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IOANA FEODOROV



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**A NEW TYPE OF GEORGIAN ECCLESIASTICAL BOOK:
THE ILLUMINATED GULANI MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE 16th-18th CENTURIES**

Nino Kavtaria

A new type of liturgical book, called the Gulani, was created in the Georgian literary and ecclesiastical tradition. However, artistically illustrated specimens of it are known only in the 16th-17th centuries. The period between the 17th and the 18th centuries marks the final stage in the development of Georgian miniature painting. The decline in this field of visual art was caused by the austere socio-economic and political circumstances in the country.

The developed characteristic forms in the book art of the 11th-13th centuries and its advanced artistic peculiarities were also preserved throughout the 14th and the 15th centuries. In the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople, this field of art repeated, through inertia, the artistic achievements of the previous epochs.

In the period following the Georgian age of prosperity, the harsh historical times of the country, such as the invasions of Jalal ad-Din, the Mongols, and Tamerlane, gave a fatal blow to the development of artistic creativity. The number, as well as the quality of religious manuscripts, started to diminish, and festive codices similar to those of Gelati (Q-908), Jruchi (H-1667) and Mokvi (Q-902) were no longer written and illustrated in this period. From the 16th century on, weakened by inner wars, turned into a battlefield by two Muslim countries, Georgia was fragmented into separate principalities and kingdoms and was completely isolated from the civilized world.¹

Such a difficult situation in the country hampered, to a certain extent, the progress of artistic creativity. From the 16th century on, an increase in the influence of the Ottoman Empire, and that of Iran, to a lesser extent, had an impact on all aspects of the country's development. However, in the 17th-18th centuries, Georgian book illumination, and art in general, continued to develop, and many ecclesiastical works of artistic value came down to us from that time,

¹ N. Berdzenishvili, *Sakartvelos istoriis sakitxebi (Issues of the History of Georgia)*, II, Tbilisi, 1965, p. 71-149; V. Gabashvili, *Kartuli Feodaluri Tskobileba XVI-XVII saukuneebshi (The Georgian Feudal Formations of the 16th-17th Centuries)*, Tbilisi, 1958.

such as Gospels, Psalters, saints' *Lives*, Akathistos, Horologion, Gulani, Horologion – Gulani, etc.

The Islamic stream, which imposed itself on Georgia, involved almost all the fields of art and revealed itself strongly, especially in miniature painting. The Georgian tradition largely echoed the secular literary avalanche that entered the country from the Islamic East. Persian literary texts, such as *Yusuf and Zuleikha*, *Vis and Rāmin*, *The Story of Rustam*, *The Story of Bahramgur*, *Shahnameh*, *The Story of Saam*, and *Kalila and Dimna* (of Indian origin), were translated into Georgian.

Admittedly, the Persian miniature painting of the 16th and the 17th centuries is an outstanding artistic field and, along with the translated literary works, the artistically illustrated works also received broad exposure. Georgian book-craftsmen mastered the cultural flow that was penetrating from the East, and using the Iranian model in ornating secular books was almost an established tradition. It should be mentioned that the Oriental tradition observed in secular book-illumination did not influence the ecclesiastical book art. Many literary masterpieces of the 17th-18th centuries, on various subjects, have come down to us, in rapid succession to secular art. However, despite the diversity of the book content, the artistic level of book art deteriorated. It could be saved neither by the post-Byzantine traditions nor by the cultural influence of Western Europe, which penetrated at the time.

The Gulani, a unique liturgical collection, appeared in Georgia in the 16th and the 17th centuries. As Korneli Kekelidze defined it, the Gulani is a collection of all the religious books.² Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, who travelled in Georgia in the 17th century, wrote:

In each and every Georgian church there is a huge book which equals in weight at least one side of a mule-load. This book is placed on a lectern, on a choir-stall, and is covered with a piece of canvas or broadcloth. All the theological books which the believers need and read all the year round are assembled in it: namely, the Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Praxapostolos, Menaion, Triodion and Pentecostarion, Book of Psalms, Prophetologion, Horologion, Synaxarion, Typikon, Homilies, and *Lives* [of saints].³

As the Georgian scholar explains, only a great, rich monastery could allow to purchase and possess the Gulani. Moreover, the collection represented an original Georgian composition, such as there was nothing similar in other

² K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli Kartuli Literaturis Istoria (History of Old Georgian Literature)*, Tbilisi, I, 1980, p. 585.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 585-586.

countries.⁴ At the same time, K. Kekelidze defines the shortened edition of Gulani that is the so-called Horologion – Gulani.

