

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS

NUMBER SEVENTY-SIX

2022



Published by Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
Trustees for Harvard University

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Trustees for Harvard University
Washington, DC

Printed in the United States of America.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 42-6499
ISSN 0070-7546

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Distributed by Harvard University Press

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Georgian Manuscripts Produced in Eleventh-Century Constantinople

Zaza Skhirtladze and Darejan Kldiashvili

Despite the abundance of sources about Georgians in Byzantium from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries, the picture of their activity in Constantinople—the environment of spirituality, science, education, and culture of the Christian *oikumene*—remained largely overlooked. At the same time, the issue of the activity of Georgians in the city goes far beyond the political and cultural relationship between Byzantium and Georgia, as it helps us better understand the nature of Constantinople as a center of the Byzantine commonwealth and multicultural milieu.¹

The manuscripts created by the Georgian commissioners, scholars, bookbinders, and artists in Constantinople constitute a collection that because of its content, palaeographic and codicological features, and especially its illuminations and artistic values provides additional and valuable material, enriching the body of information about book production in the city. Taken together the Georgian manuscripts produced in the milieu of eleventh-century Constantinople reveal in a variety of

ways the literary and artistic processes that took place in the intellectual circles of the city with the participation of Georgian nobility, thereby offering a clear overview of the relationship between Byzantium and Georgia in one of the most eventful periods in the history of both countries.² While the late tenth-century history is reasonably well known from historical chronicles and hagiographical treatises, as well as other documents, that of the eleventh century is largely recorded in the colophons of these manuscripts. The colophons provide important information about the processes of making and distributing manuscripts in the Byzantine world and even about the economy of manuscript production. In the capital of the Byzantine Empire, with its turbulent political life, solemn ceremonies and processions of the imperial court, secular and religious schools, theologians and philosophers, we can see a general picture of the development of professional and intellectual life within the Empire's privileged circles; at the same time, the scriptoria of the capital city and the art workshops affiliated with them, where numerous manuscripts of the highest quality were produced (copied and illuminated), clearly show Constantinople

1 In Claudia Rapp's words, "Visitors and settlers from all over the world flocked to . . . Constantinople in order to enjoy its religious and cultural attractions, to profit from its economic opportunities, or to conduct political negotiations. . . . [T]heir treatment is nonetheless indicative of an imperial policy that took the presence of foreigners, and the character of the capital as a 'cosmopolis,' for granted"; see "A Medieval Cosmopolis: Constantinople and Its Foreign Inhabitants," in *Alexander's Revenge: Hellenistic Culture through the Centuries*, ed. J. M. Asgeirsson and N. van Deusen (Reykjavik, 2002), 153–71, at 168.

2 On the manuscripts as a part of the diplomatic relationship between neighboring countries and their supreme secular and ecclesiastical representatives, see J. Lowden, "The Luxury Book as Diplomatic Gift?," in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin (Aldershot, 1992), 249–60, at 259–60.

as a comprehensive political, social, and cultural environment, which was being created by Georgians along with others.

The aim of this essay is to provide an overview of the cultural process that occurred in Constantinople in the eleventh to early twelfth centuries, based on the Georgian manuscripts produced in the city. It also reveals how another side of Georgian artistic creation relates to contemporary common Christian values, against the background of processes occurring at the metropolis, and thereby enriches the debate about the nature of both Georgian and Byzantine art.

The body of this study outlines the political, social, and cultural framework in which the Georgian manuscripts produced in eleventh-century Constantinople have to be understood. An appendix provides a catalogue of the manuscripts with the colophons and their translations. The following abbreviations are used throughout:

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
KSHM	State Historical Museum, Kutaisi
NCM	National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi
SHEM	Svaneti Historical-Ethnographical Museum, Mestia
SHM	State Historical Museum, Moscow

Georgians in Constantinople: Premises

During the ninth to tenth centuries, a gradual shift in Georgia's cultural orientation, from Jerusalem to Constantinople, is evident in all spheres (translated and original literature, manuscript production, architecture, painting, metalwork, etc.) of the local creative life. Several monasteries, especially in Tao-Klarjeti (the southwestern part of the country; now northeastern Turkey), founded through the efforts of the church, royal court, and local aristocracy, set themselves up as major spiritual centers of national significance. Most importantly, each of them was conceived as a place through which Georgian culture could be introduced to the Byzantine mainstream.³

3 The nature of this process and its different aspects is discussed in a number of studies. See especially L. Menabde, *Dzveli k'art'uli mtserlobis kerebi* [Old Georgian centers of literacy], 2 vols. (Tbilisi, 1962–80), 1.2:383–476, 2:178–250; E. Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at'onis kulturulsaganmanat'leblo keris istoriidan* [Studies in the history of the cultural and educational establishment of Athos] (Tbilisi, 1996), 5–66;

The foundation of a Georgian monastic center on Mount Athos and the intensification of translation of the most significant works of Christian literature and the creation of original Georgian ecclesiastic literature by the great Athonite fathers there became major factors guiding the relationship between Byzantium and Georgia during this period. The rapid distribution of the literature was encouraged largely by the dissemination of the treatises that had been newly translated and copied by Athonite fathers who had been educated in Constantinople or had settled there from Tao-Klarjeti, joining a circle of aristocratic individuals. Systematic translation work carried out in Constantinople, on Mount Athos, in Bithynia, and on the Black Mountain, as well as in Jerusalem with its hinterland and in Sinai, highlighted the role of Georgians in the common Orthodox oecumene.⁴

At the end of the tenth century the Georgian translation of the short version of the Typicon of the Great Church of Constantinople came to serve as a base for the liturgical books of the Byzantine rite. The process at this stage is clearly revealed in the hymnographic collections that have been preserved in the Sinai and Jerusalem monastic libraries. Among these, a manuscript that deserves mention is the MS Sinaiticus Georgianus 23 of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai—an otherwise unknown version of the Horologion, copied in 986 in Constantinople by Ioane Meli (fig. 1).⁵ During the span from the 980s until 1005, Ioane Meli copied the collection of hagiographical and ascetical writings translated from Greek by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (NCM, MS A-1104; figs. 2 and 3; all photographs of NCM manuscripts throughout this article appear courtesy of the NCM). According to the colophons (fols. 82r, 90v, 154v, 232v, 298v), the manuscript was copied through the patronage of the founder and the first hegoumenos of

M. Surguladze, "Tao-Klarjet'is kulturuli tendentsiebi da bizantiuri samq'aro" [Cultural tendencies of T'ao-Klarjeti and the Byzantine world], *Mravaltavi, Proceedings of Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts* 26 (2019): 243–45.

4 M. Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, *Studi e Testi* 185 (Vatican City, 1955), 35–38; E. Khintibidze, *Georgian-Byzantine Literary Contacts* (Amsterdam, 1996), 56–72.

5 *Catalogue of the Georgian Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, prepared by Z. Aleksidze, M. Shanidze, L. Khevsuriani, and M. Kavtaria (Athens, 2005), 88–89, 269–70, 396–97, pls. 535–36.

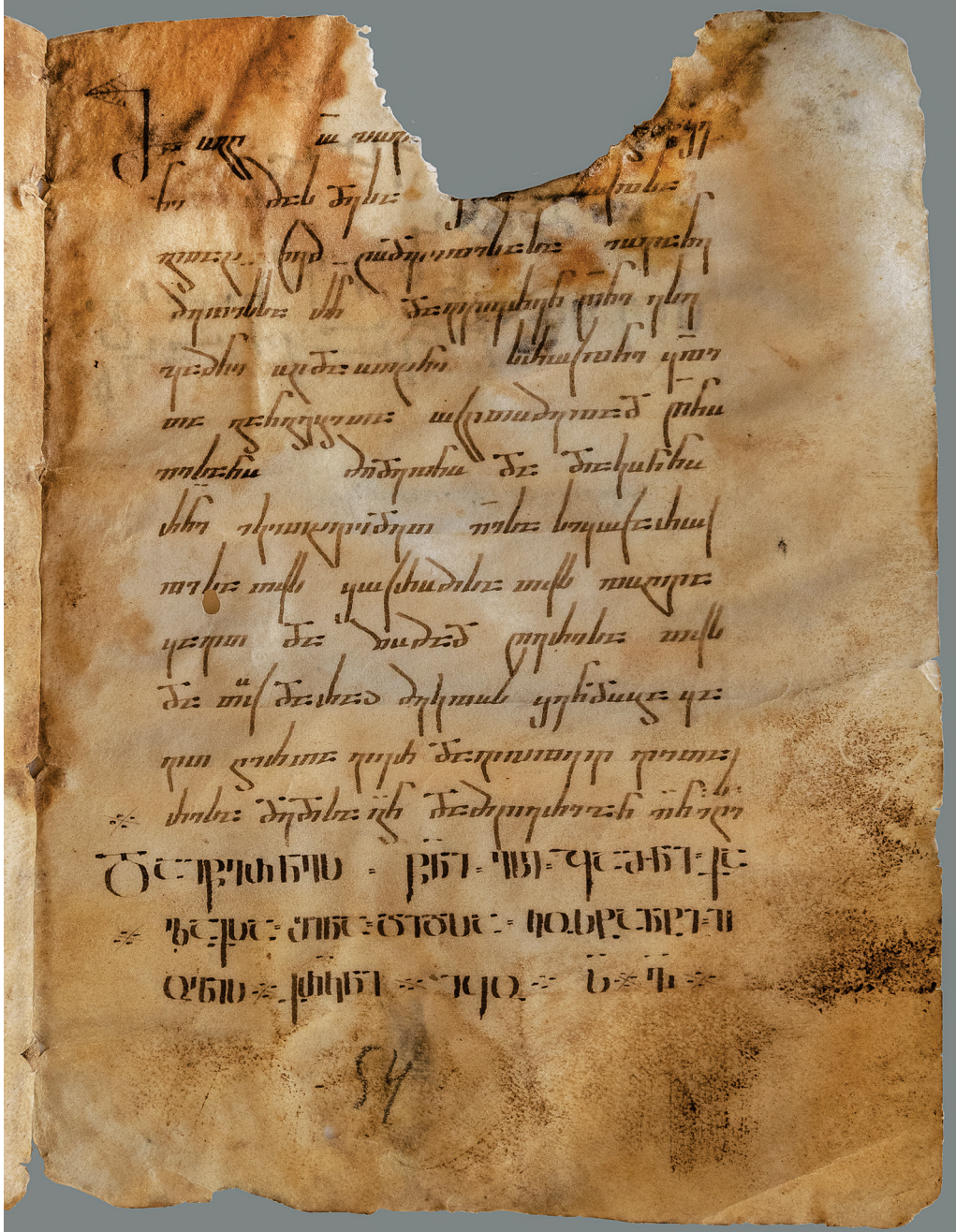


Fig. 1. The colophon of the scribe Ioane Meli. Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, MS N/Sin. Georg. 23, 986, fol. 54r. Photo courtesy of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai.

the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos, St. John (d. 1005), and his son Euthymios.⁶ It is supposed that the manuscript was produced in the Constantinopolitan *metochion* of Mount Athos (perhaps the monastery of

Georgians—μονή τῶν Ἰβήρων—conveyed by the *synkellos* Tornikios to the emperor Basil II in 980), which, according to the *Life* of St. George the Hagiorite, was situated outside of the old walls of the city, in the district of Xirolophos.⁷

6 K. Kekelidze, ed., *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba, A kolektsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection A], vol. 4, comp. K. Sharashidze (Tbilisi, 1954), 84–86.

7 George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giorgi M'atsmindelisi” [The Life of George the Hagiorite], in *Dzveli k'art'uli agiografiuli literaturis*

First Third of the Eleventh Century

A number of Georgian noblemen who had moved from their homeland to Constantinople, as the political ties between the two countries became closer than ever before, were actively involved in Byzantine–Georgian cultural relations.⁸ Translated and original texts, manuscripts, and works of art bear vivid testimony to their efforts. Greek and Georgian narrative sources, documents, and scribal colophons mention Georgians at several smaller or larger monasteries in and around Constantinople. The Chora (and its dependency Kestorion),⁹ Agiapantos, Pege, Triandaphilou (St. Mary

dzelebi [Monuments of Old Georgian hagiographic literature], ed. I. Abuladze, vols. 2–3 (Tbilisi, 1967–71), 2:181, 184; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos: Two Eleventh-Century Lives of the Hegoumenoi of Iviron*, trans. T. Grdzeldze (London, 2009), 146, 148; Th. Uspenski, *Istoriia Vizantiiskoi Impoerii* [History of the Byzantine Empire], vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1912), 220–21 (the map is on pp. 224–25); R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, part 1, *Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat oecuménique*, book 3, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1953), 238, 256. The metochion of the Iviron monastery in Constantinople was one of the places where St. Euthymios the Hagiorite undertook translations. St. George the Hagiorite notes that St. Euthymios “worked at his translations not only on Mount Olympus and Mount Athos (which works we can list in detail), but also in Constantinople, and while traveling, and in all kinds of other places.” St. Euthymios died in a fatal accident in Constantinople in 1028 on St. John the Evangelist’s feast day, when he was heading to see a painter about an icon commissioned of the celebrated saint. See St. George the Hagiorite, “Tskhorebai Iovanesi da Ep’vimesi” [The Lives of John and Euthymios (the Hagiorites)], in Abuladze, *Dzveli k’art’uli agiognap’uli literaturis dzelebi*, 2:62–63, 90–91; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos*, 68, 88.

8 Surguladze, “Tao-Klarjet’is kulturuli tendentsiebi da bizantiuri samq’aro,” 230–45.

9 A Georgian charter (Tbilisi, National Archives of Georgia, 1448, N5018) lists, together with 105 (!) villages, the “grand monastery of Kestorion”—presumably a monastery known under the name of *Kastorion* (Τρύφων ἐν τῷ Καστωρείῳ), a dependency of the Chora in the environs of the city—among the lavish gifts and donations given by Basil II to the catholicos-patriarch of Georgia, Melchisedek I (1010–1033). From the 1010s on, Melchisedek I frequently traveled to Constantinople, because visiting “was a real financial bonus to receive assistance” (J. Shepard, “Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 800–1204: Means and Ends,” in Shepard and Franklin, *Byzantine Diplomacy*, 41–71, at 55). This resulted in raising material and financial aid to rebuild and embellish the Svetitskhoveli patriarchal cathedral in Mtskheta. D. Kldiashvili, “Konstantinopolis monastrebi XI saukunis 30-iani tslebis tsq’arobshi” [Monasteries of Constantinople in the 1030s: Georgian sources], in *The Caucasus between East and West: Historical and Philological Studies in Honour of Zaza Aleksidze*, ed. D. Chitunashvili (Tbilisi, 2012), 506–23, esp. 506–15. See also

Peribleptos), St. George of the Mangana, and Hromana (and its *hesychasteria* of St. Anne and the Mother of God) are the best known among them (fig. 4).¹⁰ In the eleventh century, a number of newly translated treatises were copied in these monasteries for Georgian donors, by Georgian scribes. The history of the Georgian presence in eleventh-century Constantinople and, accordingly, of Georgian book production there can be tentatively divided into three periods, each related to specific conditions and people. All three are united by a single goal: the attempt to create books on a par with those produced at the capital’s leading scriptoria. The Georgian manuscripts made in Constantinople reflect the tastes of the city’s aristocratic circles and stand out by virtue of their refined quality and high artistic merit. They are important evidence for the growing cultural engagement of Georgia with Byzantium that continued despite political and military tensions between the two countries.¹¹

In the 1020s and 1030s several works by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (955–1028) translated from the Greek into Georgian were copied in Constantinople and on Mount Athos for Zacharia, bishop of Valashkert and later archbishop of Bana, in Tao-Klarjeti. Their overall character and style of decoration were determined by the place of their production, pointing to the complete assimilation of the indigenous Georgian traditions to Constantinopolitan tastes. The composition and character of decorative elements such as headpieces, initial letters, and figural miniatures, as well as their manner of execution, closely parallel those in works from Constantinople such as the Menologion of Basil II (BAV, MS gr. 1613), the Psalter of Basil II (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS gr. 17), and Greek Gospel books (Sin. gr. 158; Athens, National Library of Greece, MS 76).

Rewriting Caucasian History: The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles: The Original Georgian Texts and the Armenian Adaptation, trans. R. W. Thomson (Oxford, 1996), 374–75; P. Peeters, “Un manuscrit byzantin daté du pontificat du Pape Jean XIX en 1029–1030,” in *Mémorial Louis Petit: Mélanges d’histoire et d’archéologie byzantines* (Bucharest, 1948), 373–92, esp. 384–89.

10 Menabde, *Dzveli k’art’uli mtserlobis kerebi*, 2:247–52; Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at’onis kulturul-saganmanat’leblo keris istoriidan*, 145–95; Kldiashvili, “Konstantinopolis monastrebi,” 506–23.

11 On Byzantino-Georgian political relations in the eleventh century, see M. Lordkipanadze, *Georgia in the 11th–12th Centuries* (Tbilisi, 1987), 56–67.

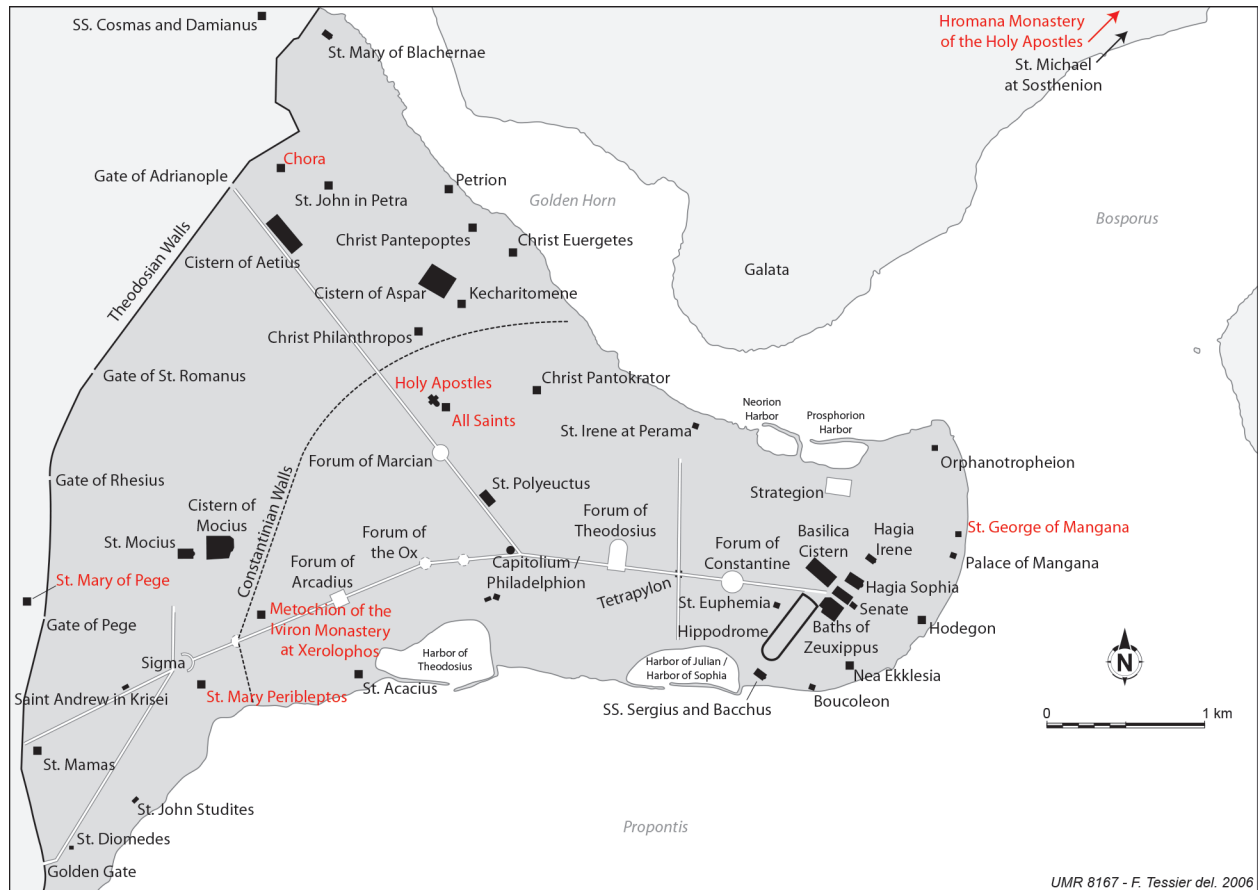


Fig. 4. Map of Constantinople, with locations of Georgian activity in the eleventh century in red. Map courtesy of the Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Orient et Méditerranée UMR 8167, with modifications by author.

Born into the Georgian noble family of Jojikisdze (Tzotzikios or Bakurianos in Byzantine sources),¹² Zacharia was probably educated at the Lavra of Otkhta Eklekia in Tao. He was greatly influenced by his “upbringer” David III Curopalates (d. 1001), called “King of the Georgians,” who raised him, and by his spiritual father Arsen Ninotsmindeli, who was at that

time a distinguished Georgian clergyman and intellectual (according to the colophon of NCM, MS A-648, fol. 72r). In 1001, Zacharia’s father, Bakur, later *strategos* of Samos, was taken with his brothers Tevdat and Peris Jojikisdzes from Tao-Klarjeti to Byzantium, where Basil II (976–1025) promoted him to the rank of a *patrikios*.¹³ The narrative, pictorial, and epigraphic primary sources related to Zacharia or his relatives include several Greek and Georgian manuscripts (Athos, Iviron monastery, MSS Georg. 13 and Georg. 85;¹⁴ Oxford,

12 The scholarly literature contains an erroneous claim about Zacharia’s origins, as well as those of the Bakurianisdze and Jojikisdze families, which holds that all these members of local Tao-Klarjeti families were Armenian and belonged to the Armenian Chalcedonian circle; similarly, some of the brethren in the Georgian monasteries on Mount Athos, in Antioch, and of Petritzos are considered to be Armenian-Chalcedonian. This viewpoint is critically discussed in N. Lomouri, *K istorii gruzinskogo Petritsonsogo monastyria* [On the history of Georgian monastery of Petritzos] (Tbilisi, 1981), 55–56, and Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at’onis kulturul-saganmanat’leblo keris istoriidan*, 145–95.

13 John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*, introduction, text, and notes trans. J. Wortley (Cambridge, 2010), 322; *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, suppl. and emend. by Immanuel Bekker, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1839), 448.

14 R. Blake, “Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d’Iviron au Mont Athos,” *ROC*, ser. 3, 8 (28), nos. 3–4 (1931–32): 68–69; E. Metreveli, ed., *K’art’ul khelnatsert’a aghtseriloba*, *Athonuri koleksia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, the



Fig. 5. The scene of the procession with the images of the Bana cathedral and the Otkhta Eklesia church in the south apse of Oshki Church of St. John the Baptist, 1036. Photo by Zaza Skhirtladze.

Christ Church, MS Wake 21;¹⁵ and a now lost Greek manuscript at St. Justina in Padua¹⁶), a wall painting at Oshki showing Zacharia's episcopal church of Bana (fig. 5),¹⁷ and a glass hanging lamp with a Greek

Athonite Collection], vol. 1, comp. L. Akhobadze et al. (Tbilisi, 1986), 123–32.

15 I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 4.1, *Oxford Christ Church* (Stuttgart, 1993), 21; idem, "Scriptoria in Bithinia," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland: Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dargon with G. Greatrex (Variorum, 1995), 379–96, esp. 384.

16 B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca, sive de ortu et progressu litterarum graecorum* (Paris, 1708), 46.

17 N. Thierry, "Peintures historiques d'Oški (Tao)," *Revue des études géorgiennes et arméniennes* 2 (1986): 136–38; idem, "Le souverain dans les programmes d'églises en Cappadoce et en Géorgie du X^e au XIII^e siècles," *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 4 (1988): 131–34; W. Djobadze, "Four Deesis Themes in the Church of Oški," *OC* 79 (1988): 172–82; Z. Skhirtladze, "The Oldest Paintings in Oshki

dedicatory inscription naming Zacharia in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice (fig. 6).¹⁸ All demonstrate Zacharia's extensive relationship to the supreme ecclesiastic and secular circles of Byzantium and Georgia and the vast range of his donor activities, together with the high intellectual aspirations, varied interests, and refined taste of the bishop and his circle.

Zacharia played a prominent role during one of the most dramatic periods of Byzantine–Georgian relations, the 1020s–1030s.¹⁹ He emerged as a clever

Church: Byzantine Church Decoration and Georgian Art," *Eastern Christian Art* 7 (2010): 101, pl. 6.

18 D. Buckton, C. Entwistle, and R. Prior, eds., *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice* (Milan, 1984), no. 24, 191–93.

19 On several aspects of these relations, see C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)* (Oxford, 2005), 360–62, 480–83.

Fig. 6.
Glass hanging lamp. The
Treasury of San Marco, Venice
(Inv. no. 67). Photo © Per
gentile concessione della
Procuratoria di San Marco.



diplomat, a man of high culture and broad education, a patron of Georgian letters, and a bibliophile. Zacharia appeared on the political scene ca. 1020 as bishop of Valashkert, in the upper reaches of the river Chorokhi (present-day Choruh in the Erzurum province of Turkey, the historic district of Basiani).²⁰ This region was disputed by Georgia and Byzantium, and from the tenth century on remained an area in which the Empire had multifaceted interests.²¹ During a war over it in 1020–1021, Zacharia acted as mediator between the Byzantine emperor Basil II and the Georgian king George I (1014–1027).²² He was evidently close to both rulers. In the same period the Jojikisdze

family—suspected of taking part in the revolt of Nicephoros Phocas and Nicephoros Xiphias (1022)²³—was severely punished. Pheris Jojikisdze, the Anthypatos Patrikios and strategos of Cappadocia,²⁴ and his brother-in-law Andronikos, who joined the rebels from the beginning, were beheaded.²⁵ Naturally enough, Zacharia too was considered suspicious, and in 1022 Basil II took him from Tao-Klarjeti to Constantinople as a prestigious hostage. In Constantinople the wife and children of Pheris, who had been executed by Basil II, were resettled. St. George the Hagiorite (1009–1065) lived and studied with them for twelve years.²⁶ Zacharia remained there for at least ten years but was never deprived of honors at the imperial court. Like certain other members of the Georgian aristocracy, he was intimately familiar with Byzantine

20 G. Tcheishvili, “Valaskertis saepiskoposo” [The bishopric of Valashkerti], *Humanitaruli kvlebebi, tselitsdeuli* [Studies in the Humanities, Annual] 4 (2013): 169–98. For details of Zacharia’s biography, see Metreveli, *Narkvebebi at’onis kulturul-saganmanat’leblo keris istoriidan*, 145–95; Kldiashvili, “Konstantinopolis monastrebi,” 515–21; Z. Skhirtladze, “Zacharia, Archbishop of Bana, and Artistic Transmission between Georgia and Byzantium,” in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2006), 2:255–56.

21 J. Shepard, “Constantine VII, Caucasian Openings and the Road to Aleppo,” in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot, 2001), 19–40, esp. 26–33; Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire*, 319–22; K. Iuzbashian, *Armianskie gosudarstva epokhi Bagratidov i Vizantiia IX–XI vv.* [Armenian states of the epoch of Bagratides and Byzantium of the ninth to eleventh centuries] (Moscow, 1988), 130–56.

22 *Aristakes Lastivertc’i’s History*, trans. R. Bedrossian (New York, 1985), 21–22.

23 John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History*, 120–21, no. 43.13; *Lastivertc’i’s History*, 22–23.

24 The seals of Pheris Jojikisdze as *anthypatos*, *patrikios*, and strategos of Cappadocia were found in Cherson in the north of the Black Sea: *DOSeals* 4:120, 121, no. 43.13; V. Stepanenko, “Fars Tsotsikii, an’fat patrikii I stratig Kappadokii” [Pherses Tzotzikios, antypatos, patrikios, and strategos of Cappadocia], *Numizmatika, Sfraagistika I Epigrafika* [Numismatics, Sphragistics, and Epigraphy] 5 (2009): 235–46.

25 John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History*, 182; George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giorgi Mtatsmindelisai” (n. 7 above), 117–18; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos* (n. 7 above), 107.

26 George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giorgi Mtatsmindelisai,” 117–19; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos*, 106–8.

culture and fluent in Greek. His activities continued in exile with undiminished intensity. He was one of the organizers of a major center of Georgian literary and manuscript production in Constantinople and supported the Georgian men of letters who worked in Byzantium. Particularly significant in this respect is his contribution to the copying and dissemination of works translated by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite.

In 1031 Zacharia was appointed to the see of Bana in the royal domain of Tao, received the title *syncellus*, and was granted by Romanos III Argyros the Constantinopolitan monastery of Agiapantos.²⁷ Around the same time (ca. 1030/31), following a successful visit to the imperial capital by Queen Maria, mother of the Georgian king Bagrat IV (1027–1072), that resulted in the armistice and the dynastic wedding, Zacharia seems to have been finally pardoned.²⁸ It is possible that as archbishop of Bana he celebrated the diplomatic wedding of Bagrat IV to Princess Helen, niece of the Byzantine emperor Romanos III, in 1032 (some authors believe that this event was depicted on a fresco executed in 1036 at Oshki Church, in Tao).²⁹ As her dowry the princess brought relics—the Lord’s nail, a piece of the mantle of the Virgin, the plate from the Last Supper, and the miraculous icon.³⁰ All these were among the diplomatic gifts marking the establishment of peace after the war between the two states. Upon returning from Constantinople Zacharia likely brought his private library with him. Several of his manuscripts have come down to us, most of them

produced either in the Constantinopolitan monasteries of Chora, Pege, and Agiapantos or in the Georgian monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos. They were probably copied and illuminated in connection with the two key moments in Zacharia’s career—his ordination as bishop of Valashkert and his installation as syncellus and archbishop of Bana.³¹

The cooperation of Zacharia with St. Euthymios the Hagiorite, and in general with Georgian literati active on Mount Athos, is attested by one manuscript, commissioned by him; this contains the homilies of St. Gregory the Theologian (NCM, MS A-92; figs. 7 and 8) copied in the Iviron monastery ca. 1028 by two Hagiorite copyists (Zacharia Mirdatisdze and Arsen) and by Zacharia’s disciple Basil Malushisdze.³² The last part of the text (from fol. 285r onward), which was copied by Basil Malushisdze, has independent numbering and, unlike other sections of the manuscript, is decorated with colored headpieces. We can thus infer that this part was executed by Basil Malushisdze in Constantinople and added in the main body of the codex.

According to Georgian sources, the Chora monastery in Constantinople appears to have become by the eleventh century a center of Georgian book production, where Georgian and Greek calligraphers and artists worked side by side. The Georgian activities at the Chora fall within a period of the monastery’s history (prior to 1181) that is not documented in Byzantine sources.³³ Bishop Zacharia’s disciple and collaborator Basil Malushisdze there made two

27 Kldiashvili, “Konstantinopolis monastrebi” (n. 9 above), 515–21.

28 On Queen Maria’s visit to Constantinople and the subsequent royal wedding, see *Rewriting Caucasian History* (n. 9 above), 287–88; John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History*, 356–57. The nature of diplomatic marriages, including cases involving high-ranking Georgians, is discussed in Shepard, “Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 800–1204” (n. 9 above), 59–61, and, more extensively, in R. Macrides, “Dynastic Marriages and Political Kingship,” in Shepard and Franklin, *Byzantine Diplomacy* (n. 2 above), 263–80, esp. 270–71, 275–76, 279–80.

29 Thierry, “Peintures historiques d’Oški (Tao),” 136–38; Djobadze, “Four Deesis Themes in the Church of Oški,” 172–82; A. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park, PA, 1998), 232–34; Skhirtladze, “The Oldest Paintings in Oshki Church,” 101.

30 *Matiane Kartlisa*, intro. and notes R. Metreveli, trans. A. Chanturia (Moscow, 1996), 42; *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope* (n. 13 above), 488–89. The relics brought as a dowry are mentioned by Vakhushti Bagrationi in his “Aghtsera samep’osa sak’art’velosa” [Description of the Georgian kingdom], in *Kart’lis Tskhovreba* [The Georgian Chronicle], vol. 4, ed. S. Q’aukhchishvili (Tbilisi, 1973), 144.

31 Zacharia’s career can be partially traced from the history of Aristakes Lastivert’i, the *K’art’lis Cxovreba* (History of Georgia), and the colophons of the six manuscripts that he commissioned. The latter named him first bishop of Valashkert, then (1030–1031) archbishop of Bana and syncellus.

32 E. Metreveli, ed., *K’art’ul khelnatsert’a aghtseriloba, A koleksia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection A], vol. 1.1, comp. T. Bregadze, M. K’avt’aria, and L. K’ut’at’eladze (Tbilisi, 1973), 326–93; T. Bregadze, *Grigol Nazianzelis tkhvulebat’a shemtsveli dzveli k’art’ul khelnatsert’a aghtseriloba* [Description of the Georgian manuscripts of the works of Gregory of Nazianzus] (Tbilisi, 1988), 78–83.

33 Paul Underwood points to the “complete lack of information concerning the monastery and its buildings” from the mid-ninth century to the last quarter of the eleventh century (*The Kariye Djami*, vol. 1, *Historical Introduction and Description of the Mosaics and Frescoes* [London, 1967], 7). See also Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at’onis kulturul-saganmanat’leblo keris istoriidan*, 152, 156–57; R. Ousterhout, “The Kariye Camii: An Introduction,” in *Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul and the Byzantine Institute Restoration*, ed. H. A. Klein with R. G. Ousterhout (New York, 2004), 5.

Fig. 7.
The homilies of
St. Gregory the
Theologian, NCM,
MS A-92, ca. 1028,
fol. 285r.

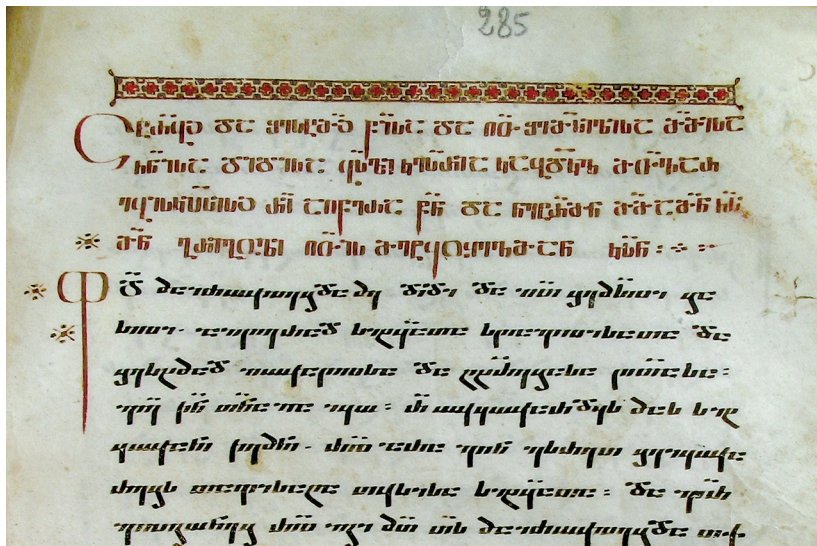


Fig. 8.
The homilies of
St. Gregory the
Theologian, NCM,
MS A-92, ca. 1028,
fol. 346v.



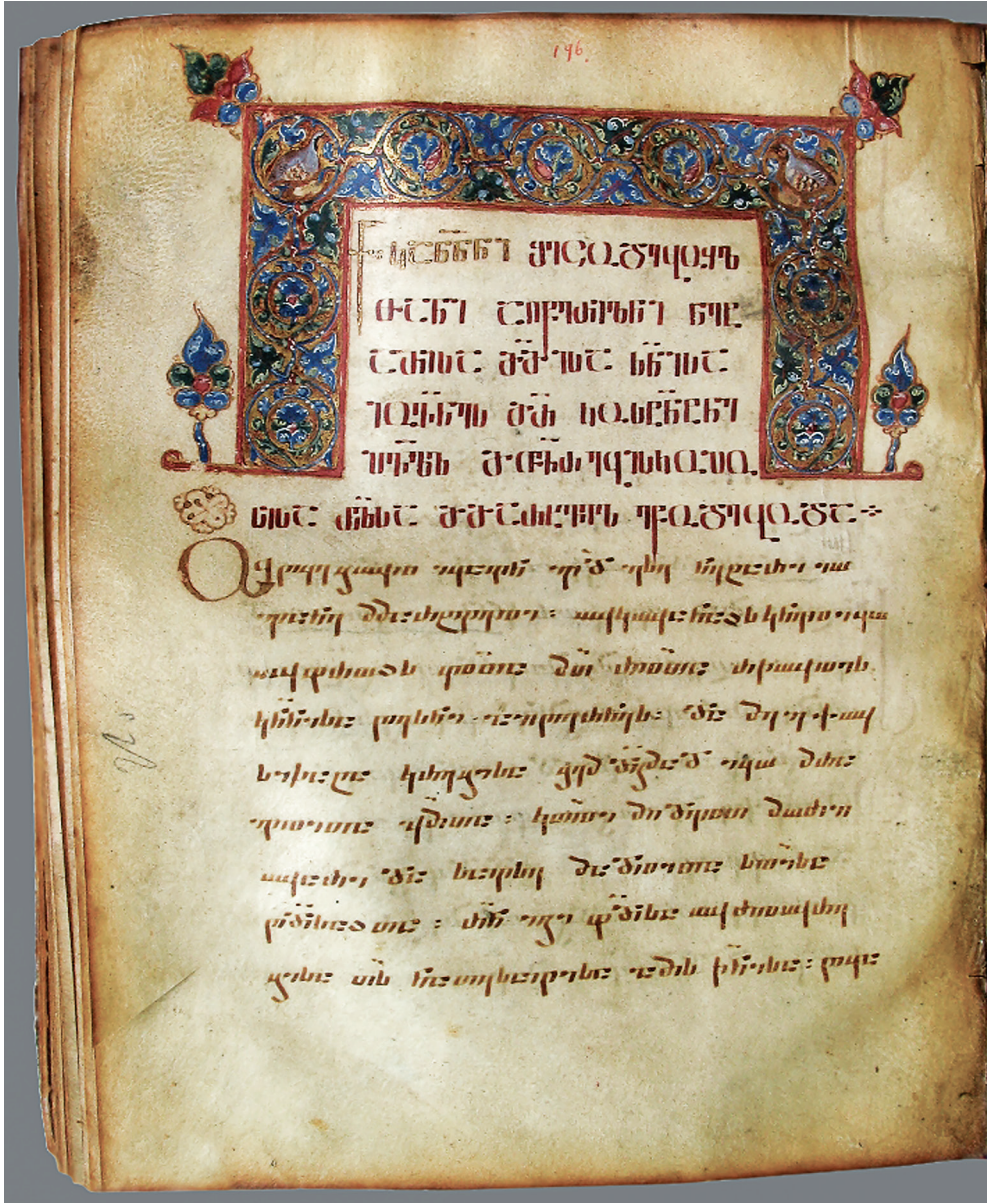


Fig. 9.
Minor Nomocanon,
NCM, MS S-143,
1022–1028, fol. 94v.

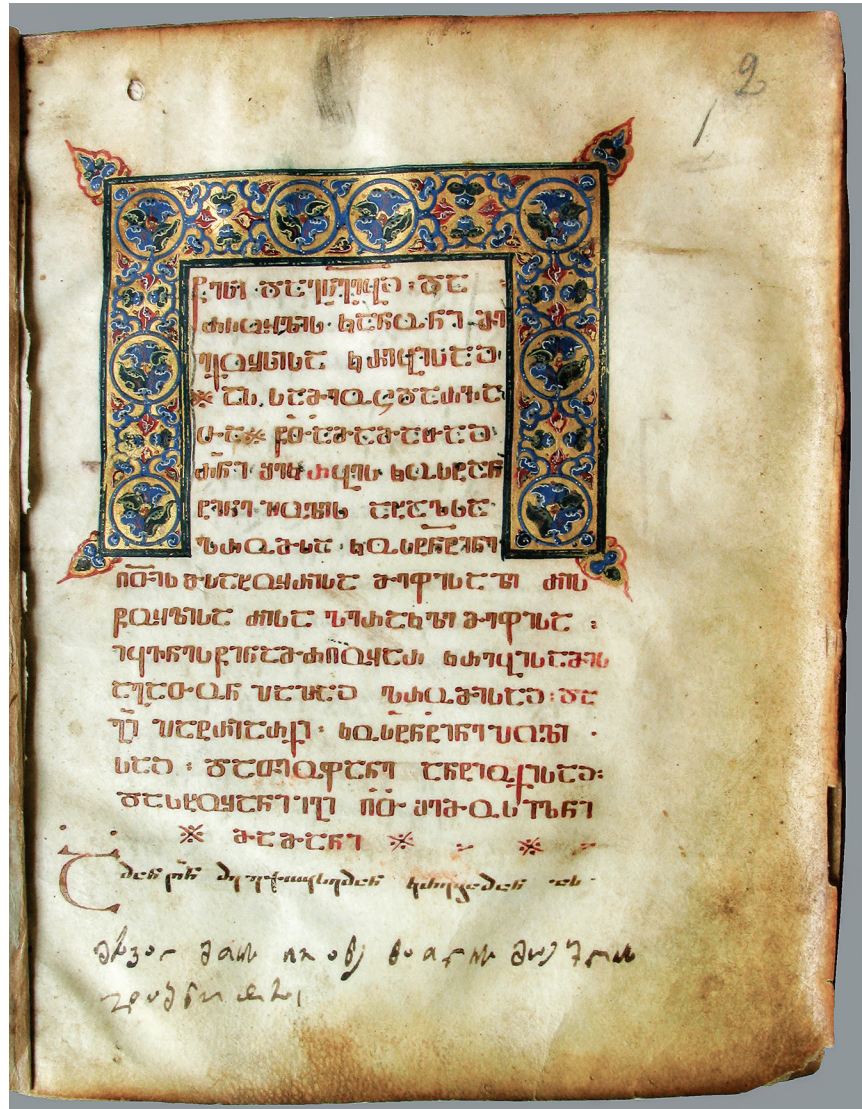
copies of the so-called Minor Nomocanon.³⁴ One of them, NCM, MS S-143 (fig. 9), is a translation from the Greek by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite and must

date to ca. 1022–1028, the early years of Zacharia's exile in Constantinople.³⁵ The other, NCM, MS A-96 (fig. 10), was copied and illuminated in 1031 for

34 This volume contained the decrees of the Sixth Ecumenical Council and the Penitential (Nomocanon) ascribed to Patriarch John IV the Faster: *Liturgicheskie pamiatniki v otechestvennykh knigokhranilishchakh i ikh nauchnoe znachenie* [Liturgical monuments in the domestic libraries and their scientific significance] (Tbilisi, 1908), 32–48; Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte* (n. 4 above), 152–53; E. Giunashvili, ed., *Mtsire sjuliskanoni* [Minor Nomocanon] (Tbilisi, 1972), 17–19.

