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Abgar Legend: Text and Iconography*

Part I

Apocrypha related to the Abgar Legend

As is well known, the textual tradition and the iconographic developments related to the Abgar legend are very rich and sometimes quite enigmatic. The most archaic form of the Abgar Legend is preserved in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (I, 13-II, 1; hereafter – HE) of Eusebius of Caesarea in Greek,¹ and in the text entitled the *Doctrina Addai*² (hereafter – DA) in Syriac.³ Both texts are focussing on the correspondence between Abgar, the king of the little Hellenistic country Osrhoene,⁴ and Christ as well as on the conversion of the

1 *The Ecclesiastical History*, with an English Translation by Kirsopp Lake, 2 vols. (London: Heinemann, 1953). S. Brock, “Eusebius and Syriac Christianity,” in *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*. ed. H. A. Attridge and G. Hata (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1992), 212-34 (hereafter – Brock 1992).

2 Syriac equivalent of Thaddaeus.

3 The narrative in the DA represents the expanded version of the legend. The dating of the Syriac source is not clear. Various authors have estimated it differently: the second half of the fourth century according to G. Bonnet Maury (“La légende d’Abgar et de Thaddée et les missions chrétiennes à Edesse,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 16 (1887): 269-83, 87) and Elena Meščerskaja (Е. Мещерская, *Легенда об Авгаре – раннесирийский литературный памятник* (Москва: Наука, 1984), 30; hereafter – Мещерская 1984); the first half of the fifth century according to Sebastian Brock (Brock 1992, 228); the middle of the fifth century according to Alain Desreumaux (*Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jesus: Presentation et traduction du texte syriaque integrale de ‘La Doctrine d’Addai’*, in *Apocryphes: Collection de poche de l’AELAC* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 23); the middle of the sixth century according to Aurelio de Santos Otero (*Los Evangelos apócrifos*, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 148. (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1985), 659).

4 J. Costaz, *Grammaire syriaque*. Appendice X (introduction) 2nd ed. (Beyrouth: Im-

* The present paper continues to explore interrelation of texts and images pertaining to the Edessan acheiropoietos image of Christ that I began to explore in my article “The Abgar Legend Illustrated: Interrelation of the Narrative Cycles and Iconography in the Byzantine, Georgian and Latin Traditions,” in *Interactions* 2007, 220-43 (hereafter – Karaulashvili 2007).

former to Christianity by Thaddaeus the Apostle, one of the seventy or seventy two Apostles. Among those two sources the HE does not mention an image of Christ at all, while the DA tells about an image of the Saviour painted by the messenger of Abgar, Hannan.⁵

While it is easy to ascertain that the initial form of the Abgar legend, based on the story of the correspondence between Abgar and Christ, is of Syriac origin,⁶ there is still no scholarly consensus on when and where from exactly the evidence regarding the image of Edessa originated. As had been estimated, the independent [*sic*] apocryphal texts that recount the story of a miraculous emergence of the image, which have come down to us – the *Epistula Abgari* (hereafter – EA),⁷ *Acta Thaddaei* (hereafter – ATh),⁸ and *Narratio de imagine Edessena* (hereafter-*Narratio*), attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenetos,⁹

primerie catholique, 1964), 232-33. J. Segal, *Edessa: "The Blessed City"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970; hereafter – Segal 1970)

- 5 Syriac equivalent of Ananias.
- 6 S. H. Griffith, "The *Doctrina Addai* as a paradigm of Christian Thought in Edessa in the Fifth Century" *Hugoye* 6, no. 2 (2003); Brock 1992; H. J. W. Drijvers, "Abgarsage," in *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, 2 vols., 5th ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1987–89); vol. 1, *Evangelien* (1987), 389–95; vol. 2, *Apostolisches Apokalypsen und Verwandtes* (1989), 436–437. English trans. ed. R. Mcl. Wilson (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1991); vol. 1, 492–500; vol. 2. 480–81; Мещерская 1984.
- 7 M. Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*. Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 65. n. 88:2 (hereafter – Geerard 1992). R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, pt. 1, Lipsius, *Acta Petri; Acta Pauli; Acta Petri et Pauli; Acta Pauli et Theclae; Acta Thaddaei* (Lipsiae: Hermann Mendelsson, 1891), 279–83 (hereafter – Lipsius and Bonnet 1891). Part of the apocryphon containing the text of the letters was edited by E. von Dobschütz, "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abgar und Jesus," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 41 (1900): 422–86, at 436. This version of the Abgar legend and its dating is discussed in detail in my article "The Date of the *Epistula Abgari*," *Apocrypha* 13 (2002): 85–112 (hereafter – Karaulashvili 2002); Id. "The *Epistula Abgari*: Composition, Redactions, Dates," Ph.D. diss., Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 2004 (hereafter – Karaulashvili 2004a).
- 8 *Acta Thaddei*; see Geerard 1992, n. 299; Lipsius and Bonnet 1891, 273–78. Av. Cameron and E. Meščerskaya date it to the sixth or seventh century. Av. Cameron, "The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story," *Okeanos* (Festschrift für Ihor Ševčenko). *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983): 80–94 (hereafter – Cameron 1983); Мещерская 1984, 74–80; See also: A. Palmer, "Les Actes de Thaddée," *Apocrypha* 14 (2002): 63–84; Id., "The *Logos* of Mandylion: Folktale, or Sacred Narrative? A New Edition of The Acts of Thaddaeus With a Commentary," in *Edessa in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Religion, Kultur und Politik zwischen Ost und West*. Beiträge des internationalen Edessa-Symposiums in Halle an der Saale, 14.–17. Juli 2005, Lutz Greisiger, C. Rammelt, J. Tubach, D. Haas, eds. *Beiruter Texte und Studien* 116 (Beirut: Ergon Verlag, 2009), 117-205 (hereafter – Palmer 2009).
- 9 PG, 113, cols. 423–54. Dobschütz 1899, 39**–85**. The *terminus post quem* for its compilation is the transfer of the Image from Edessa to Constantinople in A.D. 944. E.

had been written in Greek.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, the majority of scholars see the motif of the *Edessan image* within the plot of the Abgar legend as a Byzantine phenomenon, inseparably connected to the image worship and its theology.¹¹ However, here I would reiterate the idea proposed in my earlier works,¹² namely, that there existed at least a nucleus in the Syriac milieu¹³ that prompted the Byzantine development of the story with respect to the miraculous emergence of the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ.¹⁴

The Edessan image in the early textual tradition

As I have indicated, the earliest Byzantine apocryphon, the EA, employs the term *sinдон* (cloth)¹⁵ while speaking about and relating the story of the Edessan image of Christ.¹⁶ The majority of the early Syriac or Syriac-based literary sources either just mention the image of Christ in Edessa and keep silence about the description of the image (such as *The History of Daniel of Galaš* attributed to Jacob of Serugh, sixth century?¹⁷ an iconophile tractate by

Patlagean, "L'entrée de la Sainte Face d'Edesse à Constantinople en 944," in *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (Chrétienté et Islam)*. Actes du colloque organisé par le centre de recherche "Histoire sociale et culturelle de l'Occident XII^e-XVIII^e siècle," Collection de l'École française de Rome 213, ed. A. Vauchez (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1995), 21–35 (hereafter – Patlagean 1995).

10 To the best of my knowledge, the only hitherto published Syriac version of the apocryphon similar to the EA is included in the *Chronicle to the year 1234. Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, I, ed. J-B. Chabot (CSCO Scr. Syri 36 (Paris: J. Gabalda 1916-20; repr: Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1953), 121-22. H. J. W. Drijvers, "The Image of Edessa in the Syriac Tradition," in *The Holy Face* 1998, 13-31, at 23, 27 (hereafter – Drijvers 1998). S. Brock, "Transformation of the Edessa Portrait of Christ," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 18/1 (2004): 46–56, at 51-53 (hereafter – Brock 2004).

Probably, while speaking about origins of the narrative related to the emergence of the Edessan icon, one has to pay attention to the fact that the author of the Georgian text of the *Lives of the Thirteen Syrian Fathers*, while speaking about the *Mandylion* and *Keramidion* uses the Syriac equivalents of the names of two cities: Urha for Edessa, and Nabuq (resp: Mabbug) for Hierapolis; therefore, it is possible to assume that the Georgian chronicler knew information with respect to the narrative on the Edessan image and its brick copy from a Syriac source. Z. Alexidze, "Mandilioni da keramioni dzvel kartul mts'erlobashi" [The Mandylion and Keramion in the Ancient Georgian Literature], *Academia* 1 (2001): 9–15, at 13 (hereafter – Alexidze 2001); For the English translation of this passage, see: Karaulashvili 2007, 224-25.

