Caucasian Albania

An International Handbook

Edited by Jost Gippert and Jasmine Dum-Tragut

DE GRUYTER

This publication is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement No. 101019006) and from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – EXC 2176 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures' (Project No. 390893796).



ISBN 978-3-11-079459-5 e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-079468-7 DOI https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110794687

CC BY-NC-ND

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. For details go to https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2022948927

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

© 2023 the author(s), editing © 2023 Jost Gippert and Jasmine Dum-Tragut, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston This book is published with open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image: © Jost Gippert Typesetting: Meta Systems Publishing & Printservices GmbH, Wustermark Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Contents

Preface — v

I Caucasian Albania in Foreign Sources

Marco Bais

1 Caucasian Albania in Greek and Latin Sources — 3

Jasmine Dum-Tragut and Jost Gippert

2 Caucasian Albania in Medieval Armenian Sources (5th-13th Centuries) — 33

II The Heritage of Caucasian Albanian

Jost Gippert

3 The Textual Heritage of Caucasian Albanian — 95

Jost Gippert and Wolfgang Schulze[†]

4 The Language of the Caucasian Albanians — 167

Wolfgang Schulze[†] and Jost Gippert

5 Caucasian Albanian and Modern Udi — 231

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev

5A The Udis' Petition to Tsar Peter — 261

III The Caucasian Albanian Church

Charles Renoux

6 Albanians, Armenians and Georgians: a Common Liturgy — 267

Jasmine Dum-Tragut

7 One or two? On Christological and Hierarchical Disputes and the Development of the "Church of Albania" (4th-8th centuries) — 285

xiv — Contents

Armenuhi Drost-Abgaryan

7A The Holy Covenant — 333

Yana Tchekhanovets

8 Albanians in the Holy Land – Absence of Archaeological Evidence or Evidence of Absence? — 337

IV Architecture and Archaeology

Armen Kazaryan

9 Urban Planning and Architecture of Caucasian Albania. Main Monuments and Trends of Development — 353

Patrick Donabédian

10 The Ensemble of the "Seven Churches" – an Ecumenical Monastery Ahead of Time? — 387

Hamlet Petrosyan

11 Tigranakert in Artsakh — 433

V Ethnic, Religious and Social Issues

Aleksan Hakobyan

12 The Ethnic Situation in Antique and Medieval Caucasian Albania — 475

Alison M. Vacca

13 The Rebels of Early Abbasid Albania — 489

Sergio La Porta

14 "You say Albanian, I say Armenian": Discourses of Ethnicity and Power Around an Albanian King of Armenia — 515

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev

15 Between the Planes and the Mountains: the Albanian-Armenian Marches in the 12th Century and David of Gandzak (c. 1065–1140) — 537

Jost Gippert

15A The Gate of Ganja — 571

Hratch Tchilingirian

16 Reverse Engineering: A State-Created "Albanian Apostolic Church" — 581

General References — 611

Indexes — 675

- 1 Persons (individuals and groups) 675
- 2 Place Names 689
- 3 Manuscripts and Inscriptions 698
 - 3.1 Manuscripts by designation 698
 - 3.2 Manuscripts by repository 699
 - 3.3 Inscriptions 700
- 4 Source Texts 701
 - 4.1 Bible 701
 - 4.2 Other texts 704
- 5 Terms 706
 - 5.1 Linguistic terms 706
 - 5.2 Other terms 710
- 6 Words 715
 - 6.1 Albanian **715**
 - 6.2 Armenian 725
 - 6.3 Georgian **727**
 - 6.4 Greek 728
 - 6.5 Iranian languages 729
 - 6.6 Latin **730**
 - 6.7 Russian 730
 - 6.8 Semitic languages 730
 - 6.9 Turkic languages 731
 - 6.10 Udi (and other Lezgic languages) 731

