very satisfactory. The correct latitude of Mcxeta is 41°41'N. The Ibero-Kartvelian frontier, bordering the Roman Empire and Roman provinces, was defined by treaty (*foedus*) at Satala (Kelkit) in A.D. 114-17. It appears reasonable that from this parallel the southern frontier should have run from Mcxeta to Albània of the Caucasus (Daghestan) in Ptolemy's time (A.D. c.90-168). We can compare now the line of latitude of Mcxeta at the southern border of Ibería of the Caucasus on Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia in 1466 with that of Mcxeta in 1722. Delisle got the true latitude of this line correctly.

The ethnonym *k'art'veli* eventually acquired a double meaning in the Bagratid era: in its earliest sense, however, as given in section 4, the Kartvelians are a people then linked with the border region of a Sovereign territory where they dwell within the first half of the second century. The name of the Kartvelian people has caused much speculation among modern historians. Nevertheless, they should not see the Kingdom of Caucasian Ibería, or, Kartli (East Georgia), as split into two halves, Roman Ibería or Kartli and Parthian Ibería or Kartli. By the terms of the federal agreement (*foedus*) with Rome, the Roman Emperor does not claim dominance over all those peoples living in the Sovereign territory of Caucasian Ibería in times both of peace and armed conflict. The King of the Iberian peoples of the Caucasus simply recognizes the Roman dominance of one of them, the Kartvelians. The history of the political process between the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Ibería of the Caucasus regarding the Kartvelians dates back to A.D. 114 when the Roman-Caucasian Iberia governments start to define the administrative jurisdiction by drawing an inner Line in relation to the unique people involved at the western frontier tract. The *Cordueni*, *Cardueni*, *Kardueni*, *Cardveni*, the land Καρδουήνων, *CARDUEL* are different imitations of the same name, while the people thus called share the more general name of *Georgi*, or, "tillers of the ground", with the other descendants of the same *geōrgos*, farmer (Strabo 1877, *Geographica*, 11,2; Plinius *N. h.* 6,14).

We can see a strong continuity with later periods. The eastern part of the Roman Empire then lost Rome and became the Roman Empire of Byzantium, the former name of the city of Constantinople, Greece politically, strategically, and geographically. However it retained much of that was Roman in government, law, and administration.

Since A.D. 114 the Kingdoms of the Osroenians, the Albàni of the Caucasus (Alvànì, Daghestan), the Colchians, the Iberians of the Caucasus, the Bosphorians, the Sarmates at the mouth of Tanàis, that is the other name of the Don River, therefore, have been independent States, and only in federal alliance with the Romans in the form of *foedus*. In fact, Cicero uses *liberi populi* as equivalent of *socii* (Cic. *Pro Cornelio Balbo oratio ad iudices*, par. 27). Federal Ibería of the Caucasus is directly governed from Mxeta. As sovereign state, Ibería of the Caucasus embraced many peoples; one of them, the Kartvelians, stretch down to the Kur river in a south direction, and to the Ch'orokhi river in a south-westly direction where the Ch'orokhi takes its rise. Its sources in the west flank of the Mescit Mountains (Mescit Dağları) form the narrow "Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates". Its governing authority is no way legally dependent on any higher authority. The Gates of Caucasian Ibería border on Armenia. A Roman province since A.D. 117, Armenia is now directly governed from Rome.

In A.D. 114 Trajan then proceeded through the narrow Gates of Ibería as the Caucasian Gates, that is to say through the Georgian Gorge, or "Gürcü Boğazi" (currently Turkey). The exit gates led through Caucasian Ibería into the territories of Media and Assyria. With this base, Trajan immediately marched on the Caspian Gates, the other gates.

In fact, Pliny says: "After we pass the mouth of the Cyrus, the Kur River, it begins to be called the 'Caspian Sea;' the Caspii being a people who dwell upon its shores". (Plin., *Naturalis historia*, 6,15).

Trajan also "occupied" Anthemusium in the great region of Persia, but conquered and kept Seleucia and Ctesiphon, Babylonia and the Messeni, down to the borders with India and the Red Sea. "And there", in the region of the Red Sea, Eutropius says, under the year 117, Trajan "made three provinces, Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia with those peoples which border on Madena. Arabia he afterwards reduced to the government of a province. On the Red Sea he established a fleet, so that he might go and ravage the borders of India" (Eutrop. *Breviarium*, 8,3, Sylburgii 1762, 1, 363).

Consequently coins with Armenian references were struck by the mint at Rome. If we think that we are dealing with the Roman province of Armenia receiving *insigna* from the Roman Emperor, it ought not to surprise us much (but Sayles 1998, 62). Roman provincial coins are usually arranged geographically by issuing authority. Attributing Roman provincial coins is not really as hard as it looks since the geographical arrangement of provinces conforms with history. Four centuries later Procopius refers that the five Armenian satraps held the power, and these offices were always hereditary and held for life. However, "they received the symbols of office only from the Roman Emperor" (Procopius 1833, *De aedif.* 3,4,17- 3,4,19).

Ptolemy was right about one thing: satrapies are simply provinces under another name in the Roman reign as we read in his *Geography*: "Provin-

ciae seu Satrapiae notae hae sunt. In Europa 34. [...] In Africa Provinciae seu Satrapiae 12. [...] Asiae magnae provinciae 408” (Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. Lat. V F. 32, Tabula XXVII, f. 124).

On this account we cannot observe any “basic similarity” between “the satraps of Armenia as the allies of the Emperor” of the Romans and the *foederati* in complete autonomy without supervision from the Roman authorities. Neither can we say, “the Satrapies were miniature kingdoms ruled by their own princes, who were the equals in rank of king” (but see Adontz 1908, Garsoïan 1970, 87-8; Garsoïan 1998, 239-64). Given that satrapies are simple provinces in the Roman reign, there undeniably follows the conclusion. Since the year 117 the people of Armenia have received the provincial form and have been administered according to Roman laws and order. Yet they have arrogated to themselves rank superior to that of the other provinces forming the Roman Empire. Provinces, or, Satrapies forming the Roman reign follow Roman law in all ways. And, on the contrary, *Foederati* are foreign Kingdoms in formal alliance with Rome on the basis of a treaty, *foedus* in Latin, between the Roman Empire and several, independent, sovereign States. Federated Kingdoms are not tributary to Rome.

State sovereignties are not found under apple-trees. Sovereignty is not the Power, it is not the Authority, it is not the Command, but it is the Right of Power, the Right of Authority, the Right of Command, as Emmerich de Vattel so correctly declares.

Territorial sovereignty is not something to be decided by mere prime ministers, diplomats, residents, and scholars. Rather, it has a function. In international relations, sovereignty's function is to demarcate the international from the domestic, so that the boundaries appear to be self-evident in international treaties. And topographical maps are indispensable for the planning of military manoeuvres on the frontiers and public administration, for levying taxes, for the rule of law and space systems to work.

The claim here is quite simple: yesterday and today, national frontiers are fixed by treaty, unless scholars assume that a sovereign ignores his/her own State's frontier and rules over an unknown territory.

6 Bayburt Fort is Iberia of the Caucasus in A.D. 928

Four centuries passed. Justinian I, the Roman Emperor of the East at Constantinople, was then at war with the Persian Emperor. The truce of A.D. 532 allowed Justinian to commence fortification of the flank of the Euphrates at the Persian frontier of the Roman Empire. First he strengthened the territory of the East with new fortifications. By these measures, he fortified the whole of that remote frontier. Therefore he devised a plan and Procopius wrote the most important eyewitness account of the buildings in his reign (Procopius 1833, *De aedif.*, 2-4).

Osroenê, we understand, is a part of Mesopotamia (Media). A Roman province since A.D. 117, Mesopotamia was directly controlled by the Emperor of the Romans. From Constantinople, Justinian the Emperor of the Romans made impregnable all the places which previously lay exposed to assailants; "as a result of this", Procopius relates, "Mesopotamia is manifestly inaccessible to the Persian nation" (Procopius 1833, *De aedif.*, 2,4,14-2,4,21). In book two, then, Procopius says (2,7,1-2,7,2, 2,8,1, 2,8,1, 2,8,2):

Such were the works of the Emperor Justinian in Mesopotamia. And it is necessary for me at this point in my narrative to mention Edessa and Carrhae and Callinicum and all the other towns which chance to lie in that region, for those too are situated between the two rivers [...] So these structures were erected by the Emperor Justinian in the manner which I have described in Mesopotamia and in Osroenê, as it is called. And I shall describe the fashion in which his work was carried out on the right of the Euphrates River.