35 E. Metreveli, ed., *K'art'ul kbelnatsert'a aghtsderiloba, S kolektsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection S], vol. 1, comp. T. Bregadze, T. Eruk'idze, N. Kasradze, L. K'ut'at'eladze, and K. Sharashirdze (Tbilisi, 1959), 152–54. In the colophons to MSS-143 reference is made to its translator, St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (fols. 94r, 113v, 148v, 163v), the donor Zacharia of Valashkert (fols. 118v, 148v, 163v), and the copyist Basil (fol. 176v). Scholars assume that this manuscript was produced at the Chora monastery ca. 1022–28; Metreveli,

Fig. 10.
The homilies of
St. Gregory the
Theologian, NCM,
MS A-96, 1031, fol. 2r.



Gregory the Hagiorite, then the father superior of the Iviron monastery.³⁶ The two were not based on the

Narkvevebi at'onis kulturul-saganmanat'leblo keris istoriidan, 160–61; Kldiashvili, “Konstantinopolis monastrebi,” 515–21.

³⁶ Metreveli, *K'art'ul kbelnatsert'a aghtseriloba*, *A kolektsia*, vol. 1.1, 393–96; *Au pays de la Toison d'or: Art ancien de Géorgie soviétique* (Paris, 1982), 158, cat. 73. Sometime later, during the reign of Isaac I Komnenos, ca. 1057–59 (the scribe notices the victory of the emperor over Seljuks), at the end of the main text on fol. 182v appears the so-called *Synodicon of Orthodoxy* with commemorations of the Byzantine emperors and empresses, namely Zoe (1042), Theodora (1055–1056), Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055), Michael IV Stratiotikos (1056–1057), and Isaac I Komnenos (1057–1059), as well as the saints of the Georgian Church and the founders of the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos (including St. Euthymios the Hagiorite, John the

same model, since they differ in contents and textual recension.³⁷

In 1030, a lavishly illuminated book was made for Zacharia: NCM, MS A-648, which contains the so-called Minor Synaxarion in St. Euthymios the Hagiorite's translation.³⁸ This version of the Synaxarion,

Builder, George the Builder, George the Interpreter, and Father John), added ca. 1057–59. This fact points to close contacts between the donors of the MS—the Georgian monks of Athos and the Byzantine imperial court.

³⁷ Kldiashvili, “Konstantinopolis monastrebi,” 506–15.

³⁸ K. Kekelidze, *Ierusalimskii Kanonar' VII veka: Gruzinskaia versiaa* [The Jerusalem lectionary of the seventh century: The Georgian version] (Tbilisi, 1912), 297–310; Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte*, 150. For the



Fig. 11.
Georgian colophon. Minor
Synaxarion, NCM, MS A-648,
1030, fol. 72r.

compiled at the end of the tenth century, reflects the changes in the liturgical and calendrical practice of the Georgian Church. It was used in the Georgian Church until St. George the Hagiorite translated the Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople. This edition of the church calendar contains the celebrations of the saints and feasts along with the corresponding readings from the Old Testament, Gospel, and Apostolarion that are read during Great Lent and Pentecostarion. It is of essential value for giving a clear picture of the

transition from Palestinian to Byzantine liturgical and calendrical practice.³⁹

A colophon on fol. 72r (fig. 11) refers to Emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034), to Patriarch Alexios (1025–1043), and to the Pege (*Pighuri* in Georgian) monastery (where Zacharia was a “stranger”) as a place where copying was done.⁴⁰ The high quality of the

bibliography concerning the MS, see Kekelidze, *K'ari'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba*, *A kolektisia*, vol. 4 (n. 6 above), 84–86.

39 D. Chitunashvili, ed., *Mtsire svinak'sari* [Minor Synaxarion] (Tbilisi, 2021).

40 This monastery may be identified with the Pege or Water-Spring (τῆς Πηγῆς, modern Balıklı) just outside the walls of Constantinople: A.-M. Talbot, “Two Accounts of Miracles at the Pege Shrine in Constantinople,” *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, *TM* 14 (Paris, 2002), 605–15; S. Efthymiadis, “Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople et ses

Fig. 12.
Annunciation,
Minor Synaxarion,
NCM, MS A-648,
1030, fol. 33r.



manuscript suggests that this monastery was a major cultural center of the city.⁴¹ Indeed, the Minor Synaxarion clearly stands out among the Georgian manuscripts copied and illuminated in eleventh-century Constantinople for its exceptionally high artistic value.

Only a fragment has survived from the once large codex, some seventy-two leaves (approximately one-sixth of the original). They are richly illuminated with seventy-four miniatures of unusual artistic merit (six miniatures have been cut out).⁴² Some of the

deux recueils de miracles," *REB* 64–65 (2007): 283–309; Kldiashvili, "Konstantinopolis monastrebi," 518–20. Metreveli (*Narkvevebi at'onis kulturul-saganmanat'leblo keris istoriidan*, 160–61) erroneously identified "Pighuri" in the Georgian colophon with the Agiapantos monastery and assumed that the manuscript's miniatures must have been created at the Chora.

41 That the materials concerning the history of the Pege Monastery in the eleventh to twelfth centuries are scarce increases the importance of the Georgian sources. The only extant evidence is that by the end of the eleventh century, John Italos and Michael Psellos flourished there (Talbot, "Two Accounts of Miracles at the Pege Shrine," 206).

42 D. Gordeev, "Miniatiury drevnegruzinskikh litseyvkh rukopisei Sionskogo drevnekhranilishcha" [Miniatures of Old Georgian illuminated manuscripts in the depository of Sioni Cathedral], *Arts* 2–3 (1918): 89–91; S. Amiranashvili, *Gruzinskaia miniatiura* [Georgian miniatures] (Moscow, 1966), 19, figs. 15–19. Gaiane Alibegashvili, Vera Likhacheva, Rene Shmerling, and Elene Machavariani were the first to study the manuscripts commissioned by Zacharia from an art-historical

miniatures (twenty-nine) depict events in the life of Jesus (figs. 12–14); there also are some scenes depicting

point of view: Alibegashvili, *Khudozhestvennyi princip illustrirovaniia gruzinskoi rukopisnoi knigi XI-nachala XIII vv.* [The artistic principles of illustration of Georgian manuscripts, eleventh–early thirteenth centuries] (Tbilisi, 1973), 12–74; Likhacheva, *Iskusstvo knigi: Konstantinopol', XI vek* [The art of the book: Constantinople, eleventh century] (Moscow, 1976), 118–44; Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie gruzinskoi rukopisnoi knigi IX–XI stoletii II* [Artistic design of ninth- to eleventh-century Georgian manuscripts II] (Tbilisi, 1979), 143–47; Machavariani, "Gruppa gruzinskikh ukrashennykh rukopisei pervoi treti XI veka, prinadlezhashchaia k konstantinopol'skoi kjudozhestvennoi shkole" [The group of Georgian illuminated manuscripts of the first third of the eleventh century related to the Constantinopolitan artistic circle], in *II International Symposium on Georgian Art* (Tbilisi, 1977), 1–10. See also P. Mijović, *Menolog: Istorijsko-umetnicka instrazhivanja* [Menolog: Historical and art-historical study] (Belgrade, 1973), 188; eadem, "Gruzinskie Menologii XI i XII vekov" [eleventh- and twelfth-century Georgian menologia], in *II International Symposium on Georgian Art*, 1–3; eadem, "Gruzinskie menologi s XI po XIV vek" [eleventh- to fourteenth-century Georgian menologia], *Zograf* 8 (1977): 17–23; E. Machavariani, "At'onis ivert'a monasteri da X–XI saukuneebis k'art'uli mokhatuli tsigni" [The Iviron monastery on Mount Athos and tenth- to eleventh-century Georgian illuminated manuscripts], *Sabchot'a kbelovneba* [Soviet art] 11 (1980): 52–60; G. Alibegashvili, "Etapy razvitiia gruzinskoi srednevekovoi miniatiurnoi zhivopisi" [Stages of development of medieval Georgian miniature painting], in *IV International Symposium on Georgian Art* (Tbilisi, 1983), 6–7; G. Alibegashvili, V. Beridze, A. Volskaia, and L. Xuskivadze, *I tesori della Georgia* (Milan, 1984), 114–22; Skhirtladze, "Zacharia, Archbishop of Bana" (n. 20 above), 255–56.



Fig. 13.
Anastasis. Minor
Synaxarion,
NCM, MS A-648,
1030, fol. 40r.



Fig. 14.
Holy women at the
tomb of Christ.
Minor Synaxarion,
NCM, MS A-648,
1030, fol. 42r.

Fig. 15.
St. James Alphaeos.
Minor Synaxarion,
NCM, MS A-648,
1030, fol. 12v.



the martyrdom of the saints. But the majority of miniatures (forty-five) are lone figures of the saints (fig. 15); there are two-figure and, in one case, four-figure compositions as well (figs. 16 and 17).⁴³

The images are accompanied by explanatory inscriptions. Most of the labels are in Greek; only a few are in Georgian. Only the compositions with the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, the healing of the leper, and

43 The complete list of the miniatures is given by T. Zhordania in *Opisanie rukopisei Tiflisskogo Tserkovnogo Muzeia Kartalino-Kakhetinskogo dukhovenstva* [Description of manuscripts of the Tbilisi Ecclesiastic Museum of Kartli and Kakheti Clergy], vol. 2

(Tbilisi, 1903), 132–33, and Mijović, in “Gruzinskie menologi s XI po XIV vek,” 23, while the miniatures of the MS are reproduced in Alibegashvili, *Khudozhestvennyi princip illiustrirovaniia gruzinskoj rukopisnoi knigi XI–nachala XIII vv.*, pls. 1–35.



Fig. 16. SS. Pachomios the Great and Zechariah. Minor Synaxarion, NCM, MS A-648, 1030, fol. 56v.



Fig. 17. SS. Athanasios of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodotios, and Macarios. Minor Synaxarion, NCM, MS A-648, 1030, fol. 28v.

the healing of the centurion’s servant were left without labels. In addition, corresponding Greek texts in verse are written on some pages next to the scenes. The presence of Greek captions around the miniatures as well as the verse suggests that they were made by court artists—either Greeks or Georgians—who obviously had access to the finest Byzantine models.⁴⁴ Zacharia’s dedicatory colophon is also composed in Greek verse

44 Alibegashvili, *Khudozhestvennyi princip ilustrirovaniia gruzinskoj rukopisnoi knigi XI-nachala XIII vv.*, 19; Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at’onis kulturul-saganmanat’leblo keris istoriidan*, 181–88. On the

(fol. 71v). Its similarities to the poem in the *Menologion* of Basil II were observed long ago.⁴⁵

The quality of the miniatures of the *Synaxarion* oriented toward the Constantinopolitan liturgical-calendrical practice also suggests that they were done by

Menologion of Basil II, see F. D’Aiuto et al., *El Menologio de Basilio II: Libro de estudios con ocasión de la edición facsimil* (Madrid, 2008).

45 T. Q’aukhchishvili, “Zogi k’art’uli khelnatseris berdznuI minatseri” [Greek colophons of some Georgian manuscripts], *Minomkhillveli* [Observer] 2 (1951): 455–76, esp. 467–68; I. Ševčenko, “The Illuminators of the *Menologium* of Basil II,” *DOP* 16 (1962): 243–76, esp. 273–74. These two translations differ substantially.

artists connected with the Constantinopolitan scriptoria, mainly Greeks and also Georgians, who must have had Byzantine models at their disposal. The nobility of the faces and the delicate forms, as well as classic equilibrium in depicting emotion, speak to their adherence to metropolitan artistic principles.⁴⁶

According to the typology of metaphrastian Menologia gradually established during the past several decades,⁴⁷ the Minor Synaxarion belongs to group B of the illuminated Menologia—namely, the collections of the liturgical and calendrical order with miniatures, which present the yearly part with figures of the saints rather than scenes of their life or martyrdom. The iconography of the images in the Minor Synaxarion is considered to parallel miniatures of the manuscripts of the eleventh century, such as BAV, MS gr. 1156; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barocci 230; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS gr. 6; Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, MS gr. 580; and Sin. gr. 512.⁴⁸

The composition and style of the miniatures of the Minor Synaxarion have been compared to those of the Menologion of Basil II (BAV, MS gr. 1613).⁴⁹ Indeed, both manuscripts follow the Typicon of the

Great Church of Constantinople; both contain the Synaxarion versions of the *Life* and feasts with references to the corresponding readings.⁵⁰ Notwithstanding a significant difference in the relationship between the text and its illumination (while the Greek is meticulously matched, the placement of the Georgian in the text is relatively free and sometimes inappropriate), the principle that the relationship between the text and its illustrations is the basis for the creation of artistic integrity is equally strong in both manuscripts.⁵¹ At the same time, the miniatures of the Minor Synaxarion clearly bear the imprint of the new style emerging in the first half of the eleventh century.⁵²

The existence of a specific primary source cannot be ruled out in the case of Zacharia's Greek versified colophon added to the Minor Synaxarion (fol. 71v; fig. 18). However, it does not seem plausible that "Zacharia appropriated a poem which originally had been written for a manuscript ordered by another donor."⁵³ From the eleventh century onward an elaborate and refined style of nonliturgical poetry became widespread in Georgia and in Georgian centers outside the country. Evidence for this trend is found primarily in manuscripts, where the donor, compiler, or copyist frequently added colophons in iambic verses. For example, Ephrem Mtsire, a well-known theologian and translator of the second half of the eleventh century who was active at the Black Mountain and later became the hegumenos of the Kastana monastery near Antioch, composed Georgian verse epigrams to the Acts of the Apostles.⁵⁴ Several decades after the compilation of the Minor Synaxarion, the Georgian monk Ioane Tokhabi commissioned a hexptych icon at St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai and had Greek iambic poems in high rhetorical style placed on each of its wings.⁵⁵ Several ecclesiastic

46 The manuscript and its illumination are extensively discussed in Alibegashvili, *Khudozhestvennyi princip ilustrirovaniia gruzinskoj rukopisnoi knigi XI–nachala XIII vv.* 12–74, and Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie gruzinskoj rukopisnoi knigi IX–XI stoletii*, 147–50.

47 A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1937–52), 1:306–709, 2:689–92; S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Metaphrastian Menologium," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), 223–31, reprinted in idem, *Études byzantines et arméniennes* (Louvain, 1973), 129–38; Mijović, *Menolog*, 188–222; H. Deliyanni-Doris, "Ἰστορημένα χειρόγραφα τοῦ Μενολογίου τοῦ Συμεῶν Μεταφραστῆ (Ταχινόμητη τῶν χειρογράφων—Ἐκδόσεις τοῦ Μενολογίου," *Παρουσία* 1 (1982): 275–313; N. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago, 1990), 1–6, 181–207; H. Deliyanni-Doris, "Menologion," *RBK* 6.41–42 (1997): 124–218.

48 K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago, 1971), 209–10, 251–52, 256–57, 295–97, figs. 192, 235–38, 243–44, 297–99; Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion*, 11–23.

49 Facsimile editions: *Il Menologio di Basilio II (cod. Vaticano greco 1613)*, ed. P. Franchi De' Cavalieri, *Codices e Vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi* 8 (Turin, 1907), and *El "Menologio" de Basilio II Emperador de Bizancio (Vat. gr. 1613)*, *Codices e Vaticanis selecti: Series maior* 64, *Colección Scriptorium* 27 (Madrid, 2005). See also H. Evans and D. Wilson, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and*

Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261 (New York, 1997), 100–101, cat. N55.

50 Alibegashvili, *Khudozhestvennyi princip ilustrirovaniia gruzinskoj rukopisnoi knigi XI–nachala XIII vv.*, 20, 22–23.

51 Ibid., 20.

52 On this style in general, see K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," in his *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, 271–313, esp. 271–80.

53 Ševčenko, "Illuminators of the Menologium," 274, n. 97.

54 Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte* (n. 4 above), 198.

55 W. Horandner, A. Rhoby, and A. Paul, *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, vol. 2, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (Vienna, 2010), 50–61 (with

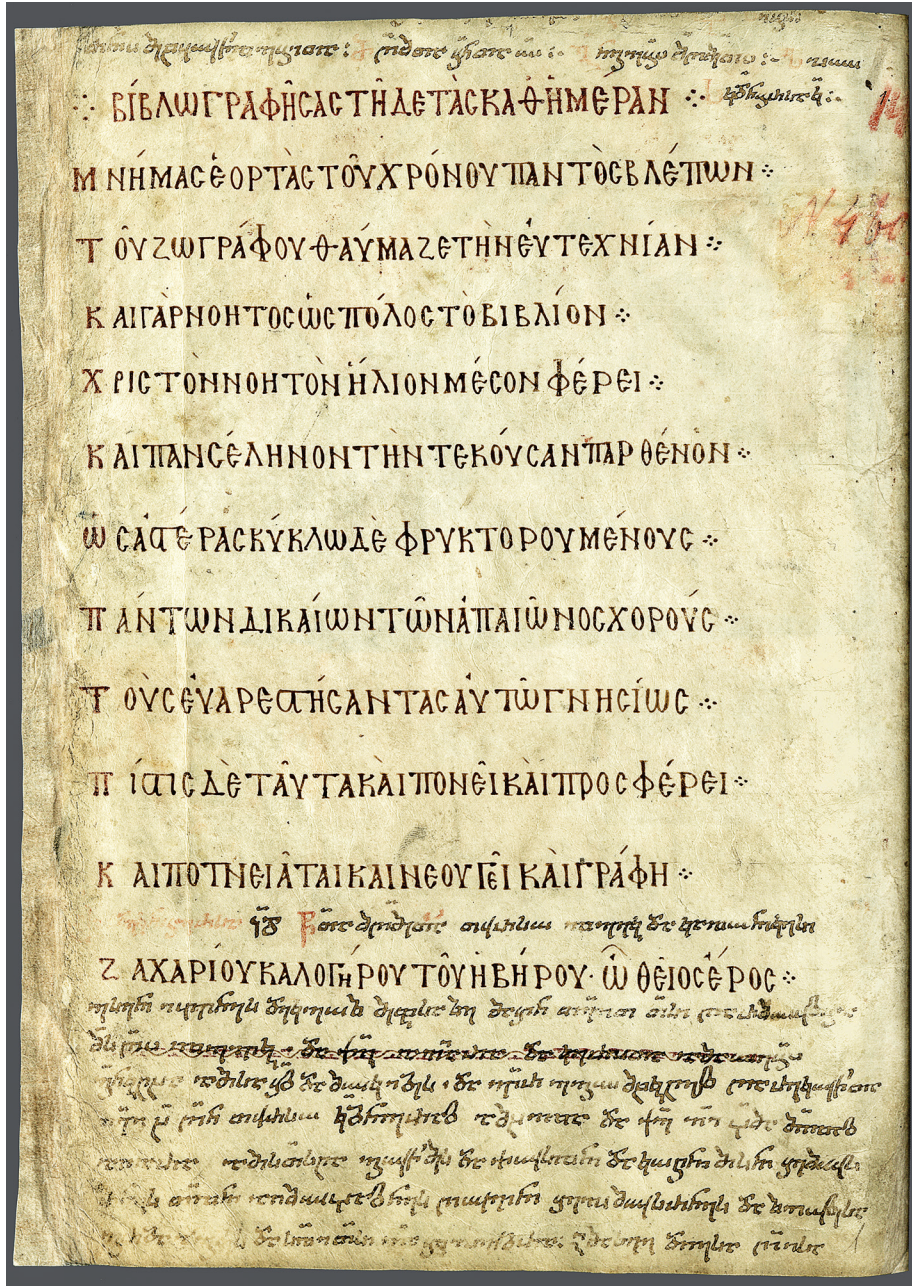


Fig. 18.
Greek poem. Minor
Synaxarion, NCM, MS
A-648, 1030, fol. 71v.

writers active in Constantinople in 1080s, the hieromonk Theophilos, Arsen Vachesdze, and Ioane Petritsi, were also compiling iambic and acrostic verses.⁵⁶

While he was archbishop of Bana, Zacharia stayed at Agiapantos, a Constantinopolitan monastery (near the Church of the Holy Apostles) called in Georgian *Q'ovelta Tsmidata*, “Of All Saints.”⁵⁷ It may

earlier bibliography); see also Z. Skhirtladze, “The Image of the Virgin on Sinai Hexptych and the Apse Mosaic of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople,” *DOP* 68 (2014): 68–69.

56 K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian literature], vol. 1, 5th ed. (Tbilisi, 1980), 273–307.

57 Several Byzantine seals from the first half of the eleventh century are inscribed Ὑ ἅγιοι πάντες [sic]: *DOSeals* 5:123, no. 66.1. They presumably come from this monastery, situated near the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: G. Downey, “The Church of

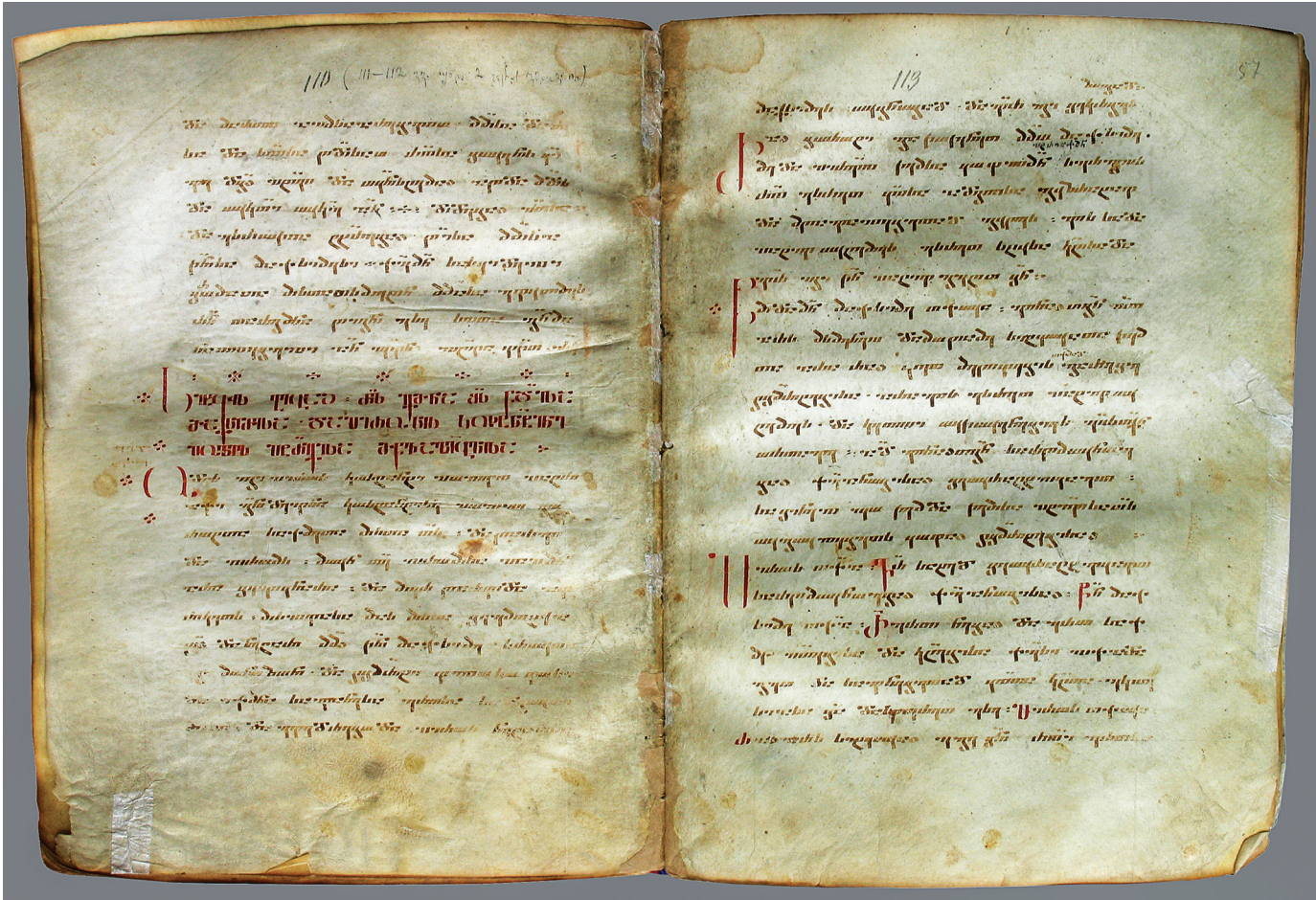


Fig. 19. Works of St. Maximus the Confessor. NCM, MS Q-34, ca. 1031, fols. 56v–57r.

have been granted to him as a benefice (*charistikion*) by Romanos III in 1030–1031, when the Georgian queen Maria, mother of King Bagrat IV, and Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia Melchisedek I (1010–1033) visited the capital of Byzantium. In 1030, during his residence in the Agiapantos monastery, Zacharia ordered Isaac, a monk in the Georgian monastery of the Mother of God in Bithynian Olympus, to copy some works

of St. Maximus the Confessor in St. Euthymios the Hagiorite’s translation (NCM, MS Q-34; fig. 19).⁵⁸

Two more manuscripts commissioned by Zacharia were produced in the capital, though the scriptorium in which they were created has not yet been established. These are *Collection of Homilies of St. Gregory*

All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,” *DOP* 9/10 (1956): 301–5; W. Müller-Wiener, “Zur Lage der Allerheiligen-Kirche in Konstantinopel,” in *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. M. Kandler et al. (Vienna, 1985), 333–35. It might be that the seals belonged to Zacharia, who had them made in connection with his ordination as abbot of the monastery: Kldiashvili, “Konstantinopols monastrebi” (n. 9 above), 515–21.

58 I. Abuladze, ed., *K’art’ul khelnatsert’a aghtseriloba, Q kolektsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection Q], vol. 1, comp. E. Metreveli and K. Sharashidze (Tbilisi, 1957), 36–38; Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at’onis kulturul-saganmanat’leblo keris istoriidan*, 157. The manuscript NCM Q-34 is datable to ca. 1031, since its colophon mentions the emperor Romanos and names Zacharia “bishop of Bana and synkellos.” The copyist of the manuscript, Isaac Mankaneli, under the donorship of Father Gregory, in 1030, “when the emperor Romanos had a military campaign against the Saracens” (i.e., the campaign of 1030 in Syria against the Seljuks), copied the treatises (Epistles and Homilies) of St. Macarios of Egypt translated by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (Ath. Georg. 21, fol. 237v).



Fig. 20. *Collection of Homilies of St. Gregory the Theologian*, NCM, MS A-1, 1031, fol. 1r.



Fig. 21. *Collection of Homilies of St. Gregory the Theologian*, NCM, Tbilisi, MS A-1, 1031, fol. 96v.

the Theologian (NCM, MS A-1; figs. 20 and 21), which seems to have been copied in 1031,⁵⁹ and *Gospels, Acts, and Epistles* (KSHM, MS K-176), copied while Zacharia held the see of Bana (i.e., after 1030; fig. 22).⁶⁰

59 Metreveli, *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba*, *A koleksia*, vol. 1.1 (n. 32 above), 7–17 (A-1), 53 (A-16); Amiranashvili, *Gruzinskaia miniatiura* (n. 42 above), 19, pls. 26–27. The end of NCM, MS A-1 is now lost and its original colophon does not survive. However, a copy made in 1739 (NCM, MS A-16) contains the text of the old colophon: Peeters, “Un manuscrit byzantin” (n. 9 above), 275–76. In addition, the translator, St. Euthymios the Hagiorite; the donor, Archbishop Zacharia; and the copyist, Basil Malushidze, are mentioned in numerous scribal notes (pp. 75, 95, 124, 149, 175, 257, 373, 483, 496, 698, 754, 844).

60 K. Kekelidze, ed., *K'ut'aisi sakbelmtsip'o istoriuli muzeumis Kart'ul khelnatsert'a aghtresiloba* [Description of manuscripts of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum], vol. 1, comp. E. Nikoladze (Tbilisi, 1953), 331–32, esp. 332.

All the aforementioned manuscripts contain translations by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite, and five of them were copied by Basil Malushidze, nicknamed Etratai (Parchment). The identical handwriting and the stylistic unity of the ornamental decoration make it clear that he was both scribe and illuminator, as was often the case in Byzantium and Georgia. A single manuscript was copied by Isaac (NCM, MS Q-34), apparently while Basil was busy with another volume.

These manuscripts are of the finest quality, corresponding to the highest level of eleventh-century Byzantine imperial art. All are decorated only with headpieces and initial letters, except for the *Minor Synaxarion*, which contains figural miniatures of exceptional artistic excellence.

Zacharia's patronage reveals his high intellectual aspirations, multiple interests, and refined taste. He exemplifies the characteristics of the byzantinizing



Fig. 22. *Gospels, Acts, and Epistles*, KSHM, MS K-176, 1031, fols. 103v–104r. Photo courtesy of the KSHM.

Georgian culture in his time as manifested in Byzantium and its Caucasian marches.

Mid-Eleventh Century

The Georgian manuscripts created in Constantinople in the mid-eleventh century display a similarity to the Greek manuscripts produced in the city in the same period and are considered as part of the same circle. These are richly illuminated devotional codices containing translations by St. Euthymios and George the Hagiorites, made by professional calligraphers and illuminators for the members of the Georgian royal court and members of the Georgian clergy and secular aristocratic elite in Byzantium.

Several illuminated Georgian Gospels that belong to the circle of the capital have reached us from the '50s

and '60s of the eleventh century. It is not always possible to reconstruct their history, but their colophons do provide some information. Among these manuscripts are four Gospels copied and richly illuminated in the Georgian monasteries of the Black Mountain and Constantinople—NCM, MS A-484; Vaticanus Ibericus 1; NCM, MS S-962; and SHM, Shchyukin 760. The decorative design of this group is connected in turn to the circle of so-called Greek-Georgian Gospel books, which also includes Sin. gr. 158 and Athens gr. 76.⁶¹ The similarities among these manuscripts are the

61 E. Dobrynina, “Neizvestnaia gruzinskaia litsevaia rukopis' iz Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzaia (Shchyuk. 760)” [The unknown Georgian illuminated manuscript from the State Historical Museum (Shchyuk. 760)], in “Gathering in Honour of G. Z. Bykova,” special issue, *Chrysograph* 1 (2003): 259–307, at 260–64; A. Saminsky, “Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch,” in

result of close contacts between the Black Mountain and the monastic scriptoria of Constantinople, Mount Athos, Jerusalem, and Tao-Klarjeti.⁶² As for the Black Mountain, namely the Lavra of the Mother of God in Kalipos, the school of miniature painting—and hence the tradition of book illumination—was not established there. The local scriptorium was focused instead on copying the newly translated treatises, as well as on the production and dissemination of the manuscripts.⁶³

The literary activity of Georgians in the vicinity of Antioch was shaped by the growing political and cultural impact of Byzantium, as well as the upswelling of literary activity in the Georgian monasteries of the region by the mid-eleventh century. A significant share of Georgian manuscripts newly translated in the monasteries of the Black Mountain would have been copied with the intent that they be sent to Georgia, as well as to the Georgian monastic centers of Byzantium and the Christian East (especially the monasteries of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem and Iviron on Mount Athos). Others—mainly precious codices—served commercial purposes; they seem to have been copied and then illuminated on special order for personal use. Among the latter are the richly illuminated Gospels of the city circle copied in the scriptorium of the Lavra of the Mother of God at Kalipos on the Black Mountain. By that period, the text version of St. George the Hagiorite’s translation of the Four Gospels was being copied and disseminated from the Black Mountain: “The God-serving King Bagrat learned that the translation of the holy books

had been completed and that the churches of the Black Mountain had been irrigated by the soul-enlightening rivers of these books, since they had been copied at all the monasteries [of the Black Mountain]. The greatest effort [in the copying of the manuscripts] was on the part of blessed by soul Anthony, former [i.e., formerly named] Liparit, [who] ordered copies for his monastery of St. Barlaam and rendered great honor to the holy monk and comforted [St. George the Athonite] and established an income from his monastery and wrote a proof by his own hand.”⁶⁴

The text of the Gospels copied during that period in the Georgian monastic center, the Lavra of the Mother of God of Kalipos in the vicinity of Antioch, reflects the different stages of the Gospel’s recension by St. George the Hagiorite, who worked on his translations on the Black Mountain at different times. The commission, copying, or decoration of those codices is connected with the activities of the Dvali family—a group of benefactors, scribes, and calligrapher-decorators connected by blood ties who were active in the mid-eleventh century. The colophons of the manuscripts produced on the Black Mountain, in Jerusalem, and in Constantinople confirm that this group actively sought to obtain, copy, and distribute in the Georgian ecclesiastic centers in Jerusalem, Mount Athos, and Constantinople the versions translated by St. George the Hagiorite on the Black Mountain.

The lavishly illuminated Four Gospels copied in 1054 in the Lavra of the Mother of God of Kalipos, known as the Alaverdi Gospel, is also connected to the activity of Dvali scribes and decorator-calligraphers (NCM, MS A-484; figs. 23–25) and is clearly distinguishable by its quality of execution and artistic merits.⁶⁵ The affinity between the Alaverdi Four

Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality, ed. K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (Louvain, 2006), 17–32.

62 B. Outtier, “Evsevis epistolisa da sakharebis ‘sastsaulebis’ udzvelesi k’art’uli versiebi” [The ancient Georgian versions of the “Epistula ad Carpianum” by Eusebius of Caesaria and the lists of the “miracles” in the New Testament], *Mravalt’avi, Proceedings of Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts* 17 (1992): 119.

63 Saminsky, “Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch”; A. Saminsky, “Illuminated Manuscripts from Kalipos in the Perspective of Byzantine Art,” *Mravalt’avi, Proceedings of Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts* 25 (2017): 261–76. Nino K’avt’aria has written about the “Antiochene artistic school”; she observes that in the manuscripts connected to the Antiochene circle, the canon table system, as well as the representation of the Leaved Cross, is of local origin (“Antioch’iis k’art’uli memkvidreoba: XI saukunis mkhatvrulad gap’ormebuli ot’kht’avebi” [Georgian heritage in Antioch: Eleventh-century illuminated Four Gospels], in *Bizantinologia sak’art’veloshi* 3 [Byzantinology in Georgia 3], ed. N. Makharadze and N. Sulava [Tbilisi, 2011], 622–45).

64 George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giorgi Mt’atsmindelisi” (n. 7 above), 155; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos* (n. 7 above), 130.

65 The manuscript has been known since the mid-nineteenth century. See P. Ioseliani, *Putevye zametki po Kakheti* [Travel notes on Kakheti] (Tbilisi, 1846), 63–68; A. Murav’ev, *Gruzii i Armeniia* [Georgia and Armenia] (Moscow, 1848), 189; M. Brosset, *Rapports sur une voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l’Arménie*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1849–51), I^c Livraison, Première rapport, 70; III^c Livraison, Onzième rapport, 32–33; D. Bakradze, “Kavkaz v drevnikh pamiatnikakh khristianstva” [Caucasus through the ancient monument of Christianity], *Zapiski Obshchestva liubiteli kavkazskoi arkheologii* [Proceedings of the Society of Amateurs of Caucasian Archaeology] 1 (1875): 23; P. Karbelashvili, “Alaverdskoe pergamentnoe chetveroevangelie XI veka” [Alaverdi Parchment Four Gospels



Fig. 23. Canon table. Alaverdi Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-484, 1054–1059, fol. 9r.



Fig. 24. Image of the Calvary Cross with the colophon of one of the scribes, Simeon Dvali. Alaverdi Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-484, 1054–1059, fol. 9v.

of the eleventh century], *Dukhovnyi vestnik gruzinskogo ekzarkhata* [Spiritual Messenger of Georgian Ekzarkhat] 9–10 (1897): 15–22; E. Metreveli, “Shavi mt’is mtsignobruli keris istoriist’vis XI saukunis pirvel nakhevarshi” [Concerning the history of the literary center of the Black Mountain in the first half of the eleventh century], *Sak’artvelos sakhelmtsip’o muzeumis moambe* [Proceedings of the State Museum of Georgia] 20 (1959): 85–104, esp. 89; W. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, CSCO 372, Subsidia 48 (Louvain, 1976), 12–20. The illumination of the MS is discussed in Gordeev, “Miniatury drevnegruzinskikh litsevykh rukopisei Sionskogo drevnekhranilishcha” (n. 42 above), 91–94, and R. Shmerling, *Obraztsy dekonativnogo ubranstva gruzinskikh rukopisei* [Examples of the decoration of Georgian manuscripts] (Tbilisi, 1940), 46, pls. 2–5. For relatively comprehensive studies, see Amiranashvili, *Gruzinskaia miniatiura*, 20–21, and, especially, Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie gruzinskoi rukopisnoi knigi IX–XI stoletii*, 147–50, 190–91, 222–23. See also H. Nickel, “Das Tetraevangeliar von Alaverdi und Tetraevangeliar von Gotha: Eine Malerschule des 11. Jahrhunderts in

Gospels and Constantinopolitan circles in the character of its illumination was recognized long ago.⁶⁶ The style of execution of the portraits of the Evangelists

Konstantinopl,” in *II International Symposium on Georgian Art* (n. 42 above), 1–12; G. Alibegashvili, “Les étapes du développement de la miniature géorgienne médiévale,” in *IV International Symposium on Georgian Art* (Tbilisi, 1983), 8–9; Z. Skhirtladze, “Canonizing the Apocrypha: The Abgar Cycle in the Alaverdi and Gelati Gospels,” in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. H. L. Kessler and G. Wolf, Villa Spelman Colloquia 6 (Bologna, 1998), 76–80, 86–93; Saminsky, “Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch,” 17–32.

⁶⁶ Amiranashvili, *Gruzinskaia miniatiura*, 20–21; R. Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennyi printsip illustrirovaniia gruzinskoi rukopisnoi knigi IX–XI stoletii* [Artistic principles of the illumination of ninth- to eleventh-century Georgian manuscripts], vol. 2 (Tbilisi, 1979), 148; V. Lazarev, *Istoriia vizantiiskoi zhivopisi*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1986), 86.



Fig. 25. The beginning of the Gospel of St. Matthew. Alaverdi Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-484, 1054–1059, fols. 14v–15r.

have led scholars to judge that they were painted by a Constantinopolitan artist.⁶⁷

The text of the codex is one of the early versions of the Four Gospels edited by St. George the Hagiorite. According to the colophons (fols. 100r, 242v, 323v, and esp. 284v and 311v–314r), the main text was copied during the reigns of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos and King and Novelissimos Bagrat IV, during the patriarchate of Peter, patriarch of Antioch, with funds donated by the priest Simeon. The text was copied by Simeon, George, and John Dvalis.⁶⁸ The *Life* of St. George the Hagiorite and colophons of the

Georgian manuscripts make clear that at that time, the Georgian monasteries and monks near Antioch were receiving substantial material support from the Georgian royal court and noblemen.⁶⁹ Simeon, a benefactor and the scribe of the two manuscripts of the Four Gospels of St. George the Hagiorite's recension (NCM, MS A-484; BAV, MS Iber. 1), supposedly accompanied King Bagrat IV's mother, Queen Maria, and St. George the Hagiorite, who visited Antioch on their journey from Constantinople to Jerusalem around 1054. Simeon's main aim was to obtain the protographs of the treatises newly translated by St. George the Hagiorite. Later (ca. 1054–1056) with the same purpose he accompanied St. George the Hagiorite to Jerusalem, traveling there from Antioch at the request of Queen Maria in order to support the newly rebuilt Georgian monastery

67 Saminsky, "Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch," 262.

68 See the Georgian text of the colophons with English translation in Djbadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries*, 12–20. For the critical edition of this and other colophons of the manuscript, see E. Metreveli, ed., *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba, A kolektsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection A], vol. 2.1, compiled by T. Bregadze et al. (Tbilisi, 1986), 316.

69 George Mtsire, "Tskhorebai Giorgi Mt'atsmindelisai," 144–45, 155; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos*, 123–24.



Fig. 26. The colophon of the scribe. Alaverdi Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-484, 1054–1059, fols. 315v–316r.

of the Holy Cross.⁷⁰ This journey coincides with a note in the colophon of the Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Iber. 1 (fols. 289r–v), in which Simeon names St. George the Hagiorite and Iovane Dvali as his spiritual teachers.

