

EASTERN APPROACHES
TO BYZANTIUM

Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies

Publications

9



EASTERN APPROACHES TO BYZANTIUM

Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of
Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick,
Coventry, March 1999

edited by
Antony Eastmond

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2001 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 2001 by the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies
Hon. Secretary, James Crow, Dept of Archaeology, The University,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE1 7RU

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Published by Variorum for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Eastern Approaches to Byzantium : Papers from the Thirty-Third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999.

(Publications for the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine studies ; 9)

1. Byzantine Empire – History – Congresses. 2. Byzantine Empire – Historiography – Congresses

I. Eastmond, Antony II. Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies

III. Byzantine Studies Symposium (33rd: 1999: University of Warwick, Coventry)
949.5'02

U.S. Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Library of Congress Card Number was preassigned as:
00-108825

ISBN 13: 978-0-7546-0322-1 (hbk)

Typeset by Wileman Design, Farnham, Surrey, UK

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF BYZANTINE STUDIES – PUBLICATION 9

Contents

Abbreviations		vii
List of Figures		x
Preface		xiv
Introduction	Antony Eastmond	xvi
1. Speros Vryonis Jr	<i>The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century: The book in the light of subsequent scholarship, 1971–98</i>	1
<i>Section I Byzantium's eastern frontier</i>		
2. Jonathan Shepard	Constantine VII, Caucasian openings and the road to Aleppo	19
3. Catherine Holmes	'How the east was won' in the reign of Basil II	41
4. Jean-Claude Cheynet	La conception militaire de la frontière orientale (IX ^e –XIII ^e siècle)	57
<i>Section II History writing in the east</i>		
5. Carole Hillenbrand	Some reflections on Seljuq historiography	73
6. Robert W. Thomson	The concept of 'history' in medieval Armenian historians	89
7. Stephen H. Rapp Jr	From <i>bumberazi</i> to <i>basileus</i> : writing cultural synthesis and dynastic change in medieval Georgia (K'art'li)	101

Section III Byzantines

- | | | | |
|----|------------------------|---|-----|
| 8. | Liz James | Bearing gifts from the east: imperial relic hunters abroad | 119 |
| 9. | Catherine Jolivet-Lévy | Art chrétien en Anatolie turque: le témoignage de peintures inédites à Tatlarin | 133 |

Section IV Georgians

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---|-----|
| 10. | Zaza Skhirtladze | Newly discovered early paintings in the Gareja desert | 149 |
| 11. | Brigitta Schrade | Byzantium and its eastern barbarians: the cult of saints in Svanet'i | 169 |
| 12. | Giorgi Tcheishvili | Georgian perceptions of Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries | 199 |
| 13. | David Buckton | Stalin and Georgian enamels | 211 |

Section V Armenians

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|--|-----|
| 14. | Lynn Jones | The visual expression of power and piety in medieval Armenia: the palace and palace church at Aghtamar | 221 |
| 15. | Helen C. Evans | Imperial aspirations: Armenian Cilicia and Byzantium in the thirteenth century | 243 |

Section VI Seljuqs and Turkomans

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---|-----|
| 16. | Rustam Shukurov | Turkoman and Byzantine self-identity. Some reflections on the logic of title-making in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Anatolia | 259 |
| 17. | Pamela Armstrong | Seljuqs before the Seljuqs: nomads and frontiers inside Byzantium | 277 |

- | | |
|-------|-----|
| Index | 287 |
|-------|-----|

List of abbreviations

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ABAW	<i>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
Abuldaze, <i>Monuments</i>	I. Abuladze, ed., <i>Dzveli k'art'uli agiograf'iuli literaturis dzeglebi</i> (Monuments of old Georgian hagiographical literature) 3 vols (Tbilisi, 1963–71)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AKKGWG	Abhandlungen der philologisch-historische Klasse der Königliche Gessellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
<i>AnatStud</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
ANSMN	<i>American Numismatic Society. Museum Notes</i>
AP	<i>Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BHL	Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et medinae aetatis
BK	<i>Bedi Kartlisa</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BS	<i>Byzantina sorbonensia</i>
ByzF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
ByzSlav	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CahArch</i>	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CCM	<i>Cahiers de civilisation médiévale</i>
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae
DChAE	<i>Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EI	<i>Encyclopedia of Islam</i> , (1st edn: Leiden, 1913–38;

	2nd edn: Leiden, 1960–)
GOxTR	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JSAS	<i>Journal of the Society of Armenian Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KC	S. Qauxch'ishvili, ed., <i>K'art'lis c'xovreba</i> (The Annals of Georgia), vols 1–2 (Tbilisi, 1955, 1959)
LCI	<i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i> , eds E. Kirschbaum and W. Braunfels (Rome, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, 1968–76), 8 vols
LThK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
NC	<i>Numismatic Circular</i>
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
OCP	Orientalia christiana periodica
ODB	A. Kazhdan, ed., <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> (Oxford, 1991)
PG	J.P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completes, series graeca</i> (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	J.P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completes, series latina</i> (Paris, 1844–80)
PO	R. Graffin and F. Nau, eds, <i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> (Paris, 1904–)
PS	<i>Palestinskii sbornik</i>
REArm	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i> , new series
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
REGC	<i>Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes</i>
RN	<i>Revue numismatique</i> (3rd series; 6th series)
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch[-philologische] und historische Klasse
SC	Sources chrétiennes
Skylitzes	John Skylitzes, <i>Synopsis historiarum</i> , ed. I. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin and New York, 1973)
SMOMPK	<i>Sbornik materialnov dlia opisania mestnostei i plemen kavkaza</i>
SPBS	Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies (Publications)
SSCIS	<i>Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo</i>
Theoph. Cont.	<i>Theophanes Continuatus</i> , ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838)

TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
VV	<i>Vizantiiskii Vremennik</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZKOIRGO	<i>Zapiski Kavkazskago otdela imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Visantoloskog Instituta</i>

12. Georgian perceptions of Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries

Giorgi Tcheishvili

The attitude of Georgians towards Byzantium in the Middle Ages is a subject which has received scant scholarly attention,¹ although Georgian sources contain a wealth of information regarding the study of the contemporary perceptions of Byzantium. The information for the eleventh and twelfth centuries is better than for any other period in the history of Georgian–Byzantine relations. The bulk of the information is derived from Georgian literary sources: hagiographies, chronicles, *typika*, charters, ecclesiastical acts, and panegyrics. Inscriptions, coins and wall paintings also fill gaps in our information and can add many valuable illustrations to it. The Georgian sources of the eleventh and twelfth centuries provide a vivid image of contemporary Byzantium and Byzantines. This image is constructed on comparative characteristics of the Byzantines and Georgians, as well as parallels from the Bible and Greek mythology. Though not always unbiased, the image illuminates the basic attitudes of Georgians towards Byzantines, who were the object of admiration as well as of criticism. However, it is important to distinguish between the ideal image of Byzantium as model of power and Orthodoxy, and that produced through direct dealings with the empire.

In the Georgian sources, Byzantium is variously named as *saberdznet'i* (Greece), *elada* (Hellas), *dasavlet'i* (the west), and *sameup'o* (the empire); and Byzantines are called *berdzenni* (Greeks) and *elinni* (Hellenes). It can be seen from this that the Georgian terms designating Byzantium and Byzantines differ from Byzantine and eastern (Persian, Armenian, Syrian, Arab, Seljuq) terminology, and bear similarity to western European

¹ G. Dragon, 'Contemporary Image and Influence of Byzantium', in K. Fledelius and P. Schreiner, eds, *BYZANTIUM: Identity, Image, Influence* (Copenhagen, 1996), 63–5, stressed the importance of this problem at the XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies.

terms. However, in Georgia, unlike Europe, Greece/Byzantium and Greeks/Byzantines never gained a negative or pejorative meaning; indeed, the opposite was the case. From the ethnic name *berdzeni* (a Greek person) is derived the Georgian word *brdzeni* (a wise man, philosopher). Greek wisdom was always renowned among the Georgians, and Greek education remained an object of admiration even after Byzantium lost its political prestige. This attitude is well illustrated in 'The sermon on the Living Pillar' by the twelfth-century catholicos Nikoloz Gulaberisdze: 'The Greeks are proficient orators, philosophers and historians, and, like celestial creatures, they surpass other nations with the scope of their intellect'.²

The Byzantine empire was regarded with great prestige in Georgia, principally because of its position as the centre of Christian civilization. Byzantium was 'the most pious nation'³ and its subjects were 'the true Orthodox', who held the honour of being the Georgians' masters on issue of faith.⁴ In the Georgian sources Byzantium is defined as 'a country of pilgrimage'. Byzantium had been venerated as a country of pilgrimage for the Georgians from as early as the fifth century, when it had been encouraged by the activities of Peter the Iberian.⁵ This image acquired greater lustre from the end of the tenth century. In both hagiographic literature and in the royal chronicles of the Georgian court, Byzantium and its capital, Constantinople, were the subject of extravagant praise. They were the terrestrial Paradise;⁶ the Zion and Jerusalem, from where the law and the word of the Lord went forth.⁷ Those who sought ascen-

² V. Karbelashvili, ed., *Nikoloz I k'art'lis kat'alikos-patriark'is mier shedgenili 'sakit'xavi suetis c'xovelisay kuart'isa saup'loysa da kat'olike eklesiisa* ('The sermon on the Living Pillar, the Lord's tunic and the catholic church' by the Georgian catholicos-patriarch Nikoloz I) (Tbilisi, 1908), 101.