In book three on the buildings, Procopius goes on to tell about all the other works that the Emperor Justinian executed "in the other Armenia" as a place-name. The fort of Satala (Sadak) is in the territory of the other Armenia (Procopius 1833, *De aedif.* 3,4,1, 3,4,2). Here the Emperor Trajan held court in A.D. 114. Next Procopius adds that (3,3,9 -3,3,12):

As one goes from Citharizôn to **Theodosiopolis [currently Erzurum]** and **the other Armenia**, the land is called Chorzanê; it extends for a distance of about three days' journey, **not being marked off from the Persian territory** by the water of any lake or by river's stream or by a wall of mountains which pinch the road into a narrow pass, **but the two frontiers are indistinct**. So the inhabitants of this region, **whether subject of the Romans or of the Persians**, have no fear of an attack, but they even intermarry and hold a common market for their produce and together share the labours of farming. And if the commanders on either side ever make an expedition against the others, when they are ordered to do so by their sovereign, they always find their neighbours unprotected. Their very populous towns are close to each other, yet from ancient times no stronghold existed on either side. It was possible, therefore, for **the Persian King** to proceed by this route with comparative ease and convenience in passing through into Roman territory, until **the Emperor Justinian** blocked his way in the following manner [...].

It refers to the whole territory of Armenia that Procopius has described, whether subject of the Romans or of the Persians. While one Armenian region seems more open to outsiders along the Aras River (*Araxes*), "the other Armenian region" seems to be compact along the Euphrates River (currently Firat Nehri). Then Procopius relates (Procopius 1833, *De aedif.* 3,4,1-3,4,6; 3,4,10):

These things were accomplished by **the Emperor** in the manner described. I shall now go on to tell about all the other works which by his

diligence he executed **in the other Armenia**. The city of **Satala** had been in a precarious state in ancient times. For it is situated not far from the land of the enemy and it also lies in a low-lying plain and is dominated by many hills which tower around it, and for this reason it stood in need of circuit-walls which would defy attack. [...] And he set up admirable works on all sides and so struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. **he also built a very strong fortress not far from Satala in the territory called Osroenê. There was a certain fortress in that region erected by men of ancient times on the crest of a precipitous hill, which in early times Pompey, the Roman general, captured;** and becoming master of the land by his victories, he strengthened this town materially and named it Coloneia. [...] In that region also **he constructed the forts called Baiberdôn and Aerôn.**

Two are the Roman forts, Procopius tells us, that Justinian built in the territory called Osroenê, the Romans Empire. These forts are called *Baiberdôn* (Βαίβεργδών), or, as the Turks call it, Bayburt, and *Aerôn* (Ἄρεων). The modern name of Aerôn is unknown. The territory called Osroenê is not far from Satala "in the other Armenia" but it is not Armenia, either. And Coloneia, or, Koloneia, is Koyulhisar, Sivas İli, modern Turkey today.

Yesterday and today, Bayburt (*Baiburdi*) is just 95 km south-east of İspir (*Ispira*). However to complicate matters, today's İspir is situated in the modern province of Erzurum (*Arzrum*), which yesterday was the town of Theodosiopolis in historical Armenia. Erzurum lies below the Georgian Gorge, or, the Gates of Iberia as the Caucasian Gates (*Gurdzis Bogasi*) through the isolated Mount Uzundere (*Kenzoreti*) in the Mescit Mountains. Currently, these cities are in the Republic of Turkey as one of the successor States of the Ottoman Empire. To the north, the modern Province of Erzurum stretches as far as Tortum (*Tartomisi*), Tortumkale and Oltu on the isolated Mount Uzundere as the westernmost portion of the Mescit Mountains, currently Mescit Dağları.³⁴ We can point out its exact situation on Delisle's map of 1722 (Appendix, fig. 7).

Further, physical geography shows that Vardzahan was not Turkish Armenia (*Variu-Han*; currently Uğrak, Bayburt İli).³⁵ Vardzahan lies above the slope-forming unit of "The Georgian Gorge" (*Gurdzis Bogasi*), above both Bayburt (*Baiburdi*) and İspir (*Ispira*). The modern "Georgian Gorge" (Gürcü Boğazı) and the ancient "Iberian Gates as the Caucasian Gates" marks the entrance gates to Iberia of the Caucasus leading through the Kartvelian

34 Civil Administration Units Municipality Villages, Turkey, 2002: BAYBURT 69: I. Bayburt-İl Merkezi B.; ERZURUM 25: İspir İlçesi, I. İspir-İlçe Merkezi B; Oltu İlçesi, I. Oltu-İlçe Merkezi B; Tortum İlçesi, I. Tortum-İlçe Merkezi B., 29. Tortumkale.

35 But see Cuneo 1988, 1, 703, Maria Adelaide Lala Comneno ed. "N. 458 Varjahan, Vardzahan: chiesa ottagonale X-XI secolo, vilayet di Gumushane"; 2, Carta di Localizzazione dei Monumenti e dei Siti, n. 458.

route into the territory of Sarmatia (Russia). It occupies the gorge cut through the Mescit Mountains (currently Mescit Dağları, Turkey).

Bayburt (*Baiburdi*) appears just across the northern neck of the Georgian Gorge (*Gurdzis Bogasi*). Originally in Osroenê forming the Roman Empire, Bayburt Plateau and Fort then passed to the patrimony of the Kings of Iberia of the Caucasus, Kartli, in the Bagratid era. In A.D. 928 Catacale retired at the co-emperor's orders from Constantinople (currently İstanbul). Catacale was the Master of the Soldiers for Theodosiopolis (currently Erzurum, Turkey) and the region of Phasianes, the region of the Phasis River of the ancient writers, Colchis (West Georgia). The name of the river, in its modern form, is Rioni, Georgia. As soon as Catacale retired from Theodosiopolis and the region of Phasianes, the King of Iberia of the Caucasus seized upon all those strongholds and kept possession of them according to Greek Byzantine authors.³⁶ A political solution came, in A.D. 928, at Constantinople. Romanos I Lakapenos and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, the co-emperors of the Romans, agreed that the Aras River (*Erax fluvius. Araxes*) "should serve as the boundary line between the two States not to commence war against this Prince, who was a *socius*, or, ally of the Roman Emperor". Thus the co-emperors "abandoned all the country north of the said river to the Ibererians of the Caucasus",

36 Le Beau 1770, Tome 13, 428, Romain Lécapène, 73, Le roi d'Ibérie à Constantinople: Le 20 février de l'année suivante 922, mourut Théodora, femme de Romain. [...] Les rois d'Ibérie étaient alliés de l'Empire, et ces princes, moins fiers que leurs ancêtres, s'en étaient rendus les vassaux en acceptant le titre de curopalates, devenu chez eux héréditaire. Celui qui régnait alors vint à **Constantinople**, et Romain s'empressa de le recevoir avec honneur, et d'étaler à ses yeux toute la pompe impériale; 35, Ann.924, Révolte de Boilas: 622, *Cedrenus*; 499 et al., *Leo gramm.*; 442-3, Mais en 924, il s'éleva des troubles sur la frontière de **l'Arménie** et du **Pont**. Le Patrice Bardas Boilas commandait en cette contrée. Voulant apparemment se faire une principauté, sans courir lui-même aucun risque, il excita deux seigneurs puissants, Adrien et Tazate, à prendre les armes. Ils levèrent l'étendard de la révolte, en s'emparant d'une place forte nommée **Païpert [Bayburt]**. Curcuas, qui se trouvait alors à **Césarée de Cappadoce** [currently Kayseri, Turkey], accourut au bruit de ces mouvements; il livra bataille aux rebelles [...]; 463, 468-9, Guerre en Arménie. *Const. Porph. de adm. imp.* c. 45. de Iberibus. Ann.927 Le révolte de Boilas avait été un signal de guerre pour les **Sarasins de Malatia** [currently Esky Mataya, Turkey]. Ils recommenceront leurs ravages sur les frontières de l'Empire. Mais ils trouverent dans Curcuas qui commandoit en Orient, un ennemi invincible [...469] II. Guerre en **Arménie**: *Constant. Porphy. de adm. imp.* c. 45. *Abulfeda*. Quoique **les Rois d'Ibérie** fussent alliés et comme vassaux de **l'Empire**, ils disputoient néanmoins aux **Grecs** la possession des pays limitrophes. Sous le règne de Léon, Catacale s'était rendu maître de **Theodosiopolis** [currently Erzurum, Turkey] et de la **Phasiane** [Phasis, currently Rioni, Georgia], d'où il avait presque entièrement chassé les Sarrasins. Après le départ de ce Général [Catacale], le **Roi d'Ibérie** s'était emparé de toutes ces places, et prétendait s'y maintenir. **Constantinus VII. Romain** A. 928. Pour éviter une guerre avec ce Prince, on convint que **l'Araxe [Aras] ferait la borne des deux Etats, et on abandonna aux Ibériens tout le pays situé au Septentrion de ce fleuve**. Joannes Curcuas (John Curcuas) was born in Lesser Armenia. Phasiana (var. Fasiana) is the land of the Phasis River, or, Fasso, Colchis (West Georgia). The name of the river, in its modern form, is Rioni. It flows to Poti, Georgia.

or, Kartli, as the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus wrote in his *De administrando imperio* (Bekkerus 1840, 204-5, § 45).