The long colophon on fols. 314v–316r recounts the subsequent fate of the manuscript. It explains that the

manuscript, created under the sponsorship of Simeon, appeared in Constantinople shortly after being copied and became the property of the family of the enemy of King Bagrat IV—Kouropalatēs Liparit Baghuashi, the Protoarchontos and Proedros (fig. 26). Liparit was a nobleman close to the emperor Constantine IX; after his defeat by the Georgian king in 1057 and his expulsion from Georgia to Constantinople, he became a monk under the name Anton and continued his activities on the Black Mountain wand in Constantinople. Shortly before his death in 1064, during the abbotship of Theodore, Liparit visited Mount Athos and delivered a large donation to the brethren of the Iviron monastery—therefore, after his death the most honorable *agape* “for the builder” was established for his soul.⁷¹

70 The *Life* of St. George the Hagiorite describes a visit of Queen Maria and her retinue on their journey from Constantinople to Antioch in the period between 1054 and 1056. During this visit, the queen became his spiritual daughter and took a monastic vow. For safety reasons, Maria could not visit Jerusalem to worship the sanctities of the Holy Land and to offer a large donation to the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross then under construction, as she wished to do. Her aim was fulfilled by St. George the Hagiorite, together with one of his pupils (perhaps the priest Simeon). The builder of the monastery, St. Prokhore the Georgian, asked St. George the Hagiorite to share the “first fruits” of his translation work with the newly built monastery. See George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giosgi Mt’atsmindelisi,” 144–45; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos*, 123–24.

71 H. Metreveli, *At’onis kart’velt’a monastris saaghape tsigni* [The commemorative book of the Georgian monastery of Mount Athos] (Tbilisi, 1982), 211–12.



Fig. 27. King Abgar handing to a messenger his letter to Christ; the beginning of the text of the Legend. Alaverdi Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-484, 1054–1059, fols. 316v–317r.

He is known to have facilitated the copying of a number of manuscripts in the monastery of St. Barlaam on the Black Mountain, and at the same time he sponsored the translation activity of St. George the Hagiorite.⁷² Apparently, in the period between 1054/57 and 1059 the text of the Four Gospels copied under the donorship of Simeon in the Kalipos Lavra of the Mother of God was bound into a lavish cover and richly illuminated at the expense of Liparit and Ivane Baghuashis; the canon tables, the image of the cross with leaves spreading from its base on the frontispiece, and the portraits of the evangelists (see figs. 23–25), as well as ornamental headpieces and initial letters, were created in one of the art workshops of Constantinople.⁷³ The apocryphal corre-

spondence of King Abgar and Christ, which is added to the Four Gospels on fols. 317r–324r at the end, after the colophons, is especially richly illuminated. Unlike the text of the Four Gospels written in the ordinary handwriting of the Nuskhuri script and decorated only in the initial letters, the apocryphal correspondence is in beautiful uncial Asomt'avruli script with initial letters written in gold and illustrated by five miniatures of exceptional artistic merit (fols. 316v–317r [fig. 27]: Abgar handing a letter to his messenger; fol. 318r [fig. 28]: Christ writing a letter to Abgar, with the seven letters/seals and their explanation appearing on fol. 319v [fig. 29]; fol. 320v: image of the Mandylyon; fol. 321v

72 “Matiane k’art’lisa,” in S. Q’aukhchishvili, ed., *K’art’lis Tskhovreba* [The Georgian chronicle], vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 1955), 305; George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giorgi Mt’atsmindelisai,” 155; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos*, 130.

73 A characteristic example of the widespread practice of illuminating MSS copied earlier is the Four Gospels copied in 995 in Tbet’i monastery in Tao-Klarjeti (Saint-Petersburg, The National

Library of Russia, MS Gruz. 212)—it was illuminated with miniatures and canon tables produced in Constantinople in the early eleventh and early twelfth centuries and ordered by Samuel, bishop of Tbet’i. See A. Saminskii, “Konstantinopol’skoe ukrashenie pervogo Tbet’skogo Evangeliya v nachale XI i v pervye desatiletiya XII v.” [The Constantinopolitan illumination of the first Gospels of Tbeti in the beginning of the eleventh and first decades of the twelfth century], *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* [Byzantina Chronica] 71 (2012): 200–211.



Fig. 28. Christ writing a reply to King Abgar. Alaverdi Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-484, 1054–1059, fol. 318r.

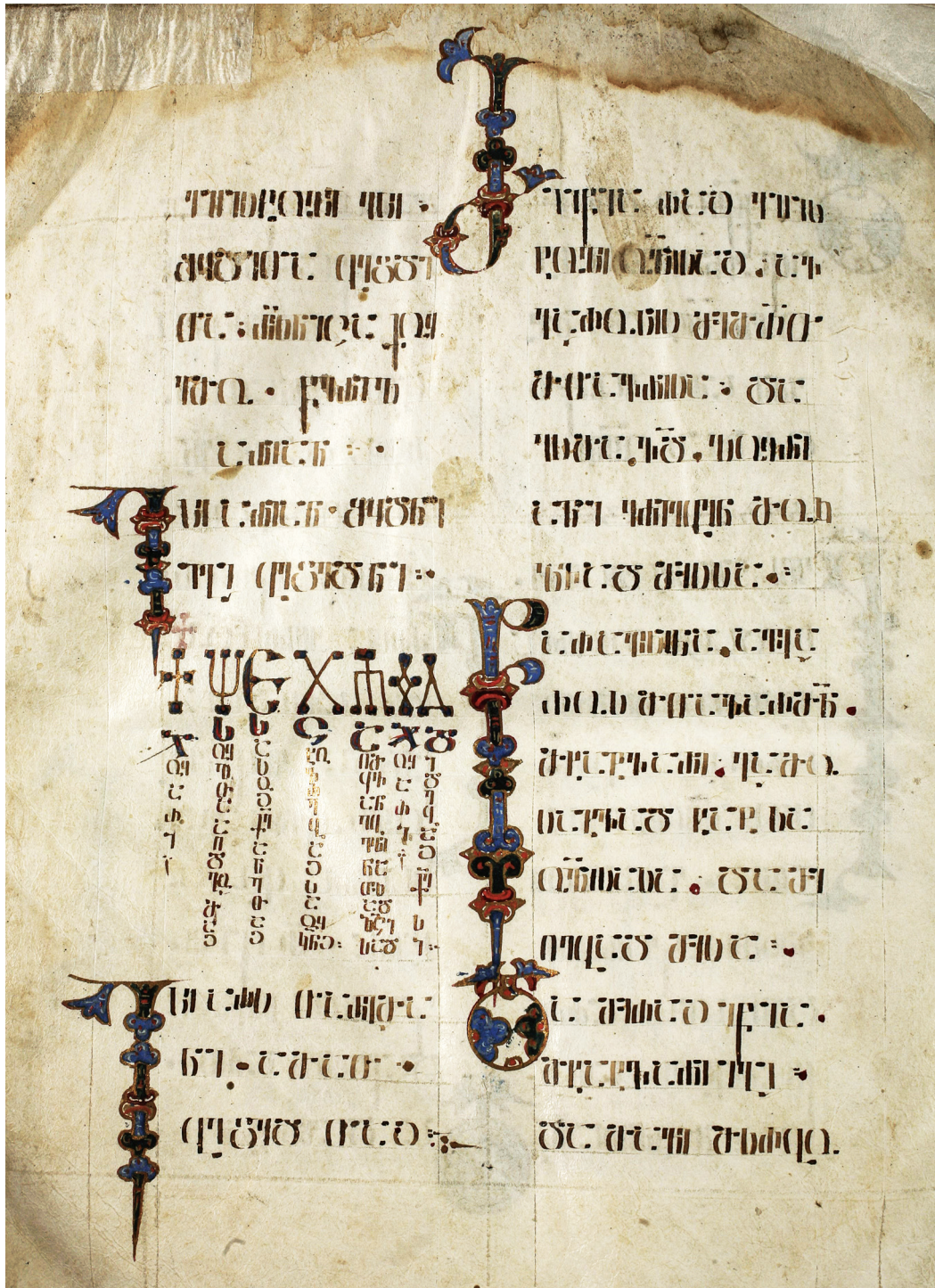


Fig. 29. The text of the correspondance between Christ and King Abgar, with the letters/seals and their explanation. Alaverdi Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-484, 1054–1059, fol. 319v.

Fig. 30.
The view of Hierapolis
with a fiery pillar on
the spot where the
Mandylion was hidden.
Alaverdi Four Gospels,
NCM, MS A-484,
1054–1059, fol. 321v.



[fig. 30]: the gateway of Hierapolis; fol. 323r: Thaddeus baptizing Abgar).⁷⁴ In 1059 a representative of Liparit's family, Proedros Ivane, brought the manuscript from Constantinople to Georgia and, along with other valuables, donated it to the Katskhi family monastery in western Georgia (fol. 324r [fig. 31]). The manuscript was named after its last location, Alaverdi Cathedral, where it would remain in the late Middle Ages.

74 Skhirtladze, "Canonizing the Apocrypha," 79–80.

Another codex (Vatican, Iber. 1) was copied personally for the monk Simeon by the deacon Michael.⁷⁵ The place where the manuscript was copied is not indicated in the colophon. The scribe notes in the introductory part of his dedicatory colophon that the manuscript was copied "with the intercession of the

75 Outtier, "Evsevis epistolisa da saxarebis 'sastsauleb' udzvelesi k'art'uli versiebi," 117–24, esp. 119; F. D'Aiuto et al., *I Vangeli dei popoli: La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia* (Vatican City, 2000), 164–67, cat. no. 17.

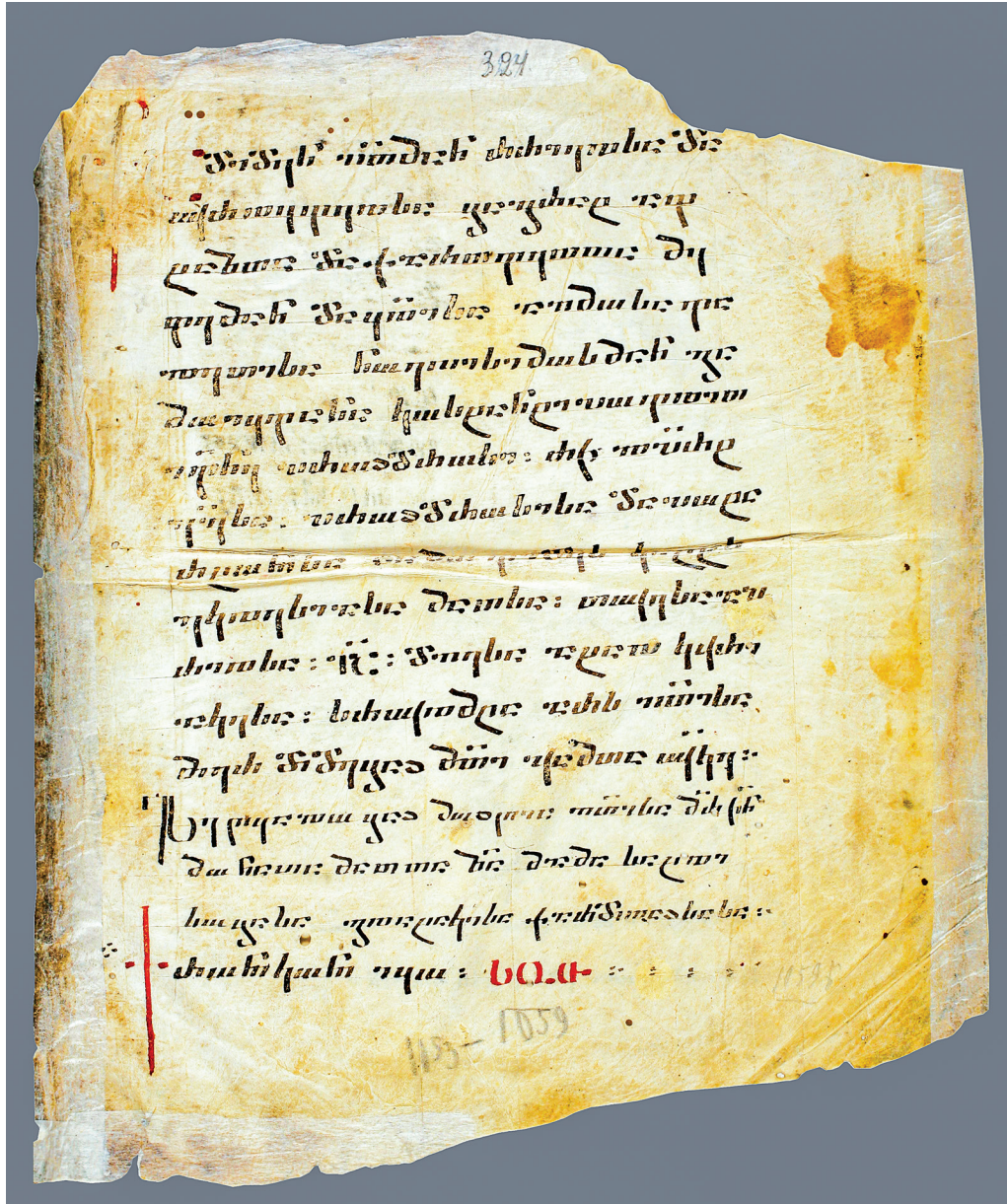


Fig. 31. The colophon praising Proedros Ivane. Alaverdi Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-484, 1054–1059, fol. 324r.

most holy Mother of God, with the might of the Life-Giving and Holy Cross, with the grace and through the intercession of holy archangels, through the intercession of St. John the Baptist and the four evangelists, and holy and most praised apostles, and by the grace [of the wholly revered Father Simeon the Stylite] and [Saint and blessed] mother Martha” (fols. 289r–v). It is possible that Michael, by that time the deacon of the monastery of the Holy Cross, copied this manuscript in Jerusalem. The codex was intended for Simeon’s personal use. The Four Gospels are prefaced by the letter

of Eusebius and canon tables of artistic design (fig. 32), not accompanied by miniatures of the evangelists. The text is decorated with headpieces and endings in burgundy and dark blue paint (fig. 33). The variety and the abundance of the colored initial letters catch the reader’s attention (especially in the beginning of the manuscript, namely the canon tables and the initial letters of the text of the Gospel of Matthew, presumably executed by Simeon Dvali; fig. 34); these, along with the artistic solution of the canon tables, bear a striking resemblance to the Gospels copied in the monasteries of

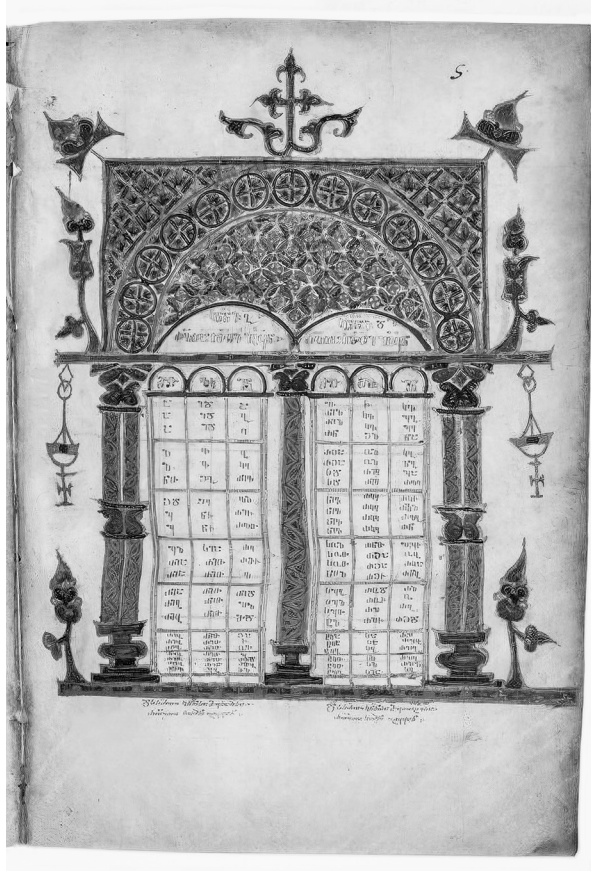


Fig. 32. Canon table. Vat. Iber. 1, mid-eleventh c., fol. 5r. Photo courtesy of the NCM.

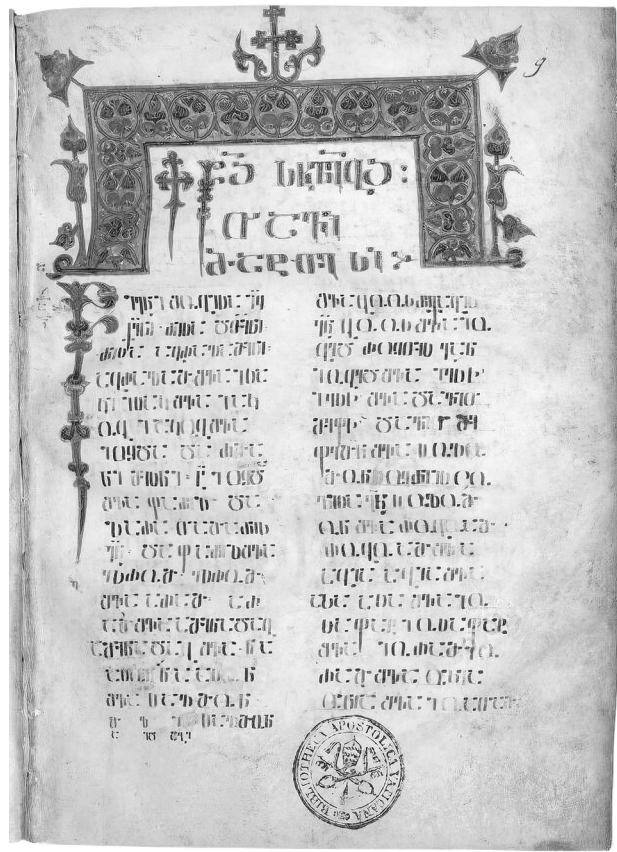


Fig. 33. The beginning of the Gospel of St. Matthew. Vat. Iber. 1, mid-eleventh c., fol. 9r. Photo courtesy of the NCM.

Kalipos on the Black Mountain and in Constantinople in the 1050s and 1060s.

The scribe of the Vatican manuscript, the deacon Michael Dvali, is known from some other manuscripts copied at that time in Jerusalem and on the Black Mountain. After the Alaverdi Four Gospels, these include the second Four Gospels copied by Michael ca. 1054, MS S-962 preserved in the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (figs. 35–38).⁷⁶ Though the place of production of this manuscript remains unknown, the style of the illumination—similar to that of the Alaverdi Four Gospels, Vatican Iber. 1, and NCM, MS

S-962—has led scholars to conclude that it, too, was copied and illuminated in Kalipos.⁷⁷

Michael Dvali is known not only from NCM, MS A-484, Vatican MS Iber. 1, and NCM, MS S-962, but also from some other manuscripts copied at that time in Jerusalem. According to the colophons of those manuscripts, he belonged to the group of scholars and

⁷⁷ Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie gruzinskoj rukopisnoj knigi IX–XI stoletii*, 151–53; D. Kldiashvili, “Kalipos,” in *Pravoslavnaia Bogoslovskaia Entsiklopediia* [Orthodox theological encyclopedia], vol. 29 (Moscow, 2017), 492–93; T. Otkhmezuri, “Antioki’iis regionis k’art’uli mtsignobruli protsesebis rekonstruktsiist’vis—kninodenit’gha gamoiskhlvit’a gichuenot’ gemoi mdinarisa didisa” [Toward the reconstruction of Georgian scholarly activity in the Antioch region—“A sip is sufficient to know the taste of the water of a great river”], *Mravalt’avi, Proceedings of Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts* 26 (2019): 352–53. See also Saminsky, “Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch,” 19–25; idem, “The Illuminated Manuscripts from Kalipos” (n. 63 above), 262.

⁷⁶ Metreveli, *K’art’ul khelnatsert’ a aghtsderiloba, S kolektsia*, vol. 1 (n. 35 above), 626–27.

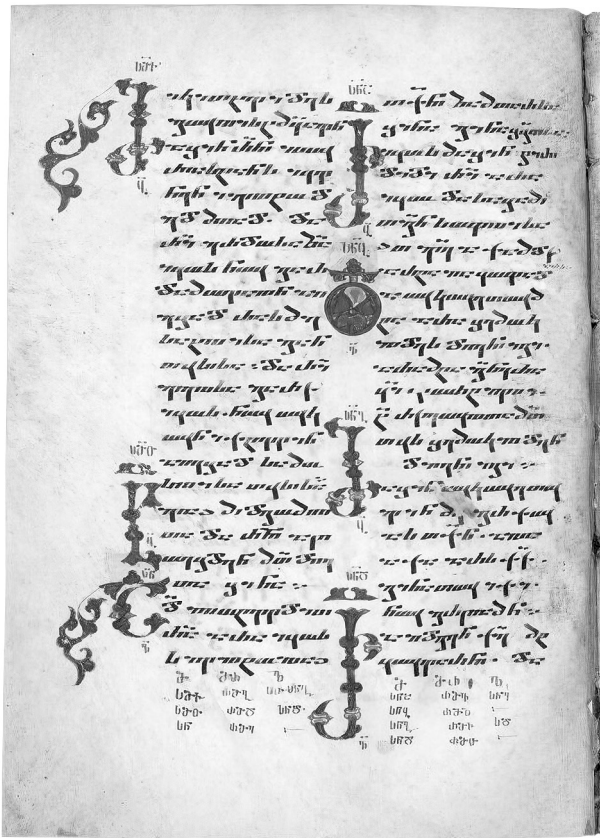


Fig. 34. The text copied by Simeon Dvali. Vat. Iber. 1, mid-eleventh c., fol. 72v. Photo courtesy of the NCM.

scribes active in Jerusalem that was deeply involved in the process of supporting the library of the newly built monastery of the Holy Cross, equipping it with the newly translated treatises as well as producing its manuscripts. The priest Michael Dvali and his father, the monk Iovane Dvali, who was the copyist of the Alaverdi Four Gospels, are mentioned in the colophons of several other manuscripts. One of these is the *Life* and the homilies of St. Basil the Great copied and bound by Michael and Iovane for the monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem in 1055 (Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem, MS Georg. 14, fol. 492r).⁷⁸ Two copies of the commentaries of St. John

78 R. Blake, “Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem,” *ROC*, ser. 3, 3 (23):3–4 (1922–23): 380–85; E. Metreveli, “Jer. 14 khelnatseris anderdzis gagebis’vis” [On the interpretation of one colophon of MS Jer. 14],

Chrysostom on the Gospel of St. John are also connected to Michael: the text written in Asomt’avruli that follows the colophon of the scribe makes it clear that Michael edited the copy made by Michael Chikhuareli (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg, MS M13 [M45/G157, fol. 487r]).⁷⁹ In another copy commissioned by Leonti Mroveli, the archbishop of Ruisi (in eastern Georgia)—a well-known Georgian chronicler, the compiler of *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (The Chronicle of Georgia), produced in Jerusalem between 1050 and the 1060s—Michael is mentioned as a scribe (Ath. Georg. 16, fol. 389v).⁸⁰

One more manuscript assigned because of its artistic features to the group of illuminated codices of the Kalipos monastic scriptorium is the lavishly illuminated Four Gospels of the Moscow State Historical Museum. It was copied, then illustrated and bound in the *hesychasterion* of the Georgian Hromana Monastery near Constantinople in 1070.⁸¹

The manuscript production of the Georgian Hromana monastery of Constantinople during 1060s

in his *P’ilologiur-istoriuli dziebani* [Philological and historical studies] (Tbilisi, 2007), 290–93.

79 ქრისტე, შეიწყალე მღდელი მიქაელ დვალი, რომელმან გარდაწამებასა ამის წიგნისასა ფრად იღვაწა (Christ, have mercy on the priest Michael Dvali, who worked hard on the comparing of this book [with the original]).

80 Blake, “Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d’Ivion” (n. 14 above), 361; T. Tseradze and L. Khoperia, eds., *Ruset’is metsnierbat’a akademiis aghmosavlur khelnatsert’a sasuliero shinaarsis kart’ul khelnatsert’a aghstseriloba* [Description of Georgian manuscripts of ecclesiastic content of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences] (Tbilisi, 2016), 353.

81 Dobrynina, “Neizvestnaia gruzinskaia litsevaia rukopis” (n. 61 above); I. Sterligova, “Chekannyi oklad gruzinskogo Tetraevangeliia (GIM, Shchyuk. 760)” [Chased cover of the Georgian Four Gospels (SHM, Shchyuk. 760)], in “Gathering in Honour of G. Z. Bykova” (n. 61 above), 308–20; Saminsky, “Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch”; D. Kldiashvili, “Gareja—Konstantinopoli: T’eodore garejeli mier romanas monastiris kart’ul skriptoriumshi 1070 stels gadatserili ot’kht’avi” [Gareja—Constantinople: The Four Gospels copied in 1070 by T’eodore Garejeli in the Georgian scriptorium of the Hromana monastery], *Sakart’velos Sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities] 7–8 (2005): 143–67; idem, “Kart’uli aristokratia konstantinopolshi: Heret’isa da kakhet’is mmart’velebi” [Georgian aristocracy in Constantinople: Rulers of the Kakheti and Hereti], in *Bizantinologia sakart’veloshi—2* [Byzantinology in Georgia—2], ed. N. Makharadze and M. Giorgadze, vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 2009), 321–34.

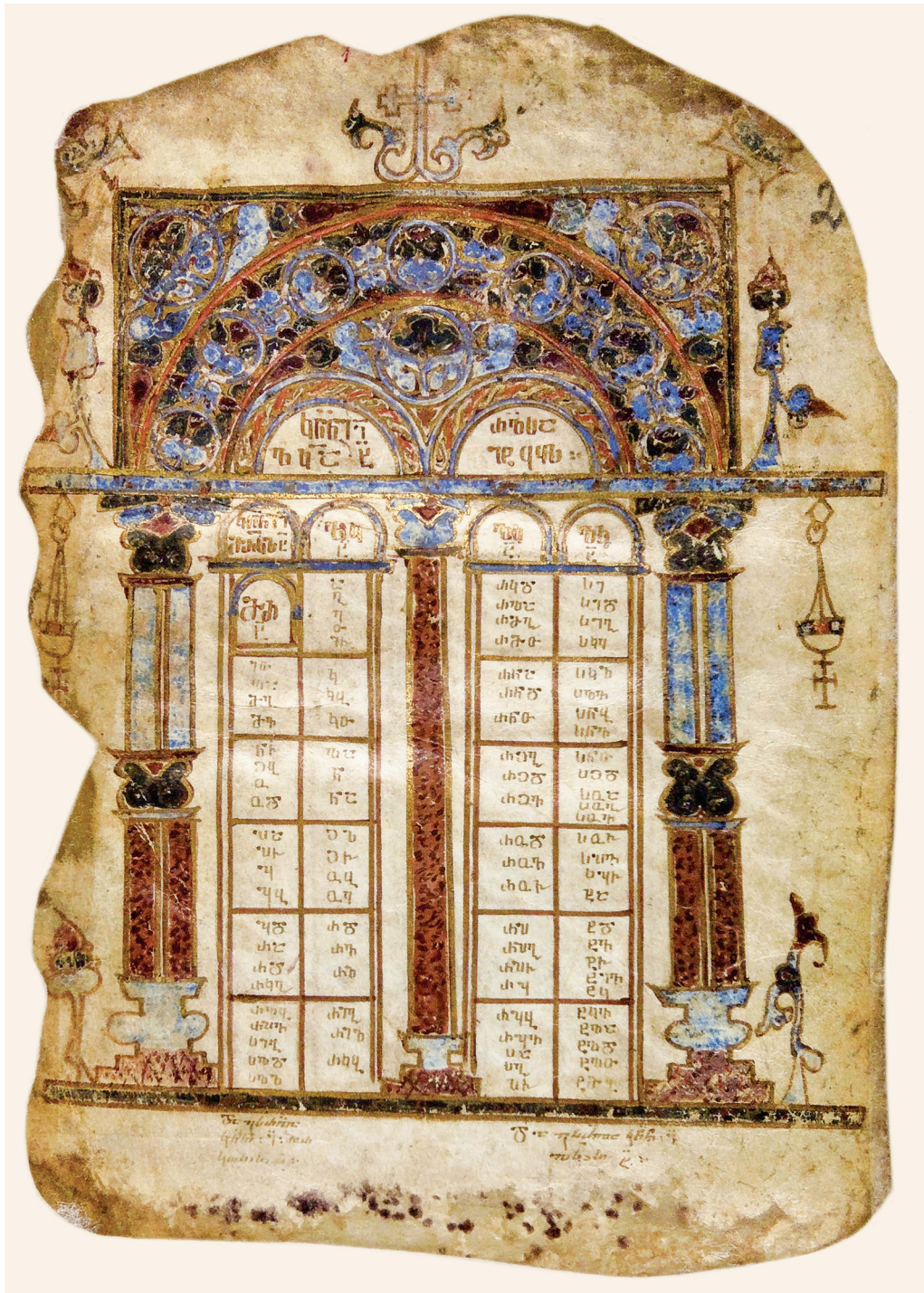


Fig. 35. Canon table. Four Gospels, NCM, MS S-962, fol. 2r.

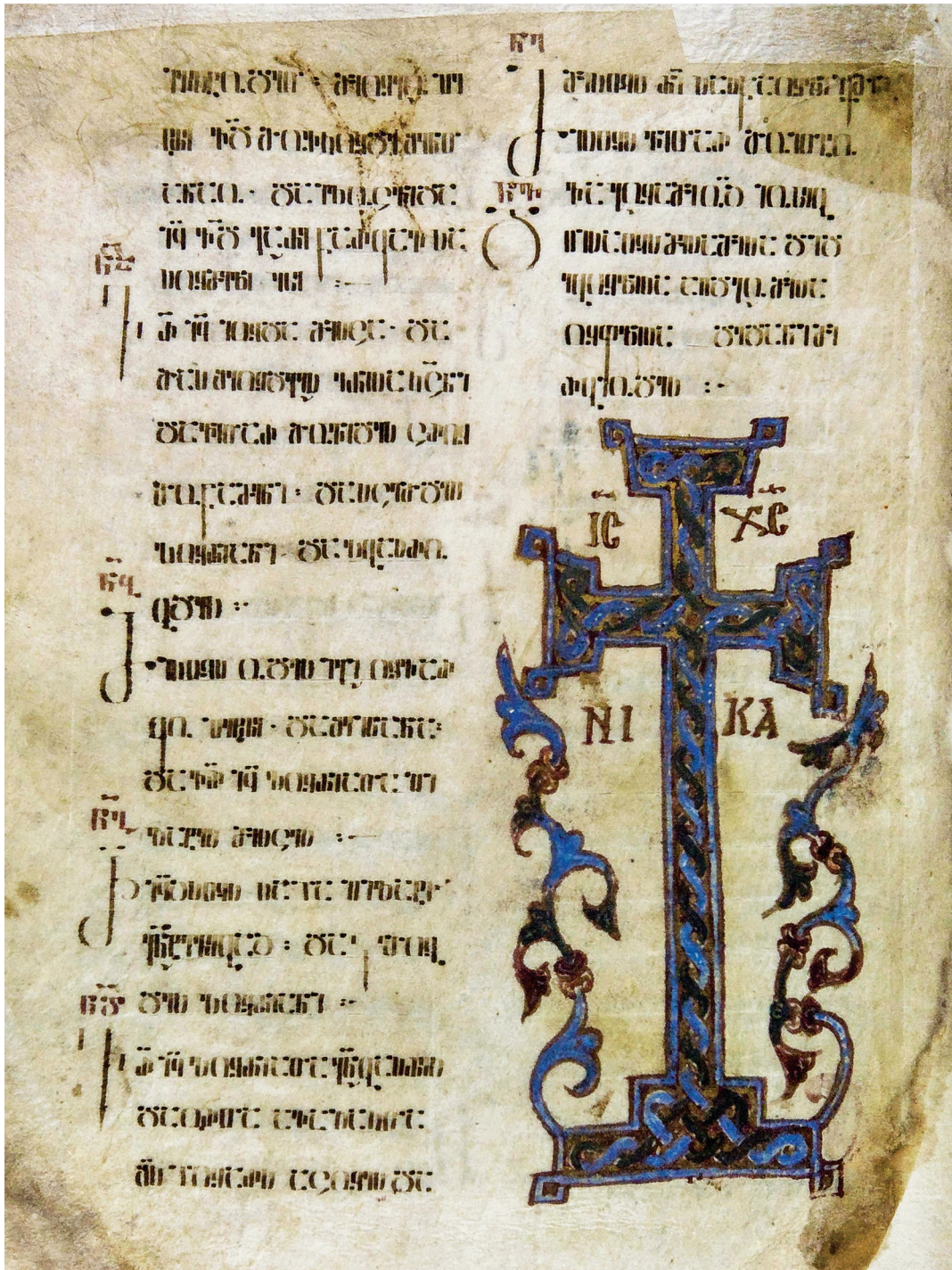


Fig. 36. The image of the Calvary Cross. Four Gospels, NCM, MS S-962, fol. 84v.

Fig. 37.
St. Luke the Evangelist.
Four Gospels, NCM,
MS S-962, fol. 132r.



Fig. 38.
The beginning of the
Gospel of St. Luke.
Four Gospels, NCM,
MS S-962, fol. 133r.



is attested by three surviving codices. Their copying, illumination, and binding is connected to the Hromana monastery and its hesychasterion close to the city. Two of them were translated by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite. Both the Heavenly Ladder of St. John Climacus—copied at the hesychasterion of St. Anne in 1066 (NCM, MS A-134; figs. 39 and 40), “in the reign of Constantine X Doukas [1059–1067], when Martha [i.e., Maria of Alania], the daughter of King Bagrat IV, was in the Empire”⁸²—and the *Epistles of St. Macarios of Egypt*, copied in the mid-1060s (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, MS Georg. 73),⁸³ were produced under the patronage of the Hromana monastery’s father superior, Gelasios, by the well-known calligrapher and illuminator Simeon Dvali, a Georgian monk active in the mid-eleventh century on the Black Mountain, in Jerusalem, and in Constantinople.

The Hromana monastery was built by the emperor Basil I (867–888) near the church of the Archangel Michael at Sosthenion (Stenia) on the European side of the Bosphorus near Constantinople as a resting place for St. Hilarion the Georgian (d. 875). The monastery was given to the Georgian disciples of St. Hilarion from Olympos, in Bithynia. The emperor donated to the monastery the relics of apostles,⁸⁴ golden and silver treasures, and nearby forests, villages, and stores, as well as the metochion in Constantinople; he also built a cell for himself in the monastery. It was at Hromana, or perhaps in one of monastery’s hesychasteria, that the *Enkomion* of St. Hilarion was written in Greek, on the emperor’s order. The monk Basil, a *protoasecretis* and

philosopher, composed it on the basis of oral reports from St. Hilarion’s Georgian pupils.⁸⁵

For centuries, the Hromana monastery remained an important spiritual and scholarly center for the Georgians in Byzantium, where manuscript production and literary activity flourished. It must have had a fairly extensive library, containing—in addition to locally copied manuscripts—Greek and Georgian books obtained through donation. According to the *Life* of St. Hilarion, Basil I himself presented the Four Gospels and the book of the Epistles of St. Paul to the newly built monastery.⁸⁶

The connections between Hromana and monastic centers of the Christian Middle East and Byzantium must have been extensive. Further links with the scriptoria of Constantinople, Bithynia, Mount Athos, the Black Mountain, and Jerusalem are attested in hagiographic works and manuscript colophons.

The manuscript now kept at Moscow’s State Historical Museum was copied in Constantinople at the hesychasterion of the Mother of God in 1070 (SHM, Shchyuk. 760).⁸⁷ The eleventh-century original gilded silver cover of the Moscow manuscript with the Crucifixion and Deesis belongs to a middle Byzantine type of which only few examples survive.⁸⁸ Its back side carries, in addition to the Greek labels, an eleventh-century dedicatory inscription in Georgian Asomt’avruli script: † ქ(რისტ)ე, ადიდე აბაზ და ძმანი მისნი († Christ, glorify Abaz and his brothers; fig. 41). The Georgian text of the Gospels in this manuscript belongs to the recension of St. George the Hagiorite. The book is lavishly decorated with an image of the blossoming Life-Giving Cross (fol. iv), ornate frames

82 E. Metreveli, ed., *K’art’ul khelnatsert’a agtseriloba*, *A koleksia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection A], vol. 1.2, comp. T. Bregadze et al. (Tbilisi, 1976), 29.

83 Blake, “Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque patriarcale greque à Jérusalem,” 190–210, 387–429, esp. 404–7; L. At’anelishvili, *Dzveli k’art’uli saidumlo damtserloba* [Old Georgian cryptographic scripts] (Tbilisi, 1982), 181–82. It is possible that this book was ordered by the abbot of the Hromana monastery for the library of the newly rebuilt Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

84 Abuladze, *Dzveli k’art’uli agiografiuli literaturis dzeglebi* [n. 7 above], 2:244: მისცა მეფემან ნაწილი რადმე ნაწილთაგან წმიდათა მოციქულთაგან და დასხმად ქუეშე საკურთხეველსა უბრძანა (The king gave a part of the relics of holy apostles for them to be placed under the sanctuary).

85 “Tskhorebai Ilarion k’art’velisai,” in Abuladze, *Dzveli k’art’uli agiografiuli literaturis dzeglebi*, 2:30–37, 3:242–48; B. Martin-Hissard, “La Pérégrination du moine Géorgien Hilarion au IX^e siècle,” *Bedi Kartlisa* 39 (1981): 101–38, esp. 135–38.

86 “Tskhorebai Ilarion k’art’velisai,” in Abuladze, *Dzveli k’art’uli agiografiuli literaturis dzeglebi*, 2:32, 3:247.

87 At major Georgian monasteries of the Christian East, the creation and copying of Georgian manuscripts often occurred in cells at some distance from the monastery. Hromana was most probably a Byzantine-type coenobitic monastery, where Georgian monks engaged in scholarly activity at outlying hermitages. The precise location of this *hesychasteria* remains uncertain. See the text of the colophon: Kldiashvili, “Gareja—Konstantinopoli”; idem, “K’art’uli aristokratia konstantinopolshi,” 321–23.

88 Dobrynina, “Neizvestnaia gruzinskaia litsevaia rukopis’”; Sterligova, “Chekannyi oklad gruzinskogo Tetraevangeliia.”

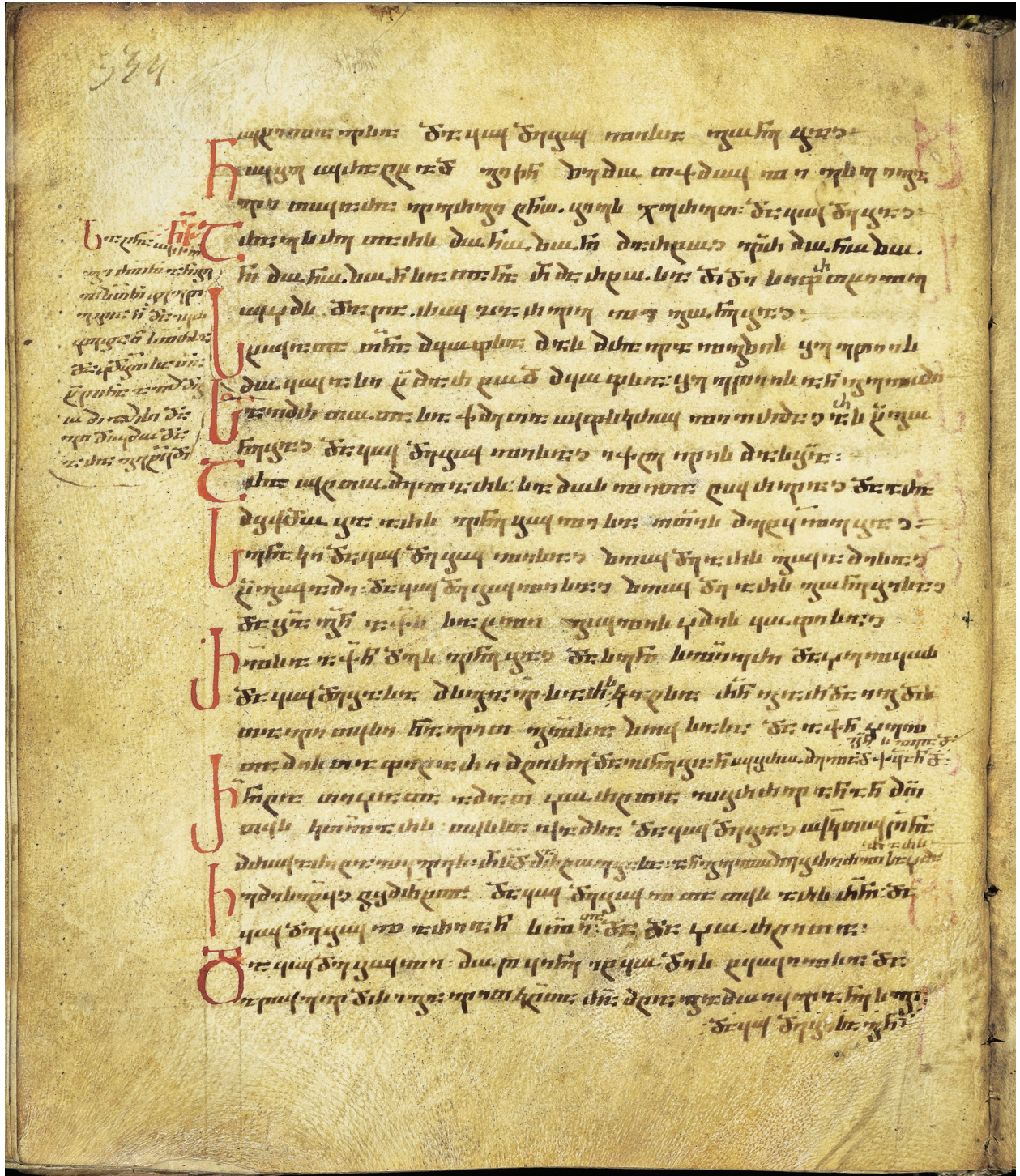


Fig. 39. The Heavenly Ladder of St. John Climacus, NCM, MS A-134, 1066, fol. 167v.