³ 'Petritsonis cesdeba' (The *typikon* of Petritzos), in S. Qauxch'ishvili, ed., *Georgica* 5 (Tbilisi, 1963), 114–15; A. Shanidze, *K'art'velt'a monasteri bulgaretshi da misi tipikoni* (A Georgian monastery in Bulgaria and its *typikon*), in his *T'xzulebani* (Collected works) 9 (Tbilisi, 1986), 62.

⁴ *Typikon* of Petritzos, 218–19 (Greek text), 103 (Georgian text).

⁵ Giorgi Mc'ire, *C'xorebai giorgi mt'acmidelisay* (Life of Giorgi Mt'acmindeli), in Abuladze, *Monuments* 2:175. Partial English trans. in W. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*. CSCO 327, subs. 48 (Louvain, 1976), 50–59; and D.M. Lang, *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints* (London, 1956), 165–8; Latin trans. in P. Peeters, 'Histoires monastiques géorgiennes', *AB* 36–7 (1917–19), 69(74)–159.

⁶ *Istoriani da azmani sharavandedt'ani* (Histories and Eulogies of the Monarchs), *KC* 2:61. Russian trans. K. Kekelidze, *Istoria i vosxvalenie ventsenostsev* (Tbilisi, 1954), 55.

⁷ Giorgi Mt'acmideli, *C'xorebay Iovanesi da Ep't'wimesi* (Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime), in Abuladze, *Monuments* 2:40–41; partial English trans. in Lang, *Lives and Legends*, 154–65; Latin trans. in Peeters, 'Histoires monastiques géorgiennes', 8(13)–68; French trans. in B. Martin-Hisard, 'La vie de Jean et Euthyme et le statut du monastère des Iberes de l'Athos', *REB* 49 (1991), 67–174. Giorgi Mc'ire, *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmideli*, 123.

sion to God, like Abraham and Moses, called by the Lord, left their fatherland, house and kindred and directed their steps to Byzantium. Georgian monasteries set up in the empire were conceived as the Promised Land where the Georgians were to dwell, regenerate and multiply.⁸

Such praises reflect the moral superiority that Byzantium could claim as the supreme Christian empire, blessed by God. For Georgian monks in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it had an additional lure, as a spiritual centre with an active and modern monastic culture and thriving theology. Georgian monks went to Byzantium to seek to create a reservoir of the best knowledge and thought in the empire. The Georgians were keen to bring their liturgy and theological literature in to line with that of the Greeks, and avoid all suspicion of heresy.⁹ The foundation of the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos in the late tenth century had this as a central aim: its most celebrated monks were translators and copyists, responsible for providing modern Georgian texts of Greek liturgy and theology.¹⁰ The same may be said about other Georgian monastic centres in Byzantium.

The ideal image of Byzantium as the cradle of Orthodoxy remained unchanged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The rhetoric of praise of the Byzantine Orthodox world recurs frequently in texts, and to some extent reflects a topos of Byzantine superiority. However, with the establishment of Georgian monasteries on Byzantine territory, notably the Iviron on Mount Athos, Greeks and Georgians came into more frequent contact with each other, and this led to endless disputes between the two communities, which tempered the idealized image of Byzantium.

Byzantine clergy pushed forward two issues: (1) whether Georgians were heretics or not, and (2) whether the Georgian church had a legal right to be autocephalous. Byzantine monks stressed the language difference in religious service, for conducting liturgy in non-Greek was enough reason for them to suspect Georgian monks of heresy. The Greek monks maintained that lack of knowledge of Georgian made them unable to distinguish Orthodox Georgians from heretic Armenians.¹¹

Because of these intrigues the 'upright and innocent' Georgian monks discerned such negative features of their Byzantine counterparts as

⁸ Giorgi Mt'acmideli, *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime*, 41, 94–5; Giorgi Mc'ire, *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmideli*, 175–6.

⁹ I. Javaxishvili, *K'art'veli eris istoria* (History of the Georgian People) 2 (Tbilisi, 1983), 169–85.

¹⁰ BK 41 (1984) is dedicated to Iviron; H. Met'reveli, 'Le rôle de l'Athos dans l'histoire de la culture géorgienne', BK 40 (1983), 17–26; B. Martin-Hisard, 'L'Athos, l'Orient et le Caucase au XI^e siècle', in A.A.M. Bryer and M. Cunningham, eds, *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, SPBS 4 (Aldershot, 1996), 239–48.

¹¹ Giorgi Mc'ire, *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmideli*, 149–50.

'perverseness'¹² and 'malice'¹³ verging on 'absurdity'.¹⁴ From the Georgian point of view, the Byzantines were arrogant about their scholarship. They deemed themselves too wise and other nations, the Georgians in particular, too ignorant,¹⁵ and did not hesitate to label them as 'barbarians'.¹⁶

At a general level, the texts reveal that the Georgians were aware of the dangers of such a deferential relationship to Byzantium. Georgians were conscious that Byzantines employed Orthodoxy as a means to assert spiritual and political authority.¹⁷ In response, the Georgians proclaimed their church to be equal to that of the Byzantines.¹⁸ The idea of the equality of the Greek and Georgian churches had arisen as early as the eighth century, and recurs in Georgian texts.¹⁹ The *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmindeli*, written by Giorgi Mc'ire soon after his death, seeks, indeed, to reverse that hierarchy by reminding the Byzantine emperors and patriarchs that 'from the very beginning the Greeks used to fall into heresy',²⁰ and, what is more: 'there was a time when in all Greece no Orthodox faith was to be found'.²¹ In contrast to this, the Georgians and even the western Catholics had never deviated from the holy and veritable faith.²²

In more detailed, day-to-day matters, the image of Greek monks that emerges is even less salubrious. The *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime Mt'acmindeli* (John and Euthymios of the Holy Mountain) written by Giorgi Mt'acmindeli complains that the Greeks attempted to enter Georgian monasteries by 'tricks', 'guile' and 'treasures'.²³ They had no scruples to tell lies and cast aspersions on the Georgians;²⁴ and they did not hesitate to resort to force to achieve their desires.²⁵ This changing attitude was largely determined by the dispute at the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos in the mid-eleventh century. The Iviron was founded as Georgian

¹² *Ibid.*, 149.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 150.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153–4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 152–3.

¹⁸ *Typikon* of Petritzos, 114–15 (Greek text), 62 (Georgian text).

¹⁹ Ioane Sabanisidze, *Camebay cmidisa da netarisa mocamisa xristeisi haboisi* (The Martyrdom of Abo), in Abuladze, *Monuments* 1:55.

²⁰ Giorgi Mc'ire, *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmideli*, 179.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 154.

²² *Ibid.*, 154, 178.

²³ Giorgi Mt'acmideli, *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime*, 92, 98.

²⁴ Giorgi Mc'ire, *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmideli*, 149–50.

²⁵ Giorgi Mt'acmideli, *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime*, 93, 96.

monastery. Its founders and first Father Superiors, Tornike (979/980–984/985), Iovane (979/980–1005) and Ep't'wime (1005–19), wanted the monastery to be served only by the Georgian monks (this fact is stressed twice in the *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime*). But because of some perfections they possessed, Greek monks were also allowed to enter the Iviron. The Greek monks suspended most of their Georgian brethren in diligence.²⁶ The Georgian monks greatly appreciated the professional skills of the Greek monks, which allowed them to act as masons, carpenters, viticulturists, boatmen and so on in the Georgian monasteries.²⁷ But the subordinated position of the Greek brotherhood at the Iviron, as well as its wealth, roused the Greek monks' envy and they decided to capture the monastery and its property. In 1029, Giorgi I Varazvache, the Georgian Father Superior of the Iviron monastery, was accused of conspiring against Romanos III Argyros, and exiled. The Greek monks won the Byzantine magnates over, and with joint forces attacked the Iviron. They swore at, scolded and beat the Georgian monks and plundered the monastic property three times.²⁸ The *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime* records that: 'the love of the Greeks' was condemned,²⁹ and that those Georgians who would concede monastic lands to the Greeks were anathematized.³⁰

The image of Byzantium in the eleventh-century sources is mostly negative. For example, Byzantines are severely criticized in the *Vitae* of Athonite Fathers: *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime* by Giorgi Mt'acmindeli and *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmindeli* by Giorgi Mc'ire. And this seems quite natural if we take into account the circumstances in which they were written. The *Vitae* were composed with a certain aim: to commemorate the founders of the Iviron (Tornike, Iovane and Ep't'wime), to remind Georgian monks of the struggle which had been waged by Byzantine clergy against the Iviron's monks, and to immortalize the deeds of Giorgi Mt'acmindeli, who in the 1040–60s had restored the prestige of the Iviron and defended the autocephaly of the Georgian church. The *Vitae* were written to demonstrate that: (1) Georgians are strong enough politically to save the emperor from the rebellious Bardas Skleros; (2) Georgians are strong enough economically to establish the Georgian monastery and render

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 93.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 49. Georgians thought highly of the Greek clergy, and were particularly impressed by Greek monks' obedience to monastic rules, which was proclaimed to be exemplary. The Georgians appreciated this strictness; the more so as many of those monks in secular life had been brought up in prosperity and accustomed to luxury: *typikon* of Petritzos, 100–103 (Greek text), 56 (Georgian text).

