

**Towards the Location of the Land of Pharasmanes
the King of Chorasmians: An Attempt to interpret
Arrian's Information related to Alexander of Macedon**

The old Greek and Roman written sources have been thoroughly explored already from the Renaissance epoch by the researchers and it is therefore very difficult to identify any new facts in the field of scientific circulations or to discern different opinions. Nevertheless, there remains some insufficiently defined, if not completely uncertain, information. One of them is linked to Alexander of Macedon's (356-323 BC) expedition to Central Asia and belongs to Lucius Flavius Arrian (Arrianus), the politician and writer of the second century AD.

Arrian is a distinctive personality of his epoch: writer, historian, philosopher, politician, military, and statesman. By origin, he was a Bithynian Greek from Nicomedia (modern Turkish city Izmit). He was probably born around 87 AD (he died c. 160 AD) and studied in his youth philosophy with the well-known Stoic philosopher Epictetus (c. 50-125 AD) at Nicopolis in Epirus. He was a close friend of the Roman emperor Hadrian, from whom he received Roman citizenship, Flavius imperial name, and the right to lead the empire's most important state institutions. The Empire needed him for work in completely different areas, in Cappadocia, Achaea, Galia, the Danube, and it seems he held the proconsulship of Baetica (modern Andalusia, Spain). In the era of Hadrian's reign, in 131 AD, Arrian becomes the ruler of the important border province of Cappadocia, for at least six years, and the commander of the Roman legions in Central and Eastern Anatolia, but retires shortly before Hadrian's death in 138 AD. After 145 AD he moved to Athens, where he held the office of an *archon* (clerk of justice) and was engaged in his literary work.¹ Arrian was hailed by others as the 'new Xenophon'. In his later work on hunting, 'Cynegeticus', Arrian himself emphasizes the affinity to Xenophon: "*having the same name as he, and being of the same city, and having shared the same interests from youth – hunting, generalship, and philosophy*".²

Arrian was quite a productive writer, the author of seventeen works; unfortunately, only eight of them survived. To his pen belongs "Indica", the composition about the movement of Alexander's fleet from India to the Persian Gulf under the guidance of Nearchus, as well as "The Black Sea Periplus", specially composed for Emperor

¹ Bosworth, *Arrian's*, p. 181; Syme, *The career*, pp. 171, 208.

² Arr., *Cyn.*, I, 4; Carlsen, *Greek History*, pp. 210-223; Stadter, *Flavius Arrianus*, pp. 155-161. Although the name of Xenophon has never been part of Arrian's official nomenclature (Bowie, *Greeks*, p. 192, n.72).

Hadrian, the most important source on the eastern and southern Black Sea coastline of the first half of the second century AD. His essays “The methods of fight against the Alans” and “Tactics” are written in the middle of the thirties of the second century. Arrian had also written “Parthica”, mainly about the emperor Traian’s expedition to Parthia, “Bithyniaca” – the history of his native Bithynia and ten volumes of history depicting the events which were following Alexander’s death.¹

But the most important of Arrian’s works is the “Alexander’s Anabasis” (*i.e.* “Alexander’s Campaign”), at the same time, the most fully preserved story about the life of Alexander the Great. It is a major and most reliable source for the restoration of the life and reign of Alexander of Macedon. Still, in the 9th century the great ecclesiastical figure Fotius I, the canonized Patriarch of Constantinople, remarked that Arrian was the best among all historians of Alexander. The significance of his works is especially great because they preserved data about the great king expressed by his contemporaries, data which are missing now but still existed in Arrian’s epoch. Namely, data expressed by Ptolemy and Aristobulus, Megasthenes, and Nearchus; also the materials from diaries of Alexander’s secretaries Eumenes of Cardia or Diodotus of Erythrae. At the same time, it should be taken into consideration that Onesicritus and Calisthene’s reports, due to their less convincing evidence, were not considered by Arrian. In scientific literature, it is noted that a highly critical approach to the sources used by him, distinguishes Arrian from the majority of ancient authors.²

According to the testimony of Arrian’s “Alexander’s Campaign”, in the spring of 327 BC, Pharasmanes, king of the Chorasmians, accompanied by the 1500 horsemen, appeared in front of Alexander near the riverbank of Oxus (modern Amu Darya) in Central Asia and told him that he lived in the neighborhood of Colchis and Amazonians and was ready to help him if Alexander will decide to subdue the tribes which inhabited territories stretching towards Pontus Euxinos.³ Alexander told the King of Chorasmians that by now he had no time and opportunity to go to Pontus, but after the conquest of Asia and returning to Greece through the Hellespontus and Propontidis, he

¹ Schmitz, *Arrianus*, p. 352.