Jost Gippert 15A The Gate of Ganja

The earthquake that befell Ganja/Gandzak in 1139 (cf. Chapter 15 of this Handbook, 1.2 above) affected not only the buildings of the city but also the defence preparedness of its inhabitants and its rulers. As a result, the city was captured soon afterwards by the contemporary king of Georgia, Demetrius (r. 1125–54 and 1155–56), who took with him as a trophy the iron gate of the city.¹ This fact is clearly mentioned in the report of the local historiographer, Kirakos Gandzaketsi, who writes:²

In those days, there suddenly was mist and fog, and mountain and plain were covered allover, and there was a terrible earthquake, and the capital, Gandzak, was destroyed. And by the grace of God, the newly ordained Catholicos survived, but the great teacher Grigor died in the earthquake, along with many other men, women and children, of uncountable number, who were killed by buildings falling on them. And the king of the Georgians, Demetrius, came and pillaged everything, and he took the gate of the city to his country.

The iron gate that Demetrius removed to Georgia still exists today.³ It is attached to the inner wall of a small barbican that belongs to the monastery complex of Gelati near Kutaisi in Imereti (see Figures 1 and 2). That this is the gate of Ganja and not, as popular belief used to assume, a gate from Derbent brought to Gelati by Demetrius' father, king David the Builder (r. 1089–1125),⁴

¹ For a preliminary account of these events cf. Gippert and Tandashvili (2002).

² Kirakos, ch. 10 (Melik-Ohanjanyan 1961: 200, ll. 12–20): Γύη ωιημού ρύη ωζώποψη bημ μώμωρδωμή δέξα և δωπωίρεια, և լցալ ωπ.²ωυωρωμ μωστύ և ηωζω, և bηև ζωρό ω²ωφήδα, և μηρδωύbguι δωμαωρωσμέν θωύδωμε be ζύπρ²οξύ ωυωπιότη ωμηρωμ bηλ ύπρουδα μωθηημηνύ, μωχα δαπωι ή χωρόδωδε δαδ φωραμματικό θρήμηρ² ²ωδηρρά ωχι μωσμ²σμαδα μωστύ μωθηημηνύ, μωχα δαπωι ή χωρόδωδε δαδ φωραμματικό θρήμηρ² ²ωδηρρά ωχι μασματιβάωδη μημούδα μωθηημηνώς ματιδιάμους, πρης τις της δημ., τηρ υμωδήδι ζήδωωδε δι δωδηματιβάωδη μημούδα μωστιβάωδη ματιδιάμους, προς της της δημ., τηρ υμωδήδι ζήδωσωδε δι δωδηματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδης ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη βαθοματιβάωδης ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδης ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδης ματιβάωδης ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδη ματιβάωδης ματ

³ Or, at least, one of its two wings; for the question of the lost second wing cf. Frähn (1836: 534). 4 This belief is clearly expressed in the *Description of Egrisi, or Abkhazia, or Imereti* by Prince Vakhushti Bagrationi, part of his *Geographic Description of Georgia*, which was completed by 1750; he writes: "A wall gate hangs in its portal, of iron, brought by the Builder from Derbent" (ჰკილავს ზლელის კარი ბჭესა მისსა, რკინისა, აღმაშენებელის მოტანილი ღარუპანდილამ; Qaukhchishvili 1973: 754, ll. 2–3). It spread further via – among others – the travel reports by Jean François Gamba (1826: 273–274), Bernard Rottiers (1829: 118), and Frédéric Dubois de Montpéreux (1839: 176–177),



Fig. 1: The barbican of Gelati Monastery.

is clearly proven by the Arabic inscription it bears, which states that it was commissioned by Emir Shawur b. al-Fadl⁵ in the year 455 AH (~ 1063 CE); it reads:⁶

who wrote: "David III, le réparateur par excellence, l'avait fait construire pour y placer, comme trophée de ses victoires, les fameuses portes de fer, dites de Derbend".