²⁸ Giorgi Mt'acmindeli, *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime*, 93–8.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 98.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 98–9.

pecuniary aid to the Romans and Greeks on Athos; (3) Georgian monks are educated enough in theology to administrate Greek monasteries; (4) Georgians are culturally equal to Byzantines and play their part in the cultural development.³¹ The *Vitae* were addressed not only to the Iviron, but also other Georgian monasteries in Byzantium and Georgia. Negative attitudes towards Byzantines also prevailed in the royal chronicles. The annalists did not hesitate to find fault with aggressor Byzantines. The twelfth-century chroniclers, as we shall see below, looked upon Byzantium with a sense of superiority.

The dispute enhanced the Georgian monks' suspicions that the Greeks were led by a far-reaching aim to remove the Georgians lock, stock and barrel from their monasteries in Byzantium,³² and to erase any memory of the founders of the monasteries.³³ The Georgians considered that 'satanic envy' and xenophobia motivated the Byzantines.³⁴ Xenophobia was also reflected in the Greeks' unwillingness to give shelter to strangers, including Georgians,³⁵ or to let the Georgian monks conduct the liturgy in their native language.³⁶

The level of distrust engendered by this episode recurred in later dealings between the two communities. Indeed, Grigol Bakurianisdze's *typikon* for Bačkovo, which was written in 1083, notes that: 'the Greeks are oppressors, covetous, scheming and unreliable. They used to take advantage of the Georgians' innocence and open-heartedness and strive to seize our monasteries.'³⁷ As a result, the inclusion of Greek monks, except a *notarion*, in the Georgian monastery was prohibited.³⁸

It is for this reason that, in addition to being the 'country of pilgrimage', Byzantium acquired a new epithet: 'alien country'.³⁹ Byzantium was

³¹ See K. Kekelidze, *Kulturuli damoukideblobisat'vis brdzolis anarekli dzvel k'art'ul literaturashi* (Reflection on the struggle for cultural independence in old Georgian literature), in K. Kekelidze, *Etiudebi dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoriidan* (Studies in history of old Georgian literature) 4 (Tbilisi, 1957), 110-124; K. Kekelidze, *Natskveti k'art'uli agiograp'iis istoriidan* (Essay on the history of Georgian hagiography), in Kekelidze, *Etiudebi* 4, 134-58.

³² Giorgi Mt'acmideli, *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime*, 95; Giorgi Mc'ire, *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmideli*, 149.

³³ Giorgi Mt'acmideli, *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime*, 96.

³⁴ Giorgi Mc'ire, *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmideli*, 149-50. In hymnographic literature composed at the Iviron in the 1040-70s the Greek monks are even viewed as satanic forces (see *Atonis iveriis monastiris 1074 xelnaceri aghapebit* (1074 manuscript from Iviron with synodicon) (Tbilisi, 1901), 191, 196, 208).

³⁵ *C'xorebay ilarion k'art'velisay* (Life of Hilarion the Georgian), in Abuladze, *Monuments* 2:19-20, 33.

³⁶ Giorgi Mc'ire, *Life of Giorgi Mt'acmideli*, 150.

³⁷ *Typikon* of Petritzos, 218-19 (Greek text), 103 (Georgian text).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ The term 'alien country' is mainly attested in the eleventh-century hagiographic and hymnographic literature.

perceived as 'an alien country' not only by Georgian monks on Athos,⁴⁰ and by nobles who were exiled into the empire,⁴¹ but also by the Georgian spouses of the Byzantine emperors.⁴² The Georgian subjects of the Byzantine empire held the same opinion.⁴³ This contradictory attitude to Byzantium is well evidenced by the Georgian noble, Grigol Bakurianisdze, who rose to the position of Great Domestic in the west under Alexios I Komnenos.⁴⁴ He regarded the Byzantine empire as his homeland and acted as a faithful soldier of the emperor throughout his career; yet, at the same time the *typikon* of his monastery reveals his concerns about his Georgian compatriots and the land of his fathers, Georgia.

The relationship between Byzantium and Georgia was further complicated by the difficult political and military situation along their common border. During the first half of the eleventh century, relations between Byzantium and Georgia remained extremely tense, after the dispute over the ownership of the border region of Tao-Klarjet'i.⁴⁵ The empire pursued an energetically aggressive policy towards Georgia. It was not content with merely formal recognition of its sovereignty, but wanted a real assertion of its supremacy. The ruling Georgian Bagratid family, in its turn, did not agree to accept Byzantine domination in Georgian (Upper Tao, Anakop'ia, Khupat'i) and Armenian provinces, and was eager to drive the Byzantines out of these territories.⁴⁶ The eleventh-century Georgian chronicles, in accordance with royal opinion, present a gloomy picture of Byzantine-Georgian relations: the Byzantines invaded Georgia, cruelly devastated the whole country, seized the lands, persecuted the anointed king, ran intrigues, aided insurgent nobles with troops and money, and played the Georgians off against each other. Where the Byzantines failed

⁴⁰ Giorgi Mt'acmideli, *Life of Iovane and Ep't'wime*, 57.

⁴¹ The rebel Georgian nobles considered repatriation to homeland from Byzantium as a mercy of God. See Javaxishvili, *Istoriia*, 150.

⁴² Anna Komnena, *Alexiad*, ed. and trans. B. Leib (Paris, 1945), II.2.

⁴³ In 1001 Basil II seized the Georgian provinces of Upper Tao and Basiani. Later these lands and surrounding Armenian provinces became the short-lived theme of Iberia. In the 1070s, King Giorgi II regained these territories by active support of Grigol Bakurianisdze. Under Byzantine suzerainty, the population of Upper Tao identified itself as 'Georgian'. The élite of Tao (Basil Bagratisdze, P'eris Jojikisdze, Abas and Grigol Bakurianisdze) regarded Georgia as 'our country' and strove for its spiritual, cultural and political prosperity.

⁴⁴ He is erroneously named Pakourianus by Anna Komnena.

⁴⁵ On this see Z. Avalichvili, 'La succession du curopalate David, d'Ibérie, dynaste de Tao', *Byz* 8 (1933), 177-202; C. Badridze, 'Contribution à l'histoire des relations entre le Tao Géorgie du sud et Byzance. Insurrection de Bardas Skléros', *BK* 33 (1975), 162-90; J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)* (Paris, 1990); M. Lordkipanidze, 'Iz istorii gruzinsko-vizantiiskikh vzaimootnoshenii na granice X-XI vv', in *Actes du XIVe congrès international des études byzantines 2* (Bucharest, 1971), 369-77.

⁴⁶ M. Lordkipanidze, *Essays on Georgian History* (Tbilisi, 1994), 85-94.

by force they resorted to 'guile', 'pleasing' and 'promising riches and treasures'.⁴⁷ Thus, the Georgian annals impute to this 'insidious' and 'ferocious' 'foe' the characteristics of the sworn enemies of the Christianity: the Pharisees, Fire-worshippers and Muslims. Hence, from the Georgian point of view the Christ-loving Byzantines – as foes of Christian Georgia – matched the Infidels.⁴⁸ They resisted God and incurred judgement. God, maintained the chronicles, vented his wrath upon iniquitous emperors,⁴⁹ and helped Georgian kings regain lost territories.⁵⁰

In the 1060s and 1070s the Seljuq invasions encouraged a closer relation between Byzantium and Georgia. But the battle of Manzikert marked the beginning of the end of Byzantine political and military power in Anatolia. Georgia found itself facing the Seljuqs single-handed. The Greeks, according to the twelfth-century anonymous writer of *The Life of Davit', King of Kings*, might have played the role of 'a saviour', if their power had not diminished and had their domains beyond the sea not been seized by the Turks. So King Giorgi II in desperation journeyed to Isfahan and made a complete submission to Malik-Shah.⁵¹ *The Life of Davit', King of Kings* looked back on the recent troubles and laid the blame squarely at the doors of the Byzantines: (1) the Greeks abandoned Asia Minor without battles; (2) they let the Turks occupy and settle in these lands; (3) further Turkish catastrophe rained upon Georgia instead of Greece; (4) Georgia was left open to the inroads of Turkish hordes.⁵²

The *coup* that led to Giorgi's replacement by his son, Davit' II, in 1089 led to a new, more aggressive policy against the Seljuqs, and by 1097 Davit' II was in a position to cease paying tribute to the Seljuqs. He gradually managed to unite most of the Georgian lands; and by 1124 he had managed to expel the Seljuqs not only from Georgia, but also from Shirvan and northern Armenia. Davit''s successors had to restore Shirvan

⁴⁷ *Matiane k'art'lisay* (Chronicle of Georgia), KC 1:284–5; trans. R.W. Thomson, ed., *Rewriting Caucasian History. The Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles. The original Georgian texts and Armenian adaptation* (Oxford, 1996), 281–3; Sumbat Davit'is-dze, *C'xovreba da ucqebay bagrationian't'a* (Life and history of the Bagratids), KC 1:383–6; Russian trans. M. Lordkipanidze, *Sumbat Davitis-dze, istoria i povestvovanie o bagrationakh* (Tbilisi, 1979), 38–42.

⁴⁸ It is highly remarkable that those Georgian nobles who kept loyalty to the Georgian king and fought against the Byzantine conquerors were viewed by their contemporaries as 'true martyrs' (Sumbat Davit'is-dze, KC 1:386 (Russian trans. 42).

⁴⁹ Chronicle of Georgia, KC 1:293, trans. Thomson, *Rewriting*, 287; Sumbat Davit'isdze, 'Life and history', KC 1:386, trans. Lordkipanidze, *Sumbat*, 42.