² Schmitz, *Arrianus*, p. 351.

³ “At this time also came Pharasmanes, king of the Chorasmians, to Alexander with 1,500 horsemen, who affirmed that he dwelt on the confines of the nations of the Colchians and the women called Amazons, and promised if Alexander was willing to march against these nations in order to subjugate the races in this district whose territories extended to the Euxine Sea, to act as his guide through the mountains and to supply his army with provisions” (Arr., *Alex.*, IV, 15; Chinnock, *The Anabasis of Alexander*, pp. 233-234).

would be able to penetrate deep into Pontus with the help of all his maritime and military forces, and only then he would need Pharasmanes' support.¹

It is believed that Roman writer Quintus Curtius Rufus, author of the ten volumes of Alexander's history of the rhetorical character, must have shared common information with Arrian. This information is supposedly derived from Clitarchos, Alexander's contemporary author. For Curtius Rufus, a Roman historian of the 1st century AD, the name of the governor of the Chorasmians is not Pharasmanes, but Phrataphernes,² who sends to Alexander his representatives to convince him of his unwavering obedience.³ Phrataphernes is familiar also to Arrian, but to him, he is a Parthian satrap, who appeared before Alexander in Bactria when the latter stayed there for wintertime.⁴ It is interesting that, according to Arrian, Phrataphernes had a son, Pharismanes, whose name resembles the name – Pharasmanes.⁵ It should be noted that Curtius Rufus, in another passage of the same work, mentions Phrataphernes, like Arrian, as a satrap of Parthia,⁶ who, together with those who fled after the death of Darius I the Great (r. 522-486 BC), came to the great king by the Caspian Sea; Alexander received them with kindness.⁷ The Chorasmians, who lived north of the Parthians, probably were ruled by the satrap of Parthia, because Herodotus mentions the two together in a description of the taxes under Darius and in a catalogue of army units under the king.⁸

¹ “Alexander then gave a courteous reply to the men who had come from the Scythians, and one that was adapted to the exigencies of that particular time; but said that he had no need of a Scythian wedding. He also commended Pharasmanes and concluded a friendship and alliance with him, saying that at present it was not convenient for him to march towards the Euxine Sea... He added that when Asia was in his power he would return to Greece, and thence make an expedition with all his naval and military forces to the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea through the Hellespont and Propontis. He desired Pharasmanes to reserve the fulfillment of his present promises until then” (Arr., *Alex.*, IV, 15; Chinnock, *The Anabasis of Alexander*, p. 234).

² Curtius Rufus, *Historiarum*, VIII, 1: “Phrataphernes quoque, qui Chorasmiis praeerat”.

³ Curtius Rufus, *Historiarum*, VIII, 1, cf. VI, 4.

⁴ Arr., *Alex.*, IV, 7; Chinnock, *The Anabasis of Alexander*, p. 216. In other passages of the same work Phrataphernes is for Arrian the satrap of the Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Tapurians (III, 8; p. 155), Hyrcania and Parthia (III, 23; p. 188), the Parthians and Hyrcanians (VI, 27; p. 361), or Parthia and Hyrcania (VII, 6; p. 379).

⁵ Arr., *Alex.*, VI, 27; Chinnock, *The Anabasis of Alexander*, p. 361. Though in another passage, Arrian mentions quite different names of Phrataphernes' sons, Sisines and Phradasmenes (VII, 6; p. 379).

⁶ Curtius Rufus, *Historiarum*, IX, 10: “Phrataphernen, Parthyaeorum satrapen”.

⁷ Curtius Rufus, *Historiarum*, VI, 4.

⁸ Herodotus, *Histories*, 3.93, 7.66; v., Lending, *Chorasmia*. C. E. Bosworth believes that the name of Chorasmia/Kwarazm consists of the Persian words: *xor* (‘the sun’) and *zam* (‘earth, land’), designating ‘the land from which the sun rises’ (Bosworth, *Kwarazm*, p. 1061).