To this, the reply of Romanos I Lakapenos and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus was simple: Armenia belonged to the Romans. Bayburt was property of the Kingdom of Iberia of the Caucasus and hence was under Bagratid jurisdiction. In A.D. 928 Ioannes Curcuas, the commissioner on the revision and consolidation of the public laws of the State of the Romans, with his back to the source of the Aras River (Başçayı River valley) explains: "The left bank of the Aras River (*citeriora*) will belong to Iberia of the Caucasus, and that on the right bank (*ulteriora*) to the Roman Empire" (Bekkerus 1840, 205, chapter 45). The Empire of the Romans as owner State transfers sovereignty over half the Aras River (*Erax*) to the *curopalates* of Iberia as there is a constant threat of armed incursions from Theodosiopolis (currently Erzurum) into Iberia of the Caucasus. Since 928 the Aras has been the *terminus intermedius inter*, by the Roman public law of connecting parts to parts into a whole, between the Kingdom of the Caucasian Iberians (up it) and the Roman Empire (below it).

Finally, the Roman public road finishes at the *Iberici vici*, the buildings of each *vicus* bordering it according to Greek Byzantine authors. In fact, bordering the north face of the Köse Mountains along the Kelkit-Çoruh Fault (*Lycus Fl.*) as far as Koyulhisar, we reach the ancient *Coloneia Pontica* of the Romans, Sivas province today, Turkey. In the middle, between Kelkit and Köse, stands Satala in "the other Armenia" forming the Roman reign (currently Sadak, Turkey). Yet both in the north and east parts there was consciousness of a frontier that ended the holdings of the Roman Empire in the East. A Ibero-Kartvelian province since A.D. 928, Bayburt Plateau and Fort stands on the western bank of the Ch'orokhi (currently Çoruh Nehri, Turkey). An Ibero-Kartvelian province since time immemorial, on the eastern bank of the Ch'orokhi, and rather to the north of Varzahan (currently Uğrak), stands İspir Plateau and Fort; it serves the main route through the narrow north-to-south Georgian Gorge (currently Gürcü Boğazı, Turkey), that is to say, through the narrow Gates of Iberia as the Caucasian Gates in Pliny's time, as we see on the 1722 map. People journeying to communities away from the river have to continue south through the Gates to either Manzikerd or Theodosiopolis. On the one hand, Manzikerd is a city of Osroenê otherwise called Mesopotamia, a Roman province since A.D. 117 (currently Malazgirt, Turkey). On the other, Theodosiopolis is a city of Upper or Greater Armenia, a Roman province since A.D. 117 (currently Erzurum, Turkey).³⁷

37 Stritter 1779, 309-10, § 72, Romanus Diogenes Turcis et Saracenis ad Hierapolim vicis, hic arcem aedificare statuit, **Pharsmane Ibero huic rei praefecto**. Imp. ROMANO Diogene. a. C. 1068; 310, § 74, **Romanus Diogenes Turcos** petens, **in Iberiam** contendit, et **Theodosiopolin** [current Erzurum, Turkey] venit: a. C. 1071 BELLO Turcico fervente,

Greek Byzantine and Latin records attest that the Kings of Ibería of the Caucasus (Kartli, East Georgia) as *socii* gave free access to the Emperors of the Romans exercising their right of transit through the Iberian Gates, that is to say, *Iberici vici*. From Constantinople (İstanbul) across the Bosphorus Thracius (Bithynia), the Roman Army then progressed along the old Roman public road from Greek Anatolia to the narrow Kelkit River valley, surrounded by steep mountains—the Mescit. The Gates of Ibería, or, the Caucasian Gates led to quicker access through the far side into the province of Upper or Greater Armenia in the Roman reign whenever necessary in military operations. For example, in 1068 and 1071 the King of all-Georgia gave access to the Emperor of the Romans to reach Erzurum (*Theodosiopolin*) in Greater Armenia under Seljuk Turkish attack. Since August 1071 the Turks had opened a road to Malazgirt (*Manzikert / Mantzicierte*), Roman Media, along the shoreline of the river Aras (*Araxes*) (see note 36).

The Roman Empire stops here. In fact, in Roman surveying *vicus* is a row of houses without a city in Roman topography across the Roman Empire. And the word *kleisoura* actually indicates command over a battlemented pass at the frontier, a gorge, a gully (Pertusi 1952, 142-3, Costantino). Thinner than a razor blade, certainly the *kleisoura* of Sivas (*savasto*) was in Georgian hands on Dulcert's portolan charts in 1339 and c.1340, with the battlemented tower forming a frontier between all-Georgia (*GIEOR-GIANJA*) and Turkey (*TURCHIA*), as we shall see (Appendix, fig. 9).

7 In Modern Times

Originally, Bayburt Plateau was Osroenê; so says Procopius' eyewitness account (Procopius 1833, *De aedif.*, 3,4,5-3,4,12); then it passed from Roman to Ibero-Karvelian hands by treaty in A.D. 928 (East Georgia), and it stood there.

Nine centuries later, the act of annexation and patronage of the first portion of the Kingdom of Georgia (Kartli and K'axeti) to the Russian Empire was announced in Moscow and Sankt Petersburg on 19 January 1801. Af-

imperator Romanus Diogenes ad **Sebastiam** proficiscitur, contendens in **Iberiam** pervenire, ubi etiam eorum, qui cum Manuele Curopalate Commeno ceciderant, spectator fuit. et inde sensim ac paulatim progressus ad **Theodosiopolin** se confert.; 310, § 75, Romanus Diogenes a Sultano e captivitate dimissus, Turcis comitantibus **Theodosiopolin et per vicos Ibericos Coloniam venit**: ROMANUS Diogenes a Sultano, in cuius potestatem brevi ante proelio victus venerat, dimissus, **Theodosiopolin** venit. Indeque profectus peregrabat **Iberios vicos** una cum Sultani, qui secum aderant, legatis, et inde usque ad ipsam **Coloniam** processit. Given also in Migne, *PG*, 1889, Vol. 122, 420 (D), 432. Today Koloneia (Colonia / Coloneia) is Koyulhisar, Sivas İli, Turkey; Theodosiopolin is Erzurum, historical Greater Armenia. Pharsman of Caucasian Ibería was in charge as governor of Hierapolis Bambyce, or, Commagene (currently Manbij, modern Syria).

ter the Persian-Russian war 1805-1813 and the Turkish-Russian war 1806-1812, the Georgian natural districts were long considered as a matter of dispute.

And, later, the valleys of Parkhal (Tao), and those originally in Turkish Georgia, Tortum, İspir, Bayburt and the Georgian Gorge (Gürcü Boğazı), were all declared denationalized by the Turkish government:

It should be noted that in 1918-1921 the most Turkicized of the Georgian regions now in Turkey –Parhal, Torton, İspir, Bayburt and Gurdijbogaz– are the two southern ones of Bayburt and Gurdijbogaz, where the denationalization of the Georgian population came to an end.

Gurdijbogaz is the Georgian Gorge. Thus, after the annexation of Georgia in 1801, it is not surprising that the Soviet Union can lay claim to these regions as heir to the former territory of the Russian Empire. However, Soviet Georgia as incorporated within U.S.S.R. does not include all the territory which naturally belonged to it. And the frontiers of Turkey, Soviet Armenia and Iran come together in the vicinity of Mt. Ararat, which is a few miles inside the Turkish side of the boundary. Since Novembre 1945, this area has become the location of military events. They start in the Iran, Caucasia and Turkey Area (19 Dec 45 to 18 Jan 46). Now *The Field Artillery Journal* admits that their location and nature indicate a possibility of serious complications. The Unites States and the British Empire have united in an attempt, as yet unsuccessful, to limit the trouble. Turkey is allied to Iran, but Russian occupation of Iran Azerbaijan separates Turkey's Armies from those of Iran.³⁸

However, we must not confuse geographical frontiers across time. The westernmost extension of Iberia of the Caucasus, Kartli, East Georgia, all-Georgia, is not Tao-Klarceti, Tao or Taokh, or, as the Press calls it, Parhal or Parkhal.³⁹ Its eastern border is formed by the Ch'orokhi River (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 121). In fact, Tao is described as follows in 1745 (Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1842, 121):

TAO. Au-dessus d'Arthwan [Artvin], jusqu'à Idi [?], à l'O. du Dchorokh [Çoruh Nehri], à l'E. du pays de Thorthom [Tortum River Valley], est Parkhal, Taos-Car ou Tao, limité à l'E. par le Dchorokh; au S., par un montagne allant de Thorthom jusqu'à Idi; à l'O., par le mont de Thorthom; au N. par le Dchorokh et par le mont d'Ispira [İspir].