⁵⁰ Chronicle of Georgia, KC 1:317, trans. Thomson, *Rewriting*, 308.

⁵¹ M. Shanidze, ed., *C'xovreba mep'et'-mep'et'a davit'isi* (The Life of Davit', King of Kings) (Tbilisi, 1992), 161. Trans. Thomson, *Rewriting*, 312.

⁵² *The Life of Davit'*, KC 1:158–9, trans. Thomson, *Rewriting*, 309–10.

and Armenia to Moslem rulers on terms of vassalage, but by 1199 the city of Ani, centre of Northern Armenia, finally passed to Georgia.⁵³

It was against the background of these political events that Georgian historians of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century declared proudly that Georgians had regained the territories that had been lost by the Greeks.⁵⁴ Nikoloz Gulaberidze was able to write that 'the Greeks are fainthearted by nature, while the Georgians are brave warriors'.⁵⁵

Byzantium no longer presented a threat. According to court historians, Georgian kings subdued not only Seljuq sultans, but also the Byzantine emperor: Davit' II

made the sultan tributary to himself and the king of the Greeks like a member of his household. He overthrew the heaven and destroyed the barbarians; he made subjects of kings and slaves of rulers. The Arabs he put to flight, the Ismaelites he plundered, and the Persians he ground to dust, their leaders he reduced to peasants. I shall explain succinctly: those who earlier were kings, giants, champions, long since renowned, valiant and strong, famous for various deeds – all these he so subjected that they were like animals by comparison.⁵⁶

In the twelfth century Georgian kings manifested no respect for Byzantium. They received at their court the emperor's rival princes,⁵⁷ competed with Byzantine state and church in Ayyubid Jerusalem,⁵⁸ and even launched military campaigns against Byzantium.⁵⁹

The fact that the authority and political image of twelfth-century Byzantium was severely shaken is reflected in the Georgians' political attitude towards it. For the eleventh-century Georgian Bagratids the Byzantine emperor was the head of a worldwide empire. He was a 'holy king' and occupied an extraordinary position in Christendom and the surrounding world. The Bagratids regarded the receiving of Byzantine court titles as a great honour, and considered them a pledge of 'peace' and

⁵³ Lordkipanidze, *Essays on Georgian History*, 115–48, 158–65.

⁵⁴ *Histories and Eulogies*, KC 2:6. tr. Kekelidze, *Istoria*, 20.

⁵⁵ Nikoloz Catholicos, 'The sermon on the Living Pillar', 101.

⁵⁶ *The Life of Davit'*, 206, trans. Thomson, *Rewriting*, 342–3.

⁵⁷ In the 1170s Andronikos Komnenos visited king Giorgi III. To Andronikos was shown no more respect than to Shirvan-Shah, a vassal of the king. To quote queen Tamar's anonymous historian 'this was respect worthy to their [i.e. Komnenos] family': *Histories and Eulogies*, KC 2:16–17. trans. Kekelidze, *Istoria*, 28–9.

⁵⁸ G. Japaridse, *Sak'art'velo da maxlobeli aghmosavlet'is islamuri samqaro* (Georgia and the Near-Eastern Islamic World) (Tbilisi, 1995), 125–39.

⁵⁹ V. Kopaliani, *Sak'art'velos urt'iert'oba jvarosnebt'an da bizantiast'an* (Georgia's relations with the Crusaders and Byzantium), in *XII sauk'unis sak'art'velos istoriis sakit'xebi* (Questions on twelfth-century Georgian history) (Tbilisi, 1968), 109–21; Basili Ezosmodzghvari, *C'xorebay mep'et'amarisa l'amarisi* (Life of T'amar, Queen of Queens), KC 2:142; trans. K. Vivian, *The Georgian Chronicle: The Period of Giorgi Lasha* (Amsterdam, 1991), 86–7.

'concord' with 'the Greeks'. From the standpoint of the twelfth-century Georgian ideologists Byzantium, pressed by the Seljuqs and Crusaders, could no longer 'abide in its pomp'. The Byzantine empire, like Moslem powers of the east, was compared with 'beasts that perish' (cf. Ps. 49:12). The emperors were wicked and wretched, without qualities of royalty. As a result of these perceptions, from the very beginning of the twelfth century Georgian kings renounced the Byzantine titles once and for all, considering them humiliating.

In the eleventh century, Byzantium was a shelter for Georgian kings' adversaries. The kings had to make heavy concessions to bring them back from Byzantium. But from the end of the eleventh century the Georgian royal court itself exiled its most rabid foes to Byzantium.

In the eleventh century dynastic marriages with the imperial court were perceived as a guarantee of stability and peace for Georgia, whereas in the twelfth century they were seen as a great honour done by the Georgian royal court to the empire.

From the standpoint of Georgian historians, the complete break of the Georgian king with the emperor led to the fall of the empire in 1204. The imagery of the last days of Byzantium is effusive. According to the Georgian sources, Alexios III Angelos deprived his brother of both the throne and eyesight. The Georgian royal court despised him because of his wickedness and, especially, his covetousness. He was so avid as to rob the Georgian monks who were returning from Georgia to Byzantium with numerous donations from queen T'amar for Georgian monasteries abroad. In Georgia the accident was interpreted as 'a work of the devil', and Georgian troops were dispatched along the Anatolian littoral. As a result the emperor lost Lazica to Alexios Komnenos, kinsman and protégé of the queen.⁶⁰ In regard to this event a panegyrist court poet eulogized his monarch: 'All autocrat emperors are eclipsed by queen T'amar as the stars of heaven are eclipsed by the glorious sun'.⁶¹

T'amar's historian describes the consequences of this event as follows: as soon as the Franks, that is, Crusaders, realized that the Byzantines had been deprived of all support from the kingdom of Georgia they came forth and seized the imperial city of Constantinople. The fall of Constantinople marked for Georgians the end of the Byzantine empire, although in Orthodox Georgia this fact was not perceived as a terrible misfortune. Rather, it just demonstrated how God guided queen T'amar in her deeds.⁶²

⁶⁰ Basili Ezosmodzghvari, *Life of T'amar*, KC 2:142-3, trans. Vivian, *The Georgian Chronicle*, 86-7.

⁶¹ Ioane Shavt'eli, *Abdulmesiani*, 33.1-4, in I. Lolashvili, ed., *Dzveli k'art'veli mexotbeni* (Old Georgian Panegyrists) (Tbilisi, 1964), 128.

⁶² Basili Ezosmodzghvari, *Life of T'amar*, KC 2:142-3; trans. Vivian, *The Georgian Chronicle*, 86-7.

Thus, in the twelfth century, Georgia came forward as a rival and also heir to the Byzantine empire. Byzantium remained venerated as a cradle of Orthodox civilization and a model of great power, so Georgian monarchs sought to justify their equality to the Byzantine emperors. The Bagratids supported Georgian monasteries in Byzantium, where Greek theological, philosophical and historical texts were translated. These translations were spread through Georgia. At the same time imperial symbols and political ideas were adopted by the royal court. Georgian monarchs adopted the title of 'autocrat' and imperial insignia: crown, pendilia, robe, purple buskins.⁶³ Ideological pillars of the image of the Byzantine empire – 'Second Athens', 'New Jerusalem' and 'New Rome' transferred gradually to Georgia. Byzantine statehood came to be perceived as a model basis for building up Georgian pan-Caucasian monarchy.

⁶³ See G.V. Alibegashvili, *Svetskii portret v gruzinskoj srednevekovoj monumental'noi zhivopisi* (The secular portrait in Georgian medieval monumental painting) (Tbilisi, 1979); A. Eastmond, *Royal Imagery in Medieval Georgia* (University Park PA, 1998); T. Dundua, *K'art'uli et' nokulturuli evoluc'ia da dasavlet'i numizmatikuri masalebis mixedvit* (Georgian Ethnocultural Evolution and the West According to Numismatic Material) (Tbilisi, 1997).