In the historical literature have been expressed a very clear remark that it is unbelievable the author of the “Black Sea Periplus”, Arrian could consider Colchian’s residence in Central Asia, in the neighborhood of the Chorasmians, instead of the surroundings of Trapesund on the Black Sea littoral. It is supposed to be a mistake in the Greek manuscripts, as it is inconceivable that in the original text the Colchians would be mentioned side by side with Central Asian Chorasmians.¹ Some researchers also think that it is possible Arrian might leave Pharasamanes’ statement without any comment because he did not want to undermine the credibility of the information that seemed to come from the original, Alexander’s contemporary source, whether it is from Aristobulus or Ptolemy, or that it would not have begun to discuss what should have been, beyond this statement.² A. Bosworth focuses attention on the fact that the original narrator of this story, who is contemporary of these events, did not doubt that Alexander desired to subdue the area around the Black Sea; in A. Bosworth’s opinion, this venture should be related to the plans set out in 328 BC.³

St. Robinson suggested that according to the geographical views of Alexander’s time, which would not have been possible in the era of Arrian, and therefore the reliability of the use of this source should be certified, the Yaxartes (Syr Darya) River was considered to be the Don, while the Aral Sea was the Azov Sea, and the inhabitants of the other side of the river were regarded by Alexander and his companions as the Scythians living on the shores of the Don.⁴

It is clear that the Arrian’s text should refer to the Black Sea area and not Central Asia, except that the Colchians, Amazonians, and Euxinus Pontus are mentioned in it, Alexander’s own words must testify it, that only after returning to Greece via Hellespont and Propontis (*i.e.* allegedly after turning back from Central Asia), he would go to Pontus and for this purpose, it would be used as land as naval forces. The latter note: “*The use of naval forces*” makes the possibility of his return to Central Asia and, thus, the opportunity of helping King of Chorasmians quite unimaginable.⁵

Therefore it is highly probable that the name of some country located in the Anatolia-Caucasian area has been confused with the name of Central Asian Choras-

¹ Qaukhchishvili, *Ancient Greek*, p. 59. For the ethnic history of Pontus, see also, *e.g.*, Jordania, *Ethnic composition, Part I*, pp. 125-139; Jordania, *Ethnic composition, Part II*, pp. 71-87.

² Bosworth, *From Arrian*, pp. 67, 192.

³ Bosworth, *From Arrian*, pp. 67, 192.

⁴ Robinson, *The extraordinary*, pp. 335, 336, n. 62.

⁵ Spruner / Menke, *Atlas*, No. VIII.

mians,¹ and therefore to deal in this case with the erroneous use or misinterpretation of ethnonyms or choronyms. Cases of similar contamination of ethnonyms are not rare in ancient written sources.

In this regard, special attention is attributable to Strabo's information that the Armenians enlarged their country by capturing from the Iberians except for Gogarene, the Paryadres Mountains, and Khorzene.² This event dates back to the relatively later period, to the early part of the 2nd century BC. It seems that at this time by the appropriation of the Iberian province Khorzene, Armenian lands expanded to the Kura River, the fact which was reported already by Strabo and Plutarch. Likely, that meant the upper stream of this river.³

There were different opinions expressed about the localization of Khorzene. In scientific literature special recognition found I. Marquart's, H. Huebschmann's, N. Adontz's, *etc.* idea that 'Khorzene' (Χορζηνή) mentioned by Strabo⁴ has originated from a shortening of hypothetical 'Cholarzene' (Χολαρζηνή) and the possibility of its identification with the old Georgian province Klarjeti (Armenian – կղարջի), located in the lower river basin of Chorokhi.⁵ This view is mainly based on an arbitrary correction by H. Kiepert of the name of Armenian province Katarzene (Καταρζηνή) mentioned by Claudius Ptolemaios to Kalarzene (Καλαρζηνή) or Klarjeti. This false and quite unfounded correction was shared by the above-mentioned authors. The view of identification of Khorzene-Katarzene and Klarjeti later became so convincing to some scholars that this issue was considered as finally solved, namely, C. Toumanoff gave himself the right to translate the term 'Klarjeti' of the Old Georgian Chronicles in the English text of his works as 'Cholarzene'.⁶ The inadequacy of the correction of the term 'Khorzene' to 'Cholarzene' is quite obvious, enough to say that in all the manuscripts of the 'Geography' of Strabo, we have only the form 'Khorzene' and no one case of 'Cholarzene', as neither manuscript of Claudius Ptolemy's 'Geographical Guide' does read the form 'Kalarzene'. The term 'Khorzene' is included twice in the text by Strabo, and both cases share the same writing. Finally, Strabo's words are worth mentioning that one