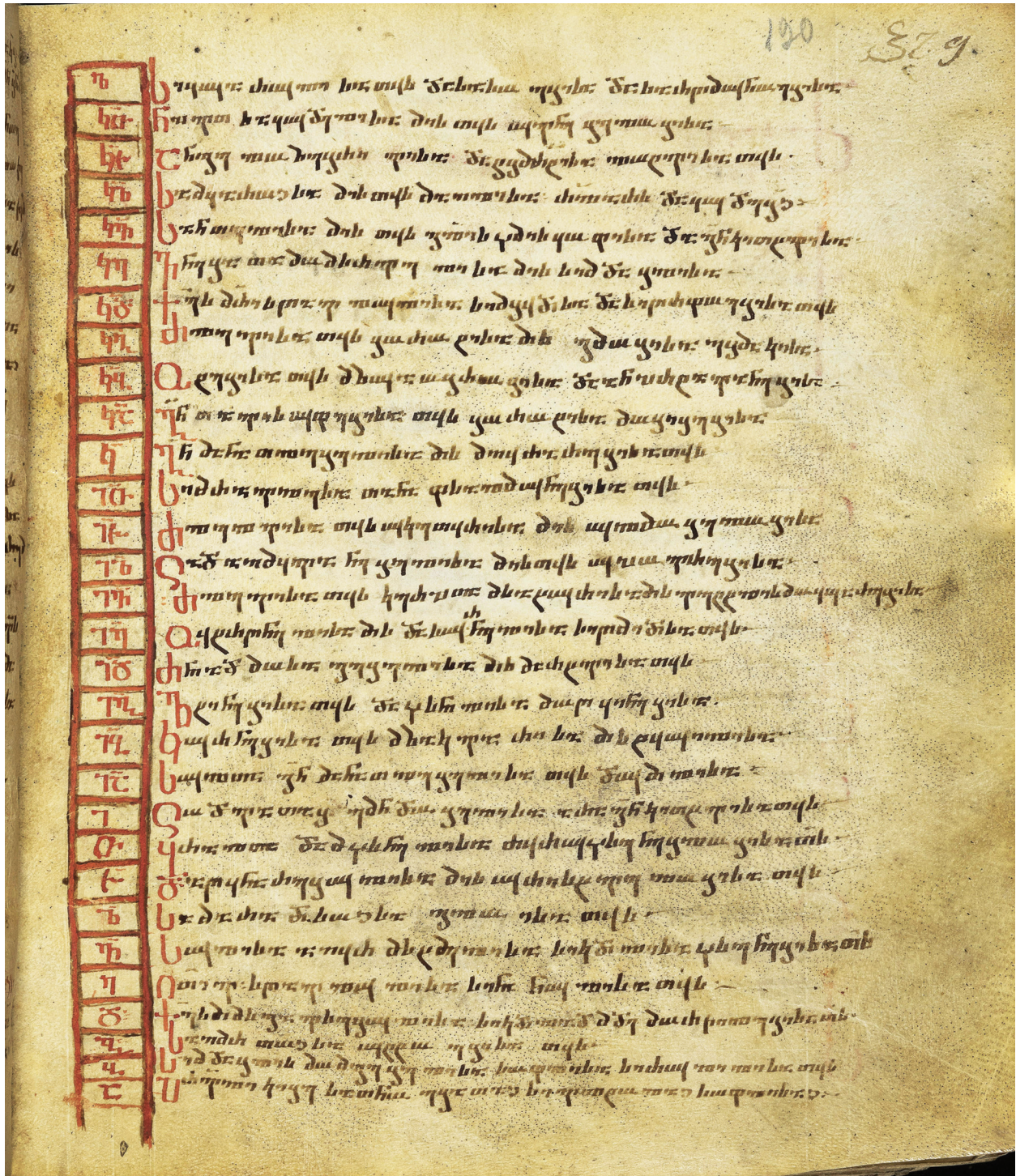


Fig. 40. The Heavenly Ladder of St. John Climacus, NCM, MS A-134, 1066, fol. 190r.

Fig. 41.
The back side of the
silver cover with the
Deesis and the donor
inscription. Four
Gospels, SHM, MS
Shchyuk. 760, 1070.
Photo © SHM.



for the letter of Eusebius (fols. 2r–v) and the fourteen canon tables (fols. 3r–9v; fig. 42), portraits of the evangelists (fols. 15v, 101v, 158v, 245v; fig. 43), headpieces of the contents and the beginnings of the Gospels (fols. 12r, 16r, 99r, 102r, 154r, 159r, 246r; fig. 44), and a large number of colorful initials (fig. 45).⁸⁹ On fol. 16v, between the headpiece and the beginning of the text of the Gospel according to Matthew, a short scribal

89 Dobrynina views the rich decorative design and style of the ornament as a poor match for the brilliant, bright colors and simplicity of the miniatures. In her opinion, the latter must originate from a Greek milieu and were probably executed in the last quarter of the eleventh century in a metropolitan workshop engaged in the mass production of manuscript miniatures for border regions (“Neizvestnaia gruzinskaia litsevaia rukopis,” 302–3). She was not familiar with the contents of the colophon of the MS; consequently, the personality of the copyist and illuminator of the manuscript, as well as the place of its production, remained unknown to her. Hence she assumed that the miniatures were painted in the capital by a well-trained artist-miniaturist who had worked at the scriptorium of the Patriarchate of Antioch.

note in Asomt’avruli script is inserted: ქრისტე, ადიდე სულითა ბერი თეოდორე, ამენ იყავნ (Christ, glorify by his soul the monk Theodore, Amen, so be it). The miniatures of the evangelists—with cinnabar Asomt’avruli texts in front of them, distinguished by their fine calligraphy—betray the hand of a Georgian artist trained in Constantinople.

A hundred-line-long colophon in Nuskhuri script (fols. 373r–374v) states that the manuscript was copied by Theodore Garejeli in the hesychasterion of the Mother of God known under the name of *Megethon* (τὸ Μέγεθον, “the Great”),⁹⁰ at the monastery of Hromana, close to Constantinople; this was done in 1070, during the reigns of Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071), the Georgian king Bagrat IV, and his son George II Curopalates, while Rani and Kakheti (in eastern Georgia) were ruled by Aghsartan I Curopalates (1058–1084). The colophon contains particularly important

90 The incorrect Greek form shows the influence of Georgian.

Fig. 42. Canon table. Four Gospels, SHM, MS Shchyuk. 760, 1070, fol. 7v. Photo © SHM.

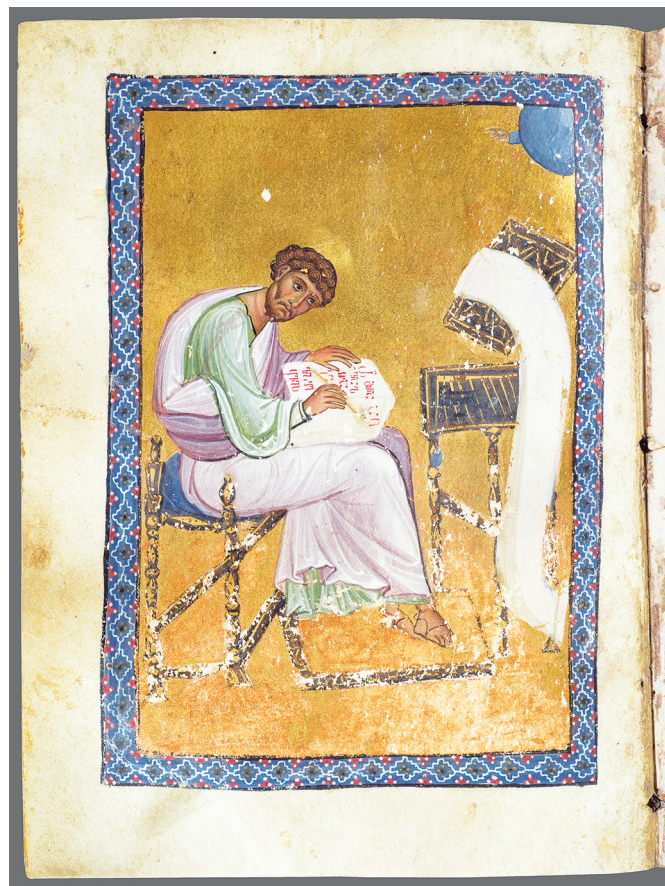


Fig. 43. St. Mark the Evangelist. Four Gospels, SHM, MS Shchyuk. 760, 1070, fol. 158v. Photo © SHM.

information about individual representatives of the ruling Kvirikid dynasty of the kingdom of the Rans and Kakhs in the second half of eleventh century—King Gagik I (1037–1084) and his five sons: King Ksartan (Aghsartan) I Curopalates, Padla, Kvirike, Redisav, and Abaz, with indications of their ages; it also mentions the official positions or titles received by them in Byzantium, their confessional affiliation, and their cultural and social activity.

According to the colophon, the manuscript belonged to Abaz, brother of Aghsartan I Curopalates. This Abaz, whom the colophon identified as Aghsartan I's co-ruler and governor of Arcadiopolis (modern Juleburgaz; from the early Byzantine period it was a part of Europa, one of the six provinces of Thrace), must have been the brother-in-law (married to the sister) of the founders in 1083 of the Georgian monastery of Petritzos in Thrace, the brothers Sebastos and Great

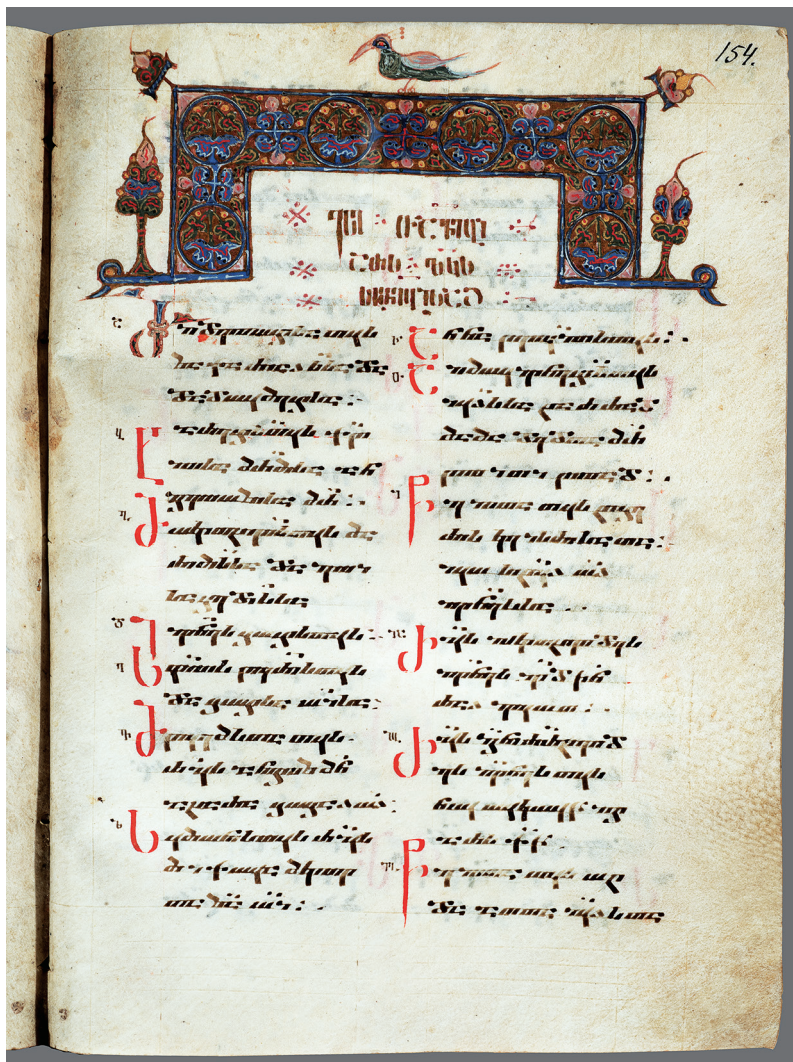
Domestic of the West Gregory and Magistros Abaz Bakurianisdzes.⁹¹

The manuscript was copied and illuminated by a single person, the monk Theodore Garejeli. Theodore, a highly qualified calligrapher, was the tutor and spiritual father of the above-mentioned Abaz, younger brother of Aghsartan I, and Theodore followed Abaz to Byzantium.⁹² In the colophon Theodore Garejeli

91 Kldiashvili, "Gareja—Konstantinopoli"; idem, "K'art'uli aristokratia konstantinopolshi," 332–33.

92 Abaz is referred to in the colophon as the youngest son of King Gagik of blessed memory. At the age of twenty-seven he was, together with his brothers, proclaimed co-ruler with Aghsartan I (1058–1084), Curopalates and king of the Kakhs and Rans. Theodore Garejeli calls him *chabuki* (young) and a "brilliant king"; according to the colophon, he was at the same time in Byzantine service as governor of Arcadiopolis: Kldiashvili, "Gareja—Konstantinopoli"; idem, "K'art'uli aristokratia konstantinopolshi," 330–32.

Fig. 44.
Headpiece. Four
Gospels, SHM,
MS Shchuk. 760,
1070, fol. 154r.
Photo © SHM.



is described as a “former member of the Monastery of the Archangel,” which means that he first experienced monasticism at one of the monasteries of the Gareja desert (in Kakheti, in eastern Georgia) and later in the church of the Archangel Michael, perhaps at Sosthenion, close to the Hromana monastery.⁹³

Theodore is mentioned in the colophons of two above-mentioned manuscripts produced by the well-known calligrapher and artist Simeon Dvali at the Hromana monastery (NCM, MS A-134, and Jer.

Georg. 73). On the other hand, the creation of two splendid codices, that of the Alaverdi (NCM, MS A-484) and the Vatican (Vatican Iber. 1) Four Gospels copied on the Black Mountain and in Jerusalem in the mid-eleventh century, is also linked to activities of Simeon Dvali as benefactor, scribe, and decorator.⁹⁴

The Hromana monastery remained a major Constantinopolitan center of Georgian culture in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Recent studies have argued that the lavishly illuminated Labsq'ald Four Gospels (SHEM, MS M-26; figs. 46 and 47) of the so-called Kokinobaphos group was created in a

93 This church, situated on the shore of the Bosphorus, evidently attracted the special attention of the imperial court during the reign of Basil II and at the end of the twelfth century, under Isaac II (1185–1204), when it was turned into a *laura*: see Janin, *Siège de Constantinople* (n. 7 above), 348.

94 For NCM, MS A-484, see the inscription on the Life-Giving Cross, colophon (fols. 312v–314r); for Vat. Iber. 1, see the colophon at the end of the Gospel of Matthew (fol. 92r).

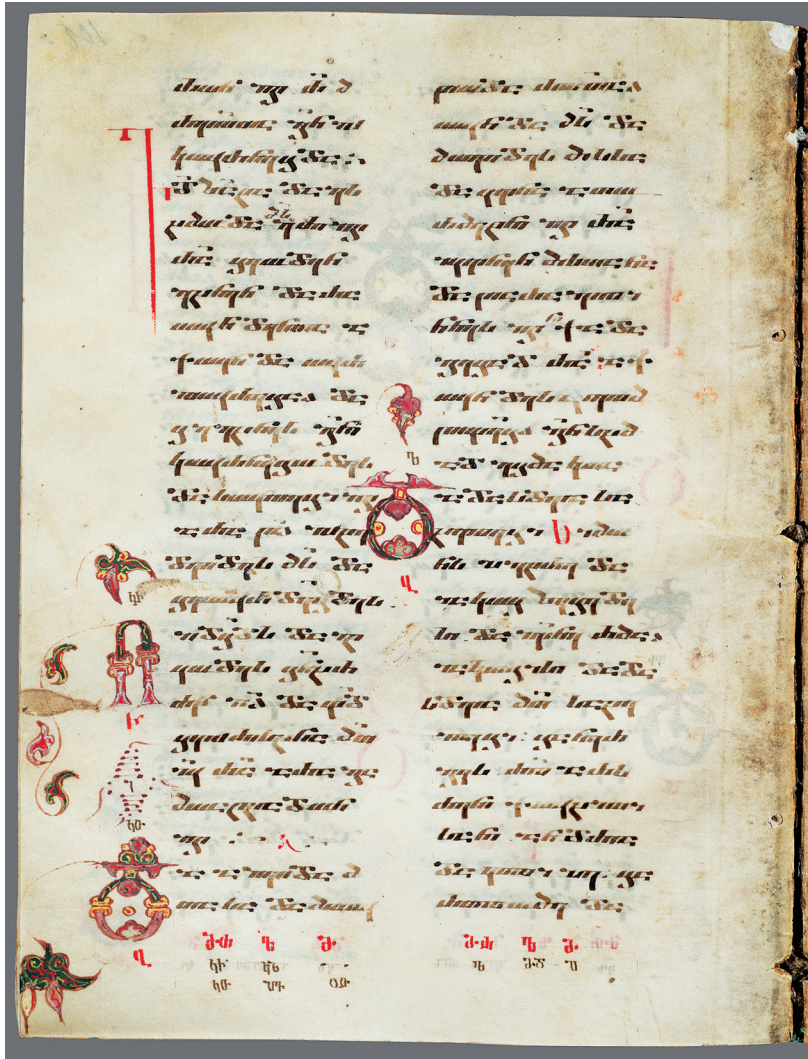


Fig. 45.
Decorative initials.
Four Gospels, SHM,
MS Shchyuk. 760,
1070, fol. 108v.
Photo © SHM.

workshop linked to the Constantinopolitan imperial scriptorium, whose products united Greek and Georgian manuscripts.⁹⁵ The Lapsqald codex subsequently could have served as a model for the text and decoration of two distinguished late twelfth-century

codices: namely, the Vani Gospels (NCM, MS A-1335; figs. 48 and 49), copied in the Hromana monastery and dedicated to Queen Tamar (1184–1210),⁹⁶ and the Echmiadzin/Artvin codex (Matenadaran, Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, MS Foreign 161; figs. 50–52).⁹⁷

95 A. Saminski, “Masterskaia gruzinskoi i grecheskoi knigi v Konstantinopole XII–nachala XIII veka” [Workshop of Georgian and Greek books in Constantinople of the twelfth to early thirteenth century], *Muzei* [Museum] 10 (1989): 184–216; idem, “Okład Labskaldskogo Evangeliiia—gruzinskoi konstantinopol’skoi rukopisi vtoroi chetverti XII v.” [Chased cover of Lapskald Four Gospels—Georgian manuscript from Constantinople of the second quarter of the twelfth century], *Drevne-Russloe iskusstvo: Iskusstvo rukopisnoi knigi: Vizantiia, Drevniaia Rus’* [Old Russian art: Art of the manuscript book: Byzantium, Old Russia] (St. Petersburg, 2004), 245–62, esp. 245.

96 E. Takaishvili, “Antiquités géorgiennes,” *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 655–63; Kekelidze, *K’art’ul khelnatsert’a aghtseriloba, A kolektsia*, vol. 4 (n. 6 above), 407–10; Amiranashvili, *Gruzinskaia miniatiura* (n. 42 above), 22–23, pls. 30–33; E. Machavariani, “Vanis ot’kht’avis dekoratiuli mort’uloba” [The decorative adornment of the Vani Four Gospels], *Bulletin of the Institute of Manuscripts* 2 (1960): 135–44; Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at’onis kulturul-saganmanat’leblo keris istoriidan* (n. 3 above), 161–66.

97 E. Machavariani, “Vanis otkht’avis (A-1335) akhlad aghmoche-nili piri” [Newly revealed copy of the Vani Four Gospels (A-1335)], *Bulletin of the Institute of Manuscripts* 3 (1961): 135–54; H. Buschhausen

Fig. 46. Canon table. Lapsq'ald Four Gospels, SHEM, MS M-26, twelfth c., fol. 4r. Photo courtesy of the SHEM.



Fig. 47. The beginning of the Gospel of St. John. Lapsq'ald Four Gospels, SHEM, MS M-26, twelfth c., fols. 204v–205r.



Fig. 48. The beginning of the Gospel of St. Mark. Vani Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-1335, late twelfth c., fols. 81v–82r.



Fig. 49. Christ with the apostles. Vani Four Gospels, NCM, MS A-1335, late twelfth c., fol. 201v.



Fig. 50. Canon table. Echmiadzin Four Gospels, Matenadaran, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, MS Foreign 161, late twelfth c., fol. 4v. Photo courtesy of the Matenadaran Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.



Fig. 51. St. Mark. Echmiadzin Four Gospels, Matenadaran, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, MS Foreign 161, late twelfth c., fol. 81v. Photo courtesy of the Matenadaran Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.

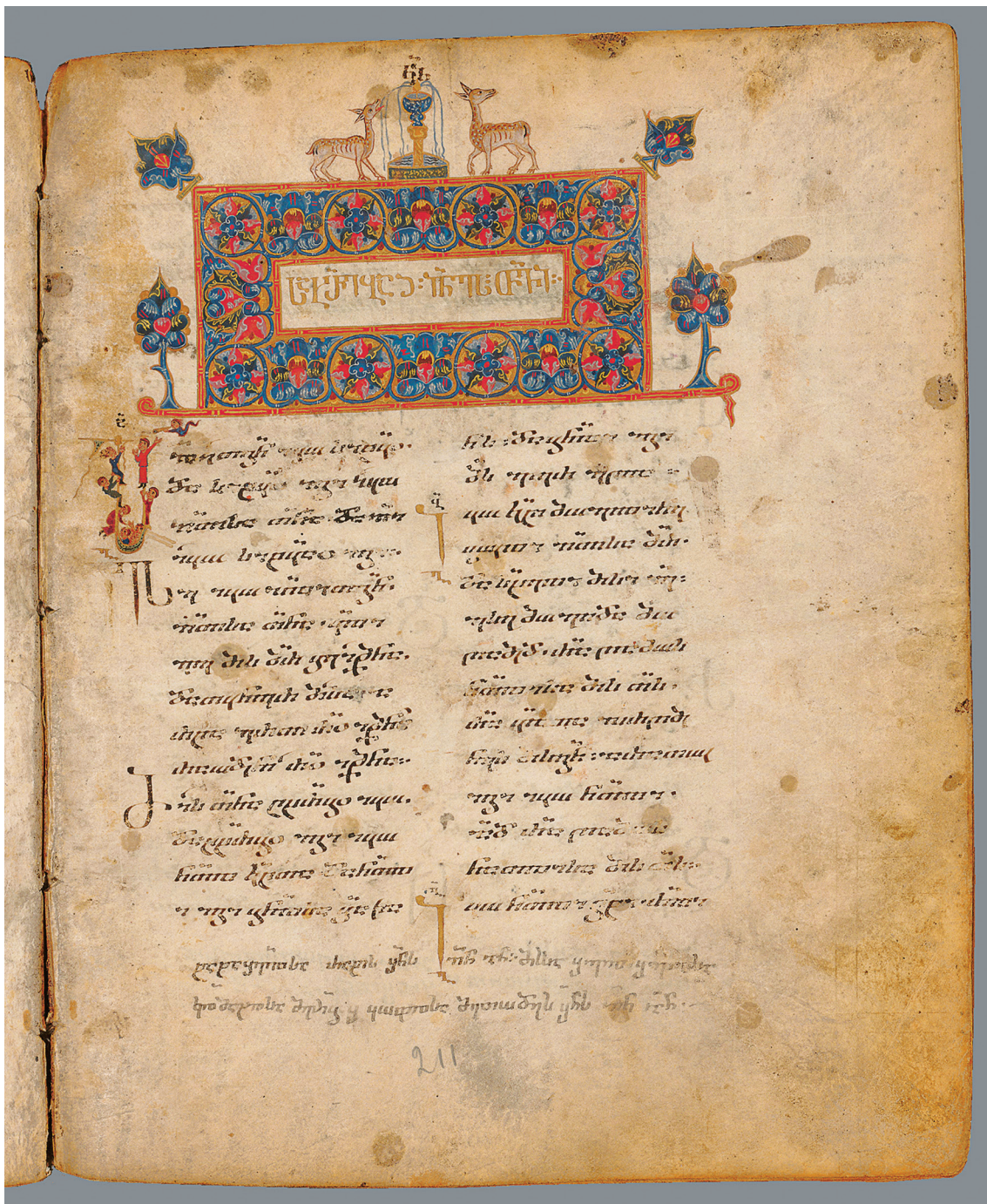


Fig. 52. The beginning of the text of the Gospel of St. John. Echmiadzin Four Gospels, Matenadaran, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan, MS Foreign 161, late twelfth c., fol. 211r. Photo courtesy of the Matenadaran Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts.

The Vani Gospels—presumably designed for liturgical use—are written in gold ink and adorned with color vignettes, canon tables, and miniatures. This royal codex was the product of collaboration between the most prominent Georgian and Greek calligraphers and decorator-miniaturists of the time. According to its Georgian and Greek colophons, it was copied in the Hromana monastery by Ioane Sapq'ari (the “Cripple”), a man sent to Constantinople, and decorated by the Greek illuminator Michael of Coressus.⁹⁸ The creation of the manuscript is recorded in two brief colophons, both written in gold, on fol. 272v. One, in Georgian, states that the text was copied in the city of Constantinople by a monk named Ioane, who calls himself “the cripple and wretched confessor of the holy Queen Tamar.” The second, in Greek, states that it was illuminated by the *chrysographer* Michael of Coressus. Another colophon on fol. 266v says that the text was copied from a manuscript of the Gospels held at the Hromana monastery near Constantinople that, in turn, was copied; and the autograph translation made by St. George the Hagiorite was kept in the *skevo-fylakion* of the catholicon of the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos. The images that accompany the Gospels reflect the most modern tendencies in Byzantine gospel illumination. The canon tables at the beginning of the text are luxuriously decorated with colorful headpieces, which are replete with figures, birds, animals, and plants. After a prologue showing Christ blessing the four evangelists, each Gospel is preceded by an author portrait accompanied by a scene from the life of Christ (Matthew is paired with the Nativity, Mark with the Baptism, Luke with the Annunciation, and John with the Anastasis).

Last Quarter of the Eleventh Century

The last quarter of the eleventh century is a special phase in the history of the intense translation work of Georgian scholars in Constantinople and of the Georgian codices created there. First of all, it featured

and H. Buschhausen, “Kopien des Vani-Evangeliars: Byzantinischer Kunstexport und Kopistentum in der Buchmalerei der späten Komnenzeit,” *CabArch* 39 (1991): 133–52.

98 The colophon is reproduced in Q'aukhchishvili, “Zogi k'art'uli khelnatseris berdznuli minatseri” (n. 45 above), 455–56, and R. S. Nelson, *Theodore Hagiopeitres: A Late Byzantine Scribe and Illuminator*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1991), 2:pl. 92.

the translations done by two famous Georgian scholars educated in the capital of the empire, the hieromonk Theophilos and Arsen Vachesdze, which included hagiographic and theological-polemical literature. The manuscripts containing the works translated during that period, some of which are autograph versions by translators and compilers, differ significantly from the richly illuminated Constantinople Georgian manuscripts of the previous period in their content and purpose, as well as their palaeography and decoration.

This later activity of Georgian literati in Constantinople appears to have been centered on the Georgian-born Byzantine empress Maria of Alania (known in Georgia as Martha-Maria), the daughter of King Bagrat IV and the wife of the emperors Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078; fig. 53) and Nicephoros Botaneiates (1078–1081).⁹⁹ Maria's political and cultural activity coincides with one of the most remarkable eras in the life of Byzantium, marked by the patronage of literature and art on an unprecedented scale.

The works of St. Gregory the Theologian (NCM, MS A-87) must date from 1066 to 1072 (fig. 54).¹⁰⁰ The colophons of the manuscript (fols. 1r, 386v) and commemorations inscribed in the initials (fols. 228r, 238r, 358r; figs. 55–57) state that the manuscript was copied on the order of Queen Maria, daughter of Bagrat IV, king and *sebastos*. The colophons point to the manifold

99 On Maria, see I. Nodia, “Mariam dedop'ali XI s. meore nakhevrts bizantiis politikur tskhovrebashi” [Queen Maria in the political life of Byzantium of the second half of the 11th c.], *Proceedings of Tbilisi State University* 183 (1978): 143–53; idem, “Gruzinskie materialy o vizantiiskoi imperatritse Marfe-Marii” [Georgian materials on the Byzantine empress Martha-Maria], in *Bizantinologičeski etiuđebi* [Byzantine Studies] (Tbilisi, 1978), 146–55; A. Alexidze, “Martha-Maria: An Outstanding Personality in the Cultural History of Georgia and Byzantium,” in M. Koromila, *The Greeks and the Black Sea from the Bronze Age to the Early Twentieth Century*, new and enlarged ed. (Athens, 2002), 306–14; A. Mikaberidze, “Maria-Martha in Byzanz und Georgien,” *Caucasica: The Journal of Caucasian Studies* 1 (1998): 124–50; S. H. Rapp and L. Garland, “Mary 'of Alania': Woman and Empress between Two Worlds,” in *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience, AD 800–1200*, ed. L. Garland (Aldershot, 2006), 89–121.

100 Metreveli, *K'art'ul khelnatseri'a aghtseriloba, A kolektsia*, vol. 1.1 (n. 32 above), 300–309; Bregadze, *Grigol Nazianzelis tkhzulebat'a shemtsveli dzveli k'art'ul khelnatseri'a aghtseriloba* (n. 32 above), 95–104; M. Machavariani, “David' tbelis mier t'argmnili grigol nazianzelis tkhzulebebi da am t'argmanebis shemtsveli khelnatseribi” [The treatises of Gregory Nazianzinus translated by David Tbeli and the manuscripts containing them], *Mravalt'avi, Proceedings of Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts* 20 (2003): 110–11.

Fig. 53.
Enamel with images of
the Byzantine emperor
Michael VII Doukas
and the empress Maria.
Khakhuli Icon of the
Virgin, Georgian
National Museum,
Shalva Amiranashvili
Museum of Arts,
inv. no. GSAM 9719.



intellectual interests and distinguished taste of the Georgian Byzantine empress, as well as her interest in theology, philosophy, and scholarship. As for the artistic design of the manuscript, it is a blend of features then characteristic of the decorative design of Byzantine as well as Georgian manuscripts. The decoration executed by two craftsmen in different styles on high-quality unpainted parchment in four basic colors (gold, blue, green, and red) would seem to suggest that the manuscript was made by Georgian calligrapher-decorators active in the Empire's capital.¹⁰¹

101 Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie gruzinskoj rukopisnoj knigi IX–XI stoletii* (n. 42 above), 2:140–43.

Maria is known to have been a close acquaintance and patron of such well-known intellectuals at the Byzantine court as Michael Psellos, John Italos and his pupil Eustratios of Nicaea (1050/60–1120), and the scholar and prelate Theophylactos of Ohrid (ca. 1055–after 1107)—one of the most famous Byzantine biblical scholars—who was also the tutor of Constantine, son of the emperor Michael VII and Maria Alania, for whom he wrote *The Education of Princes*.¹⁰² All these interactions were facilitated by the intellectual environment that existed in the imperial court and that surrounded

102 D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 34–82.



Fig. 54. The colophon. The works of St. Gregory the Theologian, NCM, MS A-87, 1066–1072, fol. 1r.

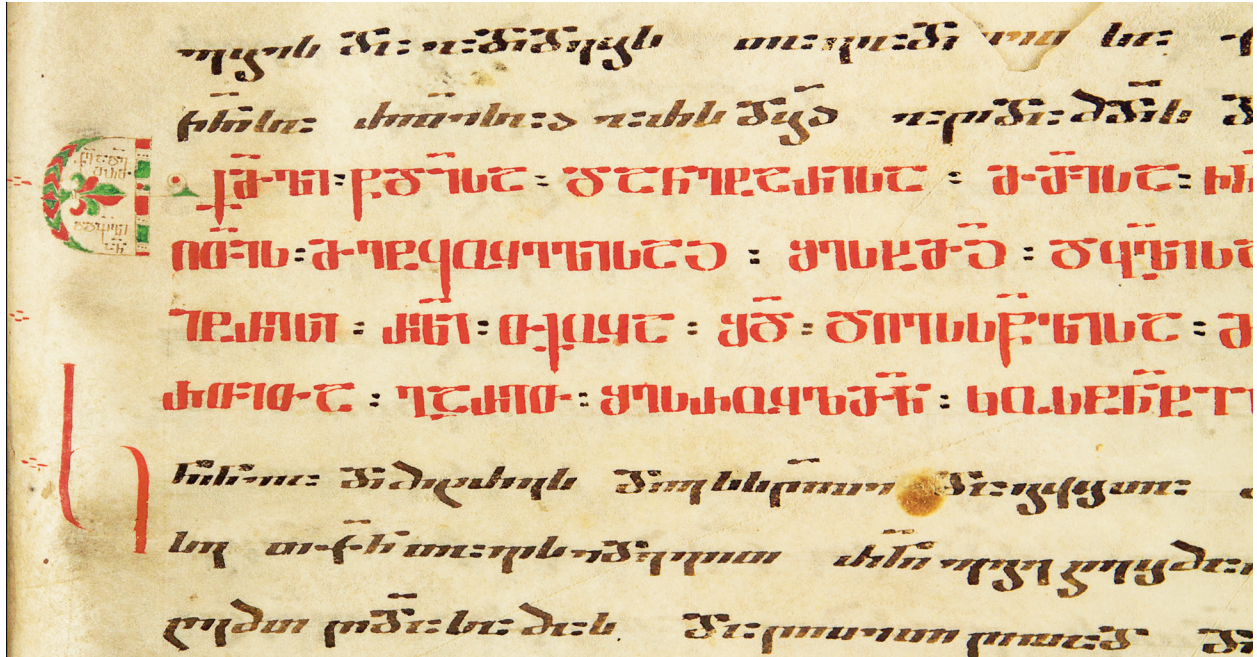


Fig. 57. Commemoration inscribed in an initial. The works of St. Gregory the Theologian, NCM, MS A-87, 1066–1072, fol. 358r.

the empress Maria.¹⁰³ Some of these authors Maria commissioned to write for her.¹⁰⁴ Her patronage was equally significant both for the Georgian monastery

103 The husband of Maria, the emperor Michael VII Doukas, was distinguished by his wide-ranging education—in particular his knowledge of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, and physics. Through the invitation of the emperor Constantine Doukas X, he was supervised by Michael Psellos. As for Maria's son, Constantine, his teacher was Theophilactos of Bulgaria, the archbishop of Ohrid, the greatest connoisseur of the secular sciences and theology (A. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'ny sostav gosподstvuiushchego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* [The social composition of the ruling class of Byzantium in the eleventh to twelfth centuries] [Moscow, 1974], 49–50; Z. Samodurova, “Sotsial'ny sostav uchashchikhsia Vizantii VII–XII vv.” [Social composition of students in seventh- to twelfth-century Byzantium], *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* [Byzantina Chronica] 51 [1990]: 19). The Georgian empress of Byzantium was also interested in the natural sciences. It is under her sponsorship that in the early 1090s Eustratios of Nicaea (d. 1117), the philosopher of the imperial court of Alexios I Komnenos, wrote a treatise on natural phenomena. Drawing on Aristotle and late antique commentators, Eustratios set out the views of contemporaneous Neoplatonists on cosmogony from a Christian point of view. The treatise dedicated to the empress Maria starts with the phrase, “You have questioned me, my lady, on the nature of thunder and lightning” (Alexidze, “Martha-Maria,” 312).

104 A. Aleksidze, *Vizantiiskaia literatura XI–XII vekov* [Eleventh- to twelfth-century Byzantine literature] (Tbilisi, 1989), 13; idem, “Martha-Maria,” 310–14.

on Mount Athos¹⁰⁵ and in assisting Georgian men of letters active in Byzantium, including the translation of contemporary Byzantine treatises into Georgian.

One of the Georgian figures active in Constantinople and a confidant of the empress Maria was the hieromonk Theophilos, ecclesiastic writer and poet, translator, and disciple of St. George the Hagiorite and of the learned fathers of the Black Mountain and Jerusalem. He translated hagiographic, homiletic, dogmatic, ascetic, and exegetic works from Greek into Georgian.

Beyond simply translating the texts, Theophilos, like his teacher St. George the Hagiorite, also engaged

105 The period of Maria's rule as empress was a time when the Georgian monastery of Iviron gained economic and legal power. The monastery retained the support of both the empress and her spouses. See the commemorations for the empress Maria, her son Constantine Porphyrogennitos (d. 1094), and Nicephoros Botaneiates (*agapae* nos. 107 and 133 of the Iviron monastery) in Metreveli, *At'onis k'art' vel' a monastris saaghape tsigni* (n. 71 above), 170, 253–54, 406–7, and Nicephoros III Botaneiates (see the Greek act of 1079, no. 41 in *Actes d'Iviron*, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès, and D. Papachryssanthou, vol. 2, *Du milieu du XI^e siècle à 1204*, Archives de l'Athos 16 [Paris, 1990], 36–38, 129). All this provided the Iviron monastery with a number of benefits and thus guaranteed its autonomy.

in copying them. The manuscripts translated by Theophilus and copied by him (NCM A-1105, MS Ath. Georg. 20, 29, and 37–36) are simple in terms of decoration—the initial letters are executed in the ink used in the text and more rarely in red color, without additional decoration. There is only one example of his using a headpiece. The artistic appearance of the text, copied in two columns, is created mainly by the use of cinnabar and unusual calligraphy. Unlike the traditional, slightly oblique minuscule Nuskhuri script of other Georgian manuscripts of that period, Theophilus's calligraphy features small, equal, straight letters, with decorative outlines. At first glance his handwriting recalls the minuscule of contemporary Greek manuscripts.

With the support and under the direction of St. George the Hagiorite, Theophilus received extensive advanced instruction at a school in Constantinople ca. 1040–1056.¹⁰⁶ By the late 1050s he appears to have been on the Black Mountain and taken part in a debate, held by Patriarch Theodosius of Antioch in 1057, between his tutor and spiritual father St. George the Hagiorite and Greek monks about the autocephaly of the Georgian Church and the missionary activity of the Apostle Andrew. Theophilus seems to have been well received at the Antiochean patriarchate. According to the hagiographer, he later—probably in the 1060s to '70s, before the Seljuk invasion—became metropolitan of Tarsos, one of the major sees in the region.¹⁰⁷ This must have been the period when he was granted the title of *protosynkellos*. In the colophon of St. John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Homilies of*

Genesis, Theophilus later wrote: “May God have mercy on sinful T'eop'ile, the translator [and] scribe of this, unfortunately just now the protosynkellos, as it were. Lord God, immeasurable benevolence, forgive [my] sins and have mercy on my afflicted soul, may everything else be vanity” (MS Ath. Georg. 29, fol. 145r).¹⁰⁸ A seal of Metropolitan of Tarsos Theophilus also is extant. In the metrical label of the seal he is named as synkellos: ‘Ο ἅγιος Πέτρος. | ‘Ο ἅγιος Παῦλος. | Σκέπε με, Σῶτερ, σὴν δίδου (συνδίδου) μοι καὶ χάριν | Ταρσοῦ προέδρω, συγκελλῶ Θεοφίλω (St. Peter, St. Paul. Protect me, Savior, and give me your grace, Theophilus, metropolitan of Tarsos and synkellos).¹⁰⁹

Theophilus's literary activity became more intense before 1073 at the suggestion of the empress Maria's brother, George II, king of Georgia (1072–1089). However, Theophilus's involvement with translation and his relationship with Maria had begun much earlier, when he was a young man studying in Constantinople with St. George the Hagiorite. This is attested to by his note in the *Life* of St. Patapius (KSHM, MS K-5, fol. 118r) to the effect that the queen had a translation, made in his youth, of a text that he retranslated in his old age.¹¹⁰ It is natural to think that Theophilus, as a person accepted in the high ecclesiastic circles of Byzantium, would give Maria his support and spiritual assistance.¹¹¹

The Georgian-born empress, for her part, generously patronized Greek and Georgian men of letters and was eager to see recent works of Byzantine

106 In his autobiographical colophons, in the MSS Ath. Georg. 20 (fols. 186v–188v) and Ath. Georg. 29 (fols. 344r–v), Theophilus mentions among his educators and spiritual fathers his parents Maria and Iovane, St. George the Hagiorite and his parents Marian and Jacob, and also monks active on the Black Mountain, in Jerusalem, and on Olympus in Bithynia—Iovane Rekhuaidsze, Saba Tukhareli, the hermit Klim, and the priest Basili Ulumboeli. On Theophilus's biography and his literary and translation activity, see Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte* (n. 4 above), 176–80; Kekelidze, *Dzveli kart'uli liteteraturis istoria* (n. 56 above), 243–46; I. Lolashvili, *At'onis kart'ul khelnatsert'a siakhlani* [Novelties of the Georgian manuscripts of Mount Athos] (Tbilisi, 1982), 36–57; N. Goguadze, “Sek'tembris metap'rasia at'onuri nuskh'a” [The Athos copy of the September Menologion], *Mravalt'avi, Proceedings of Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts* 12 (1986): 101–13; Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at'onis kulturul-saganmanat'lebo keris istoriidan*, 226–38, 239–50.

107 George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giorgi Mt'atsmindelisi” (n. 7 above), 152–55, esp. 153–54; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos* (n. 7 above), 128–30, esp. 129.

108 For a short description of the MS, see Blake, “Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Ivion au Mont Athos” (n. 14 above), 147–48.

109 *DOSeals* 5:8, no. 5.6.

110 See Hieromonk Theophilus's note on the retranslation of the *Life* of St. Patapius (Kekelidze, *K'ut'aisis sakhelmtsip'o istoriuli muzeunmis Kart'ul khelnatsert'a aghteriloba*, vol. 1 [n. 60 above], 35–42, esp. 36–37; Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at'onis kulturul-saganmanat'lebo keris istoriidan*, 234): შეისწავეთ, რამეთუ სიტაბუკესაცა მეთარგმნა და მარიამ დედოფალსა ჰქონდა, ხოლო აწ სიბერესაცა ვიძულე თარგმნად. ლოცვა ყავთ თეოფილესთვის (Know that in my youth I translated it and Queen Maria had it; and now, at my old age, I undertook to translate it [again]. Pray for T'eop'ile).