Index

- Abasgia 24, *see also* Ap'xazet'i
Abbasid caliphate 36, 41, 226
Abkhaz 269, *see also* Ap'xazet'i
Abraham, Old Testament 113, 201
Abu Firas, poet 39
Abu Hafs, *amir* of Melitene 30
Abu'l 'Asha'ir 39
Abu'l-Fida 280
Abu'l-Hayr-Rumi 11
Abu'l-Ward 28–9
Abydos 5
al-Acfar, Arab insurrectionist 52
Achaemenid Persia 102
Acre 249–50
Adam, Old Testament 94, 112, 232–6
Adana 60, 61
Adishi, Svanet'i, church of St George 171, 175
Aegean 34
Aelia Flacilla, empress 124
Africanus, relics of saint 125
Afshin, *ostikan* 223
Agapios, patriarch of Antioch 50–51
Agarenes 30, 38, 140
Agathangelos, Armenian historian 94, 98
Aghtamar, church of the Holy Cross 32, 92, 221, 225–36, 245
Agnes, relics of saint 120
Ahmad, *amir* of Bitlis 29
Akhbar al-dawla al-saljuqiyya, Arab history 79
'Ala al-Din Kay Qubad I, sultan of Konya 262
Alans 174
Alaverdi, Kaxet'i, cathedral 173
Albania (Caucasus) 102
Aleppo 23, 35–40, 44, 49, 50, 61
Alexander the Great 106
Alexandria 129, 280
Alexios I Grand Komnenos, emperor of Trebizond 208
Alexios I Komnenos, emperor 64, 65, 205, 244, 260
Alexios III Angelos, emperor 208
Alp Arslan, Seljuq sultan 14, 63, 81–2
alphabet
 Armenian 89
 Georgian 107
Amanos mountains 43
Amasya-Sivas region 265–6
Amaury, king of Cyprus 244
Amid, Amida 45, 270
Amir Ghazi Gümüshtagin b. Danishmend, *amir* 260–64
Anakop'ia 205
Anatolia 1–15, 19, 41, 62–6, 73, 259–76
 as title 265–76
Anazarbos, theme of 61
Andrew of Hungary 244–5
Andrew, apostle 183
 relics of 124
Andronikos I Komnenos, emperor 68
Angelokastron 68
Ani 53, 61, 62, 95, 207
Ankara 265, 271
Anna Komnena, *Alexiad* 278
Anne, relics of saint 126
Antalya 66, 68
Antioch 38, 43, 44, 48, 49, 51, 52, 58, 60, 64, 66, 130, 158
 duchy of 62, 63, 248
 patriarch of 263–4, 271–3
 theme of 61–2
Anti-Taurus 36, 39
Antony of Novgorod 130
Anushirwan, Persian historian 79
Anzitene 38, 40
Ap'xazet'i, region of Georgia 112, 174–5
Apelbart *see* Abu'l-Ward
Apoganem, country of 25
Arab historians on the Seljuqs 79–80
Arab raids 5
Arabic literature 266–7
Aral Sea 277
Araxes, river and valleys of 24
archangels 170, 185–7
Argyros family 60
Ariadne, empress 121

- Aristakes of Lastivert, Armenian historian 9, 95–6, 97
- Arkadios, emperor 120, 125
- Armenia, Armenians 1, 8–10, 22, 23, 25, 31, 43, 45, 50, 58, 60, 63–5, 96, 101–2, 201, 206, 221–36, 243–53, 270
- Persian influence in 91, 222
- history writing in 89–99
- Armeniakon, theme of 5, 64, 65
- Armenian church: union with Constantinople 244
- union with Rome 244, 249
- army, Byzantine 5, 21; *see also* kataphrakts
- Arsacid, Armenian dynasty 31, 103, 222
- Arsen Iqaltoeli, Georgian monk 174
- Artanuj 24, 27, 33
- Artemios, saint 196
- Artsn 96
- Artsruni family 223
- Artuqids of Diyarbakir 261, 269, 274
- Arzes, *kastron* 29
- Ashot Artsruni, prince of Vaspurakan 223
- Ashot I Bagratid, Georgian ruler 111
- Ashot I Bagratid, king of Armenia 27, 94, 222
- Ashot II Bagratid, king of Armenia 230
- Ashot II Bagratid, *kuropalates* of Iberia 26–7, 33
- Ashot Kiskasis of Artanuj 27
- Asia Minor *see* Anatolia
- Asolik *see* Stepannos of Taron
- Athos, Mount 175, 204, 205, 214
- Atramyttion 67
- Attaleia 278–9
- Avetis, Armenian scribe 250
- Avnik 25
- ʿAwâsin 62
- Ayyubid dynasty 73
- Azerbaijan 61, 223, 224, 230
- Azon, governor of Alexander the Great 107
- Babais 11–12
- Bačkovó monastery, Bulgaria *see* Petritzos
- Baghdad 5, 36, 44, 52, 224, 225, 226, 274
- Bagrat III, king of Georgia 111
- Bagrat Vxkac'i, *katapan* 53
- Bagrat, *magistros* of Iberia 26
- Bagratids of Armenia 92, 94, 222
- Bagratids of Georgia 104–5, 113–16, 174, 184, 160, 186, 205
- Bagrationis of Georgia *see* Bagratids of Georgia
- Bahram Shah, ruler of Ghazni 269, *see also* Fakhr al-Din Bahram Shah b. Dawud of Erzincan
- Balania, Syria 43
- Balboursa 279, 283
- Balkans 7, 10, 57
- Balsamon 4
- Banu Abu Imran, Syrian church patron 45
- Bar Gagai, Syrian monastery 49
- Bar Hebraeus, Syriac scholar *see* Gregory Abu al-Faraj
- Barbara, saint 170, 182, 183–5
- Bardas Phokas, Domestic of the Schools 36–7
- Bardas Skleros, general 44, 49, 50, 52, 203
- Barnabas, relics of saint 125
- Bartholomew of Edessa, *Refutation of an Agarene* 140
- Basil I, emperor 31, 33, 60
- Basil II, emperor 41–56, 60, 63, 177, 246
- Basil Apokapes 64
- Basil, *parakoimomenos* 40
- Bedouins 35, 62
- Beirut 128
- Bektashis 10
- Benedict of Peterborough 278
- Benedictine Rule 244
- Berebis Seri, Garejan monastery 150, 158
- Beyliks 10–12
- Bible, use of in Armenian history writing 95–6
- Bir al-Qut, monastery in Judean desert 173
- Birbaum, Franz P. 212–13
- Bishop's Meadow, battle of 19
- Bithynia, fortresses of 67–8
- Bitlis 29
- Black Sea 64, 67, 169
- Bohemond VI, duke of Antioch 248, 251
- Boilas, family 7
- Botkin, Mikhail Petrovich, collector of enamels 211–19
- Bourtzes 65
- Bukhara 278
- Bulgaria, Bulgarians 19, 22, 23, 57
- bumberazi* 109–11
- al-Bundari 79
- Camebuli, Garejan monastery 150, 157, 159

- Cappadocia 62, 133–42, 153, 158, 182
 Catherine, saint 182, 184
 Caucasus mountains 58, 169
 Cedrenus 127
 Central Asia 73, 74
 ceramics 277–84
 Chalcedonian Armenians 8–9, 64
 Charsianon 38, 62
 Chliara 67
 Chliat, *kastron* 29
 Chonai 63, 279
 Choanon, theme of 22
 Christ, relics of 127, 128, *see also* Passion, relics of; True Cross
 Christine, saint 182
Chronicle of K'art'li, Georgian history 112
 Cilicia 19, 23, 38, 40, 41–3, 61, 67, 68, 125, 243–53, 265, 271
 Classe, church of San Apollinare 155
 coins
 Arabic 260–61
 Byzantine 261
 Georgian 103, 116
 Sasanian 103
 Turkoman 259–75
 Constantina, empress 121
 Constantine the Great, emperor 108, 113, 114, 119, 120, 124
 Constantine V, emperor 127
 Constantine VI, emperor 122
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, emperor 23–40, 93, 127–8, 227, 279
 Constantine IX Monomachos, emperor 63
 Constantine X Doukas, emperor 53
 Constantine Doukas, Domestic of the Schools 21, 22
 Constantine, Domestic of the Schools 62
 Constantine, guardian of Iconium 65
 Constantinople 5, 21, 22, 36, 38, 41–2, 45, 48, 50, 51, 54, 63, 65–6, 68, 103, 111, 119–30, 182, 200, 225, 244, 266, 272, 273
 fall in 1204 84–5, 208, 248
 Constantinople, churches of
 Chalkoprateia 122
 Christ in Chalke 125, 128
 Daniel the Stylite 130
 St Euphemia 125
 St George of Mangana 174
 Hagia Sophia 84, 125, 140, 175
 Hebdomon 125
 Holy Apostles 124, 127
 oratory of St James 125
 monastery of Studios 175
 the Virgin in the Great Palace 128
 Constantinople, monuments and palaces of
 forum & column of Constantine 39, 128
 Great Palace 22, 129
 house of Barbaros 25
 Constantius, emperor 120, 124
 conversion of Christians to Islam 2
 Crete 34
 Crispin 64
 Crusades, crusaders, crusader states 58, 73, 84, 85, 89, 99, 243, 244, 245
 Crusades, Third 68
 Crusade, Fourth 84–5, 208
 Cyprus 66, 67, 68, 125, 127, 248

 Dabatenos 65
 Dadianis, Georgian noble family 186
 Dadibra 68
 Dalis, pagan goddesses 172
 Damascus 5, 248
 Daniel, prophet 91, 96, 97
 Daniel the Stylite, saint 125
 Danishmendids 65, 259–65, 274
Danishmendname 64
 David, Old Testament king and prophet 111, 112, 113
 Davit' Garejeli, saint 149, 157, 160
 Davit' II Aghmashenebli, king of Georgia 181, 113–15, 174, 176, 206–7
 Davit', *kuropalates* of Tao 111
 Dawit' Artsruni of Vaspurakan 96
De administrando imperio 23–40
 Demetre I, king of Georgia 184
 Demetrios, saint 172, 173, 174, 176, 181
 Derenik Artsruni, prince of Vaspurakan 223
 Didgori, battle of 176
 Diocletian, emperor 177, 178
 Divriği 259
 Diyarbakir 261
 Djalal al-Din Rumi 11
 Djazira 45
 St Dodo, Garejan monastery 156, 157, 158, 159
 Dorylaion 67
 dress, Byzantine 245–7, 250
 Drypia, church of St Thomas 120, 122
 Duin *see* Dvin
 Duodecanese 5
 Dvin 24, 225