11 Cameron 1983.

12 Karaulashvili 2002; Id. 2004a.

13 Preserved, most plausibly, in the *Acts of Mar Mâri*, a work of disputable dating (from the fifth to the seventh century). Drijvers 1998, at 25-26.

14 See also: Drijvers 1998; Brock 2004.

15 Syriac equivalent seems to be "shwshapha/shushhepa." Drijvers 1998, 23; Brock 2004, 51.

16 Karaulashvili 2002; Id. 2004a.

17 Though the passage itself is considered by some scholars to be an interpolation. Edited

Theodore Abu-Qurrah, ninth century;¹⁸ the Georgian translation of the *Life of John of Urha*, eleventh century),¹⁹ or they declare that the image is painted (as in the DA), plausibly on wood (as Agapius of Manbij, ninth-tenth century),²⁰ or they state that the icon was miraculously imprinted (the colophon of a Melkite manuscript written in Edessa in 723,²¹ a Syriac Dispute between a monk of the monastery of Beth Hale and a follower of the Emir Maslama, d.737²²), or, similarly to the Byzantine EA, they relate the story of its origin (like the anonymous *Chronicle to the year 1234*).²³

Early Iconography of the Edessan Image

In comparison to the textual tradition, the iconography related to the *Edessan image* of Christ seems to be developed later. As indicated by various scholars, the formation of the pictorial model of the *acheiropoietos* image of the Saviour develops during the tenth/eleventh-fourteenth centuries.²⁴ The earliest surviving representation, preserved on a Sinai icon, is dated to the tenth century (pic. 1).²⁵ However, one has to add here that this hypothesis, that is to say, the suggestion that the iconographic tradition developed after the tenth century (while textual one, at least to my mind, much earlier) is valid only with respect to the Byzantine iconographic tradition.

a) Fresco of Deir es-Suriani monastery

After the discovery of frescoes of Deir es-Suriani monastery (Wadi el-

by F. Nau, in “Hagiographie Syriaque,” *ROC* 15 (1910): 60-64, at 61; See also: Drijvers 1998, 17. Brock 2004, 48.

- 18 S. H. Griffith, “Theodore Abū Qurrah’s Arabic Text on the Christian Practice of Venerating Images,” *JAOS* 105/1 (1985): 53-73, at 59.
- 19 Ms Add. 11281 (2764) of the British Museum. К. Кекелидзе, «Житие и подвиги Св Иоанна Урхайского,» *Христианский Восток* т. 2 вып. III (1914): 301-21 (hereafter – Кекелидзе 1914).
- 20 A. A. Vasiliev, “Kitab al-‘Unvan (Histoire Universelle Ecrite par Agapius de Menbidj),” second partie, facs. 1, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 7, ed. R. Griffin and F. Nau (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), 474-75.
- 21 R.W. Thomson, “An Eighth-Century Melkite Colophon from Edessa,” *JTS* NS 13 (1962): 249-58 (hereafter – Thomson 1962).
- 22 Drijvers 1998, 27.
- 23 Chronicon, XI.16. Drijvers 1998, 23, 27; Brock 2004, 51-53.
- 24 See various articles in the following editions: *Mandyliion* 2004; *Il volto di Cristo* 2000; *The Holy Face* 1998. See also: A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon. Le Mandyliion dans l’art orthodoxe*. *Seminarium Kondakovianum ZWGRAFIKA* III (Prague: Imprimerie Politika, 1931); Karaulashvili 2007.
- 25 K. Weitzmann, “The Mandyliion and Constantine Porphyrogenennetos,” *CahArch* 11 (1960), 163-84 (hereafter – Weitzmann 1960); S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium*. 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

Natrun, Egypt) dated to the early tenth century²⁶ and identification of one of the images as representation of the *Mandyllion*, proven by an accompanying inscription that reads: "...and he sent him the image"²⁷ (located on the upper eastern wall above the sanctuary; pic.2), A. Lidov has suggested the following: "con molta probabilità, la più antica rappresentazione nota del *Mandyllion*, eseguita in un monastero siriano mentre la reliquia era ancora a Edessa. Questo prova che la tradizione iconografica del *Mandyllion* esisteva già prima del 944 e che perciò abbia potuto influenzare la posteriore iconografia byzantina. Cristo è rappresentato con il collo, una corta barba nera e capelli lunghi, inscritto nel nimbo, sullo sfondo di un panno giallo con piccolli motive ornamentali e una striscia rossa lungo il bordo inferiore."²⁸

As Catherine Jolivet-Lévy indicates, "les deux représentation antérieures [dès le XIe siècle –I.K.], dans la décoration monumentale, montrent le visage du Christ inscrit dans un médaillon, mais non sur tissu: église Sainte-Croix de Telovani, en Géorgie, Deir es-Suriani, en Egypte."²⁹ As evident, Lidov sees the Deir-al-Suriani *Mandyllion* as an image on a cloth, while Jolivet-Lévy as an image in a medallion. As Karel Innemée indicates, "the creamy coloured piece of cloth on which the halo of Christ is represented is draped over the arms of Abgar, so that it looks like a garment. On the other hand he clearly holds a loop of textile in his hand and this suggests that the creamy coloured fabric with the green and red ornaments is in fact the mandyillion and not a garment..."³⁰ Several examples presenting the Edessan image as *clipeata* (as on the Telovani fresco, dated to the eight-ninth century,³¹ pic. 3), or as lacking the cloth (as on the Novgorod

26 Karel Innemée dates this layer of paintings to the period before 913. K. Innemée, "Key-note Address: Mural Painting in Egypt, Problems of Dating and Conservation," in *Living for Eternity: The White Monastery and its Neighborhood*. Proceedings of a Symposium at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, March 6 – 9. 2003. ed. Philip Sellw. <http://egypt.umn.edu/Egypt/1-pb%20pdfs/innemee.pdf>, p. 5.

27 K.C. Innemée, L. Van Rompay, "Deir al-Sourian (Egypt): New Discoveries of 2001-2002," in *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 5/2 (2002): 245-63, (<http://www.bethmardutho.org/index.php/hugoye/volume-index/145.html>); last accessed: 20.01.2012; hereafter – Innemée 2002)

28 A. Lidov, "Il *Dittico* del Sinai e il *Mandyllion*," in *Mandyllion* 2004, 81-85, at 84-85 (hereafter – Lidov 2004).

29 C. Jolivet-Lévy, "Note sur la représentation du Mandyllion dans les églises byzantines de Cappadoce," in *Intorno* 2007, 137-44, at 143, nt. 2 (hereafter – Jolivet-Lévy 2007). See also: N. Thierry, "Deux notes à propos du Mandyllion," *3ozpaφ* 11 (1980): 16-19 (hereafter – Thierry 1980).

30 I would like to thank Prof. Innemée for sharing his opinion on the subject.

31 Z. Skhirtladze, *Adreuli shua saukunebis karthuli kedlis mkhatvroba. Telovanis djvarpatiosani* [Early Medieval Georgian Monumental Painting. Telovani Church of the Holy Cross] (Tbilisi: Christian Art Studies Centre of Georgian Patriarchate, 2008), at 310 (hereafter – Skhirtladze 2008); E. Gedevanishvili, "The Representation of the Holy Face in Georgian Medieval Art," *Iconographica* 5 (2006): 11-31, at 15 (hereafter – Gedevanishvili

Mandyliion icon;³² the fresco in Vardzia Dormition church, Georgia (pic. 4),³³ both dated to the twelfth century; the fresco in Tanghili church of the Archangels, Georgia (thirteenth century)³⁴ are known, as well as the thirteenth century miniatures of *Mandyliion* from the Paris *Ms Lat 2688* (fol. 75r; pic. 5)³⁵ and the fourteenth century frescoes in the Church of the Virgin at Mateič, Macedonia (pic. 6),³⁶ depicting it on a loose cloth. Therefore, as these examples testify, both interpretations of the Deir es-Suriani image – that is to say, either only the *clipeata* portrait of Christ, or the image of the Saviour on the cloth – are possible. However, I agree with K. Innemée, who, to put it in his own words, is “slightly in favour of the second interpretation,” that is, the *Mandyliion* on a cloth.

b) *Fresco in the church of the Ascension of the Saviour in Tsromi (?)*

Georgian scholars talk about two early representations of the *Mandyliion* in Georgia, in Tsromi³⁷ and Telovani churches. The fresco in Tsromi is in a deplorable condition, and, till the end of the last century, our knowledge about it was based on descriptions by Yakov Smirnov,³⁸ Shalva Amiranashvili,³⁹ and

2006).