111 That the saddened empress needed support is evident from her words to Isaac and Alexios Komneni: “There is no need to question someone living far from home like that; being in a foreign land is reason enough for sorrow” (Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad* 2.2, trans. E. R. A. Sewter [Baltimore, 1969], 84).

literature rendered into Georgian. It would seem that in the early 1080s, at her urging Theophilus translated the commentaries on John's Gospel by Theophylactos of Bulgaria.¹¹² He began this work in the royal monastery of Peribleptos, which provided him with a cell.¹¹³ In 1081 Theophilus also translated and copied a September Menologion (MS Ath. Georg. 20; fig. 58), the preface to which is of major interest for the history of metaphrastic literature.¹¹⁴ The extensive introduction and colophon (fols. 186v–188v) commemorate the parents of St. George the Hagiorite and of Theophilus, as well as people who assisted in the making of the volume; the colophon states that the “book of Metaphrast was translated at the All-Beautiful Triandaphilou Mother of God [ყოვლად მშუენიერი ტრიანდაფლივისა დედა ღმრთისა], in the royal city of Constantinople.”¹¹⁵

Presumably it was also in the monastery of the Mother of God Peribleptos that Theophilus translated the November Menologion, whose autograph copy is preserved in the collection of Georgian manuscripts

at the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos (MS Ath. Georg. 36 and Ath. Georg. 37; figs. 59 and 60).¹¹⁶

In Constantinople Theophilus gained access to the imperial court and established contacts with the intellectual elite. At first, he must have received generous assistance from the emperors, as well as from the empress Maria and her brother, George II. His scribal notes indicate that Maria was the first reader of his translations (colophon to the *Life* of St. Patapios in KSHM, MS K-5)¹¹⁷ and that he received monetary support (i.e., money for parchment; MS Ath. Georg. 20, fol. 174v). The colophon of MS Ath. Georg. 20 also names further members of the monastic scriptorium in the Triandaphilou monastery. Theophilus's assistants were the priest Michael, who helped him by contributing two *drabhkans*¹¹⁸ (fol. 138r); the bookbinder, the priest Saba; and the parchment maker, the priest Christodule, who was a baptized Jew (fol. 188v).¹¹⁹

The last years of Theophilus's activity in Constantinople were tumultuous. Maria needed to retain the rights of succession to the imperial throne for her son Constantine after the plot against Nicephoros, led by Alexios Komnenos.¹²⁰ The colophon of MS Ath. Georg.

112 *The Commentary on the Gospel of John*, according to one of the copies of its Georgian translation, was created by Theophylactos of Ohrid for the commemoration of the empress Maria of Alania. Greek manuscripts do not document this commission, but it is mentioned in the text following the title in NCM, MS A-52, fol. 1r. See Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at'onis kulturul-saganmanat'leblo keris istoriidan*, 231–33; idem, *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba, A kolektsia*, vol. 1.1, 141–42. Scholars have claimed that the treatise was translated by the hieromonk Theophilus (Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at'onis kulturul-saganmanat'leblo keris istoriidan*, 232) or by Ioane Petritsi (I. Lolashvili, ed., *Sa'noeba't'a kibe* [The ladder of the virtues], by Ioane Petritsi [Tbilisi, 1968], 28–29, 31).

113 The monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos (ტრიანდაფლივი in the Georgian colophon) was built in the southwestern part of Constantinople by the emperor Romanus III Argyros, who was buried there in 1034. It was renovated by Maria of Alania's second spouse, Nicephoros Botaneiates. Later, when the Komneni forced Nicephoros to take monastic vows, he found refuge in this same monastery, where he was also buried. See C. Mango, “The Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos (Sulu Manastır) at Constantinople Revisited,” *REArm* 23 (1992): 473–93; K. Dark, “The Byzantine Church and Monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos in Istanbul,” *Burlington Magazine* 141 (1999): 656–64.

114 K. Kekelidze, “Simeon Metafrast po gruzinskim istochnikam” [Simeon the Metaphrast according to the Georgian sources], *Trudy Kievskoi Duhovnoi Akademii* [Proceedings of the Kyiv Theological Academy], no. 2 (1910): 171–92; C. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen, 2002), 69–70.

115 Extracts from the introduction and colophon were published in Blake, “Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos,” 118–21.

116 *Ibid.*, 226–28; E. Metreveli, ed., *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba, At'onuri kolektsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, the Athos Collection], vol. 1, comp. L. Akhobadze et al. (Tbilisi, 1979) 10, 99–100; Lolashvili, *At'onis k'art'ul khelnatsert'a siakbleni*, 41–44.

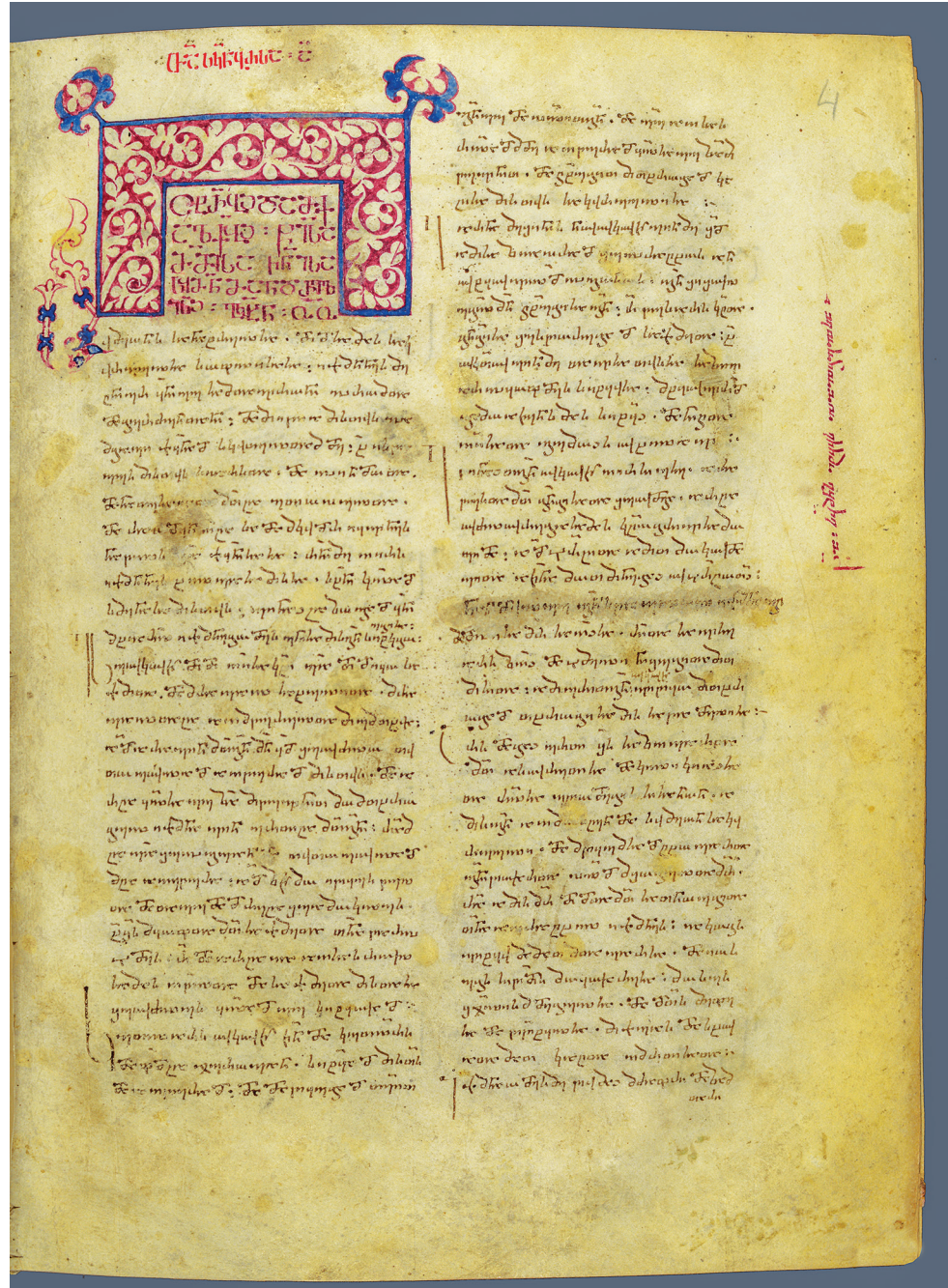
117 Kekelidze, *K'ut'aisis sakhelmtsip'o istroriuli muzeunmis Kart'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba*, 35–42. Both manuscripts contain different parts of the text of the November Menologion: MS Ath. Georg. 37 has the beginning, while MS Ath. Georg. 36 is a continuation. Robert Blake proposed ca. 1080 as a possible date of the manuscript's copying (“Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos,” 227).

118 *Drabkan* is a general term for gold currency in eleventh-century Georgia. In order to highlight the uniqueness of the Byzantine currency, the emperor's name was often added to the term: დრაჰკანი კონსტანტინატი—a gold coin of the Byzantine emperor Constantine X, or დრაჰკანი დუკატი—a gold coin of Michael VII Doukas, etc.; the term continued to be used to refer to currency in Georgian sources until the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries (*Kartlis Tskhovreba: A History of Georgia*, ed. R. Metreveli and S. Jones [Tbilisi, 2014], 402).

119 Metreveli, *At'onis k'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba*, vol. 1, 66, 79.

120 After the death of her son in 1094, the empress Maria took the veil and was exiled to the island of Prinkipo in the Sea of Marmara. She was still alive in 1105, according to the Synodikon pertaining to the Council of Ruis-Urbnisi: E. Gabidzashvili, *Ruis-Urbnisi krebis Dzeglistsera* [The decree of the Ruis-Urbnisi Church Council] (Tbilisi, 1978), 195. The archaeological excavations conducted by Nikolaos Zikos have led scholars to believe that Maria was buried in the region of the Rhodopes,

Fig. 58.
September
Menologion, Mount
Athos, MS Ath. Georg.
20, 1081, fol. 4r.
Photo © Iviron Holy
Monastery, Mt. Athos.



20 records that Theophilos completed his translation during the reign of Nicephoros Botaneiates and Alexios Komnenos—at the time when Maria, who had been to

Georgia on a certain mission, returned to the capital (see MS Ath. Georg. 20, fols. 186v–188v). According to the account of Anna Komnene, Maria was then feeling low, for “she was in a foreign country, without relatives, without friends, with nobody whatever of her own folk. Naturally she did not wish to leave the palace hurriedly; she feared some evil might befall the child, if she went before receiving some guarantee of safety. When

on the slope of Mount Papikion, in a monastery where she had been a nun. On a wall of the monastery’s church were found mural portraits that may represent Maria and her son Constantine. See Mikaberidze, “Maria-Martha in Byzanz und Georgien” (n. 99 above), 128–59.

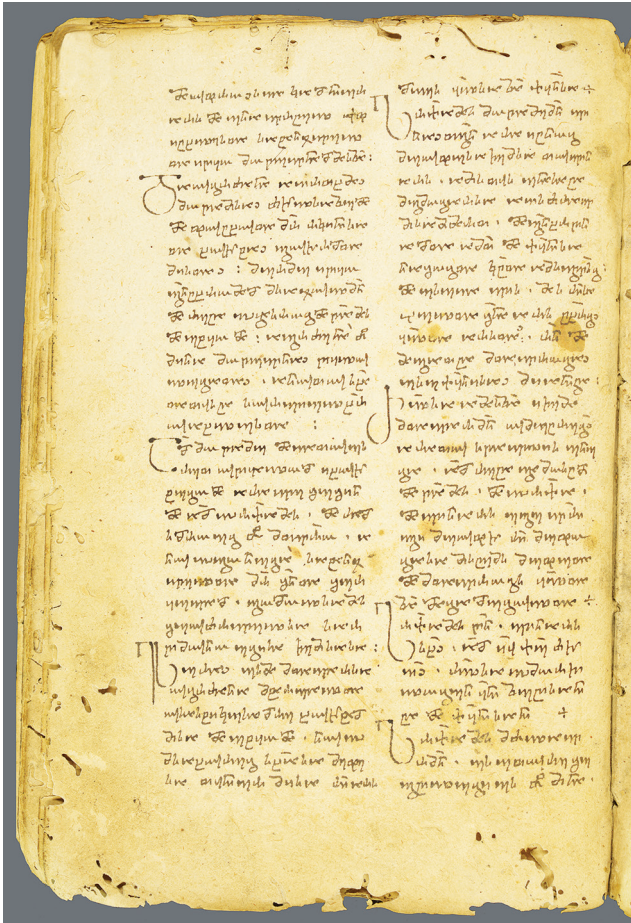


Fig. 59. November Menologion, Mount Athos, MS Ath. Georg. 36, early 1080s, fol. 17v. Photo © Iviron Holy Monastery, Mt. Athos.

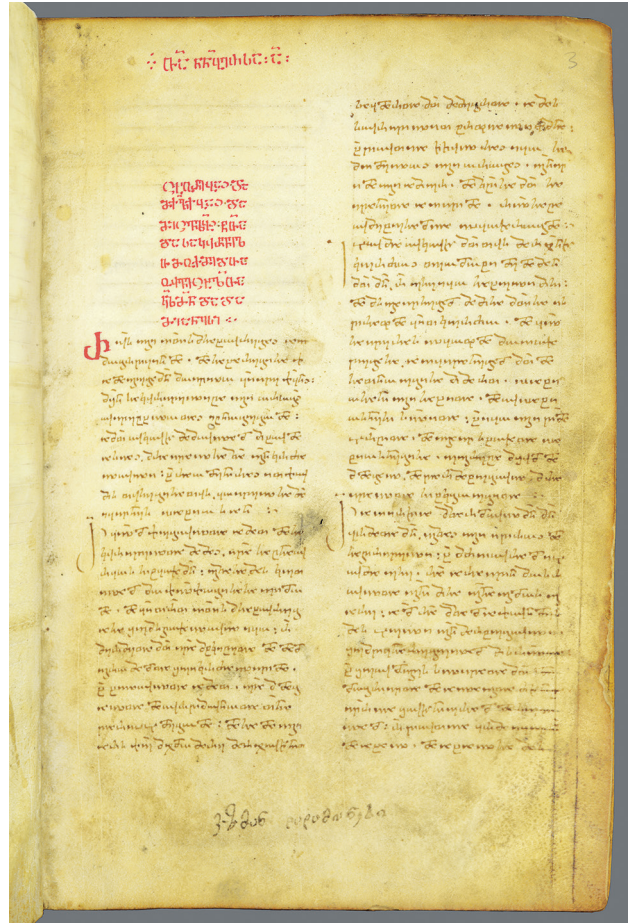


Fig. 60. November Menologion, Mount Athos, MS Ath. Georg. 37, early 1080s, fol. 3r. Photo © Iviron Holy Monastery, Mt. Athos.

emperors fall, that kind of thing usually happens.”¹²¹ In 1081 the Komneni rebels, with whom Maria sided, dethroned Nicephoros Botaneiates. Theophilos must be referring to this period when writing of the human and material obstacles he encountered while working on the manuscript. In one of the colophons, in which he complains of the difficult times, he laments human perfidy and untrustworthiness and also notes that two *drabkans* could buy just two pieces of parchment (MS Ath. Georg. 20, fols. 3r–v). Once Maria fell out of favor with the new emperor, around 1088, she probably spent her days in a palace built by Constantine Monomachos near Mangana. Later, soon after death of her son Constantine in 1094, she appears as a nun in Petritzos, on her estate

121 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 3.1 (trans. Sewter, 116).

in the Rhodope Mountains in northern Thrace.¹²² Theophilos’s presence in Triandaphilou became untenable and he left the monastery.

After his departure from the Triandaphilou monastery, Theophilos presumably resided in one of the

122 The Georgian nobleman, Sebastos, and Great Domestic of the West Gregory Bakurianisdze, beloved colleague and confidant of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos, founded the great Iberian monastery of the Virgin Petritzonitissa, in the northern foothills of the Rhodope Mountains (Bachkovo monastery, near the modern city Asenovgrad, in southern Bulgaria), in 1083 (A. Shanidze, *Kartvelt’a monastery bulgaret’shi da misi tipikoni* [The Georgian monastery in Bulgaria and its typicon] (Tbilisi, 1971); E. Bakalova, V. Kolarova, P. Popov, and V. Todorov, with V. Karageorghis and L. Leventis, *The Ossuary of the Bachkovo Monastery* (Plovdiv, 2003), 11–16; M. Mullett, “The ‘Disgrace’ of the Ex-Basilissa Maria,” *Byzantinoslavica* 45 (1984): 202–11; Alexidze, “Martha-Maria: An Outstanding Personality” (n. 99 above), 309.

monasteries of “Hellas.” Most likely this was the monastery in Bithynia on Mount Olympus (ოლიმბო/ულუმბოდ in Georgian), the church of the Mother of God in the Lavra called K’rania, known from the earlier period as a place where many Georgians were active.¹²³ There he apparently met the hermit monk Klim and the hieromonk Basil Ulumboeli (surname “from Olympus”), who become his spiritual father. The evidence for this is found in Theophilus’s autograph manuscript (MS Ath. Georg. 29) that contains St. John Chrysostom’s *Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (fig. 61). Its colophon tells us that Theophilus started translating this work in one of the monasteries of Greece (“Hellas”), and completed it in and donated it to the Iviron monastery at Mount Athos.¹²⁴

123 In 978 St. Euthymios the Hagiorite’s translation of the commentary of St. Andrew of Crete on the Apocalypse was copied by Saba Kuti (Saba the Cripple) “in Greece, on the Holy Mount of Olimbo, at the abode of the Holy Mother of God, the Lavra called K’rania” (NCM, H-1346, 208r). See T. Otkhmezuri, ed., *Georgian Manuscripts Copied Abroad in Libraries and Museums of Georgia: Illustrated Catalogue*, comp. V. Kekelia, N. Mirotadze, T. Otkhmezuri, and D. Chitunashvili (Tbilisi, 2018), 64. Five decades later, in 1030, under the sponsorship of St. George the Hagiorite “in Greece, on Mount Olympos, in the cave [which is a] place of Georgians, in the church of the Holy Mother of God,” Isaac Mankeli copied the hagiographic-homiletic collection, which earlier had been translated by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite. See N. Chkhikvadze, ed., *The Georgian Manuscript Book Abroad*, comp. M. Karanadze, V. Kekelia, L. Shatirishvili, and N. Chkhikvadze (Tbilisi, 2018), 198.

124 MS Ath. Georg. 29, fols. 344r–v: ითარგმნა უკუშ წმიდად ესე და დიდებად ყოველთა ეკლესიათად წიგნი ღმრთისა მიერ და მისთა აურაცხჳლთა მოწყალეებათა, მეოხებითა ყოვლად წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობლისა დედისა ღმრთისადათა, მადლითა წმიდათა მამათა და მნათობთა სოფლისათა, ამასვე დიდსა ოქრობირსა თანა წმიდისა მამისა ეფთუმესითა და წმიდისა მამისა გიორგი მთაწმიდელისა, აღმზრდელისა ჩემისადათა მცირისა გლახაკისა და ობლისა, ლოცვითა მოძღუარათა და მშობელთადათა, ლოცვითა ყოველთა ქართველთადათა, ლოცვითა წმიდათა მამათა და დიდთა ბერთა, იოვანე რეხუდს ძისა, ბერისა საბადს თუხარსჳლისა, ბერისა კლიმი მეუდანოფსა და ნეტარისა ბასილისი ულუმბელისა მოძღუარისა ჩემისადათა, რომელთა ყოველთადავე არს ერთბამად საუკონომცა საწესენებელი და კურთხევადა, რომელიცა უკუშ კეთილად იბოების ჩემ ცოდ[ვ]ილსა ამას ზედა... დადნუსსა უკუშ ჳელითა ცოდვილისა [თეოფილე]სითა ქუეყანასა ელადისასა და მთაწმიდას სრულ იქმნა, სადაცა იგი შეიწირა... ჩემთვის ლოცვა [ცა]ვთ. ბერსა კლიმის შეუნდვენ ღმერთმან (Translated now this holy book, glorious for all churches, on behalf of God and his immeasurable benevolence[s], with the help of the all-holy Virgin, the Mother of God, with the grace of the holy fathers and the heavenly bodies of the world together with the great Chrysostom, the holy father Ep’tvime, and the holy father Giorgi the Hagiorite who reared me [when I was] little, wretched, and orphaned; with the prayer of all fathers and great

Later, through the intervention of the hieromonk Eugenios (who would become the father superior of the Iviron monastery in 1104 to 1108), presumably then active in Constantinople,¹²⁵ Theophilus seem to be connected to the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos (fol. 377v). At that time, with the assistance of Klim, he undertook the translation of the *Apophthegmata* (NCM, MS A-1105; fig. 62). Theophilus added to the autograph copy of the MS a number of the commemorations of Klim, all written in cinnabar.¹²⁶ However,

monks, of Iovane Rekhuesdze, of the monk Saba Tukharseli, of the monk Klim the anchorite, and blessed Basili Ulumboeli, my teacher—to all of whom together may there be eternal commemoration and blessing—which is already found upon me, this sinful one... [This book] was written down by the hand of sinful Theophilus in the country Hellas and was accomplished on the Holy Mountain, to which it was dedicated... Pray for me. May God forgive Klim the monk).

125 NCM, MS A-1105, fol. 377v: ღმერთმან აკურთხენ ევგენი. ფრიადი შრომად აჩუენა ძიებისათვისცა და შექცევისა და მოღუაწებისათ ჩუენისა. მიეცინ ღმერთმან სასციდელი მრავალ წილად (God bless Evgeni. He worked hard to find and attract me and get me to the work. May God repay him many times over). According to Helen Metreveli, before becoming the father superior of the Iviron monastery Eugenios was active in Constantinople and had no connections to Mount Athos. She suggested that the autograph copy of the *Patericon*, like other translations by Theophilus, must have been compiled in Constantinople (Metreveli, *At’onis k’art’velt’a monastiris saaghape tsigni* [n. 71 above], 119–20).

126 The MS was brought from the Iviron monastery to Georgia in the first quarter of the twentieth century. In the description of the Georgian manuscripts deposited in the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts, Klim is erroneously credited with writing MS A-1105, and this misunderstanding later became widespread. Kekelidze, *Kart’ul khelnatsert’a aghtseriloba, A kolektsia*, vol. 4 (n. 6 above), 86–90; Lolashvili, *At’onis kart’ul khelnatsert’a siakhleni*, 37–38; Metreveli, *Narkvevebi at’onis kulturul-saganmanat’leblo keris istoriidan*, 235–36, 239–50.

In one of the colophons composed before the competition to copy the newly translated text (163v), Theophilus asks for the eternal commemoration of and blessing for Klim; it is thus clear that by that time Klim already was dead (see NCM, MS A-1105, fols. 1v, 163v, 306v, 333v; MS Ath. Georg. 20, fols. 186v–188v). He must have died toward the end of the 1080s. This chronology is confirmed by the mutual agape established on 23 January by the hieromonk Ioane Bukhaidze (1080–1104) and Protosynkellos Nikola (the father superior of the Iviron monastery in 1080–1081) and inserted into the commemorative book of the Iviron monastery. According to Metreveli, the commemoration of Klim was compiled no earlier than 1085. Later, in the first third of the twelfth century, it was transferred from the inconsistently written commemorative notes into Iviron’s book of commemorations, compiled by Ioane Taplaidze. See Metreveli, *At’onis k’art’velt’a monastiris saaghape tsigni*, 216. At the same time, we should take into account that in the first years of the abbotship of Iovane Bukhaidze, Klim was still alive. With the parchment donated from

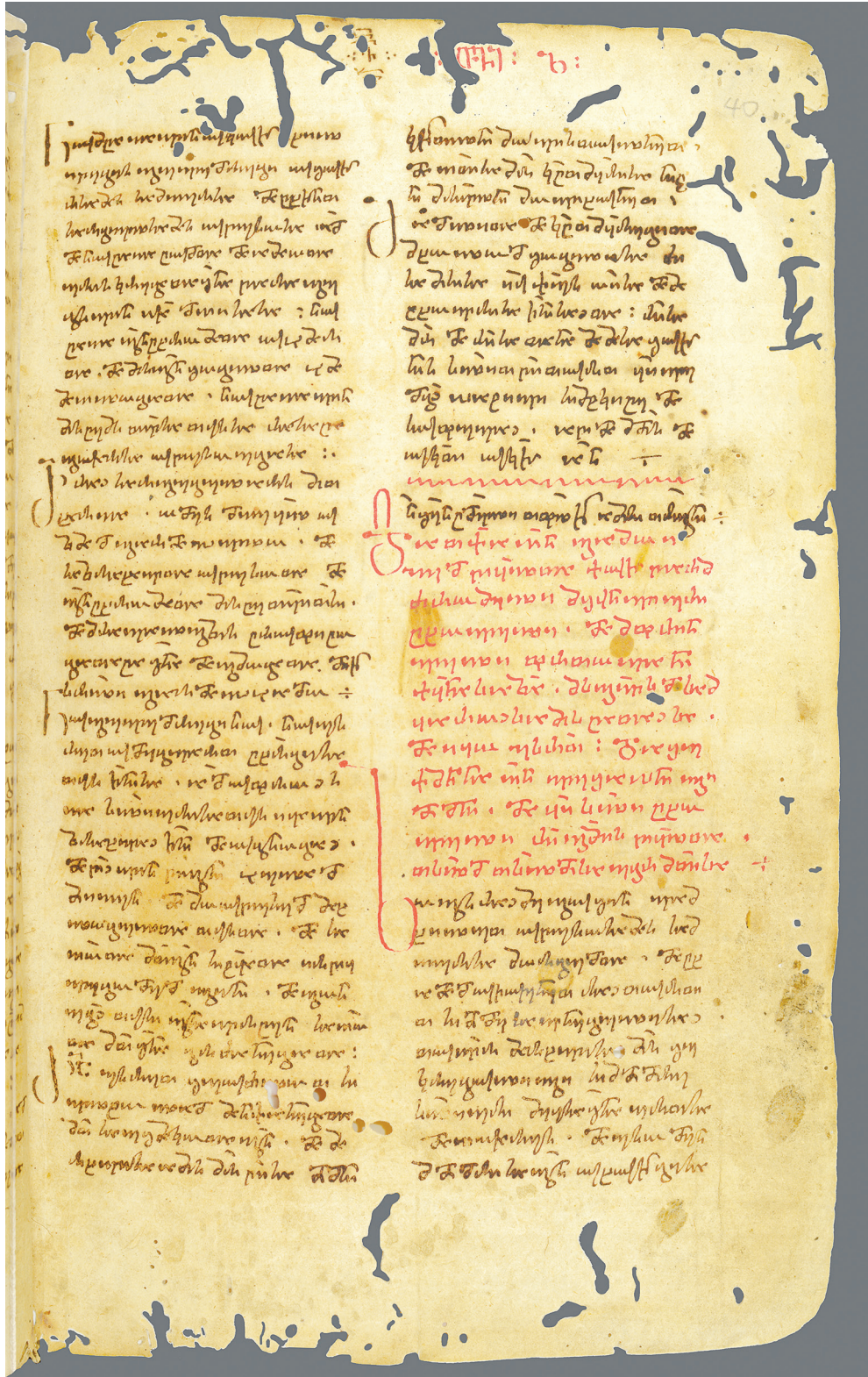


Fig. 61. St. John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, Mt. Athos, MS Ath. Georg. 29, 1080s, fol. 400r. Photo © Iviron Holy Monastery, Mt. Athos.



Fig. 62. Apophthegmata, NCM, MS A-1105, fol. 1r.

the evidence for Theophilus's activity on Mount Athos and for his death in the Iviron monastery is confirmed neither in the commemorative book of the Iviron monastery nor in the colophons of the local manuscripts. Accordingly, it is likely that his stay at Mount Athos was brief—if he was there at all. Nothing is known about Theophilus's subsequent life, or about his death.

The schools and wealthy libraries of eleventh-century Constantinople, which attracted Georgians, are subjects for a separate discussion. Distinguished figures such as SS. Euthymios and George the Hagiorites, the hieromonk Theophilus, Arsen Vachesdze, and Ioane Petritsi were trained there and began undertaking translations.¹²⁷ In 1066 St. George the Hagiorite brought eighty Georgian children to be educated in the Byzantine capital.¹²⁸ Special mention must be made of the imperial university reestablished by Constantine Monomachos in 1044–1047, where Michael Psellos, John Xiphilinos, John Italos, and other celebrated scholars taught. Among its students were probably Arsen Vachesdze and Ioane Petritsi, who subsequently

introduced the theological and philosophical traditions of this famous institution into the Georgian monasteries of the Black Mountain, Petritzos (later known as Bachkovo) in northern Thrace, and Gelati in western Georgia, where a school modeled on the Mangana Academy in Constantinople was founded in 1006 by King David the Builder (1089–1125).¹²⁹ Arsen Vachesdze also resided at the imperial Mangana monastery in Constantinople, where he started to compile a vast dogmatic-polemic collection called *Dogmatikon*. Arsen had begun to translate certain articles and parts of the collection while he was studying and working at the Mangana Academy—at the beginning of the 1070s to '80s. This is the period when he began to work on collating the *Dogmatikon*—a hefty collection—and on translating some of his compositions at the monastery of St. George in Mangana. There, “through the prayers” of the monk of Black Mountain Ioane Rateuli and George the Georgian (known as Mtsire, or “the Lesser”), he translated St. Anastasios Sinaite's *Hodegos*. This information is given in the colophons of Arsen and King David IV the Builder, written in the hand of the anonymous copyist of one of the earliest copies of the *Dogmatikon* (NCM, MS S-1463).¹³⁰

The *Dogmatikon*, which incorporates translated dogmatical and polemical treatises of Anastasios Sinaites, John Damaskinos, Theodore Abu Qurrah, Michael Psellos, Cyril of Alexandria, Nicetas Stethatos, and Pope Leon of Rome, provides important insights into Arsen's translation method, as well as into the general approach to organizing this type of manuscript

Ioane Bukhaidze and relying on his own financial resources, Klim copied George the Athonite's version of the extended Pentecostarion, which he donated to the Iviron Lavra of the Mother of God (MS Ath. Georg. 63, fol. 146v). The colophons added by Theophilus to NCM, MS A-1105 make clear that he copied the text of the Patericon before Eugenios became the father superior of the Iviron monastery (i.e., 1104–1108), apparently by the end of the 1080s.

127 St. George the Hagiorite, “Tskhorebai Iovanesi da Ep'tvimesi” (n. 7 above), 60; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos* (n. 7 above), 66–67, 107; George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giorgi M'tatsmindelisi” (n. 7 above), 118. According to the Greek version of the *Life* of the founders of the Iviron monastery, St. Euthymios the Hagiorite—who was educated in Constantinople—was attracted by the royal customs, beautiful churches, wonderful monasteries, saints, faithful people, and (most noteworthy) different types of schools, where one could get a variety of knowledge: ἡ φύσιν τὸν ἐζήτησεν, ἀκόμι καὶ συνοῦσα αὐτῷ ἀρετὴ τὸν ἔκαμνε προθυμότερον, εἰς τὸ νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν μετὰ τοῦ πάππου του, διὰ τὰ ἰδίη καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὅσα ἤκουε πῶς εὕρισκονται εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, βασιλικὰς τάξεις, ναοὺς, περικαλεῖς, μοναστήρια ἀξιθαύμαστα, ἐναρέτους καὶ σημειοφόρους ἀνδρας. καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων, μαθημάτων διαφόρων διάφορα σχολεῖα (M. Machkhaneli, ed., *Ioane, Ep'tvime da Giorgi at'onelebis berdznuli tskhovreba* [Greek Life of John, Euthymios, and George the Hagiorites] [Tbilisi, 1982], 130–32). See also Kekelidze, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria* (n. 56 above), 250–51, 274, 285; Menabde, *Dzveli k'art'uli mts'erlobis kerebi* (n. 3 above), 2:249–50, 268–90; I. Lolashvili, *Arsen Iq'alt'veli (Tskhovreba da moghvateoba)* [Arsen Iq'alt'veli (Life and works)] (Tbilisi, 1978), 43.

128 George Mtsire, “Tskhorebai Giorgi M'tatsmindelisi,” 168–73; *Georgian Monks on Mount Athos*, 137–41.

129 S. Q'aukhchishvili, *Gelati's academia* [Gelati Academy] (Tbilisi, 2018), 15.

130 As already noted, Arsen worked on translating different treatises gathered in the *Dogmatikon* and compiling the collection for a long stretch of time in the Mangana monastery. He continued editing the collection in Georgia while staying at the Shio-Mgvime monastery in eastern Georgia in the early twelfth century. This is confirmed by the colophon of the scribe written in cinnabar (fol. 181r). The copying of the MS from the autograph presumably was completed in the Shio-Mgvime monastery soon after Arsen's death in the 1120s. See E. Metreveli, ed., *K'art'ul khelnatseri'a aghtseriloba, S kolektsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection S], vol. 2, comp. A. Bakradze, T. Bregadze, E. Metreveli, and M. Shanidze (Tbilisi, 1959), 213–22, esp. 214, 222; M. Rap'ava, N. Chikvatia, and D. Shengelia, eds., *Dogmatikoni I: Anastasi Sineli, Tsinamdzgvari* [Dogmatikon I: Anastasius of Sinai, Hodegos] (Tbilisi, 2015), 36; M. Rap'ava, M. Kasradze, and N. Chikvatia, eds., *Dogmatikoni II: Nikita stit'ati, Tkbzulebani* [Dogmatikon II: Nicetas Stethatos, Treatises] (Tbilisi, 2013), 16–19.

Fig. 63.
The *Dogmatikon*,
NCM, MS
S-1463, fol. 48r.



(figs. 63 and 64). The manuscript is distinguished by numerous comments of the translator and the compiler attached to the text as marginal annotations (შეიხვავვე [attention], სხოლოო [scholium], თარგმანი [translation]) and by the diagrams and figures included in the text. Notable among them is the translator’s note on the iconography of the Crucifixion and the necessity to supply the text of the *Hodegos* of St. Anastasios Sinaite

with this image.¹³¹ According to Arsen, the image of the Calvary Cross appeared in all the Greek manuscripts, except one with the image of the Crucifixion, used by him when translating the treatise in Constantinople (fig. 65). The translator’s commentary is accompanied

131 The note on fol. 23v addressed to the copyists raises the same concerns.

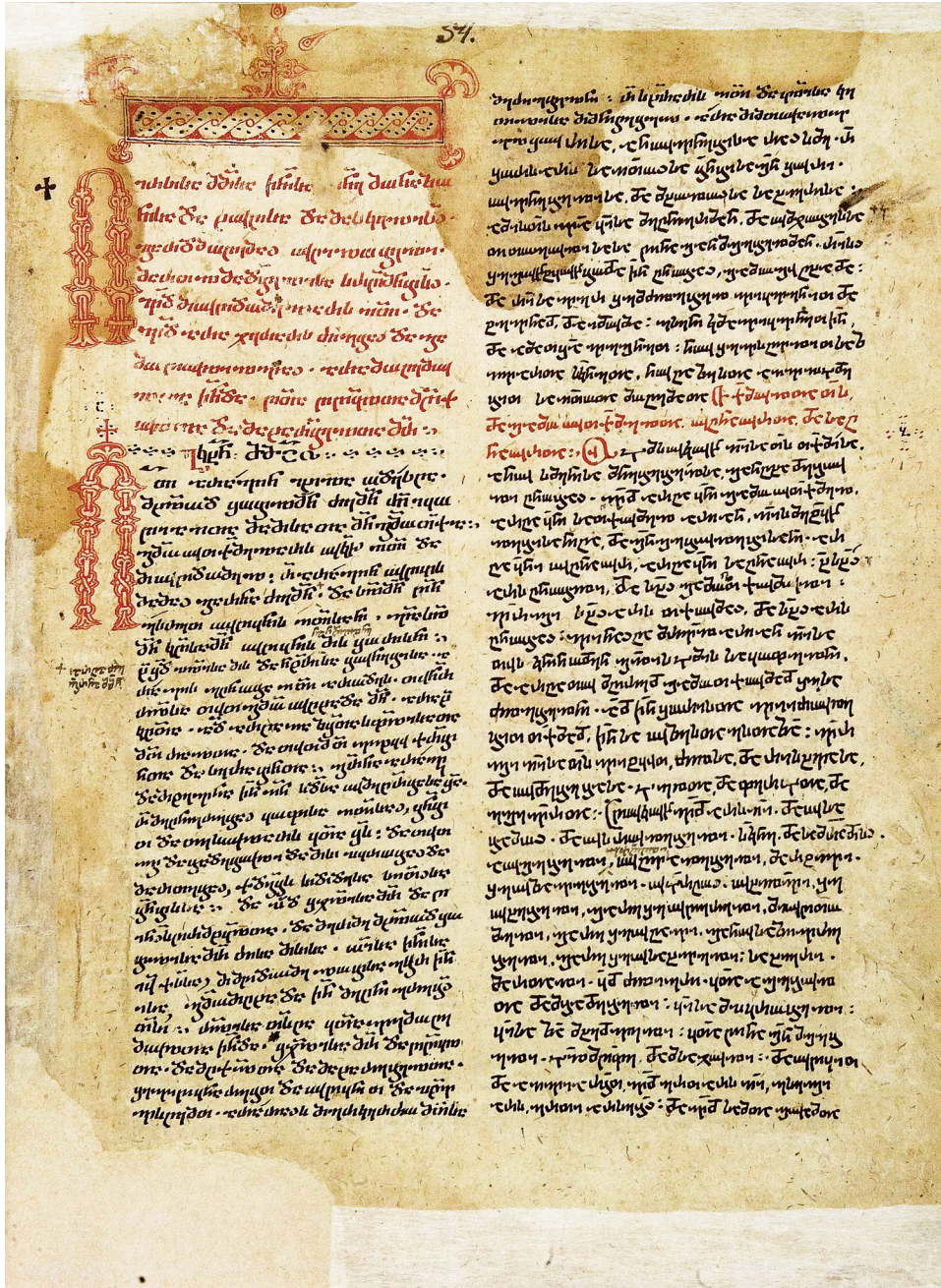


Fig. 64. The *Dogmatikon*, NCM, MS S-1463, fol. 54r.

by the image of Christ crucified, filling almost the entire page and done in the dark brown and red ink used in the text, with the explanatory inscriptions in Nuskhuri: იესუ ნაზარეველი, მეფე ჰურობათაჲ (Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews), ღმერთი სიტყუად ჰუარსა ზედა, სული სიტყვერი და ჳორცი (God the Word on the Cross, the Spirit is the Word and the Flesh). Scholars believe that this image of the Crucifixion with

its text is one of the earliest among Byzantine manuscripts known to date.¹³²

132 N. Chikvatia, “Anastasi sinelis ‘tsinamdzhuarshi’ datsuli ert’ ikonograp’iuli gamosakhulebis shesaxeb” [Regarding a certain iconographic image preserved in the “Hodegos” by St. Anastasios Sinaite], *Mraavl’avi, Proceedings of Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts* 2.4 (2015): 160–65.



Fig. 65. The composition of the Crucifixion. The *Dogmatikon*, NCM, MS S-1463, fol. 23v.

Soon after 1183, at the request of the monk David of the Petritzos monastery, Arsen Vachesdze apparently translated Nicetas Stethatos's polemical speeches against Armenian monophysites (NCM, MS S-1463, fols. 264r-v): "Fathers and brethren, pray for Arsen the translator and the hieromonk David of Petritzon, at the behest of whom these chapters, making accusations [of heresy] against the Armenians, were translated from the Greek into Georgian. The remembrance of Arsen is eternal, Amen."¹³³ The composition of the collection with old and contemporary authors (Michael Psellos, Nicetas Stethatos, Eustrates of Nicea), Arsen Vachesdze's colophon appended to the *Hodegos* of St. Anastasios Sinaites, and the writings connected to his activities preserved by the text of NCM, MS S-1463, all confirm this. He is thought to have also begun to translate the *Chronograph* of George Hamartolos at Mangana.¹³⁴

For Arsen Vachesdze and Ioane Petritsi,¹³⁵ as they sought to become acquainted with the new literature and to carry out translations on a large scale, the best places for such endeavors were the well-endowed imperial and monastic libraries of Constantinople and the existing educational centers connected to them—they could take advantage of relationships with the

intellectuals active there. The assistance provided to scholars active in Constantinople by the Byzantine empress Maria, as well as to leading Georgian officials active on Mount Athos and that Black Mountain who had been favored at the Byzantine imperial court, must have been significant.



Georgian cultural activity in eleventh- to twelfth-century Constantinople was not limited to manuscript production but extended over a variety of fields. As a group, these objects, originating from the Georgian circle of Constantinople in the eleventh century, reflect the exchange of cultural achievements and the diffusion of ideas in the Byzantine world. They show why and how forms and methods established in the capital were borrowed in Georgian translations and original writings, in illuminated manuscripts and works of art, revealing which elements were distinct and which were shared, as well as what kinds of transformation they underwent in the Georgian cultural environment.


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133 This colophon is thought to have been written soon after the death of Arsen Vachesdze. See Rap'ava, Kasradze, and Chikvatia, *Dogmatikoni II: Nikita stit'ati, Tkhzulebani*, 16–19.