⁵ On Emir Abu'l Aswar Shawur I b. Fadl (Duin/Dvin, 1022–49; Ganja, 1049–67) see Chapter 15 of this Handbook (Dorfmann-Lazarev), 2.2.

⁶ The first reliable account of the inscription was provided, together with the correct identification of the Emir ("Emir von Towin"), in 1835 by Christian Martin Frähn (1836: 538–543) who relied upon a historiographer named Shahri Zade (شهری دالشهیر). Accordingly, Frähn was also the first to call the provenance from Derbent

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate! This gate was ordered to be produced by our lord, the commander (and) most splendid master Šāwur b. al-Faḍl – may God prolong his suzerainty – by the hand of the administrator Abī al-Farāğ Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh – may God grant him longlasting fortune. It was manufactured by Ibrāhīm b. ʿUṯmān b. Mallākūn, the blacksmith, in the year 455.

The floor of the same barbican is partly covered by a large stone slab with a much worn inscription in Old Georgian (*asomtavruli*) characters (see Fig. 3); it reads:⁷

Christ! This is my resting place for eternity. It pleases me; here I shall dwell.

The content of the inscription, which is a rendering of Psalm 131.14 [132.14],⁸ clearly suggests that this is the epitaph of a person that was buried underneath. According to popular belief again, this was King David the Builder himself, during whose reign the monastery was founded.⁹ This belief, too, was already widespread in the 19th century.¹⁰ The most detailed information available on the association of the slab with king David is Mikhail Sabinin's note of 1882 according to which the relics of the king were removed from beneath the slab, being "unearthed with

into question, thus correcting a previous treatment of his own (Frähn 1828: 20–23); instead, he proposed hesitatingly, "sollte man vielleicht an Berdaa, die alte Hauptstadt von Arran und Karabagh, zu denken haben...? Sie war im Besitze unseres Emirs gewesen und wurde hundert Jahre hernach von König David erobert" (1836: 545). Hesitatingly as well, Dubois de Montpéreux proposed Ani as the place of origin: "Ces portes de fer ne seraient-elles point celles d'Ani, dont David I^{er} fit la conquête en 1124?" (1839: 181). – Cf. https://armazi.uni-frankfurt.de/gelati/dmsas/ dmarabz.htm#dmarab6 for a visualisation of the three sections of the inscription.

⁷ Cf. https://armazi.uni-frankfurt.de/gelati/dmsas/dmsas.htm#dmsas for a visualisation of the inscription. A large image of the inscription can be found in Derlemenko and Gigilashvili (1982: pl. 21), a scholarly edition in Silogava (1980: 130–140, no. 162 with pl. 130).

⁸ The biblical content was correctly identified by Dubois de Montpéreux (1839: 182: "tirée de la Sainte-Ecriture"), who translated: "C'est ici le lieu de mon répos; il me plaît; j'y demeurerai".

⁹ The foundation is dealt with at large in the king's Vita as contained in the Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (Qaukhchishvili 1955: 329–331; cf. also Shanidze 1992: 174–176 and Metreveli 2008: 312–314). Interestingly enough, the name of the monastery is mentioned in only one of the manuscripts of the Vita (ms. "C", i.e. the so-called Chalashvili manuscript of the 16th century, today ms. Q 207 of the K. Kekelidze National Centre for Manuscripts, Tbilisi). As the variants *g(a)enati* and *g(a)enatli* occurring in other contexts show, *gelati* reflects Greek γενέθλιος 'belong-ing to the birth', in reference to the Nativity of the Virgin to which the Cathedral in Gelati is devoted.

¹⁰ It is expressed in, among other sources, the accounts of Rottiers ("le tombeau de David Ier (Bagration), enterré à côté de la porte de fer de Derbent"; 1828: 118) and Marie Félicité Brosset ("celle qui passe pour renfermer les restes de David-le-Réparateur, est couverte d'une pierre de grande dimension, où est tracée en grandes lettres cette phrase..."; 1851: 39).