A relatively large number of illustrated Gulani books have come down to us, most of which are preserved at the “K. Kekelidze” Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (S-1277, H-1714, A-30, A-31, A-32, Q-103b, and Q-104b) and the National Archives of Georgia (F.1446 and N302). On the one hand, according to the various principles laid down for illustrations, these manuscripts continue the tradition of Georgian book art and, on the other hand, they remain faithful to the post-Byzantine artistic tradition, as the only source of Christian theology and spiritual thinking system.

A general characteristic that was revealed in every list of Gulani illustrations is the fact that the painters strictly follow the illustrating principles of earlier Byzantine and Georgian book art, characteristic of certain liturgical and ecclesiastical manuscripts, such as the Gospel Lectionary, the Menaion, Synaxarion, Pentecostarion, etc. As the Gulani represents a collection of these liturgical books, they keep for centuries the illustrating principles elaborated for specific books. A miniature is placed before each text in the Gulani books, as was the rule in Byzantine manuscripts since the 11th century. They strictly follow the principal Christian Feasts of the ecclesiastic calendar. In choosing the compositions, the primary accent is placed on the cycle of the Twelve Main Feasts, on the important events of the Saviour’s and the Holy Virgin’s lives, and the images of particular saints. Miniatures of a liturgical and symbolic nature, and also those of saints’ lives, follow one another. The whole cycle bears a generalised and a lively character, and fulfils, at the same time, the function of the Gulani as a book used in religious services all through the year, in the late Middle Ages.

The iconographic sources of the Gulani are traced back to Georgian and Greek post-Palaiologan and post-Byzantine fine arts, although Georgian masters could still maintain the conciseness established as far back as the 11th century, and presented brief iconographic editions of the compositions.

The characteristics established in the earlier artistic tradition are contradicted to some extent by the miniatures of the codices S-1277 (1674)⁵ and H-1714 (18th c.).⁶ The number of thematic (or scene) compositions was decreased at the expense of complicating the iconographic schemes of the miniatures.

The principle of dividing up the miniatures is changed to a certain degree. Compositions are added to the text, divided into two columns, without a frame, and the impression conveyed is that there are no definite margins

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 586.

⁵ *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts (S – Collection)*, vol. II, Tbilisi, 1961, p. 142-143.

⁶ *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the State Museum of Georgia (H – Collection)*, vol. IV, Tbilisi, 1950, p. 145-148.

established for developing the theme. Most miniatures are painted directly on paper, with no background; thus, they lack a presentation of the details referring to a place of the action. In the Gulani series of the 17th and the 18th centuries, namely, in manuscript A-1454, dating from 1746, the rule of depicting thematic compositions, and particular saints, changed.⁷ Most of the miniatures are collected in the Menaion, and the Christological section is at the end. Compositions are placed both at the beginning of the texts and in the margins, where no text is written. The number of miniatures is significantly lower in this manuscript, while their content illustrates themes traditionally characteristic to the Gulani.

Of the Gulani that have come down to us, the one dating back to the 16th century must be considered the earliest: it is manuscript N 302 kept in the National Archives.⁸ In earlier times, the codex belonged to Levan Dadiani I (1533-1572) and Queen Elene, his spouse. According to a colophon dating to a later period, we learn that Nikoloz Amilakhori donated the book to the Shiomghvime Monastery. Illuminated pages were seemingly inserted in the book later. The miniatures are inspired by the cycle of the Twelve Main Feasts and the depictions of certain saints: *Annunciation* – 8v, *Nativity* – 49v, *Presentation at the Temple* – 125v, *Baptism* – 195v, *Rising of Lazarus* – 251v, *Descent into the Hell* – 317v, *Archangels and Saints* – 373v, *Holy Warriors and Saints* – 454v, *Entry into Jerusalem* – 499v, *Crucifixion* – 571v, *Transfiguration* – 626v, *Dormition of the Holy Virgin* – 679v. In the compositional order of this manuscript, the proportions of the figures, the manner of rendering faces, the iconography of the scenes, the colourful resolution of the miniatures bear a resemblance to the Cretan artistic school of the 15th-16th centuries. The extraordinarily large size of miniatures (34 x 27.3 cm) makes us consider a connection between these illustrations and the Cretan icons.