¹ Kavtaradze, *Probleme*, pp. 209-213; Kavtaradze, *The problems*, pp. 65-66.

² Strabo, *The Geography*, XI, XIV, 5.

³ Cf., Strabo, *The Geography*, XI, XIV, 5; I, III, 21; Plutarch, *Pomp.*, XXXIV, p. 760; Janashia, *The Oldest*, pp. 252-255; Melikishvili, *On the history*, p. 291; Treidler, s.v. Xerxene. According to the "The Life of the Georgian Kings", ch. XII-XIII (Mroveli, *Life*, I, 44-50), though, in connection with the description of events of a later age, the Armenians seized the Georgian lands to the Kura River flowing in the Artaani region.

⁴ Strabo, *The Geography*, XI, XIV, 5.

⁵ Adontz, *Armenia*, pp. 154*, 164*.

⁶ E.g., Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 439, 444-446, 452-460; cf., e.g., Suny, *The Making*, pp. 4, 22, 29; Agathangelos, *History*, p. 495; Syvanne, *Military*, p. 411, n. 105.

part of the ‘Moskian country’, divided into three parts, was owned by the Colchians, the second – by the Iberians, and the third – by the Armenians; first of all, Klarjeti, located in the north-western part of the ‘Moskian country’, could be considered as belonging to the Colchian and not to the Armenian part of this country.¹

At the same time, the location of Strabo’s ‘Khorzene’ near Iberia and Colchis does not allow us to consider under it the cantonment of Western Armenia with the same name (Ἰσηρδενί, Χορζανή, Χορζιανηνή, Κορτζηνή), which lies north of the Hash-tiank district, on the middle stream of Kelkas (modern-day Gail-Gate), the tributary of eastern Euphrates (Murat) and in the sector of the cities of Kolabert and Artales, *i.e.* more to the south than Karenitis and Xerxene, regions which had been taken by the Armenians from Chalybes and Mossynoecians,² the fact which excludes the possibility of its withdrawal by the Armenians from the Iberians. It should also be borne in mind that the name of the above-mentioned region does not occur in written sources until the 5th-6th centuries AD.

Still another name which equates to ‘Khorzene’ is ‘Khotene’ mentioned in “The Mithridatic wars” by Appian, the Greek historian of 2nd century AD; it is believed that this change should have happened either on Greek paleographic grounds by the intermingling of the τ and ζ letters, and the transformation of the -op- group to ω, or on the characteristic of the Kartvelian languages by the loss-emergence of the consonant *r* and the interchange of the *dz* (or the related to it affricate) to the *t*; and, at the same time, it was taken into consideration that under ‘Khorzene’ was meant old south-western Georgian province Kola and under ‘Khotene’ – Tao.³

As a result of sharing the idea of the identity of these two names (Khorzene and Khotene), the supposed assumption was expressed that in Kordzene || Khotene the upper reaches of both – the Chorokhi and the Kura River – were located and that in this one and same province, Kordzene || Khotene, were placed such different provinces as Tao and Kola. If a unified notion of Kordzene || Khotene (in which the second term is considered as a distorted form of the first) could at the same time unite such an extensive territory where could be placed both abovementioned provinces, Tao and Kola (divided from each other by Soghanlughy Ridge, the south-eastern branch of Ar-siani Range, the watershed mountain of the Chorokhi and Kura rivers), it should have been quite a strong political unity, no signs of which are available. Since both terms ‘Khorzene’ and ‘Khotene’ are the designation of only one particular side, and because the location of both of them are good enough determined/established; of the first, on the territory of the Kura River, and the second on the territory of Tao, their identification

¹ Strabo, *The Geography*, XI, II, 18.