³⁸ Lanza 1946, 165-67; Perimeters in Paragraphs, 163-72, Baltimore, Washington D.C., United States Field Artillery Association.

³⁹ But see among others Brosset 1839, coll. 158-60; Bayram 2015, 482.

A further error, as Rouben Galichian observes, is introduced by the terminology “Eastern Anatolia” literally meaning “east of the east” in Greek (2007, 10-11, 19). Today, however, Bayburt is commonly classed as an “Armenian” stronghold in the highlands of “eastern Anatolia”, but this is a triple error, historical, geographical, and archaeological.⁴⁰

Thus, if archaeologists say that “the district of Bayburt, though to the north of the Euphrates, fell within Armenia” (Sinclair 1987, 64), they had better offer documentary proof of it. In fact, the Bayburt Plateau, the source of the Çoruh River and the İspir Plateau, Iberia of the Caucasus, All-Georgia, are mistakenly identified in historical Armenia, and mistakenly localized in the region of Tao-Klarjeti. The result is a mass of misinformation and confusion about the whole subject-geographical as well as dynastical. A Roman province since A.D. 117, Armenia is dependent on Rome. The Emperor Trajan acknowledged no Kingly government. No Kingly government both in name and thing subsisted in Armenia until the first crusade in A.D. 1097 in Emperor Alexius’ reign.⁴¹

40 See Adontz and Garsoïan, 1970, *The Political Division of Armenia*, 22-23, 39, 51; Notes, 398, 31b; *The Reform of Justinian in Armenia*, 112; *Armenia Interior*, 58; Appendix V, *Toponymy: B Cities - Towns - Villages*, 191; *Locality Baiberdön, Equivalents Bayburt*, Note 3, n. 25; *Locality Bayburt, Variants Baybert, Equivalents Baiberdön*, References G. 82 (2) = *Turkey [G], Maps U. 324 C IV. = the USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart [U]* (for the modern equivalents). See also Sinclair 1987, 1, 78. And Sagona A., Sagona C., 2004: Sagona C., 2,33; Gümüşhane 68,3,7; Conclusions, 95-96; Sagona A., Sagona C., 122; Sagona C., 94; Sagona A., Sagona C., 168, 172.

41 But see for instance Sagona A., Sagona C. 2004, 94-5: “One Georgian family, the Bagratids, whose homeland was in Sper, within Tao-Klarjeti, claimed to be descended from David and Solomon according to Moses Khorenats’i [note 137], but this was an unfounded claim driven by political expediency. After having reached highly ranked positions within the Armenian kingdom, the Bagratid clan went from strength to strength. They benefited from the weakening of Byzantine interests over the Çoruh river valley in the eighth century, and the cessation of Saracen control over the Caucasus in the closing years of the ninth century. The fortresses that had secured the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire fell into disuse. The extent of Bagratid territory is not always precise. The castle at İspir, guarded the northern route across the Pontic Mountains to Rize, on the Black Sea coast. Another at Bayburt defended the caravan routes from central Asia, Persia and on to Trabzon and north to the Black Sea and south to the interior, to Erzincan. A number of important Christian sites emerged on or near the major routes through the region. Church architecture has been dealt with by others, but both simple small chapels and major religious precincts do survive. Layard [1853] was the first to describe three ruined churches at Vazahan, 15 km west of Bayburt, but these have long since been destroyed. The Bayburt region is known to have had sources of yellow limestone possibly exploited during the construction of churches around Trabzon as well as for the church within the walls of Bayburt citadel itself. Erzurum fell to Seljuk forces in the Battle of Manzikert. The year was 1071. Thereafter, the region witnessed settlement by Turkish people. Reforms made by David the Builder (1089-1125) shaped Georgian religious, political and military institutions. Not only were local rulers reigned in under his firm control, but Georgian troops regained power and commanded tribute from Seljuk Turks. This upper hand in religious politics lasted through to the early 1200s, through the reigns of Giorgi

For certainly the Bagratid dynasty, the fifth dynasty of the Ibero-Kartvelians originated at Īspir (Geo. სპირი), on the east side of the Çoruh River (currently Turkey).⁴² The site is located “above” the Georgian Gorge. Historically and geographically, the assertion that the fifth dynasty originate at Īspir, historical “Armenia”, makes no sense. So, Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’i’s *Chronographia* simply says that “The reign of the Bagratunis began in K’art’li. Simultaneously Gurgēn ruled in K’art’li and his brother Smbat in Armenia”. Kartli is Iberia of the Caucasus in Greek and Latin sources; its western border is formed by the Çoruh / Ch’orokhi River. However, King Gurgēn did not “belong to the Tao/Tayk’ branch of the Georgian Bagratids” as modern historians comment through unknown primary sources.⁴³ King Gurgēn belonged to the primary line of the Bagratids from Īspir commanding “The Georgian Gorge” (currently Gürcü Boğazı), that is to say, “the Gates of Iberia as the Caucasian Gates”, as the westernmost extension of the people called Kartvelians (Cardueni / Kardueni) in Trajan’s time. Immediately after the treaty (*foedus*) with the King of the Caucasian Iberians, Trajan “occupied the people of the Kardueni” among the Caucaso-Iberian peoples of that Kingdom on primary sources (A.D. 114).

III, Tamar and Lasha Giorgi. Incursions by Mongol tribes brought an end to Georgian unity in the year around 1240 at which time, the Georgian state fell into the three territories of Kakheti, Kartli and Imereti. Mongol dominance lasted until 1335 with the death of Il-khan Abu Saïd at which time the empire fell into economic and political disarray.”; note 137: “Moses Khorenats’i, Book II.37, mentions a tutor, Smbat, son of Biurat Bagratuni, in the province of Sper, in the village of Smbatavan”.

42 Vaxušt’i Bat’onišvili 1849, 1^{re} Partie: Histoire ancienne, jusqu’en 1469 de J.-C., 83-216, “Quatrième race royale: Khosroïde (24^e roi, Mirian, Khosroïde - 38^e roi Bacour III, Khosroïde) durant 472 ou plutôt 469 ans, 263-570 et 619-787 de J.C.”; 216-687 “Cinquième dynastie: Bagratides (39^e roi Gouram-Couropalate, Bagratide par son père, mais Khosroïde par sa mère - 76^e roi Bagrat IV, Bagratide, de 575 à 619, i. e. 44 ans, puis en 787-1801, ou 1015 ans, en tout 1059, ou plutôt 1030 ans, à cause des interrègnes”; 295 “52^e roi, Bagrat III, fils de Gourgen, roi des rois, Bagratide (règne 24 ans, 980-1014). Bagrat devient roi d’Aphkhalie en 980”; 693, Table de Matières. For primary sources, see Salia, 1980, 137-41. Georgian historiography correctly insists that Īspir was Kartli; cf. Suny 1988, 29.

43 For example, Allen holds among scholars that David (reigned in the years 876-81) of the Bagratid dynasty of Tao-Klarjeti (Tao-Klarjeti) was the titular King of Iberia (Kartli); cf. Allen 1932, 56-5, 95-100. However, Rapp Jr makes the prudent comment that “This is a tribute to Toumanoff’s dynasties based on secondary sources” (Rapp jr 2003, 465); see also 459, Rapp’s comment “When early medieval Armenian histories refer to K’art’velians / Georgians, it is sometimes to illustrate Armenia’s purported superiority”, 464-5 (Excerpts from Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’i’s *Chronographia*, K, and Rapps comment), 495 (Black Sea/Geo. Speri Sea, mod. Shavi Zghva/Gk. Euxine Sea). The reference goes to Toumanoff 1952, 22; 1963, 488 (note 227); 1969, 2-5. Further details in Rapp jr 2003, 14, 18, 31-2, 145-7, 163, 233-5, 266, 337-41 (Ch. Six: Sumbat Davit’is-dze: A Bagrat Perspective on Georgian History), 342-409, 413-25, 438-40, 443, 446-7, 449-51 (Appendix I. Reception: Mxit’ar Ayrivanec’I). More prudently, Giusto Traina avoids over-vast presuppositions of an Armenian origin of the “Bagratuni”; cf. Traina 1991, 20, 25, 28, 33, 94, 100-2, 105.

If my supposition is correct, I would derive the place-name Ìspir from “at even”, ἔσπερίοις (esperíois) in Greek, so that it would mean “the westernmost extension of Caucasian Ibería” in reference to the cardinal point West in the horizon. The localization between Colchis (upper Georgia) and Media corresponds to that of Herodotus, “But the way from Colchis to Media is not long, no other people than the Saspirens [Σάσπειρες] lying between both” (Herodotus, *Clio*, 1, 104). The forms *Saspeires*, σάσπειρες, Σάσπειρες, *Saspirens*, *Saspers*, *Syspiritis*, or, *Hyspiratis*, as the Turks call the archaeological site today, are graphic variants.