Next, in the chronological series of manuscripts that belong to the Gulani type, comes codex S-1277, ordered by Prince Levan for the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral. The codex dates back to 1674. It is relatively small in size (29 x 19 cm) and does not match the size mentioned by Patriarch Macarius for a typical Gulani. As for its contents, they include the Menaion, Easter Chants and Gospel readings. Two hundred miniatures illustrate mainly the text of the Menaion. Most of the miniatures are groups or individual portrayals of saints, added to the corresponding month. The number of thematic compositions is

⁷ *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Former Church Museum (A – Collection)*, vol. V, Tbilisi, 1955, p. 3-4.

⁸ *Illuminated Ecclesiastical Manuscripts. The Collection of Georgian Manuscripts (9th-19th c.) from the National Archives of Georgia*, ed. by M. Tchumburidze, Tbilisi, 2011, p. 38-52; K. Asatiani, *Illuminated Georgian Manuscripts and Historical Documents Preserved in the National Archives of Georgia*, Tbilisi, 2016, ill. 48-61.

relatively small: approximately ten represent expanded iconographic versions of the plot miniatures: *Nativity* – 64v, *Flight into Egypt* – 72v (Fig. 1), *Baptism* – 81v, *Presentation at the Temple* – 101v, *Elevation of the Holy Cross* – 124v, *Placing the Virgin's Clothes at the Vlacherne* – 141v, *Dormition of St Anna* – 150r, *Transfiguration* – 156v, and *Dormition of the Holy Virgin* – 157v. In most cases, the artist conceptualizes them as symbolic scenes, lacking any narrative character. For instance, in the composition of *Placing the Holy Virgin's Clothes at the Vlacherne*, only a canopy and a throne are depicted, while in the *Finding of the Head of St John the Baptist* the painter presents only the Saint, in a standing posture, holding a scroll in his hand. At the same time, from the iconographic point of view, the *Nativity* composition is quite saturated, with a complex compositional narrative developed around the dominant figures of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus. Here one also sees, all visible to the left: the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Chanting Angels, the Magi approaching from the East with gifts, Joseph, and the scene where Jesus is being bathed by midwives.

Sometimes, the natural colouring of the paper used as a background for miniatures and the rejection of a frame enhance the expressiveness of otherwise laconic compositions. The main characteristic of the miniatures of this codex is their linear character, which again indicates the liturgical purpose of the work.

The Gulani H-1714, size 18.5 x 15 cm, is copied and illustrated at the court of Mamia Gurieli. The manuscript includes the Typikon, Oktoechos, Menaion, Paschal Calendar, Triodion, and Pentecostarion. The Menaion is fully illustrated, the texts of the Triodion and Pentecostarion are presented with three miniatures each, and the composition of the *Last Judgment* graphically illustrates the chants of the Second Advent. The miniatures are added to the text copied in two columns, and they mostly take up a whole column. With a blaze of reddish and terracotta colouring and large-sized figures, they are brought out as sharp accents against the text, written in tiny letters (Fig. 2). The brief iconographic versions of the scenes underline the theological function of the manuscript.

The liturgical book A-1454, commissioned by Vakhusti Abashidze, also reveals a close resemblance to the compositional structure of Gulani-type manuscripts. The Menaion, Oktoechos, Triodion, Pentecostarion, Gospel Lectionary, Easter Chants, etc., are all included in this collection. Alongside other Gulani manuscripts, here the Menaion text is also graphically illustrated, and miniatures are inserted in the special frame on the margins, separate from the text. The portrayals of particular saints and martyrs are painted against a blue background. The cycle of the Twelve Feasts, with the *Last Judgment* on a full page, is placed at the end of the manuscript.