Fig. 2: The Gate of Ganja in the barbican.

great respect and deposited under the table of the convent church of Gaenati when the holy church had canonised king David and had appointed 26 January as his holy day".¹¹ Sabinin's information remains doubtful, however, if we consider

¹¹ ოდეს წმიდა ეკკლესიამ შერიცხა დავით მეფე წმიდათა შორის და დააწესა დღესასწაული კვ. იანვარსა, დიდის მოწიწებით იქმნა აღმოსუმნებულ წმიდა ნაწილნი მისნი და დაკრძალულ გაენათის საკრებო ეკკლესიის ტრაპეზსა ქუმშე (Sabinin 1882: 512 n. 1).

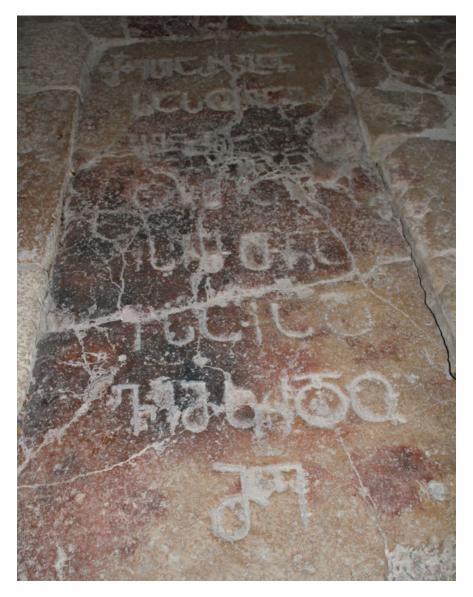


Fig. 3: The Georgian epitaph in the barbican.

the quaint "reading" of the inscription he provides, restoring it as a "quatrain in khutsuri letters which has been erased by people walking over it without care".¹²

We must further note that according to the Georgian tradition, there were also other royals buried in Gelati. This is indicated, among others, by Prince Vakhushti Bagrationi who in his *Description of Egrisi, or Abkhazia, or Imereti* of 1750 lists, besides the Builder, his grandson King George (III, r. 1156–1184), Queen Tamar (r. 1184–1213), King Lasha (Giorgi IV, r. 1213–1223), Queen Rusudan (1223–1245), King David (VI Narin, r. 1245–1293), and his eponymous cousin (King David VII Ulu, r. 1247–1270).¹³ Given that there is no indication whatsoever in David the Builder's Vita or any other reliable source relating to him which might be taken as a proof that he was buried in Gelati and that the present epitaph is his,¹⁴ including the so-called "Testament" of the king which is unlikely to be authentic,¹⁵ the case of an independent "oral tradition" on David being buried under the slab that would have persisted since the 12th century is rather weak.

In view of all this, it seems more likely that the stone slab covers the grave of Demetrius, the son of David the Builder and conqueror of Ganja. Several observations speak in favour of this assumption. First, the barbican contains, as we have seen, the iron gate of Ganja which Demetrius brought to Georgia.¹⁶ Second, it was Demetrius, not David, under whose reign the construction of the church was accomplished and the monastery was consecrated in 1130 CE; should David

¹² The quatrain reads: "When I hosted the seven kings in Načarmagevi, I routed Turks, Persians, Arabs out of the boundaries of my kingdom. I poured the fish over from the rivers of this side to the rivers of the other side (this means rulership extending between both seas). Having accomplished all this, I (now) cross my hands over my heart" (ოღესმე ნაჭარმაგევს შვლია მეფეთა მასპინმელ ვექმენ, თურქნი, სპარსნი, არაზნი საზღეართაგან სამეფოისა ჩემისაგან ვაოტე. გადავასხე თევზნი მდინარეთაგან ამერისათა, მდინარეთა იმერისათა (რომელიც ნიშნავს ორთა ზღვსა მფლობელობასა). ყოველი ესე აღებარულე გულ ხელ ვიკრიფე აღმსრულებელ; Sabinin 1882: 512 n. 1). Cf. Megrélidzé (1967: 125–128) as to the provenance of this text.