- Ecloga* 5
 Edessa 58, 61, 62
 Eflaki 15
 Egypt 58, 153
 Eirene, empress 121–2, 124
 Elishe, Armenian historian 91, 92, 94, 95
 Emesa 125
 enamel (Georgian) 211–19
 Ep't'wime Mt'acmindeli, saint 175, 179,
 181, 202, 203
 Ephrem of Syria 99
 Ernjak 225
 Erzincan 259, 270
 Erzurum 95, 259, 262, 269, 270, *see also*
 Theodosiupolis
 Euchaita *see* Theodoroupolis
 Eudokia, empress 120–21, 124, 131
 Eudoxia, empress 120, 122–3
 Euphemia, relics of saint 122
 Euphrates, and region 22, 23, 24, 34,
 39–40, 57, 58, 61, 128
 Eusebios 90, 93, 94, 108
 Euthymios the Hagiorite *see* Ep't'wime
 Mt'acmindeli
 Euthymios, *Controversy on the Faith* 140
 Evlan Çelebi 11–12

 Fabergé workshops, St Petersburg 211–19
 Fakhr al-Din Bahram Shah b. Dawud of
 Erzincan 269–70
 Faridûn, shah of Persia 106
Farmer's Law 5
 Fatimids 61, 62
 Febronia, saint 182
 feudalism 4
 Finica 278
 Flanders, count of 84
 fleur-de-lis 251–2, 253
 fortified cities, fortresses 59, 65–7
 Forty martyrs of Sebaste, relics of 121, 124
 Franciscans 249
 Franks 85, 64, 97, *see also* Crusaders
 Fulcher of Chartres 129
 Fundi 154
furta sacra 129

 Gabriel, archangel 186–7, 215
 Gabriel of Melitene 64
 Gagik Apumruan Artsruni, regent of
 Vaspurakan 223
 Gagik Artsruni, king of Vaspurakan 31–2,
 92, 221–236

 Gagik-Abas, king of Kars 245
 Gagres 68
 Ganjasar, church 245
 Gareja desert, Georgia 149–60
 Gelasanum 179
 Gelati, monastery 216–17
 George Maniakes 61
 George Monachus, historian 127
 George, saint 170, 171–7, 179, 185
 Georgia, Georgians 1, 22, 27, 43, 101–16,
 149–60, 169–87, 199–209, 211–219, *see*
also regions
 Byzantine influence in 112–16, 149,
 199–209
 Persian influence in 101–11
 Seljuq invasions 160, 206
 history writing in 101–16
 Ghars an-Nime (al-Ni'ma) 14–15, 87
 Ghazar P'arpaci, Armenian chronicler *see*
 Lazar Parpetsi
ghazi 31
 George the Hagiorite *see* Giorgi
 Mt'acmindeli
 Giorgi I Varazvache, Georgian monk 203
 Giorgi II, king of Ap'xazet'i 173
 Giorgi II, king of Georgia 176, 206
 Giorgi III, king of Georgia 114, 176
 Giorgi Mc'ire, Georgian monk 202, 203
 Giorgi Mt'acmindeli, Georgian monk and
 saint 175, 202–3
 Gölhisar 280
 Gorshkov 212
 Grand Komnenoi emperors of Trebizond
 116, 263, 271–3
 Great Seljuqs 73, 262
 Gregory Abu al-Faraj 14, 268
 Gregory Narekac'i 32
 Gregory of Nazianzenos, relics of 127
 Gregory the Illuminator, saint 98
 Grigol Bakurianisdze 204–5
 Grigol Kopasdze, prior of St George in Seti
 196
 Grigol Xandzt'eli, Georgian monk 182
 Grigor *spatharokandidatos* 54
 Gülşehir, Karslı kilise 133, 135, 142
 Gurgun Artsruni, governor 223
 Gurgun Bagratid 27
 Gurgun of Tao 52

 Hadat 34, 36, 39
hadith quotations 75, 77, 266
 Haik Hrom *see* Chalcedonian Armenians

- al-Hakim, Fatimid caliph 44
Hamdallah Mustawfi, Persian historian 76
Hamdanids 30, 38, 39
Harput 64
Hasan Artsruni 224
Hasan Jalal-Dawla, Armenian prince 245
Hasht Behesht 75–76
Helena, empress and saint 120–22, 124, 182
Heliopolis 183
Heraklios, emperor 122, 124, 125, 128
Heret'i, region of Georgia 173
Het'um of Bardzrberd, king of Cilicia 245, 248–9
Het'um of Lambron 244
Het'um-Elias, monk *see* Het'um of Lambron
Het'umids, Armenian family 243, 244–5, 248
Hilarion K'art'veli, Georgian monk and saint 158
Hippolytos, *Chronicle* 93
Histories and Eulogies of the Crowned, Georgian history 113–15
History of the House of the Artsrunik', Armenian history 9, 92, 225–6, 235
Hohannes, archbishop 251
Holy Brick 127
Holy Innocents, relics of 125
Holy Land 119, 128, 184
Hromkla, Cilicia 246
Huddud al-Alam 5
al-Husayni, Arab historian 79, 85
Iberia, Iberians 22, 24, 26, 53, 62, 63, 173, 273, *see also* Georgia
Ibn al-Athir, Arab historian 79–80, 84–5
Ibn al-Jawzi 15, 81–3
Ibn al-Qalanisi, Arab historian 81
Ibn Bibi, Persian historian 76, 83
Ibn Butlan, Arab Christian doctor 44
Ibn Funduq, Persian historian 76
Ibn Hawkal, Arab geographer 44
Ibn Sa'id 280
Ibn Shahram, envoy from Baghdad 49
Ibrahim İnâl 62
icons 121, 128, 129–31, 156, 173, 175, 176
Iconium (Ikonion) 65, 178, *see also* Konya
Iconoclasm 126–128, 130
Idris Bitlisi, Ottoman historian 75–6
Ieli, Svanet'i 183
Ilyas, Baba 11
'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, Arab historian 79
'Imad al-Din Dhu al-Nun b. Muhammed of Sivas 266
Iovane, son of K'sc'xiani, Georgian scribe 185
Ioane Minchi, Georgian monk on Mt Sinai 173
Ioane Petrici, Georgian monk 174
Ioane Shavt'eli, *Abdulmesiani* 208
Ioane Vardanisdze, Georgian nobleman 176–7
Iori, river 160
Iovane Mt'acmindeli, Georgian monk and saint 203
Ip'rari, church of 181
Ip'xi, church of St George 191
Iran, *see also* Persia 73, 90
Iraq 73, 262
Irene, donor 142
Irene, saint 182
Isaak Angelos, emperor 68
Isabelle of Antioch 244
Isaiah, prophet 96
Isfâhân 106
Ishkhani, cathedral 182
Ivane Marushis-dze, Georgian nobleman 111
Ivion monastery, Mount Athos 201, 202–3
ivory, from Trier 121–2
'Izz al-Din Kay Kawus I, Seljuq sultan 262
James of Cyrrestica, hermit 130
James, brother of Christ, relics of saint 125
Jericho, relics of trumpets of 125
Jerusalem 58, 84, 85, 79, 97, 110, 120, 121, 125, 131, 185, 200, 207, 244
Jews in Anatolia 11
jihad 35, 82, 85
Joinville, *History of St Louis* 248
John V Palaiologos, emperor 120
John Tzimiskes, emperor 49, 60, 61, 63, 69, 127, 128, 130, 174
John Bar Abdoun, Syrian patriarch 55
John Chrysoberges, *krites* of Melitene 55
John Chrysostom, patriarch 123
relics of 125
John Doukas-Vatatzes 68
John Drasxanakertc'i *see* Yovhannes V Drasxanakertc'i

- John the Hagiorite *see* Iovane Mt'acmindeli
- John II Komnenos, emperor 58, 66, 69
- John Kourkouas, Domestic of the Schools 20, 23, 24, 26–8, 33, 59
- John Mauropous, monk 174
- John of Antioch 65
- John of Damascus 127
- John of Kozern, Armenian scholar 97
- John the Baptist, relics of saint 119, 125, 127–8
- John the *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia 51
- Jonah, prophet 177
- Joseph, relics of 125
- Josephus 90, 91
- Jugashvili, Iosif Vissarionovich 211
- Julitta, saint 170, 178
- Jumat'i, monastery of 215
- Justin II, emperor 125
- Justinian I, emperor 125
- Justinian II, emperor 122, 124, 126
- Justinianic Code* 126
- Kala, Svanet'i 181
- Kaputru 62
- Karnamag i Ardaxsir 266
- Kars 95
- K'art'li, region of Georgia 101–16, 205
- K'art'lis c'xovreba* (Georgian Chronicles) 104–14, 176, 205
- K'art'los, founder of the Georgians 105
- K'art'velians *see* Georgia, Georgians
- Kastoria 178
- kastra* 5–6, 24–40, 57–69, *see also* individual *kastra*
- kataphrakts 37, 39
- Kavala 65
- Kaxet'i, region of Georgia 112
- Kaykhusraw, Seljuq sultan 77
- Kaysari 270
- Kaysite *see* Qaisite
- Kekaumenos 62
- Keran, princess then queen of Cilicia 247, 250, 251
- Khakhuli triptych 215–17, 247
- Khirbat al-Mafjar 229
- Khupat'i 205
- Khurasan 74, 76
- Kibotion, fortress 66
- Kibyrhaiotai, theme 279
- Kinik 277
- Kinamos 280
- Kirakos of Gandzak, Armenian historian 9
- kleisourai* 25
- Konya 11, 77, 259, 270
- Kostandin I, catholicos of Armenia 246
- Kostandin, Baron, of Cilicia 246
- Kostanti (Constantine) III, ruler of Ap'xazet'i 173
- Kotyaevion 67
- Kourkouas family 60
- Kudyshev 212
- Kulayb, *basilikos* 49–50
- al-Kunduri, Seljuq vizier 78
- Kurashi, church of St George 171
- Kvabebi, Garejan monastery 157
- Kvirike, saint *see* Quiricus, saint
- Kyzistra 65
- Labechina, Svanet'i 176–7
- Laghmani, church of the Saviour 184
- Lagurka, church of Sts Kvirike and Ivliitta 178–81
- Laila, Svanet'i 186
- Lake Van 22, 24, 25, 28, 33, 221
- Laodikeia 44, 66, 279, 280
- Laskarids 66, 67
- Latali, Svanet'i 186
- Laurence, relics of saint 120
- Lavra of St Davit', Garejan monastery 150, 155, 157, 158
- Lavra of St Saba, Palestine 158
- Lavra, Mount Athos 52
- Laz, Lazica 173, 208
- Lazar Parpetsi, Armenian historian 9, 91, 92, 94, 108
- Lazarus, relics of saint 127–8
- legal codes 5, 126
- Lem*, Svan banner 177, 196
- Leo I, emperor 122
- Leo VI, emperor 23, 127
- Leo the Deacon, historian 48
- Levon the Great, Rubenid 244, 245, 252
- Levon II, prince then king of Cilicia 245–52, 253
- Levon IV, king of Cilicia 252
- Life and Tale of the Bagratids*, Georgian history 112
- Life of Daniel the Stylite* 130
- Life of Giorgi Mt'acmindeli* 202–4
- Life of King of Kings Davit' II*, Georgian history 113, 206
- Life of Nerses*, patriarch of Armenia 97