A codex known as the Gulani of Anchiskhati (A-30, A-31, and A-32) is considered to be the classical type of Gulani manuscript.⁹ This was copied for the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral in Mtskheta in 1681. The manuscript was ordered by Nikoloz Amilakhvrishvili, the Catholicos of Kartli. In later centuries, the book was transferred to the Anchiskhati Church in Tbilisi, from where its name originates. Today the manuscript consists of three huge volumes (A-30 – 36 x 24 cm; A-31 – 26.4 x 24.4 cm; A-32 – 37.7 x 26.7 cm).

The Catholicos Nickoloz Amilakhvrishvili was a well-known ecclesiastic and a public figure of his time. His name is associated with the advance and progress of the cultural and public life of Kartli in the 1680s. The reign of George XI, between 1678 and 1688, was particularly flourishing. The considerably limited expansion of Iran gave the possibility for a cultural revival. The Catholicos's philanthropic activities were quite significant and comprehensive. Through his endeavour and patronage, many churches were restored. He contributed, in particular, to the restoration, reconstruction, and renewal of the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral. He himself donated manuscripts to it, also commanding that they be copied and illustrated.¹⁰

According to the colophons preserved in copies of the Gulani of Anchiskhati, Mikela the deacon (A-30 – f. 11v, 124v, and 153v) and Saba the priest (A-30 – f. 154r and 184r; A-31 – f. 217v and 272r), Abel, son of the deacon (A-30 – f. 250v), and Ioseb Turkestanishvili the calligrapher (A-31, f. 30r and 36r) were the scribes of the codex.

Fifty-three miniatures painted by Mikela and Saba are inserted and distributed in three volumes of the manuscript. Both of them use post-Palaiologan artistic traditions and iconographic sources for their works; the influence of the Western European art is marginally present, but noticeable here, and especially visible in the rendering of figures and backgrounds, or in the way figures are placed in space. Remarkably, the joint work of these two painters is

⁹ Т. Жордания, *Описание рукописей и старопечатных книг Церковного Музея духовенства Грузинской Епархии*, I, Tbilisi, 1903, p. 23-25; Р. Шмерлинг, *Образцы декоративного убранства грузинской рукописной книги*, Tbilisi, 1940, p. 66-68; Ш. Амранашвили, *Грузинская Миниатюра*, Moscow, 1966, p. 37-38; *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the Former Church Museum (A – Collection)*, vol. I, Tbilisi, 1973, p. 97-101; Ф. Девдариани, “Иллюстрированные грузинские богослужебные сборники – Гулани XVII века (группа миниатюр Анчисхатского Гулани)”, in *II Международный симпозиум по грузинскому искусству*, Tbilisi, 1977, p. 1-15; id., *Миниатюры Анчисхатского Гулани*, Tbilisi, 1990.

¹⁰ P. Karbelashvili, *Ierarkia Sakartvelos Eklesiisa (Hierarchy of the Georgian Church)*, Tbilisi, 1900 (2nd ed. 2011), p. 127-129; id., *Dzveli Anchiskhatis Tadzari Tbilisi (The Old Church of Anchiskhati in Tbilisi)*, Tbilisi, 1903, p. 26-27; G. Jandieri, “XVIII Saukunis Agmosavlet Sakartvelos Istoriuli Kronologiis Sakitxisatvis. Episkoposta Kronologiuri Rigi” (“The Issue of the Historical Chronology of Eastern Georgia in the 18th Century. Chronological List of the Archbishops”), *Mravaltavi*, 1, 1971, p. 343; Ф. Девдариани, *Миниатюры Анчисхатского Гулани...*, p. 12-20.

apparent only in A-30. The miniatures that they created follow one another (Fig. 3-8).

Most of the miniatures in the Gulani of Anchiskhati that are thematic scenes or portrayals of certain saints are placed in a thick coloured frame, and the marginal illustrations contain only icons of saints.

The Menaion is the most richly illustrated part of the manuscript. The thematic content of the composition is not changed: the Christological cycle, essential episodes from the history of the Christian Church, and saints' icons. The illustrated version of the *Akathistos Hymn of the Holy Virgin* is also presented in a particular manner, which once again attests the strong influence of the iconographic tradition of post-Byzantine art.

The artistic details typical of such a book, which are only characteristic of the Georgian literary tradition, are revealed in the images of the Gulani of Anchiskhati. Both the common stylistic features and the individual manner of painting are visible in the illustrations made by painters, and these were conditioned by their skillfulness and artistic taste.