- 32 in Gerhard Wolf’s words, “the Novgorod mandyliion shows, so to speak, the squaring of a circle, as if combining earth and heaven in analogy to the mystery of the Incarnation itself.” G. Wolf, “The Holy Face and the Holy Feet. Preliminary Reflections before the Novgorod Mandyliion,” in *Восточнохристианские реликвии*. ред.-сост. А. М. Лидов (Москва: Прогресс-Традиция, 2003), 281-90, at 284 (hereafter – *Восточнохристианские реликвии* 2003).
- 33 Gedevanishvili 2006, 15-17.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 35 The text was first published by Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legend*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Neue Folge III/18. ed. Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack (Leipzig: C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1899); Beilage III, 130**–40** (hereafter – Dobschütz 1899). Iconographical peculiarities of this text are discussed in the following articles: I. Ragusa, “The Iconography of the Abgar Cycle in Paris Ms. Latin 2688 and Its Relationship to Byzantine Cycles,” *Miniatura* 2 (1989): 35-51 (hereafter – Ragusa 1989); Id., “Mandyliion-Sudarium: The ‘Transportation’ of the Byzantine Relic to Rome,” *Arte Medievale* 2 (1991): 97–106; hereafter – Ragusa 1991.
- 36 В. Р. Пешковић, “Авгарова легенда у фрескама Матеића,” *Прилози за книжевност, језик, историју, фолклор* 22 (1932): 11–19 (hereafter – Пешковић 1932); C. Walter, “The Abgar Cycle at Mateič,” in *Studien zur byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für Horst Hallensleben zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. V. Borkopp, B. Schelleward, L. Theis (Amsterdam: Verlag A. M. Hakkert, 1995), 221–32 (hereafter – Walter 1995).
- 37 Located in the historical region of Kartli, 100 km west from Tbilisi. Г. Чубинашвили, *Цромки. Из истории грузинской архитектуры первой трети VII века* (Москва: Наука, 1969), 7 (hereafter – Чубинашвили 1969).
- 38 *Цромская мозаика*, Посмертное изд. Я. И. Смирнова; Предисл.: Г. Н. Чубинашвили (Тбилиси: Музей искусств “Метехи,” 1935; hereafter – Смирнов 1935).
- 39 Ш. Амиранашвили, *История Грузинской монументальной живописи* (Тбилиси:

paintings and scheme by Tatyana Sheviakova;⁴⁰ they dated the mosaic and murals of the church to the seventh century. In 1990-91 Zaza Skhirtladze published an article on the absidal decoration of Tsromi church, where he offered to readers a different schema and interpretation.⁴¹

The iconographical program of Tsromi church included two registers, the upper mosaic representation on the conch of an apse and a fresco, depicted below (pic. 7, 8). In Smirnov's and Amiranashvili's opinion, a mosaic on the apse represented the *Traditio legis*, or *Donatio legis*⁴² (pic. 9). The same program was interpreted as an *Ascension* scene by Tinatin Virsaladze⁴³ and Z. Skhirtladze.⁴⁴ The fresco under it, above the window of an altar apse depicted, in Shevyakova's view,⁴⁵ the *Hetoimasia* (pic. 10, 11). In Amiranashvili's opinion, the *Hetoimasia* was present on the mosaic above the depiction of the head of Christ (Y. Smirnov thought it to be the *Dextera Domini*),⁴⁶ while the fresco above the window portrayed the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ.⁴⁷ According to G. Chubinashvili, when he visited the church, almost nothing was visible on that part of the mosaic fresco where Smirnov had located the *Dextera Domini*

Сахелгами, 1957), 23-30 (hereafter – Амиранашвили 1957); Id., *История Грузинского искусства* (Москва: Искусство, 1963), 112-18.

40 Т. С. Шевякова, *Монументальная живопись раннего средневековья Грузии* (Тбилиси: Хеловнеба, 1983), 1-2 (hereafter – Шевякова 1983).

41 Z. Skhirtladze, "A propos du décor absidal de C'romi," *REGC* 6-7 (1990-91): 163-83 (hereafter – Skhirtladze 1990-91); Id. 2008, 26; 27, fig. 17; 241-43, nt. 4. The edition contains an English resumé, at 304-30.

42 Смирнов 1935, 31; Амиранашвили 1957, 27-28.

43 Т. Вирсаладзе, "Цромская мозаика," in *Тинатин Вирсаладзе. Избранные труды*, ed. G. Beridze (Тбилиси: Некери, 2007), 262-311 (a posthumous edition of her early and unpublished works).

44 Skhirtladze 1990-91; Id. 2008, 241-43, nt. 4.

45 "Ниже мозаики в Цромской апсиде сохранились фрагменты фресковой живописи в один регистр, относящейся к тому же времени (VII в.). В центре, над единственным окном алтаря, изображена "Этимасия" – "уготованный престол" раннехристианского образца, символизирующий пресвятую Троицу. К уготованному престолу подходят симметрично с двух сторон фигуры в хитонах и гиматиях, обутые в сандалии. Очевидно апостолы..." Шевякова 1983, 1.

46 Смирнов 1935, 6.

47 "В замковой части конхи сохранились слабые намеки изображения "уготованного престола"... "Престол уготованный," изображенный, как было отмечено, в верхней части композиции, еще раз подчеркивает правильность нашего толкования основной идеи Цромской мозаики. Крест, плат (сударий), орудия страстей – атрибуты «престола» – подтверждают высказанное предположение... над окном алтарной абсиды был изображен фреской "нерукотворный спас" ("убрус"); от него остались только следы; по обеим сторонам окна были представлены две молящиеся фигуры, от которых дошли до нас тоже лишь следы... С общим содержанием цромской мозаики тесно связана композиция, изображающая "Нерукотворный Спас." К сожалению, лицо Христа совершенно размыто, оставшиеся следы не позволяют судить об иконографическом типе." Амиранашвили 1957, 26-28.

and Amiranashvili, the *Hetoimasia*. In his view, both scholars have suggested one of the plausible explanations of what could have been depicted there. Chubinashvili was skeptical with respect to the dating of both, the mosaic and the fresco, to one and the same century.⁴⁸

In one of his works, Amiranashvili provided the following description of the Tsromi *Edessan image*: “Unfortunately, the image of the Saviour is completely washed away. Only its upper part has survived. The shape of the head, the wide shape of the eyes, the character of modeling the forehead and the hair point to a generic connection with early Eastern Christian monuments.”⁴⁹

Tanya Velmans had agreed with Amiranashvili’s supposition⁵⁰ and stated: “cette composition [la position du Mandylyon-I.K.] ne prend tout son sens que lorsqu’on considère les autres images de l’abside auxquelles elle est forcément reliée. L’Hétimasie avec la croix et la suaire (disparue) occupait le sommet de la conque... ce contexte iconographique avec l’Hétimasie détermine aussi la nature de la prière que les deux personnages adressent à la Sainte Face. Il s’agit de toute évidence d’une supplique d’intercéder en leur faveur auprès du Christ le jour de la Seconde Venue. L’iconographie s’appuie sans doute ici sur une prière de la liturgie célébrée le jour de la fête du *Mandylyon* (16 août), dans laquelle on lui demande d’intercéder en faveur des hommes.”⁵¹

48 “Утверждение его, что “в замковой части конхи сохранились слабые намеки изображения уготованного престола», не могу подтвердить, так как на этом месте ничего не различается, как отмечал и Я. Смирнов, высказавший только одно из возможных предположений, что на этом месте при выполнении мозаики было изображение десницы с венцом. Равно считать след фресковых изображений у окна алтарной абсиды за одновременный с мозаикой VII в. не представляется мне правильным..” Чубинашвили 1969, 95, nt. 20.

49 “К сожалению, лик Спасителя совершенно размыт. Уцелела лишь его верхняя часть. Форма головы, широкой разрез глаз, характер моделировки лба и волос указывают на генетическую связь с ранними восточнохристианскими памятниками.” Амиранашвили 1957, 118.