A Roman province since A.D. 114, Armenia belonged to the Romans, and protected the frontier of the commonwealth. Thus, in Malalas' *Chronographia* the table of contemporaneous Kings during the Roman Empire of the East (Byzantium) had *Zamanazus*, the King of the Iberians (*Iberi*) of the Caucasus.⁴⁴ He is Pharsman V (Pharasmanes, P'arsman), Chosroid, in linear succession within the fourth dynasty of ancient Ibería of the Caucasus and lineal descendent from King Vaxt'ang I Gorgasali, Wolf's head in Persian. Malalas the chronicler and Photius the Patriarch add chronological details: as soon as Justinian I the Emperor of the Romans appointed Belisarius General of the East, Cabades as “mihran” raised a Persian Army, and marched on the city of Daras. In A.D. 530 “The Caspian Gates, or, Daras” are the *casus belli* in the Roman-Persian war. In fact, the Persians, Procopius reports, shall not lay down their armies until “the Romans either join in the Guard of the Caspian Gates or dismantle Daras” (Procopius, *De bello Persico*, 1,12). Cabades, or, as modern historians call him, Kavadh, the King of the Persians, reigned until 531.⁴⁵ In fact, first, Cabades the Persian King was Coades “Darasthenus” in Greek, from Daras; and, second, Justinian the Roman Emperor sent Ztittas as the first Master of the Soldier for Armenia, as Armenia was property of the Roman Empire and hence was under Justinian's jurisdiction.⁴⁶ In 531 Pharsman V had already ruled the Kingdom of Ibería of the Caucasus for four years, when Cabades

44 Malalas 1831, 429-30, De Temporibus Justiniani Imperatoris, § 18, “Quo autem tempore sacratissimus Justinianus imperium tenuit, Persarum Rex fuit Coades Darasthenus, Perozi filius. Romanorum vero regnum habuit Alarichus, Africanum, Ghildericus; ille [...] Iberi vero Zamanazus. Supradicto autem anno imperii Justiniani Ztittas, in Armenia Militum Magister constitutus est, quippe quae antehac Ducibus, Praefectis, et Comitibus paruit; Militum vero Magistrum non habuit. Quinetiam ei dedit Imperator Militum Numeros, quos duobus Praesentibus Militiis Orientalique subtraxit. Ztittas autem, Magistratu suscepto, Scrinarios indigenas sibi accepit: Imperatorem etiam exoratum habuit, uti Divino suo ex Edicto, Scrinarii Militiae inservientes, ex indigenis (ut qui Armeniae regiones penitus callerent,) deinceps deligeretur. [...]”.

45 Procopius 1833, *De bello Persico*, 1,13,12-1,13,14. The hostilities of A.D. 530 began in June.

46 Photius 1606, Procopii, Photii Bibliotheca, 28,34-29,35, “Cabades Perozen genere Persam, dignitate Meranem”. Procopius 1833, *De bello Persico*, 1,13.12-1,13,14.

died. Pharsman was the son and successor of Bakur II, Chosroid, the 35th King of the Iberians of the Caucasus.⁴⁷

It is really important that we understand here that “The Caspian Gates, or, Daras” are where people enter the mouth of the Kur River, south of modern Baku. The Caspii dwell here (Plinius *N. h.* 6,15). Indeed, Nero’s general Corbulo had been wrongly addressed as regarded the “The Caspian Gates” leading through Iberia of the Caucasus into the territory of the Sarmatians (currently Russians). Perhaps the Roman copyist inserted the word North instead of East, and Darial, an adjective, from the place-name, Daras (See Conclusion B).

8 The Falsification of Polo’s Text and the authorized ‘Testo Ottimo della Crusca’

Originally a province of Roman Osroenê, the Bayburt Plateau has been under Georgian sovereignty since the year 928 until 1801. What has been said is, I believe, enough to prove that Bayburt and the Georgian Gorge below were not Armenia. How did such geographical error creep into modern scholarship?

Modern historians and archaeologists take Marco Polo’s account of Greater Armenia and Georgia seriously. *Giorgiania* and *Zorzania* are the two versions of the place-name in Polo’s editions. Following the terrestrial route via Persia and Greater Armenia (*Armenia Maior*) the three Polos reached Trabzon, the Pontic port on the southern shore of the Black Sea, at the end of 1291. They then proceeded by the sea way of Constantinople and the Venetian colony of Negroponte to Venice. They landed in 1295.

47 Bakur came to the throne in 514. The traditional regnal years are those preserved by Prince Vaxušt’i Bat’onišvili (Bagrat’ioni), 1849, 200, “34e roi, Datchi, fils de Wakhtang Ier, Khosroïde (règne 14 ans), 499-514; n. 3, le roi Wakhtang-Gourgaslan”; 122, n. 6, “il a été dit que trois fils étaient nés de la reine Eléné, mais nous ne connaissons les noms que de deux d’entre eux, qui vont paraître dans notre texte”; 201, “35e roi, Bacour II, fils de Datchi, Khosroïde (règne 14 ans)”; 514-28, “36e roi, Pharsman V, fils de Bacour II, Khosroïde (règne 14 ans, 528-542)”; 202, “37e roi, Pharsman VI, fils d’une frère de Pharsman V, Khosroïde (règne 15 ans, 542-537)”. Fourteen kings presumably succeeded to the throne of Kartvelian Iberia for 200 years. Vaxušt’i reckons from the death of King Mirian in A.D. 342 to the accession of King Pharsman VI (542); 1849, Préface de l’historien Wakhoucht, 7, n. 3-9). See also Mikaberidze 2015, Introduction, 12, “The death of King Vakhtang seriously weakened Kartli (Iberia) and exposed it to Persian encroachment. In 523 King Gurgun rose in rebellion but was defeated, and Kartli was occupied”; 701 “514-528 Bakur II (Gurgun) (Toumanoff: 534-547)”. See also Toumanoff, 1969, 29, “34. Bacurius/Bakur II (534-547), son of Dach’I, reigned for 13 years”. And Cantoclarus 1610, 244-54, “*De Menandro*: Menander protector historicus, sic de se scribit: Mihi pater est Euphrates Byzantinus”; Ex Codice Manuscripto Augustano: Argumentum Collectionis de Romanorum Legationibus ad Ethnicos. Proemium; Excerpta ex Historia Menandri de Abaris: Ad Alanos: Ex Libro Secundo”. Zamnarsus or Zamassardus is Pharsman V, the King of Caucasian Iberia in Greek and Latin sources.

Existing scholarship, however, ignores that the critical edition of Polo's Travels (*Viaggi*) first appeared by Baldelli Boni at Florence, in 1827. It was based on a thorough examination of all the extant manuscript copies which number more than twenty. The project was undertaken under the sponsorship of the Accademia della Crusca.

We understand the story of Marco Polo's Travels from the first printed edition by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venice, 1559, in the Italian language. This, the second volume in the series, is devoted entirely to the East Indies, Babylon, Armenia, Georgia, the Tatar lands, Persia. Ramusio's edition was printed posthumously.

In book one, the self-declared author, Marco Polo, presents a general outline of Greater Armenia (Ramusio 1559, 4, Libro 1, Cap. 1.F). Polo says that in Greater Armenia, "Within a castle named Bayburt [*castel Paipurth*] which you meet with in going from Trebizond to Tauris, there is a rich mine of silver" (Ramusio 1559, 5, Libro 1, Cap. 2 F).

Silver mine is translated Gümüşhane in Turkish. Today Gümüşhane is a modern city a few miles north of Bayburt. At first glance Polo's description appears to be true beyond reasonable doubt. The Venetian edition of Polo's work, however, lived a story worth telling. No original text survives. Over two hundred and fifty years later, the first printed edition of Marco Polo's Travels in three books was issued, however, in translation in the second miscellany volume *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi* at Venice in 1559.⁴⁸ As usual, the printer was Tommaso de Giunti. Here, in his preface to the second volume, he tells us that, regrettably, Ramusio the editor died before the completion of the second volume in 1557. Not enough. Four months after his death fire destroyed the printer's premises. And, consequently, some editorial passages do not appear due to injury.

The first volume in the series was printed in 1555, quickly followed by the third volume in 1556. The second volume was finally printed in 1559.