² Strabo, *The Geography*, XI, XIV, 5.

³ Janashia, *The oldest*, p. 92.

with each other, as we think, should not be valid. The coincidence between the Appian's information about the location of 'Khotene' in Armenia and the appropriation of Strabo's 'Khorzene' by the Armenians from the Iberians seems to be explained based on the statement about the stripping by the Armenians from the Iberians together with 'Khorzene' also the foothills of Paryadres mountains, in which namely Tao (or Khotene) may be implied. It seems that 'Khorzene' should have mainly consisted of the old Georgian provinces, Kola and Artaani.

We ought to consider as well the fact that the toponym 'Khorziani' was tracked by S. Janashia as the name of the valley south of Artaani (modern Turkish town Ardahan).¹ At the same time, there is a possibility of spreading the term 'Khorzene' to the east on the more extensive territory. I am referring to those researchers who connect this toponym with the name of one of the districts of Kars – Khordevan/Khorjevan. It should also be taken into consideration that the dividing regions of Kola-Artaani and Tao-Klarjeti from each other, mountains of Arsiani (modern Yazlinjam Daglari) are called as 'mountains of Khorasunda' in the 10th century hagiographical work of Giorgi Merchule, "The Life of St. Grigol Khandzteli": "*There was one occasion during the summer, when he and his brethren were coming over the mountains of Khorasuni. They² saw a good place and sat down to eat*".³

Thus, it seems possible to search there the country of the Pharasmanes, where usually are looking for the country of Arian-Kartli of the old Georgian chronicles, and, at the same time, in the text of Arrian's "Alexander's expedition" under the name of Pharasmanes, of the king of the Chorasmians, the ruler of the Iberian province Khorzene could be hiding behind; we must take into account that the name 'Pharasmanes' especially often is confirmed in Iberia. Besides, it is significant that the name 'Pharasmanes' is typical of the Iberian court at the end of the first millennium BC and the beginning of the first millennium AD and not for the Chorasmians of Central Asia.⁴ In this case, this is not excluded that the same thing should be meant under the information of Flavius Arrian and the data, preserved in the Georgian chronicle "The Christening of Kartli" about Azo, the son of the king of Arian-Kartli, who became king in Mtskheta

¹ Janashia, *The oldest*, p. 94.

² Great Epiphany, the disciple of Grigol Khandzteli, and his brothers.

³ Merchule, *The Life of St. Gregory*, p. 155; cf. Merchule, *The Life of Grigol*, p. 280. I thank Ms. Manana Chirakadze for this information. In 1911, N. Marr also had fixed near Artanuji, based on a local informer, the oronym – 'Mountain of Khorasani'.

⁴ Cf. Goiladze, *At the origins*, p. 158; Wirth, *Anhang*, S. 906. According to V. Goiladze, in the name Pharasmanes has been meant Pharnavaz, who ousted legendary Azo/Azon and became the founder of the first Georgian royal dynasty of the Pharnavazids (Goiladze, *At the origins*, pp. 158-159).

with the help of Alexander the Great.¹ If, on the one hand, the king of Chorasmians, Pharasmanes was waiting for Alexander's aid against his neighbors – Colchians and Amazonians, on the other hand, according to Georgian and Armenian chronicles, Alexander the Great, determined his companion Azo/Azon/Mihrdat as a ruler/king of Kartli. We cannot rule out that Arrian's references about Alexander's possible campaign near Colchis and the Amazonians along with other ancient written sources is in the background of the story of the ancient Georgian and Armenian chronicles about Alexander and his protégé Azo/Azon/Mihrdat.²

If the information about Mihrdat, the ruler of Iberia of the account of "The History of the Armenians" of Movses Xorenatsi needs to be explained correctly: "*Alexander brought and left as prince over [...] Iberian peoples Mihrdat, the former satrap of Darius*",³ it has to be taken into account that the satrap Mihrdat of the Armenian tradition differs not only from that elaborated on Azo/Azon in the pre-Bagratid Georgian historiography but also gives some important indications about the function of the descendant of this person, whom king Valarshak of Armenia "*appointed as governor of the north, opposite the Caucasus Mountain*" and presumably, also on the function of Mihrdat himself, as Alexander's protégé, if we recall the fact that the 'Caucasian Gate' (*Portae Caucasiae*) or the Dariali Pass,⁴ crossing the central part of the Great Caucasian Ridge, was known in ancient times as 'Alexander's Iron Gate' or 'Pillars or Stronghold of Alexander'.⁵