- Life of Sts Kvirike and Ivliitta* 178
Life of the Kings, Georgian history 105–8
Life of the Monarch of Monarchs T'amar,
 Georgian history 113
Life of Vaxtang Gorgasali, Georgian history
 105, 108–11
 Liutprand of Cremona 34
*Lives of Iovane and Ep't'wime Mt'acmin-
 deli* 202–4
 Louis IX, king of France 248–9
 Luke, patriarch 140
 Luke, relics of saint 124
 Lycia 277–84
 Lykandos 62
- Maccabees 91, 92, 96
 Macre 278
 Mac'xvarishi, church of the Saviour 184
 Mahmud of Ghazna 278
 Mai, Svanet'i 173
 Makre 65, 280
 Malagina 67
 Malatya 265
 Maleinos family 60
 Malik-Shah, Persian ruler 206
 Mamikoneans 92
 Mamluks 73, 251, 252, 253
 Mamluk historians 79
 Mandalai brothers 65
 Mandyllion 127–8, 131
 Mangaphas 68
 Mantzikert, see Manzikert
 Manuel I Komnenos, emperor 57, 66–9,
 140, 275
 Manzikert, battle of 13–15, 54, 62, 64, 65,
 78, 80–84, 85, 89, 95, 206, 278
 Marash 34, 36
 Marcian, emperor 124, 125
 Marcianus, hermit 130
 Maria of Alania, empress 247
 Marina, saint 182
 Mariun, queen of Cilicia 252
 Mark, relics of saint 129
 Marmara, Sea of 64
 Martina, empress 121–2, 124
 Mas'ud, Seljuq sultan 79
 Mashtots, Armenian scholar 89–90
 Mastaton, *kastron* 25, 26
 Matthew of Edessa, Armenian historian
 96–7
 Maurice, emperor 121
 Mauron Oros, theme of 61
- Mayafariqin 45
 Mc'xet'a, Georgia 179
 Meander valley 67
 Melitene 19, 20, 29–30, 33, 37, 40, 42, 43,
 45, 47, 48, 55, 61, 140
 Syriac church 45
 Melkites 46, 50
 Membidj 64
menaqibnames 12
 Mengujeks of Erzincan and Divriği 259,
 274
 Mercurios, saint 173
 Mesopotamia 22, 38, 40, 41, 46
 Mestia, Svanet'i 177
 Mevlevis dervish order 10–12
 Michael, archangel 173, 186–7, 215
 Michael III, emperor 125
 Michael VII Doukas, emperor 247
 Michael VIII Palaiologos, emperor 268
 Michael Angelos Doukas 68
 Michael Attaleiates 13–15
 Michael Autoreianos, patriarch 140
 Michael Psellos 63
 Michael the Syrian, chronicler 30, 43, 50,
 55
 Mihran III, Georgian ruler 108
 Mihrdat V, Georgian ruler 108
 Mik'ael IV Mirianisdze, catholicos-patri-
 arch of Georgia 191
 Mirian, Georgian ruler *see* Mihran III
 Mirkhwand, Persian historian 76
 'mirror of princes' genre 75, 78
 Mischians 24
 Monferrat, Marquis of 84
 Mongols 12, 97, 99, 191, 248, 252, 253
 Mopsuestia, theme 60, 61
 al-Moqtadir, Abbasid caliph 227
 Moses, prophet 94, 201
 relics of 126
 Moses Khorenatsi, Armenian historian 9,
 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 111
 Mosēs Xorenac'i *see* Moses Khorenatsi
 Mosul, city 45
 Mount Kadmos 278
 Mravalcqaro, Garejan monastery 150,
 155–7, 158
 Mren, cathedral 227
 manuscripts: Armenian
 Freer Gallery of Art, MS 32.18 249
 Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 1973 252
 Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 2556
 245

- Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 2568
 (Second Vasak Gospel) 251
 Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 2660
 247
 London BL, Or. 13993 (Breviary) 251
 Matenadaran 5468 249
 Matenadaran 8321 245–6
 Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.1111
 251
 Venice, Mekhitarist Library 107 (Assizes
 of Antioch) 252
 Baltimore, Walters 539 249
 manuscripts: Byzantine
 Athens, Vitr. 34.3.30 139
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Coislin 79
 247
 Vatican, Barb. gr. 372 246
 Venice, Marc. gr. Z17 246
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, gr. 64 139
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, gr. 923
 139
 manuscripts: Georgian
 Tbilisi, Institute of Manuscripts A-1335
 (Vani gospels) 115
 Mtkvari river 108
 Muhammed Danishmend 270
 Muhammed of Sivas 264–6, 268
 Muhammed, prophet 273
 Murad II, Ottoman sultan 78
 al-Mustarshid, 'Abbasid caliph 79
 Mutanabbi, poet 35, 229
 Muxeri, Svanet'i 185, 186
 Mxit'ar *hypatos* 54
 Mylasa-Melanoudion, theme of 68
 Myra, town 129, 278
 Myriokephalon, battle of 67
 Myrophores, relics of 125
 mystic orders of Islam 10–11

 Nakhchawan 223, 224
 Nakip'ari, church of St George 172, 181,
 183
 Nat'lismc'emeli, Garejan monastery 157,
 158
 Nazim al-Din Yaghi Basan of Sivas 275
 Nerses I, patriarch of Armenia 97
 Nerses of Lambron 244, 245
 Nestorios 124
 Nicaea 65, 66, 140
 church of the Koimesis 137
 Nicaea, empire of 2, 3, 133, 142
 Nicholas, relic of saint 129

 Nicholas Kallistes 128
 Nicholas Mystikos, patriarch of
 Constantinople 93
 Nikephoros III Botaneiates, emperor 247
 Nikephoros Melissenos 65
 Nikephoros Ouranos, *kraton* 46, 51, 52, 53,
 55, 62
 Nikephoros Phokas, emperor 38, 42, 46,
 59, 60, 61, 69, 127, 128
 Niketas, patriarch 125–6
 Niketas Choniates, *Treasury of the Orthodox
 Faith* 140
 Nikoloz Gulaberisdze, *Sermon on the Living
 Pillar* 200, 207
 Nimrod, Persian first king 105
 Nino, saint 108, 160, 182–3
 Nishapuri, Persian historian 76–7, 78
 Nisibis 36
 Nizami Ganjawi, *Makhzan al-asrar* 269
 Noah, Old Testament figure 94, 112
 relics of 126, 128
 Nola 155
notitiae episcopatumum 4

 Oğuz tribe 277
 Opiza 227
 Oshin of Lambron, baron 251
 Oshki 182, 227
 Ottomans 10
 Oxus 278

 Paipert 64
 Pala d'Oro, Venice 213
 Palaiologoi 272
 Palestine 58, 158, 182
 Pamphylia 67, 278–9
 Panteleimon, saint 173
 Paphlagonia 283
 P'arnavaz, Georgian ruler 106–7, 111, 112,
 113
 P'austos Buzandic, Armenian historian 9,
 94, 97
 Passion relics 119–20
 Patara Kvabebi, Garejan monastery 150
 Patara, town 278
 Paul, relics of saint 114, 125
 Pergamon 67
 Perkri, *kastron* 29
 Persia 5, 101–2, 123, 266–7
 history writing in 76–9
 influence in Armenia 222
 influence in Georgia 101–111