50 In Skhirtladze’s words, she also took into account recent findings. T. Velmans, A. Alpa-go-Novello, *Miroir de l’invisible. Peintures murales et architecture de la Géorgie (VIe-XVe ss.)* (Milano, 1996), 17=Skhirtladze 2008, 242.

51 T. Velmans, “Valeurs sémantiques du Mandylyon selon son emplacement ou son association avec d’autres images,” in *Studien zur byzantinischen kunstgeschichte. Festschrift für Horst hallensleben zum 65. geburtstag*. B. Borkopp, B. Schelleward, L. Theis, eds. (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1995), 173-84, at 174-75 (hereafter – Velmans 1995).

To my mind, if the seventh-century fresco really depicts the *Mandylyon* here, then we have to think that the plausible textual source of its iconography should be related to the liturgical tractate describing how the image was venerated in Edessa, (Dobschütz 1899, 111** -12**) rather than to the text of the *Narratio* that describes establishment of the same ritual in Constantinople in the tenth-century (when a feast for 16 August had been established). (PG, 113, cols. 449-52).

In fact, scholars distinguish the symbolic interpretation of the image veneration episode in the two texts. In Jolivet-Lévy’s words, “image protectrice et apotropaïque, le *Man-*

Zaza Skhirtladze, in his work devoted to the Tsromi murals, stated that “au-dessus de la fenêtre se trouve... la figure de la Vierge... revêtue du maphorion... debout, en orante, les bras levés au ciel...”⁵² Une fois le groupe central de la Vierge entre Pierre et Paul établi au registre inférieur, l’identification du Christ entre des anges à l’étage supérieur devient tout à fait plausible. Mosaïque et peintures semblent en effet avoir été conçus simultanément comme parties organiques d’une même composition, variante de l’image théophanique de la “Majesté du Seigneur,” conçue à la manière d’une Ascension. Il s’agit d’une de ces versions orientales d’image christologiques, “Théophanie synthétique” ou “Ascension synthétique,” fusionnant représentation théophanique et Ascension.”⁵³ With respect to the representation of the Virgin Skhirtladze writes: “La Vierge orante figurée entre deux colonnes drapées d’un rideau constitue une représentation particulière, le décor évoquant un temple. La tradition théologique et le type même de l’image peuvent évoquer une symbolique de la Sagesse Divine. D’autre part, le sujet correspond à l’Eglise, logis symbolique du Dieu incarné. Quant aux colonnes cannelées, elles sont très originales et reproduisent vraisemblablement un modèle antique ou paléo-chrétien”⁵⁴ (pic. 12, 13). He also does not exclude a possibility that the two parts of the apsidal composition had not been executed simultaneously;⁵⁵ though, in his words, it would be difficult to accept this supposition due to the fact that soon after completion of the church, i.e. after 643, the Arabs devastated Georgia.⁵⁶

As evident from the passages cited above, the Tsromi absidal composition allows to make various symbolic interpretations of the scenes presented. And although nowadays the majority of scholars agree with proposition by Skhirtladze,⁵⁷ I would like to return to the previous wisdom once again.

dylion peint dans les églises est aussi, comme on a l’a déjà signalé, une image à laquelle on pouvait adresser des prières, fonction qui dérive de celle de la relique: lors de sa fête à Edesse, était en effet adressée au portrait acheiropoïète une prière d’intercession. La liturgie du 16 août associée à la vénération du *Mandylion* la demande du pardon des péchés.” Jolivet-Lévy 2007, 142.

52 Skhirtladze 1990-91, 165.

53 Ibid., 167.

54 Ibid., 168.

55 Skhirtladze 2008, 243, nt. 4.

56 Z. Skhirtladze, “Freskis fragmenti tsromis tadarshi” [Fragment of a Fresco in Tsromi Church], in *Kavkasia aghmosavletsa da dasavlets shoris*. Istoriul-filologiyuri dziebani mizgvnili Zaza Alexidzis dabadebis 75 tlistavisadmi [Caucasus Between East and West. Historical and Philological Studies in Honour of Zaza Alexidze] ed. by D. Chutunashvili, N. Alexidze and M. Surguladze (Tbilisi: Artanuji and National Centre of Manuscripts, 2010), 393-412, at 396-97.

57 “It is the Ascension scene that Tinatin Virsaladze linked the iconography of the Tsromi mosaic with. She considered that “Traditio Legis” had originally been conceived as the Ascension-Second Coming...the image on the lower register at Tsromi, identified by

Art historians often talk about the symbolic unity of the Ascension scene not only with the *Donatio legis*, but also with that of the Second Coming, and of the latter with *Hetomasia*, the prepared throne, which in itself unites the eschatological and theophanic meaning.⁵⁸ Recently Ekaterine Gedevanishvili offered a new interpretation of decorative details of the oldest representation of the Mandyllion in the Georgian manuscript tradition;⁵⁹ namely, she has connected the representation of the Seven Seals⁶⁰ on the miniature of the *Mandyllion* in the Alaverdi Four Gospels (*Ms A-484*, National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, Georgia, dating to 1054 AD⁶¹; pic. 14) to the “eighth day.”⁶² In

Zaza Skhirtladze, representing the Virgin-Oranta in the centre “against the background of the cloth spread between two pillars, flanked on both sides by the evangelists,” allows us to assume that this should be the Ascension scheme.” L. Khuskivadze, *Gelatis Mozaika/The Mosaic of Gelati* (Tbilisi: Poligrafi Press, 2005), 58-59. This is a bilingual edition.

58 Н. Кондаков, Лицевой иконописный подлинник, т. 1. Иконография Иисуса Христа (Ст-Петербург, 1905), 58.= N. Chichinadze, “Hetimasii ikonografiistvis” [on the Iconography of Hetimasia] *Religia* 4-6 (1997): 107-15, at 107-8 (hereafter – Chichinadze 1997); Sometimes the apocalyptic scroll sealed with Seven Seals of Christ is depicted over the throne. Ibid.

59 Gedevanishvili 2006.

60 Discussion on this subject see below.

61 *Karthul xelnatsertha aghtseriloba kofili saeklesio muzeumis /A/ kolekciisa*. [Description of the Georgian Manuscripts of the Former Ecclesiastical Museum Collection /A/, Th. Bregadze, Ts. Kakhabrishvili, M. Kavtharia, eds. vol. II /1 (Tbilisi: Metsniereba Press, 1986), 210-16; N. Chkhikvadze, “Avgarozis apokrifis kartuli redaktsiebi” [Georgian Redactions of the Apocryphon of Avgaroz], *Matsne* (Proceedings of the Georgian Academy of Sciences: Series of Language and Literature) 4 (1992): 64–82 (hereafter – Chkhikvadze 1992), at 68; Z. Skhirtladze, “Canonizing the Apocryphon: The Abgar Cycle in the Alaverdi and Gelati Gospels,” in *The Holy Face* 1998, 69–93 (hereafter – Skhirtladze 1998).

62 Gedevanishvili states that “while discussing Saklie Kilise Mandyllion Ovchinnikov (A. Ovchinnikov, “Hristos ierie” [Christ-the Priest] in *Символизм христианского искусства* (Москва, 1999), 284-85) interprets these motifs as the Seven Seals of Revelation and, in order to support his view, he points out that a definition of the Seven Seals of the Book of Revelations is included in Abgar’s epistle. I think that the Alaverdi Mandyllion enables us to interpret this theme otherwise. The representation of crosses within a circle gave rise to an association with the communion bread, rather than with the Seals of Revelations, since the communion bread is often depicted exactly in that way... the symbol of the communion bread was meant as God’s “image” on earth before His Second Coming” Gedevanishvili 2006, 13. The author also stresses that “the same motifs are displayed in the scene of Abgar sending his messenger in the Alaverdi cycle. Three quite big circles with crosses are depicted on the basis of Abgar’s bed. It might not be a mere coincidence that they are presented (and so accentuated in size!) in the composition which opens the history of the Salvation of the Edessan king.” Ibid., 28, nt. 20; as well as that “on the Mandyllion in St. Catherine’s chapel in Göreme (Göreme 21, pic. 15) circles seems not to be seven.” Ibid., 29, nt. 26.