Ramusio, the editor of Marco Polo, wrote nearly two centuries and a half after Polo's time. No original manuscript survived from the years that Polo and Rustichello spent together in prison. For this reason, the Polo books available today are technically not primary sources, and many of them drastically differ from one another. Readers have many versions to choose

48 Ramusio 1559, 1-8, Di M. Giovanni Battista Ramusio Prefazione Sopra il Principio del Libro del Mag.ro M. Marco Polo All'Eccellente M. Hieronimo Fra Castoro (Di Venetia, à sette di Luglio MDLIII); 9-17, Esposizione Di M. Gio. Battista Ramusio sopra quelle parole di Messer Marco Polo; 18, "Gio. Battista Ramusio alli Lettori; 1r, Proemio Primo, Sopra il Libro di Messer Mardo Polo, gentil huomo di Venetia, fatto per un Genovese (l'anno del MCCXCVIII); 1v, Prohemio Secondo Sopra il Libro de M. Marco Polo, fatto da Fra Francesco Pipino Bolognese dell'ordine de i Frati Predicatori, quale lo tradusse in lingua latina, et abbreviò Del MCCCXX (Qual libro fu scritto per il detto M. Marco del 1298 trovandosi pregion in la città di Genova, et si parte in tre libri), 2r, De I Viaggi Di Messer Marco Polo Gentiluomo Veneziano Libro Primo.

from. A significant problem with Polo's book, however, concerns the order of the events. In any case, since its completion in 1299, the Polo critical edition has been "Testo Ottimo della Crusca" or Polo's "Best Text", by the authority of the Academy of the Crusca. The critical editor's role is to judge which of these variants is authorial or otherwise, and which to showcase. Baldelli Boni the critical editor reports that some of the transmitted copies of Marco Polo's lost text have geographical errors and inaccuracies. Polo's original text in Latin is lost. And Baldelli Boni argues convincingly that the Polo's version in the Italian vernacular language of Tuscany known as "Testo Magliabechiano" is the most authoritative. The "Testo Magliabechiano" was then translated from the French version of "Paris Text 1" showing French distortions by Michele Ormanni surely within 1309. It is indeed the oldest of the extant copies of Polo's abbreviated text. And yet it transmits only a second-hand translation of a copied text. Baldelli Boni critically notes among other interpolations and misconstructions of the 1559 Italian text edited by Ramusio, the long sentence on Bayburt in Greater Armenia. He concludes that someone later added certain narratorial interjections and frases. The whole sentence on Bayburt is thus presented among the interpolations and misconstructions of Polo's text on the ground that it was not included in "Paris Text 1", the earliest extant one from the French copy.⁴⁹

And so the whole sentence on Bayburt was judged false and not introduced into the authorized Academic edition of Polo's "Best Text" in 1827, the "Testo Ottimo della Crusca" for scholars. Therefore, modern editions of Polo's text, with, or, without the sentence on Bayburt in Greater Armenia, rely either on unauthorized copies, or, on "Testo Ottimo della Crusca" edited by the Crusicans.

9 All-Georgia on Portolan Charts in the 1330s

It is only in portolan charts of the navigable world that we can clearly see a continuous tradition linking Roman and medieval maps. Chapters of global history have been depicted in the form of small icons on portolan charts for centuries. However, a few inland features are shown. Prominent here, for instance, are Greater Armenia (*Armenia maior*), "Mount Ararat where the ark of Noah landed" and the Taurus Mountains (Licini 2008, 191-218; 1992, 515-25).

Nevertheless, portolan charts illustrate the level of flexibility in toponymy and the way in which place-names are updated over time. We can see

49 Baldelli Boni 1827, 1, t. 1, "Storia del Milione", 1-172: 11-12, 17 and note 1; 13, 18; 1, t. 2, "Dichiarazione al Libro Primo per rischiarare le vie tenute dai Poli nelle andate e ritorni dalla Cina", 3-26: 3, *Giorgiana*; 13, *Paipurt*; "Storia del Milione", 9, 11, 9, 12, 10, 13, 10, 14, 10-11, 15, 11, 16, 11-13, 17, 13-14, 18.

the national flag of Sak'art'velo, all-Georgia, on the earliest extant portolan charts that Angelino Dulcert from Genoa made in Mallorca in 1339 (Paris, BnF) and c.1340 (London, BL).⁵⁰ By taking direction lines across the chart, Dulcert connects flag-points at intervals. The Georgian flag is displayed in triplication on the first chart, and in duplication on the second (Appendix, figs. 9, 10). The flag of the people who made Saint George their patron and standard-bearer has a white field with centred red cross, St George's, and smaller four crosses on the corners. The Dulcert portolan chart of 1339 displays the modern name *GIEORGIANJA*. Here it should be emphasized that the name of the united nation first appeared in Georgian chronicles in the tenth century.

Georgian flags mark Sebastopolis (*Savastopoli*) at the mouth of the Phasis River (currently Rioni, Georgia), Tbilisi (*Tifilis*), the capital town, and Sivas (*Savasto*), now a town in Turkey. Georgia has been the name of the United Kingdom of the Georgians since the year 1008.

So it comes that we read the ancient names of Colchis (West Georgia) and Iberia of the Caucasus (Kartli, East Georgia) on Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia in Nicolaus Germanus' copy in 1466. On the other hand, and contemporaneously, Dulcert's portolan chart of 1339 marks the political change in the name of the Caucasian reign. By the 1320s, if not before, all navigators can clearly read *GEORGIA* on the portolan chart that Pietro Vesconte, also from Genoa, made in Venice.

The place called Sivas (*savasto*) was maintained with some military state as "The Eleventh Thema of the East called Sebastea" in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's reign in the early tenth century.⁵¹ Originally, the Theme of Sebastea was Roman territory. The land became patrimony of the Kings of all-Georgia by conquest in the war 1202-1203 in Tamar's time; and the annexation may, perhaps, be in connection with the newly founded Constantinopolitan-Bagratid Empire of Trabzon, to cross the Black Sea from the Colchian ports of Poti and Sebastopolis to the Pontic port of Trabzon on the southern shore.⁵² In fact, the dissolution of the Thematic armies and

50 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Cartes et Plans, *Rés. Ge B 696*, Angelino Dulcert, Mallorca, mm 1020 × 750, "an. MCCCXXXVIII mense Augusto Angelino Dulcert in civitate Maioricarum composuit" 1339. London, British Library, *C 6424-04 Add. 25691*, Portolan Chart by Angelino Dulcert, c.1340.

51 Constantinus Porphyrogenitus 1588, Pars Lat., 24, "Thema Undecimum, Dictum Sebasteae: Similiter et Sebasteae Thema ex minore Armenia initium habet. [...] id est, Augusto Caesare Iulio accepit, qui Caesar eum dominatur, ac principatum primum occupavit". See also Migliorati 2001, 235 and note 53.

52 Queen Tamar, Bagratid, ordered the Georgian Army to march on the valley of Başçayı River, which was originally Armenian; it was conquered via Vardzia and Kars in the war 1202-1203 against the Sultan. See Vaxušt'i Bat'onišvili 1849, 1^{re} Partie, 384 and note 1, 460-465; 1842, Géographie de la Géorgie: Description du Karthli actuel; ses frontières, ses montagnes, ses fleuves, les diverses localités et les édifices qu'elles contiennent, 121.

military Themes was well underway in the Roman Empire of the East now in the hands of the Latins from the West; and in the great and protracted struggle, Constantinople was almost swept away.

Consequently, Dulcert's portolan chart of the transit system at first sight shows flags of all-Georgia in close proximity to major transit stops and interconnections from the sea, and earth. Again, we can turn to primary sources from different times for a local description of the path. Since Trajan's time the terrestrial route has possessed some considerable importance across Anatolian Kapadokya not merely as a connection with Roman provinces in the east but also as an overland road leading through Colchis (West Georgia) into the territory of the Red Sea (see above section 4). In Roman law, the equation of royal and public roads is achieved by straightforward assertion, "*Regia Via*, the royal way, cannot be the property of anyone except the king. The same may be said of a military road which can be called public".