- Peter, relics of saint 125
 Peter the Iberian 200
 Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Psalms* 138–139
 Petritzos monastery, *typikon* 203, 204–5
 Philadelphia 68
 Philaretos Brachamios 64
 Philetos Synadenos, krites of Tarsos 52, 53, 55
 Philita 279
 Phokas family 39, 51, 60
 Phrygia 283
 pilgrimage 119, 122, 204
 piracy 34
 Pirukugmari, Garejan monastery 150, 157, 158
 Pontos 110
 Popov, Piotr Nikolaevich. 212
 Procopios, saint 173
 Procopius 108
 Pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditations on the Life of Christ* 249
 Pseudo-Methodios, *Apocalypse* 91, 97, 98
 Pulcheria, empress 120, 122–4, 126, 131
- Qaisite *amirs* 28–9, 33, 223
 Qu‘ran 266
 Quiricus, saint 170, 177–81
 Qur‘anic quotations 75, 77, 83
- Rahat al-Sudur* by Ravandi 77–8
 Rasul, Baba 12
 Ravandi, Persian historian 76, 77–8, 80, 85
 relics 119–31
 Rhodope mountains 57
 Rhome (as title) 264–76
ribat 31
 Rodathys, *protopapadias* 133, 136–7
 Romanos I Lekapenos, emperor 23, 26–7, 29, 34, 127–8
 Romanos II, emperor 23, 33
 Romanos III Argyros, emperor 55, 56, 58, 61, 203
 Romanos IV Diogenes, emperor 14–15, 78, 81–2
 Rome 98, 119, 125, 244, 249
 Roussel de Bailleul 64
 Rubenids, Armenian family 243
 Rukn al-Din Jahan Shah of Erzurum 262
 Rum (as title) 265–76
 Rum, sultanate of 133
- Sabereebi, Garejan monastery 156, 157, 158–60
 Sabin-Gus, Evgeniia 213
 Sabin-Gus, Stepan Iurevich, photographer 212
 Safar, Treaty of 44
 Sagduxt, Georgian queen 108
Sailor’s Law 5
 saints, cult of in Georgia 169–87
 Saladin 79
Saljuqnama – by Nishapuri 76
 Saltuqs of Erzurum 259, 269, 274
 Samanid dynasty 74
 Samarra 226, 230
 Samosata 39
 Samuel, relics of prophet 125
 Samuel of Ani, Armenian historian 94–5
 Sangarios valley 67
 Sanjar, sultan of Persia 270
 Saracens 26
 Sargis Pisdak, artist 252–3
 Sargis *spatharokandidatos* 54
 Sasanians 92, 101–2, 266
 Satorge, Garejan monastery 150
 Sayf ad-Daula 23, 28–9, 34–40, 59, 60, 63, 229
 seals 46
 Sebaste, church of St Thyrsus 121
 Sebasteia 62, 64, 65
 Sebeos, Armenian historian 9, 91, 93, 96, 97
 Seleucids 92
 Seleukeia, theme 52
 Seljuqs of Rum 2, 10, 11, 63–8, 73–86, 89, 259, 262, 265, 268, 274, 277–84
 Senekerim Old Testament 92
 Senekerim, ruler of Vaspurakan 96
 Seti, Svanet‘i 172, 175
 Sevast‘ianov cross 214
 Shemokmedi quatrefoil 215
 Shirvan 206
 Shot‘a Rust‘aveli, Georgian poet 116
 Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi *see* Ibn al-Jawzi
 Siliistra 174
 Sinai, monastery of St Catherine 158, 173, 176, 179
 Sindet‘i 109–110
 Sinope 66, 262
 Sis, Cilicia 249, 250, 251
 Sivas 259, 270
 Siwnik‘, prince of 224
 Skleros family 60

- slavery 4
- Smbat I Bagratid, king of Armenia 223–5,
230, 231
- Smbat, constable 248, 252
- Smyrna 66
- Socrates Scholastikos 90
- Soliman, Seljuq sultan 66
- Sophia, empress 121
- Sozopolis 68
- Stalin *see* Jugashvili, Iosif Vissarionovich
- Step'ania, queen of Cyprus 248
- Stepannos of Taron, Armenian historian
94, 95
- Stepannos Orbelean, Armenian historian
97
- Step'anoz I, Georgian prince 103
- Step'anoz II, Georgian prince 103
- Stephen, relics of saint 120, 122, 123, 126
- Strymon, theme of 5
- Sulayman b. Qilij Arslan, Seljuq sultan 84
- Sumbat Davit'is-dze, Georgian historian
112
- Svanet'i, region of Georgia 169–87
- Svetic'xoveli, Mc'xet'a 191
- Svip'i P'ari, church of St George 172–3,
175
- Sybillé of Lusignan 244
- Sybillé, sister of Levon II of Cilicia 248,
251
- Symeon, relics of saint 125
- Symeon, tsar of Bulgaria 21, 30, 60
- Symeon Metaphrastes, *menologion* 174,
179
- Symeon Stylites the Elder, saint 130
- Symeon Stylites the Younger, monastery of
43
- Syntaxis armatorum quadrata* 37
- Syria 22, 34, 41–5, 73, 152, 173, 265, 271
- Syriac Christians in Anatolia 1
- tagmata 60, 62
- Takrit 45
- taktika* 47, 59
- T'amar, queen of Georgia 113–116, 176,
182, 191, 208
- Tao-Klarjet'i, region of Georgia 51, 52, 53,
175, 182, 205
- Taron, region of Armenia 9, 22, 24
- Taronites, family 7
- Tarsos, theme of 60, 61, 127, 178
- Tatian, *Diatessaron* 99
- Tatlarin, church B 133–142
- Taurus mountains 22, 34, 39, 43, 57
- Tbilisi, churches in
Metexi 108
Sioni cathedral 108
- tel Adata 60
- Terentius, relics of saint 124
- T'et'ri Udabno, Garejan monastery
150–55, 157
- T'evdore, Georgian artist 181
- Thekla, saint 182
- themes, *see also* individual themes 3, 46,
59–60, 64
- Theodora the Khazar, empress 121, 122
- Theodore, saint 172–76
- Theodore Laskaris, emperor of Nicaea
142
- Theodore, patriarch of Antioch 50
- Theodore Gabras 64
- Theodore Prodromos 58
- Theodoroupolis 174
- Theodosian Code* 126
- Theodosios I, emperor 124
- Theodosios II, emperor 120, 123, 125
- Theodosiupolis 20, 25–6, 33–4, 62
- Theophanes Continuatus, chronicle of 30,
38, 48, 128
- Theophanes, chronicle of 4, 126
- Theophylakt, metropolitan of Ohrid 278
- Thirteen Syrian Fathers 149
- Thomas Artsruni, Armenian historian
92
- Thrace 153
- Three Hebrews in the fiery Furnace, relics
of 125
- Thucydides 82
- Tigris, river 45, 58
- Timothy, relics of saint 124
- titles & offices: Byzantine 207, 260–76
basileus 114
basilikos 48
caesar 114
doux 46
episkeptites 47
katepan 46, 53, 62
kommerkiarios 47
kourator 47, 48
kraton 51
krites 52
kuropalates 114
protostrator 176
sebastos 114, 244
strategos 30, 61

- titles: Islamic
 amir 260–3, 273
 caliph 273
 malik 264, 268, 273
 ostikan 222
 sultan 262–3, 273
 titles: Armenian
 nakharar 222
 tanuter 54
 titles Georgian
 erist'avi 107, 176
 mechurchlet'uxuc'esi 177
 Tornike, Georgian monk 203
 T'oros Roslin, Armenian artist 246–50
 Toros Rupenid 65
 T'ovma Metsobetsi, Armenian chronicler
 9
 towns, transformation of 4–5
 trade, trade routes 44, 45
 translation of relics 119–31
 translation of texts 98
 Greek-Armenian 90
 Greek-Georgian 175, 201, 209
 Latin to Armenian 244
 Trdat, king of Armenia 94, 98
Treatise on Imperial Expeditions 38
Treatise on the Guerilla 59
 Trebizond 64, 67, 261
 empire of 2, 3, 116, 263
 Trinity 110
 Tripoli 60
 Troy, palladium of 128
 True Cross, relics of 119, 120, 122, 124,
 125, 128
 Tughril, Seljuq ruler of Iran 76
 Turânian adversaries of Persia 106
 Turcomans *see* Turkomans
 Turks, Turkomans 10–13, 61, 63, 65, 73,
 99, 259–76, 277–84
 Tzachas 66
 Tzatoi *see* Chalcedonian
 Armenians
 Ubayd Allah, *basilikos* 49–50
 Udabno, Garejan monastery 158, 160
 Umayyad court (Spain) 226
 Ushguli, Svanet'i 184
 Vakhtang II, Armenian prince 245
 Valens, emperor 125
 Vardan 95
 Vardan Arewelc'i, Armenian historian
 98–9
 Vasak, apostate Armenian 95
 Vaspurakan, region of Armenia 61, 96
 Vaxtang Gorgasali, king of Georgia 106,
 108–11, 112, 113
 Venice, doge of 84
 Venice, San Marco 232
 Vep'xistqaosani [Knight in the Panther's
 Skin], Georgian poem 116
 Verina, empress 121–2, 124
 Virgin Mary, relics of 119, 121–4, 128
 William of Rubruck, Franciscan envoy
 248–9
 Wondrous Mountain, Syria 43
 Xanthos 282, 283
 Xe, church of St Barbara 184
 Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Antaki, historian 49,
 50, 264
 yaylas 280
 Yovhannes V Draxanakertc'i, Armenian
 catholicos & historian 9, 25, 31–32,
 92–3, 94, 222, 224
 Yusuf, *ostikan* 223–5, 231
 Zacharias, relics of 125
 Zapel, daughter of Levon the Great 244–5
 Zengid dynasty 73
 Zeno, emperor 124, 125
 Zion 200
 Zoroastrianism 101, 103, 110