In Jolivet-Lévy’s words, five circles are presented with the *Mandyllion*, between the decorative edges of the cloth, and one can be distinguished among the kufic letters. See: Jolivet-

her words, here we see “seven double circles and a single one at the top of the Holy Face” portrayed on the cloth. That is to say, the addition of a single circle increases the number of the seals to eight, while in Christian art it was “the symbol of the Second Coming, as well as of the fitfulness of the Testament (the “eighth day”),⁶³ that is to say, of the *Hetoimasia*. In this context the image of

Lévy, *Les Eglises Byzantines de Cappadoce* (Paris; Editions du CNRS, 1991), fig. 2.

As I have demonstrated, the Seven Seals of Christ and their explanation within the text of the EA represent the Divine Names and their explanation, a certain Christian tetragrammaton. In textual tradition this fact is clearly demonstrated by a relevant passage in the eleventh century *Compendium Historiarum* of Gregory Cedrenos (they state that the letter was sealed with seven Hebrew letters, meaning Θεοῦ Θέα Θεῖον Θαῦμα (ΘΘΘΘ), as well as by the Nessana papyrus, where only four letters are presented (dated to the sixth-seventh century; L. Casson and E. L. Hettich, *Letter of Abgar to Christ and Christ's Reply*, in *Excavations at Nessana* Vol. II. *Literary Papyri* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 1950): 143-49, at 144-45), and the Oxyrhynchus papyrus 4699, where the four letters are followed by four Divine Names (dated to the fifth century; F. Maltomini, “4469. Letter of Abgar to Jesus (Amulet),” In: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Vol. 65. Edited with translations and notes by M. W. Haslam, A. Jones, F. Maltomini, M. L. West et al... Greco-Roman Memoirs 85. London: Egypt Exploration Society (for the British Academy), 1998), 122-29, at 123-24). Karaulashvili 2004a, chapter 4, “The Closing Part of the Letter of Christ in the *Epistula Abgari*: The so-called Seven Seals and their Explanation.” Moreover, to my mind, the mode of presenting the seals on the *Mandylion* fresco of Göreme Chapel 21 (where we see four full seals represented on the cloth, while a portion of the seal on its upper left side, where the vertical lines decorating the edges of the cloth start, and, as Jolivet-Lévy has pointed out, one more circle [i.e. seal] is discernable among the pseudo-kufic letters, point to the fact that the number of Divine names in Christian tradition increased from four first to seven, and then to seventy two (on the number of the Seals in Abgar legend tradition see: Karaulashvili 2004a, chapt. 4). Most probably, the fifth, unfinished seal, as well as another one, hidden among the kufic letters, must signify that their number could be increased. The same should be indicated by the mode of presenting the Seals on Sakli Kilise, Göreme 2a *Mandylion*, where the Seven Seals are painted in red, while traces of additional six (two on the left side and four on the right side of the cloth, between the vertical lines and on the same spot where the seven seals are painted) are sketched, but not accentuated (pic. 16).

Finally, I would like to stress, that Gedevanishvili in the same article also notes that “in the Alaverdi manuscript King Abgar is haloed; moreover, as scholars believe, Abgar's role as a supernatural defender is clearly displayed for the first time in the Georgian art (N. Chkhikvadze, “Karthul-bizantiuri saliteraturo urthierthobebis istoriisathvis (avgarozis epistole karthul samtserlobo tradiciashi)” [On the History of Georgian-Byzantine Literary Relations (*Epistula Abgari* in Georgian Literary Tradition)]. *Matsne, Series of Language and Literature* 1-4 (1996): 127-42, at 131). In Georgian language Abgar means the protector, the amulet.” Gedevanishvili 2006, 14, 29, nt. 30.

To the best of my knowledge, it were the letters of Abgar and Christ that acquired the apotropaic meaning; moreover, “the protector, the amulet” is not the Georgian meaning of the name Abgar; in fact, it is the Byzantine spelling of the name of the king, Avgaroz, had been appropriated as a general name for a Christian protective amulet. Karaulashvili 2004a, chapter 2, “The Texts of the Letters within the Main Body of the *Epistula Abgari*,” at 73, nt. 3

63 Gedevanishvili 2006, 13.

Christ on the Cloth, as a symbolic equivalent of the liturgical altar cloth,⁶⁴ can also explain its appearance in the *Hetoimasia* composition.

Respectively, it should not be surprised that a scholar, who is not an art historian and sees not an actual image, but only its reconstruction on a schema, is tempted to deem the image of Christ on the Cloth as a part of *Hetoimasia* composition within the Tsromi iconographical program, especially taking into account that *Hetoimasia* finds place even on the silver revetment of the frame of the Anchiskhati icon,⁶⁵ known as the Georgian *Keramidion*; that one often encounters *Hetoimasia* scene placed between the Apostles Peter and Paul in paleo-byzantine art⁶⁶ (as Chichinadze states, in the mosaic compositions of Heavenly Jerusalem;⁶⁷ Skhirtladze points out that the Virgin Oranta is a part of the same composition (le sujet correspond à l'Eglise, logis symbolique du Dieu incarné) in the Tsromi murals);⁶⁸ that “in Serbian murals of the fifteenth century the Mandylion is even included in the composition of the Ascension (the scene presented in Tsromi conch).”⁶⁹ Moreover, the fact that some scholars connect the “prepared throne” either to a certain Roman imperial ceremonial during which the throne with the imperial attributes awaited the basileus,⁷⁰ or to the ancient oriental tradition, according to which only the king was allowed to sit on the Throne, which represented the God,⁷¹ seems to be especially indicative with respect to the symbolism, connected to the *Mandylion* and concepts related to it, already discussed in my articles,⁷² as well as touched upon below.

However, it should be also stressed here that such a hypothesis is *a priori* undermined by the above-cited studies of Zaza Skhirtladze.

64 E. Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a “True” Image*. (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 190 (hereafter – Kuryluk 1991).

65 Chichinadze 1997, 109.

66 *Ibid.*, 110-11.

67 *Ibid.*

68 Skhirtladze 1990-91, 168.

69 G. Subotić, *Oxridska slikarska škola VI veka* (Belgrad, 1973)= Gedevanishvili 2006, 30, nt 76.

70 A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantine : recherches sur l'art officiel de l'empire d'Orient* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936), 2.

71 Chichinadze 1997, 115, nt. 7

72 I. Karaulashvili, “King Abgar of Edessa and the Concept of a Ruler Chosen by God,” in *Monotheistic Kingship: The Medieval Variants*, ed. A. al-Azmeh and J. Bak. CEU Medievalia 6. Pasts Incorporated 3 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2004), 173-90 (hereafter – Karaulashvili 2004b).

c) *Fresco of Telovani Holy Cross church*

The earliest Georgian *Mandyllion* fresco seems to be preserved on the murals of the Holy Cross church in Telovani⁷³ (pic. 17,⁷⁴ 18, 3) and, according to Zaza Skhirtladze, represents the face of Christ in a medallion (which acts as His halo) without a cloth that bears an inscription “the Holy Face of God.”⁷⁵ The iconographical program of the church is studied in a monograph by Skhirtladze.⁷⁶ As he points out, fragments of the two layers of murals are preserved: the earlier, late eight-early ninth century images are located only in the chancel and its bay; the rest of the church decoration dates to the tenth century.⁷⁷ The conch composition, nowadays almost destroyed, represented Christ in majesty surrounded by angels; As Gedevanishvili points out, the holy image in Telovani “is depicted in the sanctuary, in the center of the row of Apostles, in the second register of the murals, below the Glory of the Lord depicted on the conch.”⁷⁸ Such an earliest example of *Mandyllion* proves remarkable because of its very rare iconographic type – an half image of Christ inscribed in a circle. The circle is accomplished by two downward thick lateral lines followed by additional contours of smaller and thinner size. The latter must be meant as the actual representation of the cloth (as these outlines seem to imitate its drapery).⁷⁹ As already stated, the scholars note that “fragments of the explanatory inscription written in old Georgian uncial script – *asomtavruli*”⁸⁰ identify the image as the Edessan image. In Skhirtladze’s words, the *Mandyllion* “fresco at the Jvarpatio-sani [the church of the Holy Cross – I.K.] represents an archaic, early Christian portrait-type of Christ, with long hair lying in thick locks on his shoulders and partly covering his forehead, and a thick, comparatively long beard.”⁸¹

73 Located in historical Kartli, 25 km north-east of ancient capital of Georgia, Mtskheta.

74 This reproduction (sketch) of the Telovani fresco was first presented in an article by Shevyakova in 1964 and later reprinted in her album. Т. Шевякова, Дата росписи первого слоя храма Теловани, *Sakartvelos Metsnierebata Akademiis Moambe* [Journal of the Georgian Academy of Sciences] 31/1 (1964): 235-42 (hereafter – Шевякова 1964) Шевякова 1983, fig. 14.