¹³ പ്രിംഗ് രാഷ്ട്ര പ്രോഷ് പ്രോഷ്ട്രിന്റെ പ്രാഷ്ട്രം, പ്രാഷ്ട്രം, പ്രാഷ്ട്രം, പ്രോഷ്ട്രം, പ്രാഷ്ട്രം, പ്രോഷ്ട്രം, പ്രാഷ്ട്രം, പ്രാം, പ്രാം,

¹⁴ Cf. Gabidzashvili (1968: 271–284) for a survey of the hagiographical sources available on King David.

¹⁵ Cf. Enukidze, Silogava and Shoshiashvili (1984: 60–61) on this document which is only attested in a few 19th-century copies and probably a late forgery.

¹⁶ When M. F. Brosset visited the site in 1848, there were still remnants of a wall inscription in Georgian visible in the barbican, which he made out as "Le roi Dimitri a saccagé l'Aran et cette porte, en l'année 13^e de son règne, ..4. depuis le commencement du monde" (Brosset 1851: 254). The date after creation may have been indicated there in both the Byzantine (*annus mundi*) and the Georgian style, 1139 CE yielding 6647 and 6743, resp. The inscription is lost today.

the Builder ([†]1125) have been buried there before the consecration? Third, the chronicle of the time of King Lasha (George IV), part of the Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, preserves the information that Demetrius was transported to Gelati and buried there after having died at another place:¹⁷

King Demetre passed away in the stronghold of Belti¹⁸ and was brought to Gelati, to the new monastery he himself had consecrated. The chronicon was 374 (i.e. 1154 CE).

In this light, the fact that Vakhushti Bagrationi omits just Demetrius in his list of royals that were buried in Gelati is all the more noteworthy. If this was not by mere accident, it may point to Demetrius being regarded less important by the prince than the other rulers mentioned. The association of the epitaph with king David may lastly have been supported by the fact that the inscription it bears is modelled on a psalm, given that psalms are usually named *davitni* (quasi 'Davids') in Old Georgian.¹⁹

References

- Brosset, Marie Félicite. 1851. Onzième rapport: Iméreth. Kouthaïs et ses environs. In Rapports sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie exécuté en 1847–1848 sous les auspices du Prince Vorontzof, Lieutenant du Caucase. St. Petersburg: Academy of Sciences. https://books.google.de/books?id=beRJAQAAIAAJ.
- Derlemenko, Evgeni & Eduard Gigilashvili. 1982. ევგენი ღერლემენკო & ელუარღ გიგილაშვილი. გელათი. არქიტექტურა, მოზაიკა, ფრესკები / Евгений Дерлеменко & Эдуард Гигилашвили. Гелати. Архитектура, мозаика, фрески / Gelati. Architecture, mosaic, frescoes. Tbilisi: Art.
- Dowsett, Charles J. F. 1958. The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Goš. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental* and African Studies 21. 472–490. https://www.jstor.org/stable/610613.
- Dubois de Montpéreux, Frédéric. 1839. Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tcherkesses et les Abkhases, en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie et en Crimée. II. Paris: Gide. https:// books.google.de/books?id=MUNCAAAACAAJ.
- Enukidze, Tinatin, Valeri Silogava & Nodar Shoshiashvili. 1984. ქართული ისტორიული საბუთები IX-XIII სk, შეაღგინეს და გამოსაცემად მოამზადეს თ. ენუქიძემ, ვ. სილოგავამ, ნ. შოშიაშვილმა (ქართული ისტორიული საბუთების კორპუსი 1 / საქართველოს ისტორიის წყაროები 30). [Georgian Historical Documents of the 9th-13th centuries. Ed. by Tinatin Enukashvili, Valeri Silogava & Nodar