The federated Kings of Caucaso-Iberians have given the Romans access to the public roads crossing from the west since the alliance (*foedus*) was founded in A.D. 114. In fact, twice Romanus Diogenes, the Emperor of the Romans at Constantinople, assembled a large Byzantine Army against the Seljuk Turks in 1068 and 1071. From Sivas (*Sebastia*) and up to Koyulhisar (*Colonia Pontica*), Sivas İli (currently Turkey), his Roman troops then marched through the wards-*the Iberici vici*. Since Trajan's reign they have been all post stations along the Roman public road (*Regia Via*).⁵³

The Emperor of the Romans, on bad news, passed the strait from Constantinople. By a wall of mountains that pinch the road into a narrow pass, the Emperor of the Romans then followed the line of the Roman public road (*regia via*) that ran along the Kelkit River Valley (*Lycus fluvius*) to Sadak (*Satala*), a town of Roman Armenia, and out to the north-east border of the Roman State with the federated Kingdom of all-Georgia. Byzantine-Greek and Latin authors made specific references to particular places, such as

53 For example, the Emperor Trajan was at Elegia (currently Ereğli, Turkey) in A.D. 106; see section 4. For medieval reference to the Roman public road through Anatolian Kapadokya and Greater and Lesser Armenia, see especially Bongars 1611, 215, Alberti Aquensis Expeditionis Hierosolymitanae, 3, "ad urbem finitimas, *Reclei* et *Stancona* descendit, ... regia via a longe sequebantur, et *Antiochiam minorem* reclinantes, quae in latere *Reclei* sita est". *Reclei* is Ereğli in Konya province (currently Turkey); it is located in the central Anatolian Plateau. *Antiochia minor*, Little Antiochia, is an ancient Hellenistic city on Mount Cragus overlooking the Mediterranean coast in the region of Cilicia (currently İçel) and Cyprus. In modern-day Turkey the site is located in the area of Güney, Antalya province. See also Bongars 1611, 39, Roberti Monachi Historia Hierosolimitana, 3 (Incipit Liber Tertius), 40, 42, 43-45. In 1075-1139 Frank and Langobard chroniclers still mention Salt Lake in Latin; see also Pertz 1846, 727-844, Auctore Petro (a. 1075-1139), § 4, 767, "Nos-trorum itaque exercitus dum illos indesinenter insequeretur, per inaquosa et deserta loca, maximam equorum multitudinem amisit". The chronicle is also known as Die Chronik von Montecassino.

per vicos Ibericos and *peregrabat Iberios vicos* for Georgian mountainwards towards Bayburt (see note 37). A Caucaso-Iberian plateau by treaty (*foedus*) since A.D. 928, Bayburt in the upper Çoruh Valley led to İspir, supported by frontier guards. Not far from İspir the Roman Emperor rode to south through the Georgian Gorge, the Gates of Iberia as the Caucasian Gates in Pliny's time, into Greater Armenia, a Roman province since A.D. 117.

Dulcert's portolan chart covers even the southern part of all-Georgia down to the frontier at Sivas (*savasto*) in the 1330s. The Georgians have pushed the frontier further and further towards the south-west. We see it in the way the Georgian flag is depicted here on the battlemented tower (Appendix, fig. 9). Beyond Sivas runs the line of towers on the left bank of the Euphrates River (*Fl. Eprates.*, Firat Nehri in modern Turkey). The line points at the bridge of Eski Malatya (*pons meldenj*) as the eastern border of historical Armenia (*Armenia*). On the left side is new Turkey (*TURCHIA*); Ankara, the place-name, is displayed in the ancient form it enjoyed in Roman times (*anciras*). And yet, the Georgian port of Colchian Sebastopolis (*Savastopoli*) - Poti, a double port, still leads through all-Georgia into the territory of historical Syria via Anatolian Kapadokya, and to the places of the Holy Land. Spaces align with the cardinal axis to allow for proper solar orientation; and the direction line from upper Georgia (Colchis) to the mid-Red Sea ridge is consequently the cardinal (north to south) axis of connected systems.

While ex-Roman Anatolia and Anatolian Kapadokya were gradually transformed into a Turkish dominion in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, portolan charts reached their peak (Licini 1989, 341-52; 1997-98, 56-65).

Essentially, the Dulcert portolan chart is a sea chart of the parts of the world then known. Britain is correctly drawn in the early 1330s (Appendix, fig. 11); modern names are given to Kingdoms (*ANGLIETERA*, *SCOCIA*). And yet, however, Ptolemy's *Geography* was still to be rediscovered and taken away from Constantinople, and Ptolemy's first distorted map of Britain was still to be drawn.

As pointed out in section 1, the paradox today is that Ptolemy's map is more usually studied as a creation before the time of Dulcert's portolan charts of 1339 and c.1340, whereas the first copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* in Greek without maps was rediscovered in 1397 and Ptolemy's world and regional maps were first constructed in the 1400s. The oldest surviving copy was made more than a thousand years after Ptolemy wrote in the second century and Ptolemy's maps were first drawn about 1415 from his listed geographical coordinates of wrong latitudes and longitudes.

10 Conclusions

Conclusion A

I have thought of my work on the Caucasus as a contribution to the History of cartography-map history. Ptolemy's *moschivis montes* are identified here for the first time as the Mescit Mountains, (currently Turkey). Thus the conclusion can only be that the westernmost extension of historical Georgia (Kartli) is the İspir Plateau in Ptolemy's time, and it continues along the terrible north-to-south Georgian Gorge, or, as the Romans call it, the narrow Gates of Iberia otherwise called the Caucasian Gates for a distance of eight miles in longitude. Indeed, the Georgian Gorge runs along the isolated Mount Uzundere on the plateau of the Mescit Mountains. The Elder Pliny was right—the Gates of Iberia as the Caucasian Gates lead from Iberia to Sarmatia (Russia) around A.D. 79. The forlorn spot is now known by the name of Gürcü Boğazı, Sakharthwélos-Qel, défilé de Géorgie.

A little above it to the north is the İspir Plateau and Fort. From the Empire of the Romans of the East, the Bayburt Plateau and Fort of the Osroenians (upper Medians) passed into the possession of the Kings of the Ibero-Kartvelians by the treaty on the Aras River (Araxes) in A.D. 928, all-Georgia soon after.

The far end of the Georgian Gorge is located at latitude 40° North on Delisle's map of 1722. Needless to say, Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus is quite useless in the history of the Caucasus, showing the wrong latitude of 45° north for the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains joining the Mescit Mountains (currently Turkey). It actually corresponds to the latitude of Crimea (45°3'N).

Ptolemy's map of the Caucasus is grotesquely inaccurate. And the "dog-leg" appearance of the Mescit Mountains is a distorted feature which occurs exclusively on Ptolemy's maps. The map of Britain in all the general editions of him is the most awkward that can be conceived. Italy has the Adriatic for its northern, and the Tyrrhenian for its southern boundary.

Modern writers on ancient history think that the story of maps is linear—beginning, middle and end. But the case of Ptolemy is typical in that his work began to have a powerful influence in the fifteenth century. After Ptolemy's death in the second half of the second century, his *Geography* had disappeared for a thousand years, and with it the idea of coordinate-based mapping according to a mathematical grid system—latitude and longitude for about 8,000 cities and other world locations.

No ancient Ptolemaic map survives. A copy of Ptolemy's work resurfaced in Europe in about 1397, in Florence, and as the years progressed it exerted an increasingly powerful influence on Renaissance thought and mapping practices. In 1415 Ptolemy's *Geography* was first duplicated in manuscript with 27 maps, and then it circulated in printed form from 1475

without maps and from 1477 with them.

Today the History of cartography considers Ptolemy among the most incorrect of all ancient authors. And yet, modern historians of the Roman Empire, classicists, and archaeologists follow Ptolemy's distorted maps and their impossible routes without regard to their story and without even considering that they belong to different historical strata.

Having on distorted premises proposed that Colchis (West Georgia), Iberia of the Caucasus (East Georgia), Albania of the Caucasus (Alvania, Daghestan), Kapadokya, Trabzon, Armenia the Greater, Media, Assyria, actually were where they stand on Ptolemy's 3rd Map of Asia in the second century of the Christian, they drew distorted conclusions.

Conclusion B

Thus Pliny was right when he said, "After we pass the mouth of the Cyrus [the Kur River], it begins to be called the 'Caspian Sea;' the Caspii being a people who dwell upon its shores. In this place it may be as well to correct an error into which many persons have fallen, and even those who lately took part with Corbulo in the Armenian war. The Gates of Iberia, which we have mentioned as the Caucasian, they have spoken of as being called the 'Caspian,' and the coloured plans which have been sent from those parts to Rome have that name written upon them" (Plinius *N. h.* 6,15).

Direction, east. "The Gates" at Dariali Gorge (Darialis Kheoba) actually were "The Caspian Gates, or, Daras" and they should have been placed some other way than the North. In fact, Procopius says that the castle of Daras stood watch over the Caspian Gates, that is to say, on the Caspian, at the mouth of the Kur River south of Baku.

Direction, north. "The Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian" leading through Iberia of the Caucasus into the territory of Sarmatia (Russia) may actually be "The Georgian Gorge". In fact, the Turks call it Gürcü Boğazı. Since it was Ibero-Karvelian territory, the İspir Plateau and Fort commanded "The Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian"; the Saspyritis being a people who dwelt upon the İspir Plateau at the westernmost extension, "at even", ἔσπερίοις (esperiois) in Greek. As they are the *Iberici vici* of Byzantine-Greek and Latin sources, "The Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian" led through Mount Uzundere (Mescit Mountains) into the Armenian border, to the south (Theodosiopolis, currently Erzurum).

Direction, north. "The Albanian Gates" are modernly known as "The Abano Pass" in the central part of the Caucasus Mountains connecting the Ibero-Kartvelian provinces of K'axeti, and Tušeti on the northern side of the Caucasus where the Alazani, the twin rivers, originate. Greater Alazani and Lesser Alazani, or, Iori, the split in two, are tributaries of the Kur River before it becomes navigable.