75 Шевякова 1964, 236; Z. Skhirtladze, “Under the Sign of the Triumph of Holy Cross: Telovani Church Original Decoration and Its Iconographic Programme,” *CahArh* 46 (1999): 101-18, at 103-8 (hereafter – Skhirtladze 1999); Id. 1998, 72-73; Gedevanishvili 2006.

76 Skhirtladze 2008.

77 Skhirtladze 1999, 101.

78 Most frequently the *Mandyllion* in Georgia is included in the Deesis composition. Skhirtladze 2008, 35-37; Gedevanishvili 2006, 19; Jolivet-Lévy 2007, 142.

79 Gedevanishvili 2006, 18.

80 Skhirtladze 1999, 103.

81 Skhirtladze 2008, 310.

As mentioned above, representations of the Edessan image lacking the cloth are presented on some twelfth century representations of the Holy Face,⁸² moreover, the earliest representation of the *Mandyllion* in a medallion is attested by Deir es-Suriani fresco (pic. 2).⁸³ However, if the inscription that accompanies the Telovani image could be considered as authentic (see below), than the Georgian fresco, depicting Christ “with long hair lying in thick locks on his shoulders,”⁸⁴ seems to be earlier in comparison to the Deir es-Suriani image, where “Christ is depicted with the neck, short black beard and long hair...”⁸⁵ – the same type, represented on the frescoes of the Cappadocian churches, as well as in the Alaverdi *Tetraevangelion* (though on the last example without long hair; pic. 14).

Skhirtlade also stresses that the iconographical type of the Telovani *Mandyllion* “survived from the earliest times up to the Iconoclasm, and in Georgia it

82 See above, at 168-69.

83 Innemée 2002, 250-51.

84 Note that the bust of Christ is depicted on the Anchiskhati (the icon of Ancha; pic. 19), an encaustic icon dated to the sixth-seventh century which for centuries had been associated in Georgia with the *Keramidion*. Ш. Амиранашвили, *Бека Онизару* (Тбилиси: Федерация, 1937; hereafter – Амиранашвили 1937); T. Sakvarelidze, “Anchis Karedi Khati” [The triptych of Ancha] *Sabchotha Khelovneba* [Soviet Art] 5 (1976): 77-91; Georgian art historians touch upon this image every time they talk about the representations of the Edessan image in Georgia.

On the relation of the Anchi icon to the clipeata images, see: V. Putsko, “Les images clipeatae chrétiennes primitives et l’icône du Saveur d’Ançi,” *REGC* 2/45 (1986): 197-209. In E. Gedevanishvili’s words, the Mandyllion with shoulders, was depicted in the Georgian churches of Ikvi, Pavnisi, Tsaldashi (twelfth century), Shio-Mghvime, Ozaani, Tomithesubani (thirteenth c.), etc.; in Bakhtageki’s church in Ani, Armenia (according to I. Drampian, *Фрески Кобайра* (Erevan, 1979), fig. 49; though J. Thierry and P. Donabédian regard it as a bust-image of Christ (J. Thierry, P. Dionabedian, *Les arts Arméniens* (Paris, 1987)). Gedevanishvili here also notes that “the murals of Ani show a great influence of Georgian Art. Moreover, according to Durnovo (I. Durnovo, *Краткая история армянской живописи* (Erevan, 1957), 33), it may be assumed that Georgians participated in Ani.” ; in “Sakile Kilise,” according to a sketch by Ovchinnikov (*Hristos ierie*, fig. 53); in the church of the Archangel Michael in Rila (eleventh-twelfth cc., according to A. Lidov, *Мандилион-Керамион как образ сакрального пространства*,» in *Восточнохристианские реликвии* 2003, 249-80, at 263); in the church of St Sozomenus in Galata (1513, according to J. Stylianou, *The painted Churches of Cyprus, Treasure of Byzantine Art* (London, 1985), fig. 38); and in western manuscripts of the thirteenth century (*Il volto di Cristo* 2000, cat. IV. 2; IV.3).” = Gedevanishvili 2006, 22-23, 31, nt. 93-103.

On the fresco’s of Kobayr in Armenia, see also: N. Thierry, “Les peintures de la cathédrale de Kobayr (Tachir),” *CahArch* 29 (1981): 103-21; Id., “A propos des peintures de la grande église de K’obayr,” *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 2 (1986): 223-26; Z. Skhirtladze, “Gamokvleva kobairis tadzris mokhatulobis shesaxeб” [Research on the murals of Kobayr church], *Tbilisis saxelmtsifo universitetis shromebi* [Tbilisi State University Studies] 243 (1983): 175-98 (hereafter – Skhirtladze 1983).

85 Lidov 2004, 85.

lasted even longer.⁸⁶ It should be noted that the chronological limits of representing Christ in a medallion extended into the post-iconoclastic period elsewhere in Eastern Christendom. In Byzantium, circular icons with the half-figure of Christ, alluding to the Incarnation and thus closely connected with icon worship, are known from the ninth century, notably from their frequent appearance in the Khludov and Pantokrator Psalters.⁸⁷ The scholar also points out that “among various iconographic types of Christ the one representing Him in the framed roundel belongs to the oldest in Christian imagery, used in various iconographoical programmes.”⁸⁸ As A. Lidov suggests, while discussing the Sinai triptych representation of the *Mandyllion*, “l’immagine di Cristo entro un clipeo nell’icona del VII secolo dei *Santi Sergio e Baccho* di Kiev⁸⁹ (pic. 20, 21) potrebbe essere considerata una rara eco dell’icona Camuliana...dove svolse il ruolo di palladio dell’Impero bizantino prima dell’iconoclastia...quelle immagini forse furono usate come fonte iconografica per il *Mandyllion* dopo il 944.”⁹⁰

Therefore, apart from discussing the development of Byzantine models of the *Mandyllion*, we can also talk about the existence of an earlier, Syriac pictorial model of the *Edessan image* of Christ, as long ago suggested by Shalva Amiranashvili in his studies of Ancha icon (considered to be the *Keramidion*)⁹¹ and Tsromi iconographical program,⁹² and recently suggested by Lidov in his description of the Deir es-Suriani image (“the type of Christ’s face finds analogies in early Syrian tradition”).⁹³

As Skhirtladze points out, the initial layer of the Telovani murals is so damaged, that it is impossible to reconstruct the entire conch composition, and limits its interrelation to similar examples by mere listing.⁹⁴ Stressing once again, that the Telovani *Mandyllion* is the earliest representation of the *Edes-*

86 In Skhirtladze’s words, “Although Georgia was not involved in the iconoclastic controversy, the impact of the Byzantine dispute was felt in local historical sources, literature and art. It is in this context that the inclusion of the Holy Face, one of the main iconophilic arguments, in the Telovani apse programme should be perceived a kind of echo of the arguments developing in Eastern Christendom at that period.” Skhirtladze 1998, 73.

87 Skhirtladze 2008, 310.

88 Skhirtladze 1999, 108.

89 Seventh century icon, originally from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, now in the Kiev Museum of Eastern and Western Art. E. Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999). See also: A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1977), 291-92, pl. 112.

90 Lidov 2004, 83.

91 Амиранашвили 1937, 20; On the literary history related to this icon see: Karaulashvili 2004b; See also: Skhirtladze 1998, 71; Gedevanishvili 2006, 12; Karaulashvili 2007, 224.

92 Амиранашвили 1957, 118.