¹⁷ ഇറ്റിറ്റെ പ്രെട്ടാ പ്രാത്രം പ്രാസ്പ്ര പ്രോഗ്രായ പ്രായം പ്രായം പ്രായം പ്രാസ്പ്രം പ്രാസ്ക്രം പ്രാസംക്രം പ്രാസംക്രം പ്രാസംക്രം പ്രാസം പ്രാം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാസം പ്രാം പ്രാ പ്രാസം പ്രാം പ്രാ പ്രാം പ്രാ പ്രാം പ്

¹⁸ Beltis cixe, usually identified with the ruined fortress Bebris cixe (41°51′19″ N, 44°43′21″ E), ca. 1.5 km north of Mtskheta.

¹⁹ Cf. Megrélidzé (1967: 127) for this suggestion.

Shoshiashvili (Corpus of Georgian Historical Documents 1 / Sources of the History of Georgia 30)]. Tbilisi: Metsniereba. https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/handle/1234/324943.

- Frähn, Christian Martin. 1828. Die Inschriften von Derbend. Sankt-Petersburgische Zeitung 102/20–23. Repr. 1846 (with additions) in Bernhard Dorn (ed.), Das Asiatische Museum der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg, Beilage 44, 297–322. St Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences. https://books.google.de/books?id=YldJAAAAcAAJ.
- Frähn, Christian Martin. 1836. Erklärung der arabischen Inschrift des Eisernen Thorflügels zu Gelathi in Imerethi. Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg VI/3.
 531–546. St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences. https://books.google.de/books?id=1vI_AQAAMAAJ; https://books.google.de/books?id=0QsZAAAAYAAJ. Extract in Bulletin scientifique publié par l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg 1. 20–21. https://books.google.de/books?id=p1NGp8u0IucC&pg.
- Gabidzashvili, Enriko. 1968. дзуст ქართული აგიოგრაფიული ლიტერატურის дეგლები. IV: სვინაქსარული რელქციები (XI–XVIII სს.). გამოსაცემად მოამზადა და გამოკვლევა დაურთო ენრიკო გაბიძაშვილი / Памятники древнегрузинской агиографической литературы. IV: Синаксарные редакции (XI– XVIII вв.). Тексты к изданию подготовил и исследованием снабдил Энрико Габидзашвили. [Monuments of the Old Georgian Hagiographical Literature. IV. Synaxarian Redactions (11th– 18th cc.). Ed. by Enriko Gabidzashvili]. Tbilisi: Metsniereba. https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/handle/ 1234/330723.
- Gamba, Jean François. 1826. Voyage dans la Russie méridionale, et particulièrement dans les provinces situées au-delà du Caucase, fait depuis 1820 jusqu'en 1824. I. Paris: Trouvé. https://books.google. de/books?id=BdtdAAAAcAAJ.
- Gippert, Jost & Manana Tandashvili. 2002. The Gelati Monastery. online: https://armazi.unifrankfurt.de/gelati/gelati.htm#english.
- Güldenstädt, Johann Anton. 1787. *Reisen durch Rußland und im Caucasischen Gebürge*. I. St Petersburg: Academy of Sciences. https://books.google.de/books?id=n2VUAAAAcAAJ.
- Manandyan, Hakob & Hrachya Acharyan. 2014b. Յակոբ Մանանդեան & Հրաչեայ Աչառեան. Մխիթար Գոշ, Ժամանակագրութիւն. [Mkhitar Gosh, Chronography]. In Ազատ Բոզովեան [Azat Bozovean] (ed.), *Մատենագիրք հայոg* 20/2: *ԺԲ. դար / Armenian Classical Authors* 20/2: *12th Century*, 605–612. Yerevan: Matenadaran.
- Megrélidzé, Joseph. 1967. Notice sur les épitaphes de David le Constructeur et de la Reine Tamar. Bedi Kartlisa. Revue de kartvélologie (Le Destin de la Géorgie) XXIII–XXIV (52–53). 125–135. https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/handle/1234/380161.
- Melik-Ohanjanyan, Karapet. 1961. Чрршկпи Գшնձшկեցի, *Պшпипгթիւն hшупд*. Աշխшտпширппթуши́р Ч[шршщետի] U. Մելիք-Оhшնջшնյшնի / Киракос Гандзакеци. История Армении. Текст подготовил и снабдил предисловием К[арапет] А[габекович] Мелик-Оганджанян. [Kirakos Gandzaketsi, History of the Armenians. Ed. by Karapet A. Melik-Ohanjanyan]. Yerevan: Academy of Sciences. https://www.matenadaran.am/ftp/el_gradaran/KirakosGandzaketci.pdf; https://archive.org/details/KirakosGrabar1961.
- Metreveli, Roin. 2008. *ქართლის ცხოვრე*ბა, მთავარი რედაქტორი როინ მეტრეველი. [*Kartlis Tskhovreba.* General editor Roin Metreveli]. Tbilisi: Meridian. https://www.scribd.com/document/ 395676385/.
- Orbeli, Joseph. 1963. Орбели, Иосиф Абгарович. *Избранные труды*. [*Selected Works*]. Yerevan: Academy of Sciences.
- Qaukhchishvili, Simon. 1955. ქართლის ცხოვრება, ტექსტი დადგენილი ყველა მირითადი ხელნაწერის მიხედვით ს. ყაუხწიშვილის მიერ / *Картлис Цховреба (История Грузии*). [*Kartlis Tskhovreba*. Ed. by Simon Qaukhchishvili]. I. Tbilisi: Soviet Georgia. https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/handle/1234/ 315448.