134 Lolashvili, *Arsen Iqalt'veli*, 48–49.

135 Ioane Petritsi is assumed to have been the addressee of the letter written by John Italus to the Abkhaz (i.e., Georgian) *grammatikos*. It is clear from the introduction of the letter that John Italus was a like-minded authority close to him: see S. Q'aukhchishvili, *Bizantiuri literaturis istoria* [History of Byzantine literature] (Tbilisi, 1973), 262–63. In addition, Darejan Kldiashvili has hypothesized that the typicon of the Georgian monastery of Petritzos, which was prepared according to the regulations of the Panaghia monastery in Constantinople, had been composed by Ioane Petritsi ("Klarjuli svinak'saris t'arighi da momgebeli: khutsesmonazoni egnatis biograp'iist'vis" [The date and the donor of the Klarjeti Synaxarion: On the biography of Hieromonk Egnati], *Saistorio krebuli* [Historical Collections] 4 [2014]: 333–34).

 FOR VALUABLE COMMENTS, SUGGESTIONS, and help, we are grateful to two anonymous readers. Also, we would like to praise the late Arrian Chanturia, as well as Georgi Parpulov and Giorgi Bagrationi. We would like to express our gratitude to the Korneli Kekelidze Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts,

Kutaisi State Historical Museum, Svaneti Historical-Ethnographical Museum, Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Father Theologos, librarian, Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos, and Father Justin, librarian, Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, for their kind support.

Appendix: Colophons and Notes from Georgian Manuscripts Copied in Eleventh-Century Constantinople

1. Horologion, 986, Constantinople; monastery of St. Catherine, Sin. Georg. N. 23

15.5 × 12 cm; 586 folios of 15 or 16 lines in one column; parchment; the binding is missing; gatherings consist of 8 folios each. The gathering markings indicate that eleven gatherings have been lost at the beginning. Written in Nuskhuri in black ink; the headings are in red ink; initials are in Asomt'avruli; copied

Fol. 54r, in Nuskhuri; the beginning is damaged and illegible:

მოეც, უფალო, პოვ[. . .] [და წყალო]ბად შენი მას დ[ლ]ესა შ[. . .] [ს]ულსა გლახ ჩემ ცოდვილისასა იოვანე- მელისსა, რომელმან დავეწერენ წმიდანი ესე ჟამნი ოცდაოთხნი სრულნი ყოვლითა განგებითა უცთომელად. წმინდანო ღმრთისანო, მღდელნო და დიაკონნო, რომელნი იკითხვიდეთ, ღმრთისა სიყვარულისათვის შურომისათვის ლოცვა ყავთ; და ზომად წერისათვის და, თუ და-რად-მეკლოს, შენდობა ყავთ. ჭირთა ვერ დავპლევ, ვითარისა დედისაგან დამიწერიან, ღმერთმან იცის.

Further, in elegant Asomt'avruli:

დაიწერნეს წმიდანი ესე ჟამნი ქალაქსა შინა დიდსა კოსტანტიპოლის, ქრონიკონი იყო ს^ვ.

by Iovane Meli in Constantinople in the Georgian Koronikon^a SV (986 CE).

Z. Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue of the Georgian Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Athens, 2005), 88–89 (in Greek), 269–70 (in Georgian), 396–97 (in English); 535–36 (plates).

O God [. . .] grant our [. . .] sinner on the Day [. . .] to the soul of me, the wretched sinner Iovane-Meli who has written this holy Horologion, complete for twenty-four hours, with all the ordinances [and] without any error. O holy ones of God, priests and deacons, you who read this, for the love of God, pray for me and grant me pardon for the bad script and for whatever I have failed to achieve. The difficulties I had to surmount were innumerable, God knows what kind of original I had to copy from.

This holy Horologion was written in the great city of Constantinople and the koronikon was 206 (986 CE).

2. Minor Nomocanon, 1022–1028, Constantinople; NCM, S-143

19 × 15 cm; 205 folios of 18 lines in one column; parchment; leather binding of a much later date; gatherings consist of 8 folios each. The beginning and the end are missing. Written in Nuskhuri in medium brown ink; the richly decorated headings are written in Asomt'avruli script in dark red ink in the Π-shaped color headpieces (fols. 94v, 149r, 179r); the colophons are written in calligraphic Nuskhuri and Asomt'avruli script in black and dark red ink. Translated from the Greek by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (fols. 94r, 118v, 148r, 163v); the donor: Zacharia, archbishop of Valashkert (fols. 94r, 133v, 118v, 148r, 163v, 166r, 169v); by his order St. Euthymios translated the

“Rule of the Consecration of the Church” (fol. 163v); the MS was copied by Basili Malushidze (fol. 176v). This MS is thought to have been produced at the Chora monastery.

N. Zaozerskii and A. Khakhanov, *Nomocanon Ioanna Postnika* [Nomocanon of John the Faster] (Moscow, 1902); I. Abuladze, *K'art'uli tseris nimushebi: Paleografi'iuli albomi* [The examples of Georgian script: Palaeographical album] (Tbilisi, 1973), 145–47, pls. 72–73; E. Metreveli, ed., *K'art'ul kbelnatsert'a aghtseriloba, Skoleksia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection S], vol. 1, comp. T. Bregadze, T. Eruk'idze, N. Kasradze, L. K'ut'at'eladze, and K. Sharashidze (Tbilisi, 1959), 152–54.

^a In the Georgian manuscripts copied in Byzantium, particularly in Constantinople, the date is mainly given according to the Byzantine and Georgian calendars. In addition, they mention the names of Byzantine emperors and patriarchs contemporaneous to the creation of the manuscript, as well as Georgian kings and patriarchs or important events. The Georgian calendar, or koronikon, was the most frequently used. It was based on 532-year cycles, back to the creation of the world (assumed to be 5604 years before the birth of Jesus). This system remained in use in Georgia until the end of the eighteenth century.

Fol. 94r:

რომელნიც ამას რჩულისკანონსა იკითხვიდეთ, ლოცვასა მომიწსენეთ გლახაკი ეფთვმე, რომელმან ვთარგმნე ესე ბერძნულისაგან ქართულად, ამენ იყავნ.

უფალო ისუ ქრისტე, მფლობელო ყოველთა არსთა და სუფევათაო, ადიდე შენმიერთა წარუვალითა დიდებითა ზეცისა სასუფეველსა წმიდად მამამთავარი ზაქარია ვალაშკერტელი.

Fol. 163v:

დიდებად ღმერთსა. დაესრულა კურთხევად წმიდისა ეკლესიისად, ლოცვა ყავთ მამისა ეფთვმესტვს, რომელმან ესე ბერძნულისაგან გვთარგმნა ქართულად. იესუ ქრისტე, ადიდე ზაქარია მამადმთავარი ორთავე შინა ცხოვრებათა.

Fol. 176v:

დიდებად შენდა, იესუ ქრისტე, სრულეზაო ყოველთა კეთილთაო, რომელი მიანიჭებ საწადელსა მოშიშთა სახელისა შენისათა, ამენ. ლოცვად ყავთ ცოდვილისა ბასილისათვს.

Whosoever reads this Nomocanon, remember in prayer the humble Eptvime who translated this from the Greek into Georgian, Amen, so be it.

Lord Jesus Christ, ruler of all beings and kingdoms, praise with your eternal glory in the kingdom of heaven the holy bishop Zacharia of Valashkert.

Glory to God. The consecration of the Holy Church has been completed. Pray for the father Eptvime who translated this for us from the Greek into Georgian. Jesus Christ, praise Archbishop Zacharia in both lives.

Glory to you, Jesus Christ, perfection of all good, you who grant the desires of those who fear your name, Amen. Pray for the sinner Basil.

3. *Sermons of St. Gregory the Theologian*, ca. 1028, Georgian monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos (fols. 1r–284v inclusive), Constantinople (from fol. 285r onward); NCM, A-92

26.5 × 21 cm; 430 folios of 22, 23, or 24 lines in one column; parchment; leather binding of a later date; partially spotted, upper and lateral edges are cut. According to the colophons from a later period, in the eighteenth century the MS belonged to the monastery of St. John the Baptist in the Gareja desert. There, the missing parts of the MS were completed by the text written on the watermarked paper (fols. 1r–80v, 427r–430v). Written in Nuskhuri in dark brown and black ink; the headings are written in Asomt'avruli script in light red ink; the colophons are written in Asomt'avruli and Nuskhuri script. Translated from Greek by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (see fols. 106v, 144v, 196v, 255r, 284r); copied by the order of Zacharia, bishop [of Valashkert] (see fols. 255r, 284r) and the hieromonk Michael (fols. 182v, 196r, 203r, 215r, 234r, 284v, 346v, 395r, 418v) in the Georgian monastery of the Holy Mother of God at Mount Athos; copyists: Zacharia Mirdatisdze (see fols. 106v, 165v, 182v, 255r, 284r, 360v,

361r), Arsen (see fols. 284r, etc.), and Basil Malushidze (see fols. 284r, 360v, etc.); bookbinder: Gregory (fol. 284r).

Note: The last part of the text (from fol. 285r onward), which was copied by Basil Malushidze, has independent numbering and, unlike other sections of the manuscript, is decorated with colored headpieces (fols. 285r, 346v, 361r, 395v). We can assume that this part was executed by Zacharia's disciple Basil Malushidze in Constantinople and later incorporated into the main body of the codex.

E. Metreveli, ed., *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba*, *A kolektsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection A], vol. 1.1, comp. T. Bregadze, M. K'avt'aria, and L. K'ut'arladze (Tbilisi, 1973), 326–32; T. Bregadze, *Grigol Nazianzelis tkhzelebat'a shemtsveli dzveli k'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba* [Description of the Georgian manuscripts of the works of Gregory of Nazianzus] (Tbilisi, 1988), 78–83.

Fol. 284r:

ლოცვა ყავთ ღმერთშემოსილისა მამისა ჩუენისა ეფთვმესტვს. ესე საკითხავი დაიწერა ჳელითა არსენისითა. ლოცვასა მოიწსენეთ. დიდებად შენდა სამეზაო წმიდაო, სრულმყოფელო ყოველთა კეთილთაო, ამინ.

დაიწერა წმიდად ესე წიგნი მთაწმიდას, საყოფელსა წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისა, მონასტერსა ქართველსა, ბრძანებითა ზაქარია მამდმთავარისადათ, ღმერთმან ზიარყავნ მათ თანა სასუფეველსა. ახლად თარგმნა წმიდამან და ღმერთშემოსილმან მამამან ეფთვმე. ყოველთა კეთილთა მისთა ზედა და მრავალთა შრომათა ესეცა სრულ ყო და ქართველთა ენასა გამოუცხადა. ნაწილი და სამკვდრებელი მისი იყავნ წმიდისა გრიგოლი ღმრთისმეტყუელისა თანა, ამინ.

შეიმოსა ჳელითა გრიგოლისითა.

Pray for our God-having Father Eptvime. This homily was written by the hand of Arseni. Commemorate him in your prayers. Glory to you, Holy Trinity, you who make all good things perfect.

This holy book was written on the Holy Mountain, in the Georgian monastery of the Holy Virgin, by the order of Archbishop Zacharia. May God let him share the eternal abode with them. It was newly translated by Saint and God-having Father Eptvime. Together with his numerous good works and deeds, he completed this [work] and presented it in the language of the Georgians. May his destiny and his eternal abode be with Saint Gregory the Theologian, Amen.

[This book] was bound by the hand of Grigol.

დაიწერა ჯელითა ზაქარიადსითა, არსენისითა და ბასილისითა. ღმერთმან გარწმუნოს.

ჴსენებულ გუჴვენით წმიდათა ლოცვათა თქუენტა.

Fol. 360v:

სანატრელნო მამანო, გლახაკი ზაქარია მირდატის ძე ჴსენებულ ყავთ წმიდათა ლოცვათა თქუენტა. დიდებად ღმერთსა, განსრულდა ესეცა საკითხავი ჴელითა უღირსისა და ფრიად ცოდვილისა ბასილისითა. იესუ ქრისტე, მეუფეო დიდებისაო, ადიდე შენმეირითა დიდებითა ზეცისა სასუფეველსაისა შენსა ზაქარია მამადმთავარი და დაასაყდრე წმინდათა შენთა თანა, ამინ, იყავნ. ვინცა-ვინ იკითხვიდეთ ლოცვასა წმიდასა თქუენისა, მოგვიჴსენენით, რადთა თქუენცა ქრისტემან სასციდელი ზეცისა მოგანიჭოს. ამინ.

This [book] was written by the hand of Zacharia, Arseni, and Basili. By God believe it.

God, mention us in your holy prayers.

Blessed Fathers, commemorate humble Zacharia Mirdatisdze in your holy prayers. Glory to God, this homily was completed by the hand of the unworthy sinner Basili. Jesus Christ lord of glory, glorify by your glory in your heavenly abode Archbishop Zacharia and give him the seat with your saints, Amen so be it. Whoever will read [this] commemorate us in your holy prayers, in order that Christ may heavenly recompense, Amen.

4. Minor Synaxarion, 1030, monastery of Pege (Georg. Pighuri) in Constantinople; NCM, A-648

27 × 20.5 cm; high-quality parchment; the binding is missing; only one-sixth—i.e., 72 folios—remains of a codex of originally ca. 400 folios; 23 lines in one column; illuminated with 74 miniatures (the majority of which are single-figure representations, with some narrative miniatures accompanied by Greek and Georgian inscriptions); gatherings consist of 8 folios each; the gathering markings in Armenian script are of a much later date. Written in calligraphic Nuskhuri script in brown ink; titles and initial letters as well as some words or sentences are written in Asomt'avruli script in cinnabar. The creation of the MS by the order of Zacharia, bishop of Valaskert, is recorded in Zacharia's autobiographical colophon in Georgian (fol. 72r), as well as in a Greek poem (fol. 71v) and commemoration (fol. 142r). The MS was copied by Basil Etratai [Malushidze] in Constantinople in the monastery Pege (Pighuri) "from the Creation, as the Greeks count, in XFL [= 6530], in indiction IG [= 13], in the Georgian koronikon SN [250]": i.e., 1030 CE.

Fol. 72r (*olim* 10r):

[...] და სალოცველად სულისა მზრდელისა და შემოქმედისა ჩემისა დავით ქართველთა კურაპალატისა, რომელისამცა სული ბრწყინავს სასუფეველსა ცათასა და საჴსენებელად სულისა მოძღუართა და მშობელთა ჩემთასა, არსენი მამადმთავრისა, ბაკურისა და თეკლადსა, პატრიარქისა ასათისსა, დავითისსა, დაფანჩულისასა.

დაიწერა ქალაქსა შინა დიდსა კონსტანტინოპოლს, ახალსა ჰრომსა, დასაბამითგანთა წელთა ვითარ ბერძენნი ითუალვენ ხელს, ინდიქტიონსა იგ, ქართველთა ქორნიკონსა სნ, მეფობასა ჰრომანოზისსა, პატრიარქობასა ალექსისა და ჩემსა მწირობასა პილურისა მონასტერსა, ჴელითა შვილისა ჩემისა ბასილი ეტრატადსითა. ქრისტემან სასციდელი შრომისა მისისად მიანიჭენ.

და მეცა უჴმარი შვილი მათი და არალირსი წყალობისად ჴსენებულ ყავთ წმიდათა ლოცვათა თქუენტა, რათა ერთობით ღირს ვიქმნეთ ადგილსა მას საწაადელსა მართალთა საყოფელსა და საუკუნოდ წარუვაღასა.

In the fifteenth century, during the invasion of the "Tatars" (i.e., Turks), the MS was taken out of southern Georgia. It was bought to Shamakha (now in Azerbaijan) by Mikhitar Shadibashvili, who returned it to Georgia and gave it to Shalika Q'aralashvili (fol. 1v). In the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries the MS was kept in Mtsketa in the Samtavro monastery (fol. 1r). N. Kondakov and D. Bakradze, *Opis' pamiatnikov drevnosti v nekotorykh khramakh i monastyriakh Gruzii* [Inventory of ancient monuments in some churches and monasteries of Georgia] (St. Petersburg, 1890), 166–70; T. Zhordaniia, *Opisanie rukopisei Tiflisskogo Tserkovnogo Muzeia Kartalino-Kakhetinskogo dukhovenstva* [Description of manuscripts of the Tbilisi Ecclesiastic Museum of Kartli and Kakheti Clergy], vol. 2 (Tbilisi, 1903), 132–33; K. Kekelidze, *Ierusalimskii Kanonar' VII veka: Gruzinskaia versiia* [The Jerusalem lectionary of the seventh century: The Georgian version] (Tbilisi, 1912), 297–310.

[...] and to pray for the soul of my upbringing and maker Davit' Curopalates of the Georgians, whose soul shines in the kingdom of heaven, and to remember my spiritual teachers and parents: Archbishop Arseni, Bakur and Tekla, Patriarch Asat', Davit' Dap'anchuli.

Written in the great city of Constantinople the new Rome, from the Creation, as the Greeks count, in 6530, indiction 13, the Georgian koronikon 250, in the reign of Romanos, the Patriarchate of Alexios, and my stay in the monastery of Pighuri, by the hand of my son Basil Etratai. Christ grant him a reward for his labor.

And I, useless son of theirs and not meriting of grace, remember you in your holy prayers, so that together we shall merit that place desired by the righteous in the eternal kingdom.

Fol. 10r:

უფალო ღმერთო, წყალობით მოიხსენე სასუფეველსა შენსა
ზაქარია ვალაშკერტელი. ღმერთმან შეუნდგენ.

Lord God, remember Zacharia of Valashkert with grace in your
kingdom, Amen, so be it.

Fol. 24r:

იესუ ქრისტე, ადიდებ სასუფეველსა შენსა ზაქარია
ვალაშკერტელი.

Jesus Christ, glorify in your kingdom.

Fol. 54r:

ქრისტე, ადიდებ სასუფეველსა შენსა წმიდათა შენთა თანა
ზაქარია ვალაშკერტელი].

Christ, praise Zacharia of Valashkert in your kingdom together
with your saints.

Fol. 71v, Greek poem attached to the Synaxarion of Bishop Zacharia:

Βίβλω γραφείσας τῆδε τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν
μνήμας ἑορτᾶς τοῦ χρόνου παντὸς βλέπων,
τοῦ ζωγράφου θαύμαζε τὴν εὐτεχνίαν.
καὶ γὰρ νοητὸς ὡς πῶλος τὸ βιβλίον
Χριστὸν νοητὸν ἦλιον μέσον φέρει,
καὶ πανσέληνον τὴν τεκοῦσαν παρθένον,
ὡς ἀστέραις κύκλω δὲ φρυκτωρομένους
πάντων δικαίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος χορούς,
τοὺς εὐαρεστήσαντας αὐτῷ γνησίως.
πίστις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πονεῖ καὶ προσφέρει,
καὶ ποτνιάται καὶ νεουργεῖ καὶ γράφει
Ζαχαρίου καλογήρου τοῦ Ἰβήρου. Ω θεῖος ἔρω.

Beholding the commemorations and feasts for the whole year
inscribed in the present book day by day, do thou admire the
skill of the painter. For, like unto the intelligible heaven, this
book contains Christ, the intelligible sun; like unto the full
moon, the Virgin, who gave birth to Him; like unto a circle of
becoming stars, the choirs of all the Righteous, from the begin-
ning of time, who have truly pleased Him. The imploring faith
of monk Zacharias the Georgian executed, offered, restored,
and wrote all this. O Divine Love.^a

Greek verses attached to miniatures in the Synaxarion of Bishop Zacharia:

Fol. 4r, Birth of the Virgin: Ἰωακείμ Ἄννης τε, Μήτηρ Παρθένε,· τεχθεῖσα τέξεις τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων Λόγον.

Fol. 5v, Elevation of the Cross: σταυροῦ τὸ πανσέβαστον εὐρέθη ξύλον· καὶ δαιμόνων ἕκαστος ἐπτῶθη πλάνη.

Fol. 22r, Nativity: ὦ γαστέρος χώρημα σεπτὸν ἀγγέλων· ἐκ σοῦ θεὸς προήλθεν ἀσπόρφ τόκω!

Fol. 26r, Baptism: σοῦ, Χριστέ, βαπτισθέντα εὗρεν ἡ φύσις· κάθαρσιν ὄντως ψυχικῶν μολυσμάτων.

Fol. 34r, Raising of Lazarus: τὰ τοῦ τάφου σημεῖα Λάζαρος φέρων· λείλοιπεν ἄδην τῷ λόγῳ σου, Παντάναξ.

Fol. 35v, Entry into Jerusalem: Χριστοῦ μολοῦντος πρὸς πάθος ζωηφόρον· “ὠσάννα” κραυγάζουσιν παῖδες^b σὺν κλάδοις.

Fol. 36r, Betrayal of Christ: πωλεῖ^c μαθητὴς τὸν διδάσκαλον λόγῳ· πλέκει^d δὲ τὸν κάκιστον ἀγχόνης^e βρόχον.

Fol. 39r, Crucifixion: σταυρῷ παγείς^f ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ πάθη φέρων· ἔλυσεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ παθῶν ἀμαρτίας.

Fol. 39r, Deposition: φρικτὸν καθείλεν Χριστὸν Ἰωσήφ <ἐκ> ξύλου· σὺν Νικοδήμῳ καὶ δέδωκε τῷ τάφῳ.

Fol. 40r, Resurrection: ἄδην πατήσας Χριστὸς ἠγγέρθη τάφου· καὶ τὴν πεσοῦσαν ἐξανέστησε φύσιν.

a The translation of the poem is quoted from Ševčenko, “Illuminators of the Menologium” (n. 45 above), 273–74.

b Cod. πέδες.

c Cod. πωλή.

d Cod. πλέκη.

e Cod. ἀγχώνης.

f Cod. παγής.

Fol. 45v, Christ and the Samaritan Woman: ὕδωρ δέδεκται καὶ γυνή ζωηφόρον· ξηραίνων αὐτῆς τὴν χύσιν τῶν πταισμάτων.

Fol. 46v, Healing of the Blind Man: ἔβλεψε τυφλὸς ἐκ τόκου βεβυσμένος· Χριστὸς γὰρ ἦλθεν ἡ πανόμματος^g χάρις.

Fol. 48v, Ascension: ἄνω σύνεδρος πατρικῆς ἐξουσίας· καὶ συγκάθεδρος ἐκτελών βροτῶν^h κάτω.

Fol. 59v, SS. Peter and Paul: Χριστοῦ μαθηταὶ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλε πρόμοι· φρουρεῖτε πάντας ὡς μιμηταὶⁱ τοῦ πάθους.

Fol. 65v, Beheading of John the Baptist: τὸν παμφαῖ^j σου λύχνον Ἡρώδης^k σβέσας· Βαπτιστὰ Χριστοῦ, παντὸς ἐπιλήσθη ξύφω.

Fol. 68r, Healing of the Paralytic: ἐχάλασαν τὸν κράββατον^l διὰ τῶν κεράμων^m

5. St. Gregory the Theologian, Sermons, 1031, Constantinople; NCM, A-1

29 × 21.5 cm; 1 + 454 folios of 24 lines in one column; parchment; leather binding of a later date; 59 gatherings, folios are missing in the beginning and at the end. The gathering markings are in Georgian and Greek uncial script; written in Nuskhuri in dark brown ink, the headings are written in the Π-shaped color headpieces in Asomt'avruli and Nuskhuri script in light red ink. Translated from Greek by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (11–422v; 439r–454v) and David Tbelisdze (423r–438r); the donor: Zacharia the Synkellos, bishop of Bana (see fols. 38r, 48r, 62v, 75r, 87r, 128r, 186r, 241r, 247v, 276v, 316v, 377v, 396v, 398v, 438r); copied by Basil Malushidze “from the Creation, as the Greeks count, in XP’LE [= 6538], indiction IG [= 13], the Georgian koronikon SNA” (251 = 1031 CE) in Constantinople (data concerning the lost

colophon—the name of the scribe, etc.—have been supplied from MS A-16, copied in 1739 from MS A-1).

The manuscript was deposited in one of the ecclesiastical centers of Tao-Klarjeti, presumably in the Bana cathedral. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, separate colophons and commemorations (fols. 298v, 299r, 345v, 700r) appear in the manuscript; later, the free inner page and a half were used for the commemorative list (fols. 438r–v).

Metreveli, *K’art’ul khelnatsert’a aghtseriloba, A koleksia*, vol. 1.1, 7–17 (NCM, MS A-1), 53 (NCM, MS A-16); Bregadze, *Grigol Nazianzelis tkhzebat’a shemtsveli dzveli k’art’ul khelnatsert’a aghtseriloba*, 62–70 (NCM, MS A-1), 114–24 (NCM, MS A-16).

MS A-1, fol. 422v (see also fols. 38r, 48r, 62v, 75r, 87r, 128r, 186r, 241r, 247v, 276v, 316v, 377v, 396v, 398v):

ლოცვა ყავთ, ქრისტეს მოყუარენო, ნეტარისა მამისა ჩუენისა ეფთჳმე მთაწმინდელისათჳს, რომელმან ესე საკითხავი ბერძნულისაგან ქართულსა ენასა თარგმნა. ქრისტე მეუფეო დიდებისაო, ადიდე შენ მიერთთა დიდებითა ზაქარია მამამთავარი ბანაელი სვნგელოზი, ორთავე შინა სუფევათა. ლოცვა ყავთ ცოდვილისა და უცბად მხრეკელისა ბასილისათჳს. ღმერთმან დაგაჯეროს და თქუენცა ქრისტემან სასყიდელი ზეცისა მოგანიჭოს, ამენ.

Say a prayer, Christ-loving people, for our blessed Father Eptime the Hagiorite who translated this reading from the Greek into the Georgian language. Christ, king of glory, praise with your glory Zacharia Synkellos, bishop of Bana, in both kingdoms. Say a prayer for the sinner and hasty scribe Basil: “God strengthen you and Christ grant you the reward of heaven, Amen.”

The copy of the colophon added to the end of NCM, MS A-1, was preserved in NCM, MS A-16 (produced in 1729), fol. 281r:

დაიწერა წმიდად ესე წიგნი, სულთა და ჳორცთა განმანათლებელი, ღმრთივდაცულსა ქალაქსა შინა კოსტანტინეპოლეს დასაბამითგან წელთა ბერძენთა სათუალავითა ხელს, ინდიკტიონსა ივ, ქართველთა ქორონიკონსა სნა, საბერძენთს მეფობასა რომანოზისა. ღმერთმან განამრავლენ წმინდანი დღენი ღმრთისად მიერ მეფობისა მათისანი ყოველთა ქრისტიანეთათჳს, ქართლსა მთავრობადსა ბაგრატ ყრმისასა, ჳრომსა პაპობასა იოვანესსა, კონსტანტინეპოლს პატრიარქობადსა ალექსისა და

This holy book, giving light to soul and flesh, was written in the God-protected city of Constantinople in the year from the Creation by the chronology of the Greeks 6538, indiction 13, Georgian koronikon 251, in the reign of Romanos in Greece. God multiply the holy days of their heavenly reign for all Christians, in the rule of the youth Bagrat in Kartli, Pope John in Rome, the Patriarchate of Alexios in Constantinople, and Nicephoros at Jerusalem and George at Alexandria, and Nicholas at Antioch,

g Cod. πανόματος.

h Cod. βροτῶν.

i Cod. μιμηταί.

j Cod. παμφαί.

k Cod. Ἡρώδης.

l Cod. κράββατ(ων).

m The Annunciation on fol. 33r does not have an epigram; it likely was lost because the lower edge of the page was cut.

იპრუსალეშა – ნიკიფორესსა და ალექსანდრეს [sic] – გიორგისა და ანტიოქიას – ნიკოლოზისა, ქართლსა კათალიკოზობასა მელქიზედეკისასა, ყოვლად ყოველთა ზედა მეუფებასა უფლისაჲსა ჩუჴნის იესუ ქრისტესსა, ამენ.

at the catholicosate of Melkisedek in Kartli, in the full kingship over all of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

6. Minor Nomocanon, 1031, the Chora monastery in Constantinople; NCM, A-96

21 × 16.5 cm; parchment, 182 folios of 20 lines in one column. Brown leather binding with engraving; signatures for gatherings are marked; the text is written in caligraphic Nuskhuri; the titles and initial letters, in cinnabar Asomt'avruli. Decorated with interlace ornament in black ink (fol. 1v) and colored Π-shaped headpiece (fol. 2r). Translator: St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (fols. 99v, 164r); donor: Gregory the Hagiorite (fols. 60v, 99v, 100r, 118v, 120r, 181v–182r), who ordered the copy of the MS for prayer for St. Euthymios the Hagiorite and his parents (fol. 99v); scribe: Basil Etratai Malushidze (fols. 72v, 181v–182r). The MS was copied in Constantinople, at the monastery of Khora in the reign of Romanos, in the Georgian koronikon SNA (1031 CE).

At the end of the main text, on fol. 182v, the *Synodicon of Orthodoxy* with commemorations of Byzantine emperors and empresses, as well as the founders of the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos, are added (see n. 36).

Fols. 181v–182r:

დიდებაჲ შენდა, სამებაო წმიდაო, დიდებაჲ შენდა მომანიჭებელი და აღმსრულებელი კეთილთა შენდა საღმრთოთათო. დიდებაჲ შენდა, რომელმან აღასრულე საქმე ესე კეთილი, დიდებაჲ შენდა აწდა უკუნისამდე, ამინ.

დაიწერა რჩულისკანონი ესე ქალაქსა ღმრთივდაცვულსა კონსტანტინეპოლის, ახალსა ჰრომსა, ნებიითა და ბრძანებითა ღმერთშემოსილისა წმიდისა მამისა ჩუენისა გრიგოლ მთაწმიდელისადათა, წელითა გლახაკისა მწარედ ცოდვილისა ბასილი ეტრატი მალუშის ძისადათა. შრომისათჳს ლოცვა ყავთ და უცბად ჩხრეკისათჳს შემინდევით, ერნო ღმერთშემოსილნო. დაიწერა წიგნი ესე მონასტერსა ხორას, მეფობასა რომანოზისსა და ქრონიკონი იყო სნა.

For some time the manuscript was in the possession of the father superior of the monastery of Holy Cross in Jerusalem, Christophore (fol. 1v); later it was owned by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, the eminent lexicographer and public figure (1658–1725), and his spouse Tamar, the granddaughter of the Atabag of Samtskhe (southern Georgia), Manuchar. In 1698 Sulkhan Orbeliani was consecrated as a monk, taking the name Saba, in the monastery of St. John the Baptist in the Gareja desert; it was during this period that he donated the manuscript to the monastery, where he was active for several years (fol. 1v).

K. Kekelidze, *Liturgicheskie pamiatniki v otechestvennykh knigokhranishchakh i ikh nauchnoe znachenie* [Liturgical monuments in the domestic libraries and their scientific significance] (Tbilisi, 1908), 46–48; Metreveli, *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghts'eriloba, A kolektsia*, vol. 1.1, 393–96; E. Giunashvili, ed., *Mtsire sjuliskanoni* [Minor Nomocanon] (Tbilisi, 1972).

Glory to you, Holy Trinity, glory to you, granter and executor of your divine good deeds. Glory to you, who executed this good deed, Amen. Glory to You now and forever, Amen.

This Nomocanon was written in the God-protected city of Constantinople, New Rome, at the will and order of our God-inspired Holy Father Grigol the Hagiorite, by the hand of the lowly great sinner Basil Etratai Malushidze. For my work say a prayer and forgive me my poor writing, God-inspired people. This book was written at the monastery of Chora, in the reign of Romanos, and the koronikon was 251.

7. Life and works of St. Maximos the Confessor, ca. 1031, monastery of Agiapantos in Constantinople; NCM, Q-34

31 × 22 cm; 428 folios of 23 lines in one column; parchment; without cover; the beginning and the end are missing; some folios are restored (fols. 26–29), some partially renovated (fols. 34r, 37r). Written in Nuskhuri, in brown ink; headpieces and the beginnings of the paragraphs are in red ink. Translator: St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (fols. 336r–v); donor: Zacharia, bishop of Bana and *synkellos* (fols. 100, 336v); scribe: Isaac (fols. 56v, 210v, 160r, 336v); copied in Constantinople, at the monastery of All Holy Saints, Agiapantos (336v). The manuscript is datable to ca. 1031, since its

colophon mentions the emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034) and names Zacharia as a “bishop of Bana and synkellos.”

The MS was acquired by the State Museum of Georgia in 1931 from western Georgia, from the collection of the Martvili monastery.

I. Abuladze, ed., *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghts'eriloba, Q kolek'tsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection Q], vol. 1, comp. E. Metreveli and K. Sharashidze (Tbilisi, 1957), 36–38.

Fol. 336v (continues the colophon of the translator, St. Euthymios the Hagiorite on fols. 336r–v):

ხოლო დაიწერა ბრძანებითა და ნებითა ზაქარია ეპისკოპოსისა ბანაელისა და სვნგელოზისადათა, ჯელითა უღირსისა და უცბად მჩხრეკალისა ისაკისითა ქალაქსა კონსტანტინეპოლს, მონასტერსა მისავე ბანაელისა ეპისკოპოსისა სვნგელოზისასა ყოველთა წმიდათასა აგიაპანტს, მეფობასა რომანოზისასა, რად წიგნსა შინა ვპოე, რომლისაგან გარდავწერე, არა გამომიცვალეზა სიტყვად, არა მიკაზმავს, ღმერთი არს მოწამს, და არცა რად დამიკლია. და თუ რადმე დამრჩომოდა, შევაწამე წიგნსა და ჩაურთე, რამეთუ მთარგმნელი სულისა წმინდისა მადლითა სავსე იყო და ბრძენ და ფრიად მეცნიერ ბერძნულ . . .

And it was written on the order and will of Zacharia, bishop of Bana and synkellos, by the hand of the unworthy and lowly scribe Isaak in the city of Constantinople, in the monastery of All Saints at Agiapantos of the same bishop of Bana and synkellos, in the reign of Romanos. I have not changed a word of what I found in the book [from which] I copied, and I have not embellished it, God is witness, and I have not left out anything; and if anything has been left out, I compared it to the book and inserted it, for the translator was filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit and was wise and very well versed in Greek . . .

Fols. 56v, 210v, 160r (colophons of the scribe):

ქრისტე, შეიწყალე გლახაკი ისაკ.

Christ, have mercy on the humble Isaak.

Fol. 100v (colophon of the donor):

ქრისტე, ზაქარია ბანაელი, სვნგელოზი.

Christ, Zacharia of Bana, synkellos.

8. Gospels and Acts and Apostles, ca. 1031, [Constantinople]; KSHM, K-176

39 × 25 cm; 173 folios, light brown parchment, binding is missing; fragmentary and unbound, with cut edges. The text is written in Asomt'avruli script, of 30 lines in two columns, in light brown ink; titles written in cinnabar, uncial letters in red and light brown ink. Donor: Archbishop Zacharia (fol. 115v).

The MS was acquired by Kutaisi Museum in the village Seva in Racha (in western Georgia), from Constantine Bakradze.

K. Kekelidze, ed., *K'ut'aisi sakhelmtsip'o istroriuli muzeumis kbelnatsert'a aghtresiloba* [Description of manuscripts of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum], vol. 1, comp. E. Nikoladze (Tbilisi, 1953), 331–32.

Fol. 115v:

უფალო იესუ ქრისტე, შეუნდვენ ყოველნი ბრალნი ზაქარია მამამთავართა მთავარსა და დაასაყდრე წმიდათა მოციქულთა თანა კურთხეული, ამჟნ.

Lord Jesus Christ, forgive all the faults of Zacharia, supreme among the bishops, and enthrone him, blessed, together with the holy apostles, Amen.

9. Four Gospels [1054], copied in Kalipos near Antioch, in the Lavra of the Mother of God; illuminated and bound in Constantinople, 1054–1059; NCM, A-484

18.5 × 25 cm, high-quality, thin parchment; 4 + 324 folios, in two columns, 19 lines each. Text is written in dark brown ink, in calligraphic Nuskhuri. The codex was later clad in the chased silver cover adorned with precious stones, enamel, and painted decorative patterns.

on fols. 317r–324r. The text ends with the prayer of John Dvali (fol. 323v), which supports the hypothesis that it was copied by this calligrapher. Simeon, George, and John Dvali are named in colophons as the copyists of the text (fols. 9v, 100r, 152v, 323v).

The MS opens with the Epistle of Eusebius, inscribed in an arch (fols. 1r–2r). This is followed by the fourteen canon tables (fols. 2v–9r), and ends with a cross on the pedestal (fol. 9v), also inscribed in an arch. Between the arms of the cross Greek and Georgian traditional inscriptions are placed, with the brief colophon of the priest Simeon, the donor, and the copyist of the manuscript.

The miniatures of the manuscript appear on the gold background, and are accompanied by labels written in Georgian Nuskhuri. The letter of Eusebius, as well as the correspondence of Christ and King Abgar, is written in Georgian Asomt'avruli script. The Asomt'avruli script and gold ink are used at the beginnings of the Gospel chapters.

Before each Gospel, on the verso of the sheet, are placed portraits of the evangelists with Greek explanatory inscriptions, while on the recto circles are depicted (fols. 14v, 101v, 156v, 243v). The beginnings of the Gospels are decorated with ornamental headpieces (fols. 15r, 102r, 157r, 244r). The apocryphal legend, which is especially richly decorated with initial letters and miniatures, is added at the end, after the colophons,

The MS is one of the earliest copies of St. George the Hagiorite's rescension of the Four Gospels. According to the colophons (fols. 311v–314v), the text was written by the three representatives of the Dvali family of calligraphers—Simeon, George, and John—on the Black Mountain near Antioch, in Kalipos in the Lavra of the Mother of the God, during the reign of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055) and King of the Abkhazians and Novelissimos Bagrat IV, and during the prelateship of Peter III, patriarch of Antioch

(1052–1056), when “King Bagrat of the Abkhazians and the *novelissimos* was visiting the metropolis [Constantinople].”^a Though no exact date is supplied in the colophon, the manuscript can be dated by the visit of Bagrat IV to Constantinople in 1054.

According to the colophon of 1059, Bagrat, king of Abkhazia and *novelissimos*, brought from Constantinople Proedros Ivane, the son of Eristav Eristavis Liparit, Protoarchontos and Proedros, who donated the Four Gospels together with other precious objects to their family monastery at Katskhi (fol. 315r).

Fol. 9v (Greek and Georgian inscriptions of the donor, the priest Simeon Dvali, between the arms of the image of Calvary Cross):

Ι·C·X·C·N·I·K·A

იესუ ქრისტე, შეიწყალე სვიმეონ მღუდელი, [ამე]ნ.

Much later colophons (fols. 01r–02v, 03r, 1r, 9r) tell the further history of the MS: at different periods it was kept in the Khandzta monastery (historical Tao-Klarjeti, now in northeastern Turkey), in Imereti (western Georgia), and in the Alaverdi monastery (eastern Georgia, Kakheti).

E. Metreveli, ed., *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba, A kolektisia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection A], vol. 2.1, comp. T. Bregadze et al. (Tbilisi, 1986), 210–16; W. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, CSCO 372, Subsidia 48 (Louvain, 1976), 12–20.

Christ, have mercy on the priest Svimeon, Amen.

Fol. 100r:

იესუ ქრისტე, შეიწყალე სვიმეონ.

Christ, have mercy on Svimeon.

Fol. 152v, colophon of the scribe:

დიდებად ღმერთსა, განსრულდა მარკოზის თავიცა სახარებად.
იესუ ქრისტე, შეიწყალე სვიმეონ.

Glory to God. This chapter of the Gospel of Saint Mark is also completed. Christ, have mercy on Svimeon.

Fol. 241v, colophon of the scribe:

განსრულდა ესეცა თავი სახარებისად, შეწევნითა და მომადლებითა წმიდისა და თავყუანისსაცემელისა სამებისა ერთარსებისა და ერთღმრთაებისა, მამისა და ძისა და და წმიდისა სულისადათა, ჳელითა ფრიად ცოდვილისა გიორგისითა.

This chapter of the Gospel was also completed by the support and the grace of the holy and revered, one being and one Godhead Trinity, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, by the hand of the most sinful Giorgi.

Fols. 311v–314r [1054], colophon of the donor, the priest Simeon Dvali:

ვინადგან ღმერთი სახიერ არს და კაცთმოყუარეს და არა უღირს-იჩინებს ძალისაგერ კაცთადასა გულსმოდგინებასა თითოეულისასა და შეიწირავს მცირედსა, და მიანიჭებს უხუებით, უკუეთუ პოვოს გონებად კეთილისა მეძიებელი, ამისთვის არა ჳერ არს ჩუენდა უსასოებად მცირედისა შრომისათვის, არამედ უფროდად გვიღირს მოსწრაფებად ჩუენებად ღმრთისა ძალისაგერ ჩუენისა სურვილისა და სიყუარულისა ჩუენისა მისა მიმართ, რომელ-ესე ფრიად საყუარელ არს მისა, უკუეთუ ოდენ უმანკოთა გონებითა და წმიდითა გულისსიტყვთა წინაუყოფდეს კაცი ღმრთისა სურვილსა და სიყუარულსა მისა მიმართ. ხოლო წინაყოფად ესე არს, რადთა საქმით აჩუენოს გამოჩინებად სურვილისა და სიყუარულისა მისისა მის შორის, ხოლო საქმით ჩუენებად ესე არს სრული და მაღალი, რადთა განიწმიდოს კაცმან თავი თვის სრულებით ნივთისაგან ვნებათადასა და შეწიროს მისა ყოვლითურთ, და სავანე და სადგურ მისსა ყოს თავი თვისი. ხოლო თუ ეძიებდეს ვინ ღონესა, თუ რომელმან წამალმან ყოს იგი სადგურ და სავანე ღმრთისა და ღირს-ყოს ესეკითარსა პატივსა, აღიღუნ მან ყოვლად წმიდად სახარებად და დაიწერენ იგი ნუ მელონითა და ქართითა, არამედ ფიცართა ზედა გულისა თვისითა. და ოდეს ყოს ესე, მერმე დაიუნჯოს მან სულსა შინა თვისსა უსასყიდლოდ იგი და ცხოველსმყოფელი მარგალიტი, რომელ არს უფალი ჩუენი იესუ ქრისტე, და მიერიტვან იქმნეს იგი შვილ უფლისა მადლითა ღმრთისადათა

Because God is kind and man loving and does not consider unworthy the zealous undertaking of one man in accordance with his ability, he accepts even a small gift, and if he finds any goodness in his soul-searching he reciprocates abundantly. Therefore, there is no need to despair for our small labor; on the contrary we should strive diligently in accordance with our possibilities to show God our love for him. For it is very pleasing to God when one, responding to his love and affection, brings him an offer with innocent intentions and a pure heart. And presenting this offering consists in showing God our love for him in deeds. However, this demonstration of love for him is perfect and elevated: that is, man shall cleanse himself completely of sensuous things, completely devote himself to God and find in him his abode and home. And if someone is looking for the means by which he can make his abode and home in God, he becomes worthy of this honor. He shall take the most holy Gospel and copy it not on parchment with ink, but on the surface of his heart. And as soon as he does this he will treasure his soul with this life-giving pearl, which is our Lord, Jesus Christ. And thereby he will be protected by the grace of our Lord in accordance with the scripture. Although I am unworthy and consist entirely of unclean flesh, I know that those who take this holy Gospel to heart and act in accordance

a See Appendix, no. 9.