Since the 'Caucasian Gate' was in the hands of the Iberians, it becomes understandable why Movses Xorenatsi announces that the Armenian kings 'entrusted' the control of the 'Northern Mountains' to the descendants of Mihrdat, the Iberian ruler installed by Alexander the Great.⁶ At the same time, this information indicates that there was a connection between the foundation of the monarchy in Iberia and the need to protect the 'Caucasian Gate'.⁷

Completely other types of data are also found, as a result of archaeological excavations at sites in the region of Shida Kartli of classical times – Samadlo I, Khovle

¹ *The Conversion of Kartli*, p. 320.

² Kavtaradze, *To the Problem*, pp. 29-55.

³ Movses Xorenatsi, II, 8, 11; Thomson, *Moses*, pp. 140-141.

⁴ It is known also as *Caspian, Osssetian, Sarmatian, Iberian* or *Aragvian Gate*.

⁵ Cl. Ptol., 5, 3, 16; Euseb. Hier., *Epist.*, 77, 8. The earliest known association of Alexander with Gog and Magog and 'an Iron Gate' is found in Josephus' "Jewish War", written in the last quarter of the first century AD. In his treatment of the Alans of northern Caucasus, Josephus mentions "*the pass which king Alexander had closed with iron gates*" (Josephus, *Jewish War*, VII, 245, pp. 574-575; v., Rapp, *The Sasanian*, p. 136).

⁶ Movses Xorenatsi, II, 8, 11; Thomson, *Moses*, pp. 140-141.

⁷ Kavtaradze, *About*, p. 119; Kavtaradze, *Probleme*, p. 209.

Gora III (*i.e.* a layer of 4th century BC), Uplistsikhe, Urbnisi – the stone cores (*nuclei*) used for a catapult.¹ Since only the Macedonian army was equipped with similar items,² it is thought that this is a hint that Alexander’s closest heirs some kind of action would have a place in the central part of eastern Georgia.³ It is not yet clear who or what would have caused it, although Pliny⁴ and Julius Solinus⁵ report about the Macedonian dominance in Iberia.

It is known that Alexander himself never marched to the Caucasus. The stories of Georgian and Armenian chroniclers about the participation of Alexander the Great in Caucasian affairs are usually considered legendary.⁶ In this connection, it would be justifiable to recall Strabo’s report that Alexander sent men under the leadership of Menon to Sispiritis,⁷ which some scholars associate with Speri (modern Turkish Ispir).⁸ It is noteworthy that on the outer wall of the tenth century Khakhuli Temple near Tortomi (Tortum), east of Speri, is a fourteenth-century carved image of the pagan king (Alexander the Great), elevated to heaven, is depicted. The adoration for Alexander was so strong in Georgia that the most famous Georgian king, David IV, the Builder, was called by the Georgian Chronicles – the second or new Alexander.

We should assume that certain events seem to have taken place in Central Transcaucasia in the late 4th-early 3rd centuries BC and they were somehow connected with the processes which caused the emergence of the statehood in Eastern Georgia (Iberia). The above data are genuine witnesses of these events, the initial stimulus of which has been given by Alexander’s conquest of the Achaemenid Empire and the replacement of *Pax Achaemenica* with *Pax Macedonica*. We must take into consideration the conjuncture that has developed in the Middle East and its periphery as a result of this conquest. One of the main events of the pre-Hellenistic era, naturally arising from

¹ Catapult cores found in layers of Samadlo of the late 4th – early 3rd century have a diameter of 21 cm. and a weight – 9.5 kg. (Gagoshidze, *Samadlo*, pp. 40, 48, 96; Lordkipanidze, *Problems*, pp. 159-160).

² Tarn, *Hellenistic*, pp. 113, 119.

³ Lordkipanidze, *Problems*, pp. 159-160; Gamkrelidze, Pirtskhalava, Kipiani, *On the military*, pp. 37-39.

⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis*, IV, 39(=18): “*Haec est Macedonia terrarum imperio potita quondam, haec Asiam, Armeniam, Hiberiam, Albaniam, Cappadociam, Syriam, Aegyptum, Taurum, Caucasum transgressa...*”.

⁵ Solinus, *Polyhistor*, IX, 19; p. 56: “*Subegit Asiam Armeniam Hiberiam Albaniam Cappadociam Syriam Aegyptum; Taurum Caucasumque transgressus est*”.

⁶ Bakradze, *History*, pp. 76-79; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 81-82, n.104; Novoseltsev, *On the issue*, pp. 104-109.

⁷ Strabo, *The Geography*, XI, XIV, 9.

⁸ *E.g.*, Lasserre, *Lexique*, p. 175. In the Greek version of the life of St. Gregory, Speri is called *Souspertis* (Σουσπέρις) (Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 322, n. 76).

the political situation of that time, was the emergence and creation of new states on the territory of the defeated empire.

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გიორგი ქავთარაძე

ხორასმიელთა მეფის ფარასმანესის ქვეყნის ადგილმდებარეობისათვის: ალექსანდრე მაკედონელთან დაკავშირებული არიანეს ერთი ცნობის ინტერპრეტაციის მცდელობა

რეზიუმე

ფლავიუს არიანეს “ალექსანდრეს ლაშქრობაში” შემონახული ცნობის თანახმად, ძვ. წ. 327 წ. გაზაფხულზე ‘ხორასმიელების’ მეფე ფარასმანესი 1500 მხედრის თანხლებით ეახლა ალექსანდრეს შუა აზიაში მდებარე მდ. ოქსის (თანამედროვე ამუ დარია) ნაპირთან და მოახსენა, რომ იგი ცხოვრობდა კოლხებისა და ამადონელების მეზობლად და მზად იყო დახმარებოდა მას, თუკი ალექსანდრე გადაწყვეტდა იმ ტომების დამორჩილებას, რომლებიც სახლობდნენ პონტოს ევქსინოსამდე გადაჭიმულ მხარეში. ალექსანდრემ ‘ხორასმიელების’ მეფეს მიუგო, რომ იმჟამად მას არ ჰქონდა დრო და საშუალება პონტოსკენ გასალაშქრებლად, მაგრამ აზიის დაპყრობისა და ჰელესპონტისა და პროპონ-

ტისის გავლით საბერძნეთში დაბრუნების შემდეგ, იგი მთელი თავისი საზღვაო და სამხედრო ძალების დახმარებით ღრმად შეიჭრებოდა პონტოში და მხოლოდ მაშინ დასჭირდებოდა მას ფარასმანესის დახმარება.

ისტორიოგრაფიულ ლიტერატურაში გამოთქმულია საკმაოდ საფუძვლიანი შენიშვნა, რომ დაუჯერებელია “შავი ზღვის პერიპლუსის” ავტორს, ფლავიუს არიანეს, დაეშვა კოლხთა ბინადრობა ცენტრალურ აზიაში, ხორასმიელთა მეზობლად, ნაცვლად შავ ზღვასთან მდებარე ტრაპეზუნტის მიდამოებისა. ნავარაუდევია, რომ შეცდომა გაჩნდებოდა ბერძნულ ხელნაწერებში, ვინაიდან წარმოუდგენელია, რომ თავდაპირველ ტექსტში კოლხების გვერდით შუაზიელი ხორასმიელები ყოფილიყვნენ მოხსენიებულნი.

ცხადია, რომ არიანეს ტექსტი უნდა ეხებოდეს შავიზღვისპირეთს და არა ცენტრალურ აზიას, გარდა იმისა, რომ მასში მოხსენიებული არიან კოლხები, ამადონელები და ევქსინის პონტო, ამასვე უნდა მოწმობდეს თვით ალექსანდრეს სიტყვები, რომ მხოლოდ ჰელესპონტისა და პროპონტისის გავლით საბერძნეთში დაბრუნების შემდეგ (ე. ი. ცენტრალური აზიიდან უკან გამობრუნების შემდეგ), გაემართებოდა იგი პონტოსკენ და ამისათვის გამოიყენებდა, როგორც სახმელეთო, ასევე საზღვაო ძალებს. ეს უკანასკნელი შენიშვნა – ‘საზღვაო ძალების გამოყენება’ – სათუოს ხდის ცენტრალურ აზიაში მის უკან დაბრუნებას და შესაბამისად ხორეზმის მეფისათვის დახმარების განევის შესაძლებლობას.