- Qaukhchishvili, Simon. 1973. სიმონ ყაუხჩიშვილი. ბატონიშვილი ვახუშტი, *აღწერა სამეფოსა საქართველოსა* (ქართლის ცხოვრება 4). [Batonishvili Vakhushti, *Description of the Kingdom of Georgia* (Kartlis Tskhovreba 4)]. Tbilisi: Soviet Georgia. https://dspace.nplg.gov.ge/handle/1234/315451.
- Rottiers, Bernard. 1829. *Itinéraire de Tiflis à Constantinople*. Brussels: Tencé. https://books.google.de/ books?id=9Jm668waImoC.
- Sabinin, Mikheil. 1882. *საქართველოს სამოთხე.* სრული აღწერაჲ ღჭაწლთა, შეკრებილი ... გობრონ (მიხეილ) პავლის მის საბინინის მიერ. [*The Paradise of Georgia*. Full Account of the Deeds, collected by Gobron (Mikheil) Sabinin]. St Petersburg: Academy of Sciences. http:// dspace.gela.org.ge/handle/123456789/6558.
- Shanidze, Mzekala. 1992. *ცხოვრება მეფეთ-მეფისა დავითისი.* ტექსტი გამოსაცემად მოამზადა, გამოკვლევა, ლექსიკონი და სამიებლები დაურთო მზექალა შანიმემ (ქართული საისტორიო მწერლობის მეგლები 9 / საქართველოს ისტორიის წყაროები 62). [*The Life of the King of Kings David.* Ed. by Mzekala Shanidze (Monuments of Georgian Historiography 9 / Historical Sources of Georgia 62)]. Tbilisi: Metsniereba.
- Silogava, Valeri. 1980. *დასავლეთ საქართველოს წარწერები*. I (*IX–XIII სს.*). შეაღგინა და გამოსაცემაღ მოამზადა ვალერი სილოგავამ (ქართული ლაპიდარული წარწერების კორპუსი 2 / ეპიგრაფიული ძეგლები და ხელნაწერთა მინაწერები 5). [*Inscriptions of West Georgia.* I (9th–13th cc.) (Corpus of Georgian Stone Inscriptions 2 / Epigraphical Monuments and Manuscript Notes 5)]. Tbilisi: Metsniereba.

Picture credits

Figures 1–3: Photographs Jost Gippert, 2014.