სიტყვსაგებრ წერილისა. ხოლო მე უღირსმან ამან, დაღაცათუ ყოვლითურთ ჯორჯ ვარ და არა წმიდა, გარნა კეთილად უწყი, ვითარმედ უეტუელად მიემთხუენიან ამას მადლსა შეწევნითა ღმრთისადათა, რომელთა მოიგონ შინაგან გულთა მათთა წმიდად ესე სახარებად და მცნებათაებრ მისთა მოქალაქობდეს. ამისთვის ვინადათგან შეკრულ ვარ ბოროტისმეძიებელისა ნებისა ჩემისა მიერ და მარადის მქენჯნის ვითა მონასა უძღურსა და მიმიზიდავს ცოდვისა მიმართ, და ამას ვერ მივსწუთები, რადამა გულსა შინა მოვივე ცხოველს მყოფელი ესე მარგალიტი, აღვიძარ სულითა და სასოებითა დიდითა მაცხოვრის მიმართ და შეწევნითა მადლისა მისისადათა, რომელი იგი უშურველ არს უმადლოთა და ცოდვილთათვისცა წყალობად და ღირს-მყო მოგებად ყოვლად წმიდისა ამის სახარებისა მე ცოდვილი სვემონ, სიტყვთ ოდენ მღდელი, ხოლო საქმით ყოვლითურთ მატლ და მიწასა ცოდვისასა მჭამელ, რომელ არა ოდეს ვაჩუენ ნებად კეთილისა მეძიებელი უბადრუკსა ამას სულსა ჩემსა, არამედ მარადის ვსწყავ და დავჭქენჯნი ბოროტისა მიმართ სურვილითა და მიდრეკითა. გარნა სასოებისა ოდენ მიყრდნობილი ველი ღმრთისაგან წყალობასა.

მ, ღმრთისმოყუარენო მამანო და ძმანო, აღორძინებადნო და წარმატებადნო მადლითა ღმრთისადათა, მე ცოდვილი სვემონ, იოვანე და ბასილი და დიმიტრი და გიორგი, შეუვრდებით თქუენსა ღმრთისმოყუარეობასა და უკუდავებითა სულისაითა ამბორს-უყოფთ წმიდათა ფერჯთა თქუენთა და თუალითა სულისადათა ცრემლით ვითხოვთ თქუენისა სიწმიდისაგან, ვისდაცა მოიწიოს და რომელნიცა ეუფლნეთ და იკითხვიდეთ და ისმენდეთ ყოვლად წმიდასა ამას სახარებასა, ნუ იწყინებთ, ნუცა მიიმე გიჩნს, არამედ აღმოიკითხებით სახელნი ჩუენნი, რომელნი აქა წერილ ვართ, და ღმობიერ იქმნებით და ლოცვა ყავთ, გუაკურთხეთ და ითხოვეთ შენდობად ჩუენისა სისაწყლისა, რადთა თქუენ სასყიდელი ძმთმ<ე>ოყუარებისად ღმრთისაგან მიიღოთ და ჩუენ წმიდითა ლოცვითა თქუენითა მივემთხუნეთ შენდობასა და ცოდვათაგან წსნასა. ხოლო სახელნი ესე არიან, რომელთათვს გვევდრებით წსენებასა: სულიერნი მოძღუარნი ჩემნი ეგნატი და ანტონი, და მშობელნი ჩემნი – სვემონ, მარიამ, მამია, ჩობინი, და ძმანი – ბასილი, იოვანე, სულა, ჩობინი და აბუსკარ, და მე უღირსი სვემონ და შვილნი ჩემნი: გიორგი და დიმიტრი და გრიგოლ, და ყოველნი მეცნიერნი და თხსნი ჩემნი.

აჰა, მღმრთისმოყუარენო ძმანო, ლოცვა ყავთ გულითა სიყუარულისათვს ღმრთისა, რადთა ღირ[ს]-ვიქმნეთ ნაწილსა ცხოვრებისასა, რომელნი აქა წერილ ვართ, რამეთუ ესე რა მოიწევის ჟამი, ოდეს ესე აღმოიკითხვოდის და მე მიწა და ნაცარ-ქმნულ ვიყო, ხოლო სული, ღმერთმან უწყოდის, სადა იგი მყოფი იყოს.

და ამასცა გვევდრები, ნუვინ ველ-ყოფთ აჯოცად ანუ აღმოკუეთად ამის ჩუენისა ანდერძისა, რომელ ფრიადი ჭირი მინახავს და სიგლახაკესა შინა ფრიადითა ჭირითა მომიგია, მართალი და წმიდაი, რომელ საეტვ არა არს, ვითა თავსა სახარებისსა სწერია.

უკუეთუ ვინმე სარგებელსა მოისთულებდეს და ჩუენი ანდერძი მოიძულოს, არა მადლი არს. ვისსაცა მოიწიოს და აჯოცად ანუ აღმოკუეთად ველ-ყოს, წინაშე ღმრთისამცა ბრალეულ არს და პასუხი ტალანტისა დამფველეთა მიეწადოს, ხოლო რომელმან დაამტკიცოს, საუკუნედმცა არს სასწენებელი და კურთხევად მისი, ამენ.

with it will surely attain this grace with the help of God. I am bound to my evil-searching ways, which are constantly tormenting me as a weak man is tormented; they draw me toward sin but I will not succumb, because I have embedded in my heart this life-giving pearl. My soul is moved and I have great faith in the savior, and with the help of his grace—for he is ungrudging toward the thankless sinners—I, sinful Simeon, by vocation only priest but in reality a maggot and a dirt-eater in every way, have been made worthy to commission this holiest Gospel. For I have never shown my pitiable soul the way to search for goodness, and so I constantly grieve and struggle against evil although it tempts me, Yet with nothing but hope to lean on we await mercy from God.

Now, God-loving fathers and brothers who prospered and were regenerated by the grace of the Lord, I, sinful Simeon, Iovane and Basili, and Dimitri and Giorgi, beseech you on behalf of your love of God, and by the immortality of the soul, kiss your holy feet, and by the spiritual eye tearfully beseech your sanctity, [that] whoever gets [this book] will have authority over it and read and listen to this honest Gospel; do not be annoyed, nor shall it appear to you troublesome, but read out our names, which are inscribed here, and be merciful and pray; bless us and ask forgiveness for us the pitiful, so that you can receive the reward of a brother's love from the Lord, and we, through your holy prayers, will achieve forgiveness and relief from [our] sins. And the names of those for whom we entreat [your] invocation are my spiritual teachers, Egnati and Antoni; and my parents, Svimeon, Mariam, [and relatives] Mamia, Chobini; and my brothers, Basil, Iovane, Sula, Chobini, and Abuscar; and I, unworthy Svimeon, and my sons, Giorgi and Dimitri and Grigol; and all my acquaintances and relatives.

Oh, God-loving brothers, pray wholeheartedly—for the love of God—so that those who are inscribed here can become worthy of eternal life. May all this be accomplished, when this will be read and I am converted into earth and ashes and the whereabouts of my soul will be known only to God.

I beseech you also for this: that no one shall erase or cut out our testament, for I experienced great hardships, and being in poverty, I commissioned this true and holy [Gospel]; that should not be doubted, as it is written at the beginning of the Gospel.

If somebody profits [from this book] but disregards our testament it will be a disgrace. Whoever lays hand on this book and dares to erase it or cut out [its leaves] shall be guilty before God, and shall be judged as the hidiers of the Talents; however, he who fulfills it may he be commemorated and blessed in eternity, Amen.

დაიწერა კალიპოსს, ლავრასა წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისასა, მეფობასა კოსტანტი მონამახისსა, ანტიოქიას პატრიარქობასა პეტრესსა, და ბაგრატის აფხაზთა მეფისა ნოველისიმოსისა სამეფუფოს ყოფასა.

ლოცვა ყავთ მიქაელ და გიორგისთვის! გლახ, იესვ ქრისტეჲ, შუნდვენ, ამენ. ქრონიკონი იყო [. . .]

Fol. 10r (repeated on fol. 31r), colophon of the translator, St. George the Hagiorite:

ესე უწყოდეთ, წმიდანო მამანო, რომელნიცა მიემთხვნეთ წმიდასა ამას სახარებასა, ფრიად მართალი და წმიდად არს, მამისა ეფთვიმისსა სახარებათადა შეწამებული, ბერძულსა ორჯელ და ქართულსა, ყოვლითურთ უნაკლულოდ რიცხვთა და კანონითა. და განთესულნი არლარა დავწერენ ამისთვის, რომელ ზანდუკი მასვე მოასწავებს და რად არს ჭირი ორკეცი, პატივიცა წიგნისად დაუშუერდებოდა. და ყოველსავე ზედა, შემინდვეთ, ღმერთმან გარწმუნოს.

Fols. 314v–316r [ca. 1059], colophon of the owner, Proedros Ivane:

სახელითა მამისადათა, ძისაითა და სულისა წმიდისადათა, მეოხებითა ყოვლად წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისადათა, ძრიელებითა ცხოველსმყოფელისა პატიოსნისა ჯუარისადათა, მეოხებითა წმიდისა იოვანე წინამორბედისა და ნათლისმცემელისადათა, ოხითა და შეწევნითა წმიდათა მთავარანგელოზთა და ანგელოზთა, ზეცისა ძალთა, ქერაბინ–სერაბინთადათა, მეოხებითა წმიდათა და ნეტართა მახარებელთადათა, წმიდათა და ყოვლად ქებულთა მოციქულთადათა, წმიდათა და ნეტართა წინააღმარებელთადათა, წმიდათა და ნეტართა მოწამეთადათა, წმიდათა და ნეტართა მღვდელთმოდღუართადათა, წმიდათა და ნეტართა მამათადათა, შეწევნითა და თანადგომითა ყოველთა წმიდათადათა, რომელნი საუკუნითგან სათნო ეყვენეს უფალსა ჩუენსა იესუ ქრისტესსა, ესე ანდერძი მე, ივანე პროედროსმან, ძემან ლიპირიტ ერისთავთერისთავისამან, პროედროსისა და პროტოარხონისამან, დავწერე მას ჟამსა, ოდეს – ადიდენ ღმერთმან! – ძრიელმან აფხაზთა და ქართველთა მეფემან და ყოვლისა აღმოსავლეთისა ნოელისიმოსმან კოსტანტინეპოვლით მომიყვანეს და მოვედ კაცს, მამულსა ჩუენსა, მონასტერსა წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისასა, სამარხავსა ჩუენსა, დავასუენე ხატი წმიდისა გიორგი მთავარმოწამისად ოქროსად მინათა, ზედა ზის თუალი დაგუნდი, დიდი და მცირეჲ, კ, ზურმუხტი ბ, ბადახში ბ, და მარგალიტი იე, სხუად თუალი კდ, ბეჭედი მრთელი და სრული ყოვლითა ფერთა. და შევწირე ოთხთავი ერთი სრული და გამოკრებული, ზანდუკითა და კამართა, შიგან წმიდანი მახარებელნი, ოქრომელნი და წერილნი, და ყოველი ასომთავარი, ოქრომელნი და წერილი, და გარეგნით ხატნი სხენან ვეცხლისანი, ოქროთა შეღებულნი, კარგად ერთსა ფიცარსა ზედა მაცხოვრისა და მეორესა ფიცარსა წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისა. და თვთ მოჭედილი არს სრულად, ვითა ხუდების, ყოვლითა ფერთა; და საცეცხური ერთი, ვეცხლისანი, მძიმენი, ოქროთა შეღებილნი, სრულნი ყოვლითა ფერთა, თეგითა შექმნილნი, კეკელანი, სალოცველად, საჯსენებლად საუკუნოდ მკუდართა და ცოცხალთა ჩუენათაჲს და გამოჩინებად ყოფადი იგი აღდგომად მკუდართად დღისა მისთვის დიდისა და საშინელისა, ოდეს დაჯდეს განკითხვად ოფხალი ჩუენი იესოვ ქრისტე, განსჯად ცხოველთა

It was written in Kalipos in the Lavra of the Mother of God, during the kingship of Constantine Monomachos, the patriarchate of Peter in Antioch, and as the Novelissimos King Bagrat of the Abkhassians was visiting the metropolis [Constantinople].

Pray assiduously for Michael and Giorgi; woe unto them. Jesus Christ help us! Amen. The kronikon was [. . .]

Know holy fathers, who will use this holy Gospel, know that it is truthful, and pure, collated with the Gospel [translated] by Father Eptvime. It has been collated twice with the Greek and Georgian texts, and it is totally faultless in numbers and canons. I did not write the concordance because the table of contents indicates the same, and what would it have served to toil twice? Besides, it would have harmed the value of the book. Forgive me all my shortcomings. Be persuaded by God.

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, with the intercession of the most holy Mother of God, with the might of the honorable Cross, through the intercession of St. John the Precursor and Baptist; through the supplication and aid of the archangels and angels, the celestial forces, and cherubs and seraphs; through the intercession of the holy and most praised evangelists, the holy and blessed prophets, the holy and blessed bishops, the holy and blessed fathers; through the intercession and assistance of all saints, who from eternity devoted themselves to our God, Jesus Christ, I, Ivane the Proedros, son of the Erist'avt'eist'avi, Proedros and Protoarchontos Liparit, wrote this testament at the time when—be exalted by God—the mighty king of the Abkhassians and the Georgians and the novelissimos of all the Orient brought me from Constantinople. And I arrived in Katskhi at our estate, the monastery of the holy Mother of God and our burial place, and laid there the icon of St. George the Protomartyr made of enamel on gold. Upon it precious stones are fastened: twenty large and small hyacinths, two emeralds, two rubies and sixty-five pearls, twenty-four other precious stones and a whole complete gem, and I also donated a complete Gospel with arched frontispieces. Inside are images of the saints and evangelists painted in gold and each initial written in gold. Outside are beautifully crafted gilded silver images. On one side is the image of the savior; on the other is the image of the Mother of God. The entire cover is embossed and appropriately beautified and embellished. I also donated one heavy, pretty, stamped silver incense burner that is gilded and embellished, [I did this] for prayer and the eternal commemoration of our dead and living [relatives] in the expectation of the resurrection of the dead on the awe-inspiring day when our Lord, Jesus Christ, will sit on the throne for the final judgment of all to judge the living and the dead and my pitiable soul as well. No one among Christians, neither high functionaries nor others, nor our sons or offspring, has the right to damage or take even one of these [offerings] out of this holy church. If someone dares to disregard the holy Trinity and the

და მკუდართა და საბრალოდ საწყალობელისა სულისა ჩემისა, და არავის აქუს წელმწიფებად ქრისტეანეთაგანსა, არცა-ვის წელმწიფესა, არცა-ვის სხუასა, არცა შვილთა და მომავალთა ჩუნთა წელყოფად გინა გამოჭუებად წმიდისა ამის ეკლესიისაგან ერთიკა ამისგანი რადმე, უკუეთუ ვინმე კიდე იქმნას წმიდისაგან სამებისა და განვარდეს შჯულისაგან ქრისტეანეთაგანსა, წელ-ყოს და იკადროს მძღავრებით, ანუ რადთაცა მიზეზითა, ჰრისხავსმცა მამად, ძმ და სული წმიდად, კიდემცა არს წესისაგან და შჯულისა ქრისტეანეთაგანსა, კიდემცა არს წმიდისა ნათლისღებისა და ნუმცა ღირს ქმნილ არს ზიარებად წმიდისა ჯორცისა და სისხლისა ოვფლისა ჩუნთისა იესო ქრისტესა და ნაწილიმცა მისი მკლველთა ქრისტესთა თანა არს, რომელთა ჰკადროს ღმრთეებსა მისსა, ჰრისხავსმცა ყოვლად წმიდად ღმრთისმშობელი, წმიდად იოანე წინამორბედი და ნათლისმცემელი, ესე ზემოდით მოვსენებულნი ყოველნი წმიდანნი, და კრულმცა არს პირველ ღმრთისა პირითა, წმიდათა ღმრთისმშობელისა მადლითა და ყოველთა წმიდათა ღმრთისათა, ჯუარითა და მადლითა და ათთორმეტთა მოციქულთა ჯუარითა, წმიდათა ექუსთა კრებათა, მადლითა ყოველთა მღვდელმოდუართა, მოსრულთა და მომავალთა ჯუარითა, და მზღველიმცა არს ჩუნთა ცოდვათა წინაშე ღმრთისა და ჰრისხავსმცა ესე წმიდანი მახარებელნი და წმიდად გიორგი, მთავარი ყოველთა მოწამეთად.

დიდებად ღმერთსა ჩუნსა, საკვრველთა მოქმედსა, აწ და მარადის უკუნითი უკუნისამდე, ამენ

Fol. 323v, colophon of the donor, the priest Simeon Dvali:

იესო ქრისტე, მფლობელი ყოველთა საუკუნეთაო, ადიდშ სულითა მადიდებელი შენი სვეთონ მღვდელი და ურცხინველად ღირს ყავ ხილვად ყოვლად უხრწნელისა ხატისა შენისა, ვითარ ავგაროს მთავარი, ამენ.

Fol. 323v, colophon of the scribe:

ლოცვა ყავთ წმიდანო მამანო, სულითა საწყალობელისა ცოდვილისა ბერისა იოვანე დვალისათჳს უცბად მხხრეკელისა, ღმერთმან გარწმუნოს.

Fol. 324r [ca. 1059], colophon praising Proedros Ivane:

ქ. ადიდენ ღმერთმან, ძრიელსა და უძღვეველსა ბაგრატ აფხაზთა და ქართველთა მეფემან და ყოველისა აღმოსავლეთისა ნოელისიმოსმან გამოიყვანა კოსტანტინეპოვლით ივანე პროედროსი, ძმ ლიპარიტ ერისთავთ ერისთავისა, პროედროსისა და პ[რო]ტარხონისა და მოვიდეს კაცხს, ეკლესიასა მათსა, თუესა აპრილსა ია, დღესა ახალკვრიაკესა, სრულმცა არს ღმრთისა მიერ დიდებად მათი ჟამთა უკუნისამდე.

ესე წყალობად მოიწია ღმრთისა მიერ ჩუნე, მონათა მათთა, ზედა მამასახლისობასა გლახაკისა ქარდილაგასა, ქრონიკონი იყო სოთ.

Christian faith and dares to remove [these offerings] by force or any other means, may the wrath of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit fall upon him and may he be cast out of the Christian congregation and may he be deprived of the rights of the holy baptism. May he never be worthy of the communion of the Holy Flesh and Blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and may he share the fate of the executioners, who defied his divinity. May the wrath of the most holy Mother of God, of the holy John the Precursor and Baptist, and all the above-mentioned saints fall upon him; may he be cursed by the mouth of God, and deprived of the grace of the Mother of God and that of the saints of our Lord. May he be deprived of the protection of the crosses of the twelve apostles and that of the council of the six. May he be deprived of the grace of the crosses of present and future bishops, and may he pay retribution for my sins before God and may the wrath of the holy evangelists and Saint George, first among the martyrs, fall upon him.

Glory to our God the wonder-worker now and forever, from eternity to eternity, Amen.

Jesus Christ, the Lord of all times, glorify the soul of your worshipper the priest Svimeon and worthily make him to behold your imperishable image, as [did this] King Abgaros, Amen.

Holy Fathers, pray for the soul of the pitiful sinner, the monk Iovane Dvali, the hasty scribe, God persuade.

God glorify the powerful and invincible Bagrat, king of Abkhazs and Georgians and novelissimos of the whole East, [who] brought from Constantinople Proedros Ivane, the son of the Eristav Eristavis, Proedros and Protarchontos Liparit, and [they] arrived at Katskhi, their church, on 11 April, in the days of the Easter week. May God glorify them in the eternal time.

This Grace of God descended on us, their slaves, during the abbotship of humble Kardilai; the koronikon was 279 [1059 CE].

10. Four Gospels, ca. 1054, presumably Jerusalem; Tbilisi, NCM, S-962

14.5 × 11.4 cm, carefully processed, light color parchment; 266 folios, in two columns, 21 lines each. Text is written in dark brown and gold ink, in fine calligraphic hand. The binding is missing, the MS is unbound, and the parchment is spotted and damaged; some of the leaves are missing, except the pages where the colophon appears.

The MS is decorated with canon tables (fols. 1r–3v), the letter of Eusebius (fols. 4r–v), headpieces at the beginning of each Gospel (fols. 85r, 130v, 133r, 204r, 265r), two miniatures of the evangelists (fol. 85r, St. Mark; fol. 132r, St. Luke), and colored initials; the ends of the texts of both evangelists are embellished with the Life-Giving Cross (fols. 84v, 131v), and the one at the end of the text of the Gospel of St. Mark has traditional initials in Greek—Ι·C·Χ·C·N·Ι·Κ·Α—between its arms (fol. 84v).

Fol. 264r, colophon of the scribe:

ლოცვა ყავთ მიქელისათვის მწერლი[სა] წმიდანო მამანო . . .

The MS was copied by Michael (fol. 264r). The exact date when the manuscript was copied can be identified from the kyklos, or chronological table (fols. 265v–266v), which starts at 1054.

According to a note from a later period (fol. 01), the MS entered the NCM, Collection S, of the former Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians from the Adjara region (in southeastern Georgia), donated by Grigor Gurieli.

Metreveli, *Kartul Khelnatserta aghtsderiloba, S kolektisia*, 626–27; R. Shmerling, *Khudozhestvennyi printsip illustrirovaniia gruzinskoii rukopisnoi knigi IX–XI stoletii* [Artistic principles of the illumination of ninth- to eleventh-century Georgian manuscripts], vol. 2 (Tbilisi, 1979), 151–53.

Holy Fathers, pray for the scribe Mik'ael . . .

11. Four Gospels, mid-eleventh c., presumably Jerusalem; Vat. Iber. 1

22.15 × 16.5 cm, light color parchment; 305 folios, in two columns, 24–26 lines each. Text is written with dark brown ink, in calligraphic angular Nuskhuri script (except for the beginning of the Gospel of St. Luke, which is written in Asomt'avruli script).

The MS lacks portraits of the evangelists; instead, it was richly decorated. These decorations are the framing of the letter of Eusebius of Caesaria (fols. 1r–v) and of fourteen canon tables (fols. 2r–8v), as well as the headpieces at the beginning of each Gospel (fols. 9r, 93r, 221r, 223r, 279r–v, 281r, 301r, 302r, 305r) and its end (fol. 221r, the end of the Gospel of Luke; fol. 279r, the end of the Gospel of John), and a multitude of color initials. Study of the MS has revealed that it was copied and decorated over time: the Gospels by Matthew (fols. 9r–90v) and Mark (fols. 93r–144v) are written in black ink and richly decorated with initials, while the other parts of the codex (beginning from the Gospel of Luke, fol. 148r) are written in light brown ink; the decorative initials in this part of the MS are both fewer and less elaborately embellished than elsewhere. Finally, the concordance on fols. 279v–288v has a headpiece drawn in purple ink and its title is written in Asomt'avruli in cinnabar, while the text is written in Nuskhuri in brown ink, with initials in red or brown.

According to Michael Tarchnishvili, the codex contains the text of a pre-Athonite redaction.^a The MS is one of the earliest examples of the Four Gospels in St. George the Hagiorite's recension—a fact confirmed by the translator's colophon (fol. 295v), in which he introduces himself as humble. It is evident that St. George the Hagiorite and Simeon worked together during the copying of this MS. In this connection, it is worth noting that in the colophon on fols. 289r–v, Simeon names St. George the Hagiorite and Iovane Dvali as his spiritual

teachers (“for the prayers for my humble soul and for the souls of my spiritual teachers Giorgi and Iovane Dvali . . .”).

The MS was copied by the deacon Michael for the monk Simeon (fols. 90v, 92r, 221r, and esp. 279r).

According to the later colophons (fols. 0v, 92r–93r, 222v), the MS was kept in Kakheti (in eastern Georgia). The MS entered the Vatican Library from the collection of Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652), an Italian composer and prominent traveler to the Holy Land and the Middle East; with other MSS it was donated to the Vatican in 1718 by Della Valle's heir, the Marquise Rinaldo dell Bufallo.

M. Tarkhnishvili, “K'art'uli khelnatserebi da dzveli tsignebi romis tsignatsavebshi” [Georgian manuscripts and old books in the libraries of Rome], *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de Kartvelologie* 15 (1953): 25–26; E. Taq'aishvili, “Vatikanis bibliot'ekis ori k'art'uli khelnatseri” [Two Georgian manuscripts of the Vatican Library], *Proceedings of Tbilisi State University* 39 (1950): 177–88; M. Tarchnishvili, “Les manuscrits géorgiens du Vatican,” *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de Kartvelologie* 41–42 (1962): 63–64; B. Outtier, “Evsevis epistolisa da saxarebis 'sastsualebis' udzvelsi k'art'uli versiebi” [The ancient Georgian versions of the “Epistula ad Carpiantum” by Eusebius of Caesaria and the lists of the “miracles” in the New Testament], *Mravalt'avi, Proceedings of Korneli Kekelidze National Centre of Manuscripts* 17 (1992): 117–24, esp. 119; F. D' Aiuto et al., *I Vangeli dei popoli: La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia* (Vatican City, 2000), 164–67, cat. no. 17; T. Shurghaia, “Vatikanis ot'kht'avis t'avgadasavali” [The adventure of the Vatican Four Gospels], *Klasikuri da vanamedrove mts'erloba* [Classical and Modern Literature] 6 (2006): 131–35; idem, “Vatikanis ot'kht'avis mkhatvruli shemkuloba” [The illumination of the Vatican Four Gospels], *Saenatmetsniero dziebani* [Studies in Linguistics] 23 (2006): 340–48; M. Karanadze, V. Kekelia, L. Shatirishvili, and N. Chkhikvadze, *The Georgian Manuscript Book Abroad*, ed. N. Chkhikvadze (Tbilisi, 2018), 110–11.

^a M. Tarchnishvili, “Les manuscrits géorgiens du Vatican,” *Bedi Kartlisa: Revue de Kartvelologie* 41–42 (1962): 63–64.

Fol. 90v, repeated on fols. 92r, 221r:

იესუ ქრისტე, შეიწყალე მონად შენი სვმეონ, ამენ.

Jesus Christ, have mercy on Svimeon, your slave, Amen.

Fol. 92r, repeated on fol. 221r:

იესუ ქრისტე, შეიწყალე სვმეონ, ამენ.

Jesus Christ, have mercy on Svimeon.

Fol. 279r, the colophon of the scribe Michael below the decorative ending of the text of the Gospel of John.

The first part of the colophon is written in Asomt'avruli script and decorated with a colored initial, while the second part is produced in calligraphic elongated Nuskhuri script:

დიდებად შენდა უფალო. დაესრულა წმიდად სახარებად ოთხთავი წელითა უღირსისა მიქაელ დიაკონისადა, სულიერისა ძმისა კეთილისა ბერისა სვმეონისთვის. ღმერთმან შეაწიენ წმინდანი მახარებელნი და ავმარენ ნებასა შინა ღმრთისასა წმიდად ესე სახარებად, ამენ.

წმიდანო ღმრთისანო კნინისა შურომისათვს ლოცვა ყავთ და რომელი დამეკლოს, შენდობა ყავთ; ღმერთმან გარწმუნოს და ქრისტემან თქუენცა შევინდვენ ყოველნი ბოროტნი, ამენ.

Glory to Lord. This holy Four Gospels was completed by the hand of unworthy Deacon Michael for the spiritual brother, Monk Svimeon. Lord, send the help of sainted evangelists for assistance, and let this holy Gospel comply with the will of God, Amen.

Saints of God, pray for my humble work and forgive all incompletely done; God persuade and Christ forgive you too for all malice, Amen.

Fols. 289r–v, the colophon of the donor Simeon. The text, written in two columns in Nuskhuri script, is partially erased:

[სახელითა] ღმრთისადა, [მამ]ისადა და [ძი]სადა და სულითა წმიდისადა, მეოხებითა ყოვლად წ(მი)დისა ლ(მრ)თისმშობელისადა, ძლიერებითა ცხოველსმყოფელისა პატიოსნისა წმიდისა [ჯუარის]ა, მადლითა და [მე]ოხებითა წმიდათა [მ]თავარანგელოზთადა, მეოხებითა წმიდისა იოვან[ნე] ნათლისმცემე[ლისა]და და წ(მი)დისა [ოთხთა] მახარებელისადა და [წმიდა]თა და ყოვლად ქე[ბულთა] მოციქულთა [და მად]ლითა [. . .]ა ყოვლად [ღირსისა] მამისა სვმეონ მესვეტი[სა] და [წმიდისა] და სანატ[რ]ელისა, კურთხეულისა დედისა მართადსითა, და ყოველთა წმიდათა მადლითა და მეოხებითა, რომელნი საუკუნითგან სათნო ეყვნეს ღმერთსა, ღირს ვიქმენ მე, უღირსი და ფრიად ცოდვილი სვმეონ, მოგებად წმიდისა მის სახარებისა ოთხთავისა, სრულითა ყოვლითავე განგებითა, კამარ[ებითა], ზანდუკითა [მით] განთესულითა [და] საძიებელითა, წესსა მედა ბერძ[ნულ]სა ოთხთ[ავთა] [. . .]ნ[-]ისა [-] წმიდ[ი]სა [. . .] ღმერთმან [. . .] ბუნდუყისასა,^b საყოფელსა ყოვლად წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისასა, სალოცველად საწყალობელისა სულისა ჩემისა და სულისა მოძღუართა ჩემთასა გიორგისა და იოვანე დვალისასა, და სულისა მშობელთა ჩემთასა გიორგისა და მარიამისა და სულისა ყოველთა თვსთა ჩემთა ცხოველქ[მნილ]თა მიცვალებუ[ლთა]სა, და [ცოცხალ]თა ძმათა ჩემთა გიორგი ხუ[ცის]ასა, ივანე [- - -]სა და [- - -] ხუცისასა, [- - -] ხუცი[სასა], გაბრიელ ხუ[ცისა] და სულიერისა ძმისა [ჩემი]სა მიქაელ დიაკონისა და ყოვეთა [ჩემ]თა სულიერთა და წორციელთასა. ამენ.

აწ შ, ღმრთისმოყუარეო ერნო, ნათლითა შემოსილნო და ქრისტეს მეუფისა მონანო სარწმუნონო, ვისსაცა მოიწიოს წმიდა ესე სახარება, ლოცვა ყავთ ჩუენიცა წყ[- - -]რთ წმიდა [სვმეონ]სა, რადთა [- - -]ა თქუენცა შევინდვენს [ღმერთმან] [- -]ნ[- - -]სა [. . .]

In the name of God, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, with the intercession of the most holy Mother of God, with the might of the Life-Giving and Holy Cross, with the grace and through the intercession of holy archangels, through the intercession of St. John the Baptist and the four evangelists, and holy and most praised apostles, and by the grace [of the wholly revered Father Simeon the Stylite] and [Saint and blessed] mother Martha, and through the grace and the intercession of all saints, who from eternity devoted themselves to God, I, unworthy and very sinful Svimeon, was given the honor to become a donor of this holy Four Gospels, with the whole constituents—canon tables, concordance [and] contents, and index, according to the order of the Greek Gospels [. . .] Saint [. . .] God [. . .], of the [Bunduq], in the monastery of All Holy Mother of God, for the prayers for my humble soul and for the souls of my spiritual teachers Giorgi and Iovane Dvali, and my parents Giorgi and Mariam, and for the souls of all my deceased relatives, and for my living brothers—the priest Giorgi, [- - -] Ivane, and the priest [- - -], the priest [- - -], the priest Gabriel, and my [spiritual] brother, the deacon Michael, and for all close in spirit and flesh, Amen.

And now, God-loving people, who are enlightened and reliable slaves of Christ the Lord, whoever will possess this Holy Gospel, pray for us [. . .] so that God forgive you too [. . .]

^b The word ბუნდუყისასა was refreshed later with black ink.

Fol. 295v, the colophon in purple ink in Nuskhuri script of the translator, St. George the Hagiorite, is inserted in the second column of the text of the concordance of annual readings:

ლოცვა ყავთ გლახაკისა გიორგისათვის, რომელმან წმიდა ესე
სახარებად ვთარგმნე.

Pray for the humble Giorgi who translated this holy Gospel.

12. John Climacus, Heavenly Ladder, 1066, hesychasterion of St. Anne at the monastery of Hromana, in the environs of Constantinople; NSM, A-134

26 × 21.5 cm, 21 + 319 folios of 20 lines in one column; parchment; leather binding of a later date; pages are missing at the beginning and at the end. Written in calligraphic Nuskhuri script in brown ink, the headings written in red ink. Translated by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (fols. 1r–v); the donor: Gelasius, father superior of the Hromana monastery (fols. 28v, 108v, 296r–v); scribes: Simeon Dvali (fols. 70v, 296r–v), Theodore (?) (fol. 21r); copied in the Georgian koronikon SPV (1066 CE) “in the reign of Constantine X Doukas [1059–1067], when Martha, the daughter of King Bagrat IV, was in the Empire,” in the hesychasterion of St. Anne at the monastery of Hromana,

to glorify and pray for King Bagrat of the Abkhazians and the Georgians and his son George Curopalates.

In the eighteenth century the manuscript was kept in the library of the Lavra of St. David in the Gareja desert (in eastern Georgia; fol. 6v).

E. Metreveli, ed., *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a agtseriloba, A koleksia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection A], vol. 1.2, comp. T. Bregadze et al. (Tbilisi, 1976), 151–54; L. At'anelishvili, *Dzveli k'art'uli saidumlo damtserloba* [Old Georgian cryptographic scripts] (Tbilisi, 1982), 39–40, 80.

Fols. 296r–v:

სახელითა ღმრთისადათა და მეოხებითა წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისადათა, ძლიერებითა ცხოველსმყოფელისა და პატრონისა ჯუარისადათა, და მეოხებითა წმიდათა მოციქულთადათა, მადლითა და შეწევნითა მამისა ჩუენისა ილარიონისთა (sic) მე, უღირსი გლახაკი ჰრომანელი მამად გელასი, ჩემსა წინამძღურებასა ღირს ვიქმენ აღწერებად (sic) წმიდასა ამას და სულთა განმანათლებელსა კლემქსა და ცხოვრებასა წმიდისა და მოციქულთა სწორისა ბაგრატისა, სადიდებლად და სალოცველად ღმრთივ დაცვულისა და ძლიერისა აფხაზთა და ქართველთა მეფისა ბაგრატისათვის და ძისა მათისა გეორგი კურაპალატისათვის, ადიდენ ღმერთმან. და სალოცველად სულისა ჩემისა და მშობელთა ჩემთათვის და ყოველთა მამათა, ძმათა ჰრომანელთათვის. დაიწერა ჯელითა სიმეონ დვალისადათა, სოხასტერსა შინა ჰრომანისასა ანა წმიდას, მეფობასა დუკისასა, მას ჟამსა, ოდეს ბაგრატის ასული მართა სამეფოს იყო, ქრონიკონსა სპე.

By the name of God and the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, with the power of the Life-Giving and Holy Cross and the intercession of the holy apostles, with the grace and succour of our Father Ilarion, I, the worthless lowly Father Gelasi of Hromana, in my abbotship was given the honor of describing this holy and soul-enlightening Climacus [Ladder] and the *Life* of the holy and apostolic Bagrat, to glorify and pray for the God-protected and powerful King Bagrat of the Abkhazians and the Georgians and his son Giorgi Curopalates, [let them] be praised by God, and for the prayers for my soul, and for my parents, for me and for all the fathers and brethren of Hromana. It was written by the hand of Simeon Dvali, at the Hromana hesychasterion of Saint Anne, in the reign of Doukas, at the time when Bagrat's daughter Martha was in the Empire, in koronikon 286.

და დავდევე ეკლესიასა ჰრომანისასა, საყდარსა წმიდათა მოციქულთასა. აწ, ყოველნი მამანო და ძმანო, ნუ ვინცა ვინ აღმოიკითხვიდეთ წმიდასა ამას წიგნსა, ჩუენ წარსროლთათვის ლოცვა ყავთ. ღმერთმან გარწმუნოს, რადათა ვედრებითა თქუენითა ღმერთმან სასყიდელი შრომისად მოგუავოს. და ვინცა-ვინ ესე წიგნი რადათა მიზეზითა პარვითა, გინა თხოვითა, გინა მძლავრებითა ჰრომანისა ეკლესიასაგან მოაწუას, იყავნ იგი წყევასა და შეჩუენებასა ქუემე, ამენ იყავნ.

And I put it in the Hromana monastery, in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Now, all fathers and brethren, whoever will read this holy book, pray for us the departed. God will convince you that through your supplication God will give us a reward for our work. And whoever deprives the Hromana church of this book, through various causes—by stealing or begging or by force—let him be under curse and condemnation, Amen, so be it.

Fols. 28v, 108v:

ქრისტე, ადიდე მამად გელასი.

Christ, praise Father Gelasi.

Fol. 189v:

ქრისტე, ადიდე სულით და ჯორცით ღირსი მამად ჩუენი გელასი, ამენ იყავნ.

Christ, praise our Father Gelasi worthy in soul and flesh, Amen, so be it.

Fol. 22r (cryptogram):

ქრისტე, შეიწყალე თეოდორე, ამინ იყავნ.

Christ, have mercy on Theodore, Amen, so be it.

13. Epistles of St. Macarios of Egypt, mid-1060s, the Hromana monastery in Constantinople; Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, MS Georg. 73

26.1 × 22 cm; 196 folios of 26 lines in one column (19.8 × 15.3 cm); parchment; brown leather binding; text is missing in the beginning and at the end (fols. 177v–179r, 181v–182r); gatherings consist of 8 folios each, with gathering markings. Written in calligraphic Nuskhuri script, in brown ink; the beginnings of the sentences are rendered in cinnabar. Translated by SS. Euthymios and George the Hagiorites (fols. 1r–v); the donor: Gelasios, father superior of the Hromana monastery (fols. 99r, 111r, 114v, 137r, 142r, 148v, 153v, 167r, 172r); scribes: Simeon [Dvali] (fol. 70v), David (fol. 86v; cryptograms, fols. 58r, 81v), Theodore (fol. 110r;

Fol. 167v, colophon of the donor:

წმინდანო და ყოვლად ქებულნო მოციქულნო, მეოხ ეყვენით წინაშე ღმრთისა მამასა გელასის, რომელმან ამათ წმიდათა წიგნთა დაწერად იხარკა.

Fol. 70v, colophon of the scribe, Simeon:

მამო მაკარი, შეიწყალე სვმიონ.

Fol. 83v, colophon of the scribe:

მსუქანი კაციც ჰავია და მეტად ეტრბატი, შემინდვეთ.

Fol. 86v, colophon of the scribe, David:

იესუ ქრისტე, შეიწყალე დავით, ამენ.

Fol. 110r, colophon of the scribe, Theodore:

ქრისტე, შეიწყალე თეოდორე, ამენ.

cryptograms, fols. 47r, 146v). The MS is dated by when the father superior of Hromana monastery, Gelasios, was active.

A. Tsagareli, *Pamiatniki gruzinskoï stariny v Sviatoi Zemle i na Sinaï* [Monuments of Georgian antiquity in the Holy Land and on Sinai] (St. Petersburg, 1888), 177–78; R. Blake, “Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque patriarcale greque à Jérusalem,” *ROC*, ser. 4, 4 (24).3–4 (1924): 190–210, 38–429, esp. 404–7; Aranelishvili, *Dzveli k'art'uli saidumlo damsterloba*, 39–42, 181–82; G. Ninua, ed., *P'sevdomakaris t'kbzulebat'a k'art'uli versia* [Georgian versions of the homilies of Pseudo-Macarios] (Tbilisi, 1982), 52–54.

Holy and all-praised apostles, intercede before God for Father Gelas, who undertook the writing of these holy books.

Father Makari, have mercy on Svimeon.

A fat man is bad and clumsy, please, have mercy on me.

Jesus Christ, have mercy on David, Amen.

Christ, have mercy on Theodore, Amen.

14. Four Gospels, 1070, hesychasterion of the Mother of God of Megethon at the Hromana monastery of Archangels, environs of Constantinople; SHM, Shchyuk. 760

20 × 15 cm; thin white parchment; three leaves of the MS—two at the beginning, one at the end—are of paper; they must have been added in the nineteenth century, when the MS was bound in gilt light brown leather, while the original gilt silver relief sheathing—contemporaneous with the MS—was transferred to both sides of the cover. The old revetment of the cover belongs to the eleventh-century Byzantine type. Its upper plate features the Crucifixion, with archangels and relevant Greek inscriptions; the lower plate shows the Deesis, also with archangels. On the back cover, in addition to the Greek inscriptions accompanying the images, the donor inscription is given in Asomt'avruli: ქრისტე, აღიდგე აბაზ და ძმანი მისნი (Christ, exalt Abaz and his brothers).