საფიქრებელია, რომელიღაც, ანატოლია-კავკასიის მიჯნაზე განლაგებული, ქვეყნის სახელი ყოფილიყო აღრეული ცენტრალურ აზიაში მდებარე ქვეყნის – ხორეზმის – სახელწოდებასთან და საქმე გვქონდეს ეთნონიმისა თუ ქორონიმის მცდარ გამოყენებასთან. ეთნონიმთა მსგავსი კონტამინაციის შემთხვევები არცთუ იშვიათია ძველ წერილობით წყაროებში.

ამასთან დაკავშირებით, ყურადღებას იპყრობს სტრაბონის ცნობა, რომ სომხებმა თავისი ქვეყანა განადიდეს იბერიელთაგან გოგარენეს გარდა პარიადრის მთიანეთისა და ხორძენეს ჩამოჭრით. ეს მოვლენა შედარებით გვიანდელი ხანებით თარიღდება, ძვ. წ. ადრეული II საუკუნით. როგორც ჩანს, სწორედ ამ დროს მოხდა, იბერიული პროვინციის, ხორძენეს, მისაკუთრების შედეგად სომხური მიწების გაფართოება მდინარე მტკვრამდე.

ხორძენეს ლოკალიზაციის საკითხთან მიმართებაში თითქოს ჩნდება მაცდუნებელი შესაძლებლობა, დაუკავშიროთ ეს მხარე ერთის მხრივ, არიანესეული ფარასმანესის ქვეყანას, ხოლო მეორეს მხრივ, ქართული მატთანების არიან-ქართლის ლეგენდარულ ქვეყანას და ვივარაუდოთ, რომ ფლავიუს არიანეს „ალექსანდრეს ლაშქრობის“ ტექსტში ხორასმიელთა მეფის ფარასმანესის სახელს, იბერიული მხარის ხორძენეს მმართველი იყოს ამოფარებული,

მით უმეტეს, რომ სახელი 'ფარასმანესი' ხშირად არის დადასტურებული იბერიის რაიონში. ჩვენ შეგვიძლია ვივარაუდოთ, რომ ძვ. წ. გვიან IV – ადრეულ III საუკუნეების ცენტრალურ ამიერკავკასიაში მართლაც ჰქონდა ადგილი გარკვეულ მოვლენებს, რომლებიც დაკავშირებული იყო აღმოსავლეთ საქართველოს (იბერიის) ისტორიული განვითარების ერთ-ერთ უმნიშვნელოვანეს ნიშანსვეტთან – სახელმწიფოებრიობის წარმოქმნასთან. ქართულ და სომხურ მატყინეთა მონაცემები აღადგენენ იმ მოვლენებს, რომელთაც სანყისი სტიმული ალექსანდრე დიდის მიერ აქემენიდთა იმპერიის დაპყრობით მიეცათ და რომლებსაც პოსტ-ალექსანდრულ ხანაში აღმოსავლეთქართული სახელმწიფოს იბერიის წარმოქმნა-ჩამოყალიბება უნდა გამოენიჭია.

ადრეელისტიკური ხანის ერთ-ერთი უმთავრესი და იმ ხანად შექმნილი პოლიტიკური ვითარებიდან ბუნებრივად გამომდინარე მოვლენაა, – დამარცხებული იმპერიის ტერიტორიაზე ახალი სახელმწიფოების წარმოქმნა-აღმოცენება. სწორედ ამ ჭრილშია განსახილველი ქართული მატყინების ცნობები, რომ ალექსანდრემ უბოძა ქართველებს მეფე თუ მმართველი და მისცა იდეოლოგიური საფუძველი – ყველა სახელმწიფოსათვის აუცილებელი ატრიბუტი: „და უბრძანა ალექსანდრე აზონს, რათა პატივსცემდნენ მზესა და მთოვარესა და ვარსკულავთა ხუთთა, და ჰმსახურებდნენ ღმერთსა უხილავსა, დამბადებელსა ყოვლისასა“.