The dryness and the schematic manner of painting reveal the signs of the time. The broken emotional connection between the figures and the muddled tones also indicate the same fact.

The Western European influence is apparent only in Mikela's miniatures, and it is expressed in the conventional treatment of space and in the gentle "picturesque" modelling. Although he could not overcome a certain retrospective character, influenced by the artistic traditions of the 14th-15th centuries, Western effects are not as pronounced with him as in the illustrations of manuscripts in the Mount Athos collections of the time.

The masters of the Gulani of Anchiskhati firmly follow the illumination principles of liturgical manuscripts of late Palaiologan art, and also the artistic features of the latter half of the 17th century. The minor influence of Western art reflects a search for new forms of expression.

The characteristics of the Gulani of Anchiskhati are a laconic and austere compositional structure and an elaboration of forms that follow the unity of coloured spots. All these point out not only to the general artistic thought, conditioned by the epoch but also to a connection with the miniatures of an earlier period. These traditions were modified in time by each painter's individual approach.

The influence of the epoch's advanced artistic traditions is more pronounced in Mikela's creative works. Eight of the miniatures belong to him. He is the best professional miniaturist of his time. A sharp coloured palette, harmoniously constructed and balanced compositions, and a clear separation of the figures of significant importance from the minor ones all distinguish Mikela's paintings. In his art, the mountainous and architectural landscape, developed in the late Byzantine age, is levelled down to mere sketchiness.

The figures' faces lack inspiration. More directness is seen in them, intensified by the oversized heads, as compared to the bodies, by slightly aquiline noses and protuberant cheeks. The artist also depicts garments in a peculiar manner: in contrast to other patterns of the 17th century, where white strokes divide colourful surfaces, he gives a dry, linear character, typical to the epoch. Strokes are added lightly and do not alter local colours. The priority of local tones is underlined by the sparsely applied whitening; therefore, it is difficult to notice them against a light green or light blue tone, and the cinnabar is always left untouched.

At the same time, the use of different artistic traditions is striking in Mikela's works, inspired by post-Byzantine painting, with its eclectic nature. His artistic tendencies are vividly displayed in the painting of the *Life-Giving Pillar* in the Svetitskhoveli Cathedral of Mtskheta, painted by Grigol Guljavarashvili by order of the Catholicos Nikolos Amilakhvishvili.¹¹

The Bobnevi painting, which dates back to 1683, is especially close to the style of these Gulani miniatures. Despite their stylistic similarity, the orientation to post-Palaiologan traditions is the principal aim of the Bobnevi painter.¹²

The strictness of the compositional construction and self-contained gestures can be seen in the illustrations of the *Akathistos of the Holy Virgin* copied and illustrated by Mikela in 1681. Miniatures in this codex are distinguished by a lyricism that differentiates them from the Gulani illustrations.¹³ Mikela also seems to have been the painter of the *Prayer Book* (K-258) preserved at the Kutaisi State Historical Museum.¹⁴

Most miniatures of the Gulani of Anchiskhati are painted by Saba. They reveal the particularities of the epoch from a different angle. Saba cannot measure up to Mikela as a master. A rough line, a broad manner of writing, stocky big-headed figures with exaggerated palms and feet are typical of his works. The compositions of burly figures enclosed in thick frames reveal a feature of his craft. An abundance of floral motifs, and particularly ornaments, is salient in Saba's works. His images are very similar and lack any iconographic

¹¹ V. Beridze, "Mtskhedis Katedralis Sveti-Tskhoveli da Kartlis Muktsevis Siuzhetebi Mis Preskebshi ("The Life-Giving Pillar of Mtskheta Cathedral and the Scenes of Conversion of Kartli in its Frescoes"), in *Sakartvelos Saxelmtshipo Muzeumism Moambe*, vol. XV-B, Tbilisi, 1948, p. 135-164.

¹² O. Piralishvili, *Bobnevis Mokhatuloba da Realisturi Tendenciis Shesaxeb XVII saukunis Kartul Mkhavrobashi (Bobnevi Murals and the Realistic Tendencies in the Georgian Painting of the 17th c.)*, Tbilisi, 1952; Ф. Девдариани, "Иллюстрированные грузинские богослужебные сборники"..., p. 10-12.