There are 196 folios, in two columns, 25 lines each. The ruling of the pages is done with care, with four additional horizontal lines in the lower area (to indicate marginal signs). Signatures are given on the first leaf and on top and in the middle of the lower border of the last leaf of each 8-leaf gathering (fascicle). The text is written in light brown ink, in calligraphic Nuskhuri, except on the last pages, where the colophon appears.

The MS is illuminated with a miniature of the Life-Giving Cross (fol. 1v), framings of the text of the letter of Eusebius of Caesaria (fols. 2r–v) and fourteen tables of canon (fols. 3r–9v), headpieces before the contents and at the beginning of Gospels (fols. 12r, 16r, 99r, 102r, 154r, 159r, 246r), four miniatures of the evangelists (fols. 15v, 101v, 158v, 245v), and color initials. The images of the evangelists are executed on an added leaf of a full gathering and seem to have been entered in the manuscript separately (at the same time, apparently, as the reveted cover of the MS was made). The manuscript contains blank leaves, which must have initially been intended for miniatures.

The MS was copied and illuminated by the monk Theodore Garejeli in 1070 in the hesychasterion of the Mother of God known under the name of Megethon at the monastery of Hromana, in the environs of Constantinople, for Abaz, the governor of Arcadiopolis and the younger son of Gagik, the king of Kakheti and Rani (fols. 373r–374v).

According to the later colophons, in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries the MS was deposited in the Parekhi desert in Klarjeti, historically a southern province of Georgia

(now in northeastern Turkey). The MS entered the Moscow State Historical Museum in 1913 as part of Piotr Shchyukin's collection.

E. Dobrynina, “Neizvestnaia gruzinskaia litsevaia rukopis’ iz Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzaia (Shchyuk. 760)” [The unknown Georgian illuminated manuscript from the State Historical Museum (Shchyuk. 760)], in “Gathering in Honour of G. Z. Bykova,” special issue, *Chrysograph* 1 (2003): 259–307; I. Sterligova, “Chekannyi oklad

Fol. 16v:

ქრისტე, ადიდე სულითა ბერი თეოდორე, ამენ იყავნ

Fols. 373r–374v:

დიდებად შემოქმედს და უფალო დიდებად შენდა წმიდაო, დიდებად შენდა მეუფეო წმიდაო ღმრთისმშობელო, მომცემელო ნიჭთაო და სასუომყოფელო ქრისტიანეთა კეთილათ, რომელმან ღირს მყავ მეცა უღირსი ესე და უნარჩევესი ყოველთა კაცთა და არა ღირსი შერაცხუად კრებულსა თანამოწესეთასა თეოდორე გარეშევი მთავარანგელოზელ-ყოფილი, მოგებად წმიდასა ამას სახარებასა, სადიდებად სახელსა შენისა წმიდისა, დიდებად მოწყალებათა შენთა, იყავნ, ამენ.

სახელითა მამისადათა, ძისადა[თა] და სულისა წმიდისადათა, [მეო]ბებითა [ცხოვე]ლს მყოფელისა პატიოსნისა ჯუარისადათა, მეოხებითა მარადის კურთხეულისა დედუფლისა ჩუენისა ყოვლად წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისადათა, მეოხებითა წმიდათა მთავარანგე[ლ]ოზთა და ყოველთა ზეცისა ძალთადათა, ოხითა და ვედრებითა წმიდისა იოვანე ნათლისმცემელისა და წინამორბედისადათა, წმიდათა და ყოვლად ქებულთა მოციქულთა, მამად[მთა]ვართა, წინადაწარმეტყულთა, მოწამეთა, მღვდელთმოძღუართა და სანატრელთა მამათადათა, ამის წმიდისა სამებისა მოწყალებითა და ამით ყოველთა წმიდათა ოხითა და ვედრებითა, მე, სულითა საწყალობელმან თეოდორე მთავარანგელოზელმან დავწერე წმიდად ესე სახარებად სრული ყოვლითავე ფერითა თავდიდისა გამართუთა სახარებითაგან, კამარანი ოქრომელნითა, ასო მთავარი ყოველი შემკობილი ზანდუკი და განთვსული სრული და მართალ და ყოვლითურთ უცთომელი საძიებელი სუნაქსართა, რომელი უჩუენებს ყოველსავე წელიწდისა სახარებასა თვეულისა დღისასა, რომელ სახარებისათჳს სხუად წიგნი არა იგმარების, ვის-ესე ჰქონდის. ესე დავწერე და მოვაწესენე ბრწყინვალესა მეფესა აბაზს უმბრწამესსად (sic) შვილსა სულკურთხეულისა გაგიკ მეფისასა. მან დიდებულ ყავნ სული მათი მცუელად და მ[ფ]ა[რველ]ად თავისა მათისა და საჭსრად სულთა მათთა და სალოცველად სულკურთხეულთა მშობელთა მათთა და საწადელთა ძმათა მათთა ხსართანან, ფადლაფსა, კვირიკეს და რედისავისთჳს, ქრისტემან [sic] დაიცვიენ მშუდობით და დღევრძელობით და ღმრთის მსახურებით ნებასა შინა თჳსსა, იყავნ ამენ.

ესე დავწერე და განვასრულე სანახებსა კონსტანტინეპოლისსა, სოფასტერსა რომანისსა, საჯელსა წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისსა, რომელსა მეგეთონა ეწოდების, მეფობასა ბერძენთა ზედა დეოგენესისასა, და აფხაზთა და ქართველთა ზედა — ბაგრატ სევასტოპოლისსა და გიორგი კურაპალატისა, ძისა მისისსა, და კახთა და რანთა ზედა — ხსართანან კურაპალატისა და ძმათა მისთა. ხოლო ესე ხსართანან ჯაბუკ იყო წლისა ოცდათერთმეტისა, და

gruzinskogo Tetraevangeliia (GIM, Shchyuk. 760)” [Chased cover of the Georgian Four Gospels (SHM, Shchyuk. 760)], in “Gathering in Honour of G. Z. Bykova,” 308–20; D. Kldiashvili, “Gareja—Konstantinopoli: T’eodore garejeli mier romanas monastris k’art’ul skriptoriumshi 1070 stels gadatserili ot’kht’avi” [Gareja—Constantinople: The Four Gospels copied in 1070 by T’eodore Garejeli in the Georgian scriptorium of the Hromana monastery], *Sakart’velos Sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities] 7–8 (2005): 143–67.

Christ, glorify by his soul the monk Theodore, Amen, so be it.

Glory to the Creator and Lord, glory to you. Holy One, glory to you. Ruler, Holy Mother of God, giver of gifts and hope for the well-being of Christians, who made me too—unworthy and last among men, and unworthy of being counted among the assembly of monks—Theodore Garejeli, former member of the Monastery of the Archangel, worthy of making this holy Gospel in glorification of thy holy name, glory to thy mercy. So be it, Amen.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, through the intercession of the Life-Giving Holy Cross and of our eternally blessed Queen, the all holy Mother of God, the intercession of the holy archangels and the powers of heaven, through the entreaty and supplication of the holy John the Baptist and precursor, the holy and universally praised apostles, forefathers, prophets, martyrs, bishops, and blessed fathers, through the grace of the Holy Trinity and through the prayer and supplication of all these saints, I, Theodore of the Monastery of the Archangel, of lowly soul, wrote this holy Gospel, perfect in its entirety, with headpieces at the beginning of the chapters of the Gospels, canon tables in gold ink, capital letters adorned, the contents complete, entirely unerring index with a synaxarion, showing each day of the Gospel’s year, and he who will have this will not use another book for the Gospel. I wrote it and reported to the brilliant King Abaz, the younger son of the deceased King Gagik. Glorify their souls, be their guardian and shield and succour their souls and pray for their deceased parents and his [i.e., Abaz’s] brothers: Khsartanan, Padla, Kvirike, and Redisav. Christ, preserve [them] in peace and longevity and divine service. Be it so, Amen.

I wrote and completed it in the environs of Constantinople, in the Hromana hesychasterion named after the Holy Mother of God, which is called Megethon, in the reign of Diogenes over the Greeks, of Bagrat the sebastos and his son Giorgi Curopalates over the Abkhazians and the Georgians, and of the reign of Khsartanan Curopalates and his brothers over Kakheti and Rani. Khsartanan was a young man, age thirty-one, while

სამნი ძმანი მისნი: ფადლა, კვრიკე, რედისავ თვთოეული თვთო წელიწდითა ურთიერთარს უმრწამე. ხოლო ესე საყურელი სულისა ჩემისა აბაზ, სულიერი შვილი ჩემი, უმრწამესი იყო ძმათა თვისთა და ჭაბუკი იყო წლისად ვითარ კბ, და მთავრობდა არკადიპოლის.

წმიდანო ოთხნო მახარებელნო, მათე, მარკოზ, ლუკა და იოვანე, ბ<ა>რ[ქ]ანებათა [sic] ამათ მიერ უფლისათა და მადლითა და მეოხებითა თქუენითა დაიცევით და დაიფარეთ სულიერად და ჳორციელად მონად თქუენი აბაზ და მშვდობასა შინა აწმარენ წმიდად ესე სახარებად. იყავნ ამენ.

ქრონიკონი იყო სუ, ხოლო დასაბამითგანნი წელნი, რომელ გარდასრულ იყვნეს, ხეოვ.

his three brothers, Padla, Kvirike, and Redisav, were one year younger each. As to thy beloved and spiritual son Abaz, he was younger than his brothers, being a youth of twenty-seven. And he ruled Arcadiopolis.

May the holy four evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John at the Lord's command, and with your grace and intercession, protect and shield spiritually and in flesh your slave Abaz, and let him use this Gospel in peace. Be it so, Amen.

It was the koronikon 290, while 6676 years had passed since the Creation.

15. Homilies of St. Gregory the Theologian, ca. 1066–1072, Constantinople (?); NSM, A-87

36 × 24.5 cm; 416 folios of 33 lines in one column; leather binding, with the Crucifixion inserted in the medallion; light yellowish parchment, darkened at the beginning; some pages are missing (fols. 367, 370, 412–16). The text is restored in some parts. The gathering markings are in Georgian Asomt'avruli script; written in small, slanted Nuskhuri script in dark brown ink, the headings and parts of words are written in gold and light red ink, rarely in green ink. Parts of initials are written in bright cinnabar (fols. 24v–25r), parts are decorated and painted in light colors (fols. 98r, 123r, 139v, 192v, 193r, 228r, 238v). Translated by St. Euthymios the Hagiorite (fols. 40r, 115r, 123r, 232r, 246r, 265v, 386v), David [Tbeli] (fols. 187v, 228r, 238v, 279r, 339v), and Gregory Oshkeli (fol. 387r). The donor:

Fol. 1r, in gold, next to the text's title:

ცხორებად წმიდისა და ნეტარისა მამისა ჩუენისა გრიგოლი ღმრთისმეტყუელისა, კონსტანტინეპოლელ მთავარეპისკოპოსისა; მეუფეო წაგმართე. წმიდაო გრიგოლ ღმრთისმეტყუელო, მადლითა და შეწუენითა შენითა მიჰმადლე და ღირს ყავ წმიდათა ამათ სიტყუათა შენთა აღწერად და აღსრულებად სარწმუნოთ მვედრებელსა შენსა და სურვილით მეძიებელსა წმიდათა სწავლათა შენთასა მვევალსა შენსა მარიამს, ბაგრატ აფხაზთა მეფისა და სევასტოსისა [ა]სულსა, ამენ.

Fol. 386v:

ლოცვა ყავთ წმიდისა და ღმერთშემოსილისა მამისა ჩუენისა ეფთუმესთვს, რომელმან ბერძნულისაგან ქართულად თარგმნა ესე საკითხავი. დედოფალსა მარიამს შეუნდვენ ღმერთმან, ბაგრატის ასულსა და დაიცვენ წმიდისა მამისა ეფთუმეს მადლითა. ამენ იყავნ.

Fol. 228r, in the belly of the capital letter T', in brown ink:

ქრისტჱ, ადიდე მარიამ დედოფალი, ამენ იყავნ.

Fol. 238v, in the margin and in the belly of the capital letter T', in brown ink:

ლოცვა ყავთ ღმერთშემოსილისა დავითისათვს, რომელმან ესე საკითხავი თარგმნა.

ვინ სწერდეთ, ამას სიტყვასა დასწერდით

Queen Maria, daughter of Bagrat, king of the Abkhazians and sebastos. The colophon is written in gold ink in Asomt'avruli in the II-shaped colored headpiece (fol. 1r), with commemorations inscribed in the initials (fols. 228r, 358r).

The tentative period of execution of the MS is determined by knowledge of when Bagrat IV, king of Georgia, held the title of sebastos, as well as of the date of the wedding of his daughter Martha, baptized as Maria, with Prince Michael Parapinakis, the elder son of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Doukas (see the description of no. 12 in this appendix, NCM, MS A-134).

Metreveli, *K'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghiseriloba*, *A kolektsia*, vol. 1.1, 300–309; Bregadze, *Gregory Nazianzelis tkhzeleba't'a shemtsveli dzveli k'art'ul khelnatsert'a aghiseriloba*, 95–104.

The *Life* of our holy and blessed Father Gregory the Theologian, archbishop of Constantinople. Lord, direct us. Saint Gregory the Theologian, with your grace and succour give grace and allow these holy words of yours to be copied and be fulfilled in faith by your faithful supplicant and seeker of your holy teachings with desire, your slave Mariam, daughter of Bagrat the king of the Abkhaz and sebastos, Amen.

Pray for our holy and God-inspired Father Eptvime, who translated from the Greek into Georgian this lesson. God forgive Queen Mariam, daughter of Bagrat, and protect her with the grace of Father Eptvime, Amen, so be it.

Christ, glorify Queen Mariam, Amen, so be it.

Pray for God-inspired Davit', who translated these lessons.

Whoever is the scribe, do not omit this word

Fol. 358r, in the belly of the capital letter T, in brown ink:

ქრისტეჲ, ადიდე მარიამ დედოფალი, ამენ.

Christ, glorify Queen Mariam, Amen.

16. September Menologion, 1081, monastery of the Mother of God of Triandaphilou in Constantinople; Iviron monastery on Mount Athos, MS Georg. 20

27 × 21 cm; 189 folios of 37 lines in two columns; parchment. Embossed brown leather binding of a much later date; some leaves of the MS are heavily damaged and stained; there are 24 gatherings, all except the last (which has 4 folios) consisting of 8 folios. The MS is the autograph of the translator, Hieromonk Theophilos. Written in a relatively small, slanted Nuskhuri script, in faded brown ink; titles and dates (months and the days) of readings indicated on the upper margin of each folio in Asomt'avruli, with cinnabar (fol. 2r); the title of the first reading is decorated with an ornament (fol. 4r). Colophons of the translator and scribe Hieromonk Theophilos as well as a reversible acrostic poem and commemorative prayer for King George appear mainly at the end of the readings (fols. 24v, 33v, 172v, 77v, 83v, 104v, 123v, 131v, 144v, 177v, 181v, 186r, 186v–188v); donors:

of the parchment, Queen Maria, sister of King George II (fol. 69v), and the priest Michael (fol. 89v); the manufacturer of the parchment: the priest Christodule, former Jew; the binder of the MS: the priest Saba (fol. 188v).

R. Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos," *ROC*, ser. 3, 8 (28), nos. 3–4 (1931–32): 226–28; I. Lolashvili, *At'onis k'art'ul khelnatsert'a siakhleni* [Novelties of the Georgian manuscripts of Mount Athos] (Tbilisi, 1982), 41–44; E. Metreveli, ed., *K'artul khelnatsert'a aghsiseriloba, Athonuri kolektisia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, the Athonite collection], vol. 1, comp. L. Akhobadze et al. (Tbilisi, 1986), 10, 99–100. The text was published in N. Goguadze, ed., *Dzveli metaprasuli krebulebi (Seqtembris sakitkhavebi)* [Ancient metaphrastic collections (September)] (Tbilisi, 1986).

Fol. 3v (extract from an extensive introduction dealing with the history of metaphrasis):

... ხოლო უკუეთუ ვინმე იტყოდის, თუ ვინადგან ესოდენ საწადელ არიან ათორმეტნი ესე წიგნნი მეტაფრასნი, რად არა თარგმნენს წმიდათა მამათა ჩუენთა ეფთვმი და ვიორგი? მე ვაუწყო ჭეშმარიტი მიზეზი, რამეთუ კაცი რაჟამს სიყმილითა პურისადთა მომყმარ იყოს, მას ძიებად ხილთა და სანოვავთა არა სცალს; რამეთუ უფრო საჭიროთაგან არა სცალდა და ამისთვის დაშთეს უთარგმანოდ. რომელთაგან მე უღირსსა ამას თეოფილეს რეცა ხუცესმონაზონსა, მოწაფესა გეორგი მთაწმიდლისასა, რომელი არა ღირს ვარ მოწაფე წოდებად მისა, ათორმეტთა მათგან ერთი ესე გამომიღია. უკუეთუ გაჰმარჯოს ღმერთმან სხუათათვისცა კეთილ, და უკუეთუ არა, ამისთვის ლოცვა ყავთ.

სივერაგემან ჟამთამან, შეუწევნელობამან კაცთამან და სივლახაკემან ჳორცთამან სიძვრესა თანა ეტრატისასა დამიხრწიეს, რამეთუ ორანი ქსელანი მოვიდოდეს დრაჰკანად...

... and if anyone says, "If these twelve metaphrastic books are so desirable, why did our holy Fathers Eptvime and Giorgi not translate them?" I shall tell the true cause: when one lacks bread, he has no time to look for fruits and viands; for they had no time because of their translating more needed writings, and this is why these twelve remained untranslated. I, unworthy T'eo'p'ile, hieromonk, pupil of Giorgi the Hagiorite, who am not worthy of being called his pupil, I translated this one of the twelve. If God grants me, I shall render the others in good time, and if not, pray for this.

The treacherousness of the times, lack of aid by men and sickness of flesh, and high price of parchment created obstacles, as two pieces of parchment cost a drahkan...

Fol. 186r contains double-acrostic verses by the hieromonk Theophilos, ending with the following couplet:

აქებდით ყოველნი არსნი უფალსა; გეორგი მეფე დაიცევ ქრისტე, ამინ.

აცხოვნე, ღმერთო ტკბილო, აცხოვნე ცოდვილი თეოფილე, რეცა თარგმანი.

Praise the Lord, all beings. Christ, protect King Giorgi, Amen.

Save, sweet God, save the sinner T'eo'p'ile, as translator.

Fols. 186v–188v (extracts from the extensive introduction and colophon, parts of which were published by R. Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos," *ROC* 29 [1933–34]: 118–21):

... მოივსენენ, უფალო, მოივსენენ პირველ დაძინებულნი მონანი შენნი, მშობელნი სანატრელისა წმიდისა მამისა გეორგი მთაწმიდლისანი – მარიამ და იაკობ, რომლისა მადლითა და ლოცვითა იქმნა, რად ესე იქმნა; და კუალად უნდონიცა იგი მშობელნი უღირსებისა ჩემისანი – მარიამ და იოვანე ცოდვილსა თანა სულსა ჩემსა, რომელმან აღვწერე ესე.

... Remember, Lord, remember first your deceased servants Mariam and Iakob, parents of the blessed holy father Giorgi the Hagiorite, through whose grace and prayer this was created; and again Mariam and Iovane, the parents of me the unworthy with my sinning soul, who have described this.

... ლოცვა ყავთ, წმინდანო ღმრთისანო, ცოდვილისა თეოფილესთვის, რეცა თარგმნისა, რამეთუ მე არარაღსთვის სხვსა, არამედ ლოცვათათვის თქუენთა წმიდათა თავს-მიც შრომად ამისი.

ხოლო ვევედრები და ვამცნებ ყოველთა ეკლესიათა, რომელსაცა მიიწიოს წიგნი ესე, რადათ უკუეთუ ვინმე წერდეს ამიერ, ვითა აქა პოოს, ეგრეთ წერდის შეუცვალეზელად, რადათ არა ბრალეულ იქმნას საშჯელთაგან საღრმთოთა; და ნუცა სიტყუსა სცვალენ, ნუცა თავსა და ნუცა წერტილსა, რამეთუ მე თავით ჩემით არარად დამიწერია, არცა ჩამირთავს და არცა დამიკლია, რაოდენ ჩემგან ეგებოდა და ქართული ენად თავს-იდებდა, არამედ ვითარცა ბერძნულად მიპოვნია წიგნთა შინა მართალთა და ფრიადცა წარჩინებულთა, ესრეთვე ქართულად დამიწერია. ხოლო უკუეთუ ვინმე ამას ურწმუნო იყოს, შეაწამენ და მიერ ისწავენ ჭეშმარიტებად სიტყვსად... და ესე წესი იყარნ მანცა, რომელი უპყრიეს ეკლესიათა საბერძნეთისათა, რადათ პირველსა დღესა მიეცემოდეს წიგნი და დღე ყოველ დაიწუართოს მკითხველმან ცისკრად წარსაკითხავი იგი საკითხავი.

რამეთუ თვთა თქუენ განბჭეთ და განიკითხეთ, თუ არა სირცხვლ არსა ესე ჩუენდა, უკუეთუ ბერძენნი ესოდენსა მას სიბრძნესა ზედა და წურთილებასა და წერილთა მათთა სიკეთისა და აღნიშნვასა კუალად დაიწურთიდენ და წარინახიდენ, რომელთა თვთ ენად მას ზედა ამოუდგამს, და ჩუენ ჩუენსა უსწავლელობასა ზედა არა ვიქმოდით ამას.

ითარგმნა უკუშ წიგნი ესე მეტაფრასი ქალაქსა შინა სამეუფოსა კონსტანტინეპოლეს მონასტერსა შინა ყოვლადშუენიერსა ტრიანდაფილეს დედისა ღმრთისასა. უღირსისა მიერ თეოფილეს რეცა ხუცესმონაზონისა და მათვე ველითა მიერ დაინუსხა დასაბამითგანთა წელთა ექუს ათას ხუთას ოთხმეოცდამეცხრესა, ინდიკტიონსა ოთხსა ბერძნულად, მეფობასა აღმოსავლეთს გეორგი კესაროსისა, ბაგრატის ძისასა, რომლისა ბრძანებითა და მოლუაწებითა ვიწყე თარგმნათ წიგნთა საღმრთოთა ელენურისაგან ქართულად, მიეცინ ღმერთმან სრულებად კეთილთად აქაცა და საუკუნოდ. ხოლო საბერძნეთს დედოფლობასა მართა მისივე გეორგის დისასა და მეფობასა ნიკიფორე ბატანიოტისა და ალექსი კომნინოსისასა, მას ჟამსა, ოდეს ბაგრატის ასული მარიამ დედოფალი აღმოსავლეთით კონსტანტინეპოლეს შემოვიდა...

... ღმერთმან აკურთხენ პატიოსანი მღრდელი საბა ცოდვილსა თანა სულსა ჩემსა, რომელმან შემიმოსა ესე წიგნი.

შეიწყალენ ღმერთმან ჩუენი ხუცესი ხრისტოდულე ებრაელ ყოფილი უღირსსა თანა სულსა ჩემსა ცოდვილს, რამეთუ ამის წიგნისა ეტრათი ყოველი მას უკაზმავს.

... pray, saints of God, for the sinning Theophile, translator, who for nothing else but because of prayers of your saints undertook this work.

And I implore and tell all the churches that this book may reach, that if anyone will hence write, let him write as he finds it here, without changing it, so that he might not be liable to divine punishments; and let him not change a word, either the title or punctuation, for I have not written anything of my own, have neither inserted or omitted anything, as far as it was proper on my side and the Georgian language allowed it. Only what I found in Greek, in true and distinguished books, I have written in Georgian. And if anyone disbelieves this, let him verify and thus learn the true meaning of the word. . . . And let this rule be followed as is practiced in the churches of Greece, by which on the first day the book is given to the reader to get good practice in the lesson to be read in the morning.

And you yourselves, discuss and decide, for it is a shame for us to know that the Greeks, with their wisdom and mastery of the goodness of their writings, repeatedly practice and read in the language that is their mother tongue, and why should we, who are ignorant, not do so?

This metaphrastic book was translated in the all-beautiful monastery of Triandaphilou of the Mother of God, in the royal city of Constantinople, by the hieromonk Theophile, and it was copied with his own hand in the year 6589, indiction 4 in Greek, in the reign of Giorgi the Caesar, Bagrat's son in the East, on whose order and effort I began to translate divine books from the Greek into Georgian, God grant [him] good life here and for eternity, and in Greece in the queenship of Martha, sister of Giorgi, and in the kingship of Nicephoros Botaneiates and Alexios Komnenos, at the time when Queen Mariam came to Constantinople from the East . . .

... God bless the righteous priest Saba with my sinful soul, who bound this book for me.

God have mercy on our priest Christodule, former Jew, unworthy, with sinful soul, who prepared the parchment of this book.

17. November Menologion, 1080s, presumably Constantinople; Iviron monastery on Mount Athos, MSS Georg. 36–37

The collection covers compositions of two manuscripts: Ath. Georg. 37 and Ath. Georg. 36.

MS 37 (Part 1): 26.9 × 16 cm; 22 folios in two columns, 34 lines each. The binding is missing; parchment; signatures for gatherings are marked; the end of the MS is missing. The text is written with small, slanted Nuskhuri, in brown ink; the titles are written in cinnabar; the dates of corresponding readings (month and day) are indicated on the upper margin in Asomt'avruli; the text is preceded by the index of the readings of November

(fol. 2v), which unites treatises presented in Ath. Georg. 36 and Ath. Georg. 37. According to the index and the sequence of the readings incorporated in these two MSS, Ath. Georg. 37 is the initial part, while 36 is its continuation. Later the text of the MS was partially restored. The MS is the autograph of Hieromonk Theophilus, the translator of the work (fols. 6v, 16v, 20v).

According to Robert Blake, the MS was copied ca. 1080. The metaphrastian readings of November by Hieromonk Theophilus must have been executed after 1081, presumably

at the monastery of the Mother of God of Triandaphilou in Constantinople.

Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Ivion au Mont Athos," 226–28; Lolashvili, *At'onis k'art'ul*

Fol. 2r, at the beginning of the index:

მადლითა წმიდისა და ცხოველისა სულისა, სამწმიდაარს ღმრთისა ჩუქნისადათა, წიგნი მესამე, თუჴ ნოენბერი ცხორებანი და წამებანი წმიდათანი მისვე ნეტარისა მიერ სვემონ ლოლოთეტისა, აღწერილ[ნი] ბერძულად და მისვე ცოდვილისა მიერ თხოფილჴს თარგმანებულ[ნი] ქართულად

Fol. 6v:

შეიწყალენ ღმერთმან სული ამისისა მთარგმნ[ელი]სა თეოფილჴსი.

Fol. 16v:

შეიწყალენ ღმერთმან ცოდვილი სული ამისისა თარგმანისადა.

MS 36 (Part 2): 26.8 × 16.2 cm; 205 folios in two columns of 32 lines each. Embossed black leather binding; coarse light gray paper of oriental origin; the beginning and the end of the MS are missing, signatures for gatherings are marked; according to the index of MS Ath. Georg. 37, MS Ath. Georg. 36 is its continuation. The MS is an autograph written in the hand of the translator, Hieromonk Theophilos (fols. 15v, 21v, 78v).

The text is written in small, slanted Nuskhuri, in black ink; titles are written in cinnabar; the dates of corresponding readings (month and day) are indicated on the upper margins in Asomt'avruli, presumably by a different scribe than the copyist of the main part of the MS.

Fol. 15v:

ღმერთმან შეიწყალე ამისი თარგმანი, ცოდვილი თეოფილჴ.

Fol. 21v:

დიდება და მადლი ღმერთსა, სრულმყოფელსა ყოველსა კეთილთასა.

Fol. 78r:

წმიდაო იოანე მოწყალჴო, მეოხ ეყავ სულსა ცოდვილსა ამისასა თარგმან–მნუსხველისასა მას დღესა სასჯელისასა.

khelnsert'a siakhleni, 41–44; Metreveli, *K'artul khelnsert'a aghstseriloba*, *Athonuri koleksia*, vol. 1, 10, 101–3. The text was published in N. Goguadze, ed., *Dzveli metap'rasuli krebulebi (Noembris sakitkhavebi)* [Ancient metaphrastic collections (November)] (Tbilisi, 2017).

By the grace of the holy and living Spirit, our God, three-fold holy, the third book, month of November, *Lives* and Martyrdoms of the Saints, described in Greek by the same blessed Symeon Logothetes and translated by the same sinful T'eo'p'ile into the Georgian.

God have mercy on the soul of the translator of this, T'eo'p'ile.

God have mercy on the sinful soul of the translator of this [book].

In the Description of Georgian Manuscripts of Mount Athos, the MS is dated to the second half of the eleventh century. Biographical information about Hieromonk Theophilos narrows this date to around 1081 or soon after.

Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Ivion au Mont Athos," 226–28; Lolashvili, *At'onis k'art'ul khelnsert'a siakhleni*, 41–44; Metreveli, *K'art'ul khelnsert'a aghstseriloba*, *At'onuri koleksia*, vol. 1, 10, 99–101. The text was published in Goguadze, *Dzveli metap'rasuli krebulebi (Noembris sakitkhavebi)*.

God have mercy on the translator of this [book], sinful T'eo'p'ile.

Glory and Grace to God, perfecter of all good.

Saint John Almoner, intercede before God for the soul of this sinful translator and copyist on the Day of Judgment.

18. December Menologion, 1080s, Kutaisi, Historical-Ethnographical Museum, MS K-5 (sixteenth-century copy)

40 × 26, 5.2 cm; 579 folios in two columns of 30–34 lines each. Embossed leather binding; white paper; several folios are missing. Translated by Theophilos (fol. 118r). Benefactor of the copy: Catholicos of Abkhazia/Western Georgia Evdemon Chkhetisdze (1557–1578; fol. 439r).

The metaphrastian readings of December by Hieromonk Theophilos must have been executed in Constantinople, presumably at the monastery of the Mother of God of Triandaphilou.

Kekelidze, *K'ut'aisis sakhelmtsip'o istroriuli muzeumis khelnsert'a aghstseriloba*, 35–42.

Fol. 118r, Hieromonk Theophilos's note on the retranslation of the *Life* of St. Patapios:

შეისწავეთ, რამეთუ სიტაბუკესაცა მეთარგმნა და მარიამ დედოფალსა ჰქონდა, ხოლო აწ სიბერესაცა ვიძიულე თარგმნად. ლოცვა ყავთ თეოფილესთჳს.

Know that in my youth I translated it and Queen Mariam had it; and now, at my old age, I undertook to translate it [again]. Pray for T'eop'ile.

19. *Dogmatikon*, late eleventh–early twelfth century; NSM, MS S-1463

34.2 × 25.2 cm; 312 folios in two columns, 46, 52, or 57 lines each; bombycine paper; embossed brown leather binding; 41 gatherings. The end of the MS, with the colophon of the scribe, is missing; the text is written in calligraphic Nuskhuri, in black ink, titles and initial letters, as well as a majority of the colophons and the notes of the translator (fols. 3v, 23v, 264v) and the scribe, are written in cinnabar; the text is supplied by the schematic images (fols. 42r, 48r) and the representation of the Crucifixion (fol. 23v). Translated by the monk Arsen Vachesdze (fols. 1r, 23v, 33r, 39r–v, 102v, 103r, 181r, 223r, 228r, 241r, 271v, 294r, 304v).

By around 1800, the MS was in the possession of Prince David Tsitsishvili. Later, his successor Iason Tsitsishvili donated the MS to the Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians (see the donor inscriptions on the inner side of the book cover).

The MS was dated to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries or to the 1130s to '40s.^a Arsen worked on translating the different

treatises gathered in the *Dogmatikon* and on compiling the collection from 1070 to the 1080s in the Mangana monastery at Constantinople. He continued editing the collection in Georgia while staying at the Shio-Mgvime monastery in eastern Georgia in the early twelfth century. This is confirmed by the colophon of the scribe written in cinnabar (fol. 181r). The copying of the MS from the autograph presumably was completed in the Shio-Mgvime monastery soon after Arsen's death in the 1120s.

E. Metreveli, ed., *Kart'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba, S kolektsia* [Description of Georgian manuscripts, Collection S], vol. 2, comp. A. Bak'radze, T. Bregadze, E. Metreveli, and M. Shanidze (Tbilisi, 1961), 213–22, esp. 214, 222; M. Rap'ava, N. Chikvatia, and D. Shengelia, eds., *Dogmatikoni I: Anastasi Sineli, Tsinamdzgvari* [Dogmatikon I: Anastasius of Sinai, Hodegos] (Tbilisi, 2015), 36; M. Rap'ava, M. Kasradze, and N. Chikvatia, eds., *Dogmatikoni II: Nikita stit'ati, Tkhzulebani* [Dogmatikon II: Nicetas Stethatus, treatises] (Tbilisi, 2013), 16–19. On the structure of the French translation of the colophons, see *Dogmatikoni I*, 31–36; *Dogmatikoni II*, 119–131.

Fol. 23v, note to the copyists on the iconography of the Crucifixion and the need to supply this image to the text of the *Hodegos* of St. Anastasios Sinaite. The note is illustrated with an image of the Crucifixion that occupies the whole page and is done in dark brown and red ink. The image has traditional labels: იესუ ნაზარეტელი, მეფე ჰურიათაჲ (Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews), and ღმერთი სიტყუად ჯუარსა ზედა, სული სიტყვერი და ჳორცი (God—Logos on the cross, the logical soul and body).^b

არსენი იტყვს თარგმანი: ჯუარცმისა ხატსა სათანადო არს აქა სადაგისა ჯუარისა წილ გამოსახვად, და რამეთუ თვთ მას წმიდასა ხატი ჯუარცმისად დაუსახავს მამინ ფიცარსა ზედა და არა — სადაგი ჯუარი. ხოლო მე, ვითარცა ყოვლითურთ უმცარსა მხატვრობითისა წელოვნებისასა, ჯუარი ოდენ დამიწერიო, რამეთუ ბერძნულთაცა რადზომნიცა წიგნი მოვიხუენ, ჯუარი ოდენ ეწერის თვინიერ ერთისა, ხოლო ეწერა ხატი ჯუარცმისად. თქუენ კულა, ვითარცა ვის ძალ და წელოვნებაჲ შეგწევედეს, ეგრეთ ყავთ. ხოლო ჯუარცმისა ხატსა თუ ვინმე დასწერდეს, მაცხოვარსა ოდენ უწმს ჯუარცმულისა დასახავად და მარჯუენით მელახურისად ლახურითურთ და გუერდსა გუმერთ და სისხლისა და წყლისა მდინარეთათჳს განცვბრებით განკროთომილისად, ხოლო მარცხენით — ღრუბლისა ძმრითა და ნავლითა სავსისა მიმპრობელისად და სხვსა არავისი. ხოლო ზედაწარწერილისად იმის მკლავთა ქუეშე მაცხოვრისათა ორკერძოვე დაწერად ესრე-სახედ. ამათ სიტყუათა თვთ წმიდად იტყვს, და ვაფუცებთ ყოველსა გადამწერელსა ამის წიგნისასა ძისა ღმრთისა მიმართ, რადთა ამას სახესა ჯუარცმისასა ესრეთვე დაჰსახვიდენ იგიცა...

Arseni comments: instead of the ordinary cross it is worth depicting the image of the Crucifixion here as the saint himself [i.e., St. Anastasios Sinaite] depicted the Crucifixion on the plank and not an ordinary cross. While I, as absolutely not proficient in the art of painting, depicted only the cross, because as in all Greek books I have seen, everywhere the cross was depicted, except for the one where the image of the Crucifixion was depicted. And you can also do as you are able and know how to this. And if someone will depict the image of the Crucifixion, the savior must be represented crucified, while to his right side is the [centurion] holder of the lance, who pierced [Christ's] side by the lance, and who was dazed by the flowing blood and water, and to the left side is the [centurion] giving [to the savior] the sponge full of vinegar and bile and nobody else! And the inscription must be written below the arms of the savior on both sides. These are words said by the saint himself and we adjure all copyists of this treatise in the name of the Son of God to depict the Crucifixion similarly.

^a See, respectively, Metreveli, *Kart'ul khelnatsert'a aghtseriloba, S kolektsia*, 213, and Lolashvili, *Arsen Iqalt'oeli*, 51.

^b Chikvatia, "Anastasi sineli's 'tsinamdzghuarshi' datsuli ert'i ikonograp'iuli gamsakhulebis shesaxeb" (n. 132 above), 160–65, esp. 162.

Fol. 39r–v, colophon on the translation of St. Anastasius of Sinai's *Hodegos* in the Mangana monastery at Constantinople:

დაესრულა წინამძღვარი წმიდისა ანასტასი სინელისად კონსტანტინუპოლის მონასტერსა შინა წმიდისა გიორგისსა მანგანას. შენდობად და მადლობად წმიდაო და თანაარსო ზესთა არსთაო, სამებაო ერთღმერთებო, რომლისა გამოუთქუმელთა გარდამატებულთა ურიცხუობითა და მეოხებითა ყოველად წმიდისა ღმრთისმშობელისა და ყოველთა წმიდათა ყოველთადა და ლოცვითა ბერთა ჩემთა - იოვანე რატეულისა და გიორგი ქართველისადა ღირს ვიქმენ მე, უუნდოესი ყოველთა დაბადებულთა, ყოველთა მდაბალი მონაზონი არსენი ბერძნულისაგან ქართულად თარგმანებასა წმიდისა ამას წიგნისასა [...]

ლოცვა ყავთ ღმრთისმოყუარენო მამანო და ძმანო, ვინცა-ვინ წმიდასა ამას წიგნსა სწერდეთ გინა იკითხვიდეთ, თქვენ, ყოველთა მონათა ღმრთისათა მონასა უნდოესა მონაზონისა არსენისთვის, რამეთუ ვითარ-იგი მოწამე არს თავადი ჭემპარიტებად, მრავლითა ჭირითა და შრომითა დამიწერია და უნაკლულად ძალისაებრ ჩემისა შემიწამებია და რაცა რად ზეპირითა დამირთავს; და თუ სიბნელე რაიმე სადმე ანუ სიღუბნითე შესდგამს, იგი ბერძნულისა შედარებულობისაგან არს, და არა ქართულთა სიტყუათა და შუჭნებასა ვერ მეცნიერობისაგან. ყოველივე მომიტევეთ და ყოველისათვისვე შემინდევით. და უსასყიდლოდ წმიდად ლოცვად თქვენი საჭსარ ყავთ საწყალობელისა სულის ჩემისა.

Fol. 181r, note on the translation of the *Dogmatikon* in Constantinople:

არსენისა მისრული მღვმეს იტყვს დავით მეფე. მე მაშინდელი კაცი ვარ, ოდეს არსენი დაროვიდი ჭამა, მარჯუწმნასა გუჭრდსა ზედა წვა, ნოსელსა იკითხვიდა და დოღმატიკონსა აწამებდა და ცვლსა სოფია წმიდასა იგივე მარტოდ იქმოდა. ნუ ვინ დააგდებთ, არამედ დაწერეთ.

The *Hodegos* of St. Anastasius the Sinaite was completed at the monastery of St. George in Mangana, Constantinople. Forgiveness and thanksgiving, O, Holy, one essence with the Supreme One, Trinity (of the) single Godhead, by which I, the worst of all creation and the simple monk Arseni was made worthy to translate this holy book into Georgian from the Greek through the ineffable, exceeding abundance and intercessions of the Holy Mother of God, the entirety of all the saints, and the prayers of my monks, Ioane Rateuli and Giorgi the Georgian [...]

O, fathers and brethren, lovers of God, who copy or read this book, pray for me, the simple monk Arseni, a servant of all the servants of God, for as the truth itself is a witness, I have written [this book] through much labors and troubles, confirming it and what I have added from memory to be free of any blemish, to the best of my abilities. And if it contains any ambiguities or omissions, that is due to its being compared with the Greek and not from an incomplete knowledge of Georgian words and embellishments. Be lenient with me, forgive me of everything, and may your profuse, holy prayers be relief for my wretched soul.

Fols. 264r–v, colophon on the translation of Nicetas Stethatos's polemical “speeches” against Armenian monophysites.

The colophon was written soon after the death of Arsen Iqalteli.

ლოცვა-ყავთ, მამანო და ძმანო, არსენისათვის თარგმანისა და დავითისათვის პეტრიწონელისა მონაზონ-ხუცისა, რომლისა იძულებითა ბერძნულისაგან გადმოუქართულებიან ესე თავნი სომეხთა განმაქიქებელნი. საუკუნომცა არს ვსენებად არსენისი, ამინ.

King Davit', who visited Arseni in Mgvime, says: “I am a man of that time, when Arseni ate dried bread; he was reclining on his right-hand side, reading [Gregory of Nyssa] and quoting the *Dogmatikon*, and alone made the candle of Saint Sophia.^c Let no one abandon, but keep writing.”

Fathers and brethren, pray for Arseni the translator and Ieromonk Davit' of Petritzon, at the behest of whom these chapters, making accusations [of heresy] against the Armenians, were translated from the Greek into Georgian. The remembrance of Arseni is eternal, Amen.

c In Levan Gigineishvili's opinion, the phrase [არსენი] ცვლისა სოფია წმიდასა იგივე მარტოდ იქმოდა ([Arseni was] creating alone a candle of Holy Sophia/Wisdom) refers to St. Gregory of Nyssa, who is mentioned in the colophon, and it means that Arsen was the only scholar who while reading and translating St. Gregory of Nyssa's works aspired to combine theology and philosophy. See L. Gigineishvili, “Ioane Petritsi and His Philosophical-Theological Project,” *The Kartvelologist: Journal of Georgian Studies* 19 (2013): 2.