93 Lidov 2004, 85.

94 Skhirtladze 2008, 27.

san image, he also underlines the importance of portraying the *acheiropoietos* under the Theophany composition. Skhirtladze states that “for a long period of time in scholarly literature the murals of Latmos Pantokrator cave church was considered to be the earliest example with such a composition. Though recently the representation of the face of a bearded man against the background of a hanged cloth under the Theophany composition was considered to be the image of the symbol of the sky – Uranos, by K. Ihm and N. Thierry.⁹⁵ Though a composition, similar to Telovani, might be represented in the sanctuary of the church of the Holy Apostles in Sinasos; here, according to the scheme by G. de Jerphanion, the traces of the image within the halo on the tympanum of the niche could have been those of the *Mandyllion*.⁹⁶

To my mind, one of the main reasons why the Telovani image is considered to be the *Mandyllion* is the explanatory inscription that accompanies it. Z. Skhirtladze indicates that “the first layer of painting at Telovani has preserved, albeit fragmentarily” inscription: წმინდაჲ ჰირი ღმრთისა – Holy Face of God. In one of her articles Averil Cameron suggested to avoid the usage of the term *Mandyllion* with respect to the Edessan image stating that “in Greek sources the usage [of the term “Mandyllion” – I.K.] becomes common only in the eleventh century... For similar reasons, it is even more important to avoid the term “Holy Face” (as for instance in “La Sainte Face de Laon”), since that belongs to an even later stage in the evolution and diffusion of the image.”⁹⁷ Evidently, we have to be very careful assuming that the inscription on the Telovani fresco belongs to the same period that the painting itself (despite the fact that the representation of the Edessan image belongs to the first layer of the frescoes), unless a thorough study of the term in Georgian (resp: Syriac, from where this tradition should be derived) ecclesiastical literature⁹⁸ reveals a picture, different from the one Cameron observes.⁹⁹

Another reason for considering the Telovani image of Christ to be the representation of the *Edessan image*, namely the place it occupies within the

95 C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 190; N. Thierry, “Deux notes a propos du Mandyllion.” *Зораф* 11 (1980): 16-19, at 18-19= Skhirtladze 2008, 37; 248, nt. 57, 58.

96 G. de Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*. v. II (Paris, 1936), 63-66, table 150/2= Skhirtladze 2008, 37; 248, nt. 59.

97 Av. Cameron, “The Mandyllion and Byzantine Iconoclasm,” in *The Holy Face* 1998, 33-54, at 37.

98 As far as I know, neither the Georgian translations of the EA, nor of the *Narratio* employ the term. Karaulashvili 2004a, appendices.

99 In Georgian scholarship exists a different interpretation of the Telovani fresco as well. Marina Gvelesiani sees in the depiction the image of “Christ-Sun” in a medallion. M. Gvelesiani, “Mze-kristesa da jamtha gamosakhulebis shesaxeb akuris bazilikis aghmosavlet fasadze” [On the Representations of Sun-Christ and Time on the Eastern Façade of Akura Basilica] *Literatura da khelovneba* [Literature and Art] 1/2 (1997): 59-92, at 67.

church decoration. As is often indicated by scholars, the earliest Georgian murals (before the middle of the thirteenth century)¹⁰⁰ containing the *Mandyllion* traditionally place it on “the lower register of apse immediately above the altar” (though, usually, as a part of Deesis composition).¹⁰¹ “In this respect account should be taken of the interrelation between this rule [i.e. depiction of the *Mandyllion* in Georgian church decoration – I.K.]” and the liturgical practice, already established in Edessan church. This concerns the liturgy,¹⁰² celebrated in Edessa in the first week of the lent, on the feast day of the Holy Face,¹⁰³ when the *Mandyllion* was solemnly carried out and placed above the altar; during the service it was appealed for intercession. Such a connection must reflect the close ties the Georgian church maintained at the early stage of its existence with the Patriarchate of Antioch in general and with various ecclesiastical centres of Syria in particular.”¹⁰⁴

The facts that – the earliest Georgian translation of the *Narratio* (which does not include final part, i.e. the story about veneration of the image in Edessa) is attested in the thirteenth century manuscript¹⁰⁵ and it never became

100 K. Mikeladze, “Khelthukmneli khatis gamosaxuleba XII-XIII saukunis karthul kedlis mkhatvrobashi” [Depiction of the Acheiropoietos Image on the Twelfth-Thirteenth Century Georgian Murals], *Literatura da khelovneba* [Literature and Art] 3(1991): 210-22 (hereafter – Mikeladze 1991).

101 Skhirtladze 1999, 108. The author speaks there also about the “variety of places allotted to the *Mandyllion* in the apse programmes” in Georgian murals of Tsvrimi, Pavnisi, Tsaldashi, Ozaani (twelfth c.), Tanghili, Khe, Shio-Mghvime, Zenobani and Kobayr (thirteenth c.). As Skhirtladze points out, “Notwithstanding their differences, these programmes create a homogenous group, testifying to the stable character of the coexistence of an Intercession theme with the image of the Holy Face.” *Ibid.*, 105.

Note that in Jolivet-Lévy’s words, „association of *Mandyllion* with representation of *Deesis*, that is most often seen in Georgia, attest to the semantic value of the *Mandyllion* connected to liturgy of 16 August, associate veneration of the image with asking forgiveness of sins.” Jolivet-Lévy 2007, 142; see above, nt. 53.

On different iconographical programmes including the representation of the *Mandyllion*, depicted, for example, on the north wall, as in the refectory of Udabno monastery (beginning of the eleventh c.); or the tympanum over the entrance, as in the church of the Saviour in Adishi (twelfth c.); or on the north pier supporting the dome, as in the Dormition church in Timotesubani (beginning of the thirteenth c.), see: Skhirtladze 2008, 53; Mikeladze 1991, 221; E. Gedevanishvili, “Encountering the Resurrection: the Holy Face at the Timotesubani Murals,” in *Intorno* 2007, 181-86.

102 On the textual tradition related to this rite, see below, at 205-6

103 To the best of my knowledge, there is no mentioning of the feast day of the *Mandyllion* in the narrative related to the veneration of the image in Edessa.

104 Skhirtladze 1999, 108; 116, nt. 55, 56.

105 National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, Georgia. Ms Q 762, fols. 35-92. Another Georgian manuscript, containing a translation of the *Narratio*, is dated to the sixteenth c. (Kutaisi State Historical-Ethnographical Museum, Georgia, Ms *Kut. 1*). The present stage of research allows me to conclude that this text represents an abridged translation of the *Narratio* combined with the Armenian tradition related to the activities of Thad-

widely accepted in Georgian literary tradition; that the Byzantine feast for 16 of August of the translation of the image from Edessa to Constantinople was substituted by that of the *Mandyllion* in Georgian liturgical collections dated to the eleventh-twelfth centuries without mentioning its transfer at all;¹⁰⁶ that the earliest redaction of the text entitled the *Lives of Syrian Fathers*,¹⁰⁷ dated by its editor, Zaza Alexidze to the tenth century (with a prototype that was presumably even earlier), name among other monks that came from Syria to Georgia [Ezderioz] of Nabuk' (resp. Mabbug) who "was the servant of the Icon of the Saviour," and Theodosios, the prince of Urha, who "was ordained as a deacon and monk of the Icon of Christ;" and that the eleventh century Georgian translation of the *Life of John of Urha* (ninth century), states that the image was kept in the *skeuophylakion* of the Edessan Church,¹⁰⁸ – suggest that the place of the *Mandyllion* within the church decoration in majority of Georgian churches is conditioned by the direct influence of the Syriac tradition. As well known, in Byzantine churches the *Mandyllion* is generally portrayed outside the altar apse.¹⁰⁹ Apart from the early Georgian examples,¹¹⁰ the *Edessan image* is represented above the altar in some Cappadocian (Karanlik Kilise, Göreme 23 (dated to the period between the eleventh-thirteenth cc. pic. 22), Sakli Kilise, Göreme 2a (pic. 16) and Saint Catherine, Göreme 21 (pic. 15; both dated to the eleventh c.),¹¹¹ as well as above the sanctuary in the Syrian church of Deir

daeus the Apostle.

106 The motif of transfer appears only in the fourteenth century *Menaeon* (Ms. Jer 107). N. Chkhikvadze, *Avgarozis epistole. Dzveli karthuli redakciebi* [The Epistle of Abgar. Old Georgian Redactions] (Tbilisi: Artanuji, 2007), 82-83.

107 Alexidze 2001.

108 Кекелидзе 1914, 304.

109 Velmans, "Les peintures de l'église dite "Tanghil" en Géorgie," *Byzantion* 52 (1982): 387-412, at 391; 396 (hereafter – Velmans 1982).

110 Gedevanishvili 2006, esp. 20-22; T. Velmans, "L'église de Khé en Géorgie," *Зограф* 10 (1979): 71-82; Id. 1982; Id. 1995; Ш. Герстель, "Чудотворный Мандилион. Образ Спаса Нерукотворного в византийских иконографических программах," in *Чудотворная Икона*, ред.-сост. А. Лидов (Москва: Мартис, 1996), 76-87 (hereafter – Герстель 1996); Mikeladze 1991; Jolivet-Lévy 2007.