¹³ *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts from the Collection of the State Museum of Georgia (H – Collection)*, vol. I, ed. by K. Kekelidze and I. Abuladze, Tbilisi, 1946, p. 72-73.

¹⁴ M. Kebuladze, "The Personality of the Scribe of the *Prayer Book* (K-258) of the 17th Century", in *Works of the Kutaisi State Historical Museum*, vol. 18, 2008, p. 119.

signs. He makes free use of silver. Miniatures similar to Saba's are present in works of the Georgian fine arts of the 17th-18th centuries.¹⁵ All this reveals the characteristics of Saba's painting and the artistic tendencies of the age.

Evidently, in this period, the proportions of the figures change, and there is a tendency of generalizing forms and rounding the displayed features. The aesthetics of the artistic works differ from those of the Palaiologan times. They stand out from the post-Palaiologan stream, with their inner structures and their iconographic and compositional schemes.

The Gulani of Shemokmedi (Q-103 a, b, c), which dates back to 1749, is the closest to that of Anchiskhati.¹⁶ The manuscript, sized 48 x 35 cm, is divided into three volumes, similar to the Anchiskhati Gulani. Traditionally, the Menaion, Triodion, and Pentecostarion are illustrated in the Shemokmedi Gulani. The extensive iconographic versions which the painter uses are saturated with post-Byzantine traditions (Fig. 9).

It is interesting that in the Gulani miniatures the illustrating principles, the place of miniatures within the text, and their thematic content all indicate a close connection of the Gulani to the Menologion, which was the most widespread liturgical collection. Here, the Holy Feasts and commemorative days are arranged according to the calendar. The best examples of this are a small Synaxarion dating from 1030 (A-648) and a fully illustrated Menologion in a Georgian-Greek manuscript, Ms. 01.58, preserved at the National Library of St Petersburg.¹⁷

In the Gulani of Gurianta, a particular connection is noticeable with the Gulani of Shemokmedi. The manuscript (Q-104 a, b), ordered by Bezhan and Giorgi Nakashidze, is already influenced by the Western European artistic tendencies (Fig. 10).¹⁸

Thus, the spiritual progress of the 17th-18th centuries, generally embracing the entire Georgian culture, was also revealed in book art and was well reflected in the artistic tendencies displayed in the illustrations of the liturgical book Gulani created at that time.

¹⁵ Ф. Девдариани, *Миниатюры Анчисхатского...*, p. 82-85.

¹⁶ *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts (Q – Collection)*, vol. I, ed. by E. Metreveli and K. Sharashidze, Tbilisi, 1957, p. 115-122.

¹⁷ Г. Алибегашвили, *Художественный принцип иллюстрирования грузинской рукописной книги XI - начала XIII веков*, Tbilisi, 1973; Л. Евсеева, *Афонская книга образцов XV века. О методе работы и моделях средневекового художника*, Moscow, 1998; E. Dughashvili and N. Kavtaria, *The Story of a Manuscript. The Georgian-Greek Illuminated Manuscript of the St Petersburg Collection*, Tbilisi, 2012.

¹⁸ *Description of the Georgian Manuscripts (Q – Collection)...*, p. 122-126.

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Fig. 1 – Flight into Egypt, f. 50r, Gulani S-1277, 1674.



Fig. 2 – Elevation of the Holy Cross, f. 194r, Gulani H-1714, 18th c.



Fig. 3 – Saints Cosma and Damian, f. 125r, Gulani of Anchiskhati, A-30, 1681.



Fig. 4 – St John Chrysostom, f. 147v, idem.



Fig. 5 – *Presentation of the Holy Virgin at the Temple*, f. 164r, *idem*.



Fig. 6 – *Saints Peter and Paul*, f. 213r, *idem*.



Fig. 7 – *Dormition*, f. 295r, Gulani of Anchiskhati, A-31, 1681.



Fig. 8 – *Crucifixion*, f. 187r, Gulani of Anchiskhati, A-32, 1681.



Fig. 9 – *Descent into Hell/Anastasis*, f. 577r, Gulani of Shemokmedi Q-103b, 1749.



Fig. 10 – *Prophet Nahum*, f. 540v, Gulani of Gurianta Q-104a, 18th c.