İspir and Telavi operated the entrance and the exit gates. They are “The Iberian Gates, or, the Caucasian” or “The Georgian Gorge” (Gürcü Boğazı) on the one hand and “The Albanian Gates” or “The Abano Pass” on the other. The far end of “The Georgian Gorge” is located at latitude 40° North on Delisle’s map of 1722. The Georgian Gorge runs along the isolated Mount Uzun-dere (*Kenzoreti*) on the plateau of the Mescit Mountains (currently Mescit Dağları), or, as the ancients call them, the Meschic, or Moschic Mountains.

Then, according to my hypothesis, there should have been, instead of latitude 45° North on Ptolemy’s 3rd Map of Asia, latitude 40° North as the correct line of latitude. A new province of the Roman Empire since A.D. 114, Media (*MEDIÆ PARS*) is *terminus intermedius per quem ambulatur* (intervening path) in this way, the *inter-vallum*. By the public law of connecting parts to parts into a whole, this *terminus* runs between a new province of the Roman Empire since A.D. 117, Armenia (*ARMENIA MAIOR*), and three newly federated Kingdoms of Caucasia since A.D. 117, *COLCHIS*, (West Georgia), *IBERÍA* (East Georgia) and *ALBÁNIA* (Alvânia, Daghestan).

Ptolemy’s west-to-east distortion sharply begins here on the map of the Caucasus in the series.

In any case, given the immense difference in geography and political landscape in comparison to now, historians of Armenia’s past and archaeologists would most likely not have based its districts on modern province borders, in what is now northeast Turkey.

Appendix



Figure 1. Ptolemy's 1st European Map, ms. Britain and Ireland (*ALBION INSULA BRITANICA. IBERINIA INSULA*). Nicolaus Germanus' edition 1466. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa. By Permission of the Library.



Figure 2. Ptolemy's 11th European Map in Latin, ms. The protruding Reign of Scotland, The German Ocean, The Peninsula of modern Jutland and Schleswig, Great Germany, Norway, Eastern Götaland now Sweden, Lapland, The Iced Sea. Nicolaus Germanus' edition 1466. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa. By Permission of the Library.



Figure 3. Ptolemy's 6th European Map, ms. Italy and Corsica. Nicolaus Germanus' edition 1466. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa. By Permission of the Library.



Figure 4. Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map, ms. The Caucasus: Colchis (Western Georgia), Iberia of the Caucasus (Kartli, Eastern Georgia), Albania of the Caucasus, or, Alvania (Daghestan), Armenia Maior (Greater or Upper Armenia). Nicolaus Germanus' edition 1466. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa. By Permission of the Library.



Figure 5. Ptolemy's World Map, ms. *Totius Orbis Habitabilis Brevis Descriptio*. Nicolaus Germanus' edition 1466. Warszawa, Biblioteka Narodowa. By Permission of the Library.



Figure 6. Ptolemy's 3rd Asian Map, ms. Nicolaus Germanus, 1466. Detail. The Mescit Mountains (*mosch[iv]s montes - moschivis mon[te]s*). The Apsarus River (*apsor[orum] f.*), wrong Kapadokya (*Capadotię pars*), Trabzon (*trapesoz*). Detail.

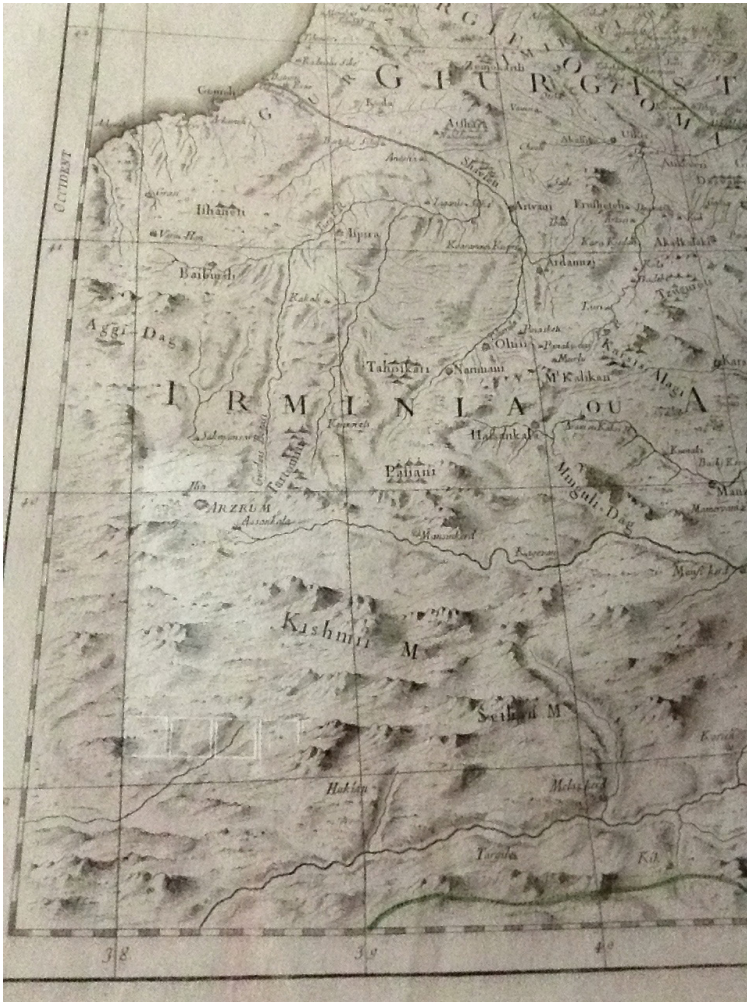


Figure 7. Vardzahan (*Variu-Han*; mod. Uğrak, Bayburt İli), Bayburt (*Baiburdi*), The Georgian Gorge (*Gurdzis Bogasi*, Gürcü Boğazı), Tortum River Valley (*Tartomis*), Uzundere (*Kensoretî*). *GIURGISTAN* ou *GEORGIE* (historical Georgia: Kartli, East Georgia), currently Turkey. Erzurum (*Arzrum*, anc. Theodosiopolis), *IRMINIA* ou *ARMENIE* (historical Armenia), Aras (*Araxi* ou *Kaksi R.*), Malazgirt (*Manzikerd*); currently Turkey. Detail. Guillaume Delisle, *L'Arménie, la Géorgie, et le Daghistan*, 1722, Paris. Private Collection.



Figure 8. The province of Kartveli (*CARDUEL*) from Tbilisi (*Tiblis*) and Trialeti (*Trialeti*) to the rivers Ch'orokhi (*Turak R.*) and Kur (*Kor ou Mekvari R.*), historical Georgia, Kartli (East Georgia). Detail. Guillaume Delisle, *L'Arménie, la Géorgie, et le Daghistan* (1722, Paris). Private Collection.

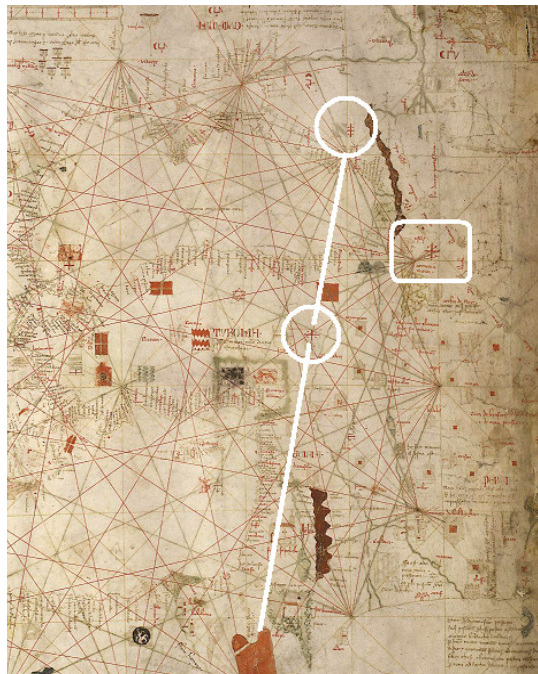


Figure 9. The national flag of All-Georgia (the United Kingdom of the Georgians) on the earliest extant portolan charts that Angelino Dulcert made in Mallorca in 1339 (Paris, BnF). Detail. Georgian flags mark Colchian Sebastopolis (*Savastopoli*) at the mouth of the Phasis (currently Rioni, Georgia); Tbilisi (*Tifilis*); Sivas (*Savasto*). G. flags are displayed in triplication. By permission of BnF.



Figure 10. The Georgian Flag of United Georgia triplified. Detail (the underline is mine). Portolan Chart by A. Dulcert, (1339 Paris, BnF). By permission of BnF.



Figure 11. Britain. Detail. Portolan Chart by A. Dulcert, 1339 Paris, BnF. By permission of BnF.

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