In T. Velmans' words, "L'iconoclasme n'ayant pas touché la Géorgie, les thèses des iconodules et leur influence sur le programme iconographique n'y connurent que peu d'écho avant la fin du Moyen Age. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que le Mandyllion de Téliovani et d'autres plus tardifs soient investis d'un symbolisme analogue à celui de Cromi..." "dans tous ces décors absidaux, il [Telovani *Mandyllion* – I.K.] s'agit d'une image qui rappelle la vénération de la relique, placée sur l'autel le jour de sa fête, à Edesse, au cours de l'office célèbre en son honneur dès le VI^e siècle. Par les images auxquelles elle est reliée, la Sainte Face rappelle la prière d'intercéder pour les hommes qu'on lui adresse pendant l'office." Velmans 1995, 175-76.

111 Jolivet-Lévy 2007, 138-39. Skhirtladze notes that the *Mandyllion* fresco is included in the apse programmes in the well-known monuments in Cappadocia and the Balkans,

es-Suriani (pic. 2);¹¹² as stated by every scholar dealing with these images, they all should refer to the ritual of worshipping the image in Edessa, as described in the liturgical tractate mentioned above.¹¹³

The symbolism of portrayal of the *Edessan image* above the altar, and its connection to the liturgy is regularly stressed in scholarly works.¹¹⁴ However, the “liturgical” representation of the *acheiropoietos* image seems to be especially accentuated on the Deir es-Suriani fresco. If Innemée and Lidov are correct assuming that the Deir es-Suriani *Mandyllion* is painted on a cloth, than not only dimensions of the linen, which is loosely spread below/under the medallion,¹¹⁵ but also its decoration, that is to say, “the creamy coloured fabric with the green and red ornaments”¹¹⁶ “and a red band at the lower edge,”¹¹⁷ could be a reminiscent of the liturgical cloth and its decorative elements. The ornaments on the cloth are not rare: one can name the fourteenth century Ubisi *Mandyllion*, the cloth of which is described as “decorated with red and blue flower-like ornaments.”¹¹⁸ With respect to a band at the lower edge of the cloth I should stress that it reminds me a representation of a band on a Tsromi *Hetimasia* sketch (pic. 10) and schema (pic.11) by Shevyakova,¹¹⁹ seen by Skhirtladze as a part of a *maphorion* of the Virgin and described as “les plis cassés qui dessinent des triangles” (pic 13).¹²⁰

and names Karanlik Kilise and Sopočani. Skhirtladze 1999, 105, 115, nt. 23. Jolivet-Lévy names the representations at Göreme 21 (eleventh c.) and Karşı Kilise (thirteenth c.) in Cappadocia. Jolivet-Lévy 2007, 142; while, according to Velmans, “le Mandyllion est très rarement mis en rapport avec la Deesis...” in Balkans. Velmans 1995, 177. As a rare example, the scholar names the *Mandyllion* of St Athanasius church in Konitsa (1617). *Ibid.*, 180.

112 Innemée 2002, 250-51.

113 Dobschütz 1899, 111*-12**; Velmans 1995, 176, nt. 17.

114 Jolivet-Lévy 2007, 138, 142; Skhirtladze 1999, 105-8; Velmans 1995, III partie. “Amnos et Divine Liturgie,” 176, 181-83; Герстель 1996, 79-82; Gedevanishvili 2006, 21.

115 Could be compared to the representations of the *Edessan image* on miniatures of the Paris *Ms Latin 2688* (especially when they portray veneration of the image by Abgar, where the cloth above the image of the Lord is almost rounded, while edges of the linen are loosely falling down; pics. 23, 24), as well on the Mateic frescoes (pic. 25). The representations of the Paris Ms, its turn, could have been influenced by the Syrian tradition through the iconography of Cilician Armenia (since the feast of the *Edessan image* was included in the Armenian *Synaxarion* outside the historical Armenia, in Cilicia. See: I. Karaulashvili, “The Armenian Versions of the Abgar Legend,” Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, Budapest, 1996 (hereafter – Karaulashvili 1996).

116 as stated by K. Innemée. see, above, at 168.

117 as stated by A. Lidov. see above, at 168.

118 Gedevanishvili 2006, 26.

119 Шевякова 1983, fig. 8, 9.

120 However, as Skhirtladze points out, the band is depicted not only on the dress of the Virgin, but also “sur les vêtements du Christ et sur ceux des anges. Seules les couleurs différaient...” Skhirtladze 1990-91, 170.

Independently of whether a band at the lower edge¹²¹ of the Deir es-Suriani fresco may have a connection to the liturgical cloth or not, one has to remember that scholars often stress that Eucharistic meaning of the image of Christ on “the cloth, as a symbolic allusion to the Incarnation, being equivalent to the cloth as the liturgical covering of the offering.”¹²² In Ewa Kuryluk’s words, “the sacramental meal was usually prepared on a tablecloth which could be imagined as a shroud (or a swaddling cloth) onto which Christ had been laid. In the *Acts of Thomas*, the apostle “commanded his servant... to set a table... and spreading a linen cloth upon it set on the bread of blessing... and said: ‘Jesus, who hast made

121 While, according to Herbert Kessler, fringes on some images of the *Mandylicon* suggest “an amalgam of a diapered tabernacle curtain and a heavily painted circular icon of Christ... through the allusion to the Temple veil... the relationship between the Old Law and cult and Christ’s image may even be realized in the fringes that are usually a feature of this type of Mandylicon.” H. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing. Picturing God’s Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia/Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), chapter 3, “Medieval Art as Argument,” 60.

According to Gedevanishvili, “the Georgian Mandylicon of the 12th-13th centuries even lack the fringes, and their ‘iconic’ form is strongly emphasized. This impression becomes strong when the Holy Face is placed above the Altar – in such cases liturgical “icon” of the whole program.” Gedevanishvili 2006, 21.

122 Gedevanishvili 2006, 13. See also: Герстель 1996, 80-81.

It seems that the specific detail, included in the apsidal iconographical programme of Kobayr Monastery in Armenia (thirteenth century) – the representations of the altar and the face of Christ, as a part of Eucharist compositions (Skhirtladze 1983, 190) – should be reminiscent of this type of symbolism pertaining to the earliest representations of the *Mandylicon*. The Kobayr fresco portrays the bust of the Saviour “above the Altar, on which the Gospel, the chalice, and the paten, as the symbols of Christ’s holy body and blood, are placed. The idea of Eucharistic mystery – salvation – is clearly underlined by the gentle expression of the face of the Saviour.” (Ibid., 182). (pic. 26).

In Zaza Skhirtladze’s opinion, the Kobayr fresco “represents a specific interpretation of the Georgian traditional representation of the Holy Face. Similar composition of the Holy Communion is also presented in the altar décor of another thirteenth century church, that of Kazreti Holy Trinity in Georgia.” Certain parallels are also found with the apsidal frescoes of Kintsvisi Holy Virgin church in Georgia (also dated to the thirteenth c.) (Skhirtladze 1983, 191).

In A. Lidov’s words, „the centre of composition occupies the altar, above which the bust of Christ – perceivable as a certain icon standing on the altar – is represented. The iconographical type of Christ resembles the *Mandylicon*. It is instructive that in three other Armeno-Chalcedonian churches (those of Tigran Honents, Kirants and Kobayr) the *Mandylicon* also is represented in the centre of composition of „Officiating Church Fathers,” which, in combination with a real altar, creates an image of the icon standing on It“ (A. Лидов, „Искусство армян-халкедонитов,” *Patma-Banasirakan Handes* [Historico-Pilological Journal] 1 (1990): 75-87, at 79), Independently of whether the Kobayr fresco represents the *Mandylicon*, or this bust image of Christ became a part of the Eucharistic composition only in result of a particular interpretation of the acheiropietos image, the symbolic analogy of the Kobayr fresco with the “liturgical” representation of the *Mandylicon* is clear.

us worthy to partake off the Eucharist of thy holy body and blood' (5:49).¹²³ To my mind, the dimensions of the cloth on the Deir es-Suriani *Mandyliion* fresco and its decorative details could be explained exactly by its "liturgical" mode of depiction, that is to say, by placing the symbolical liturgical covering (i.e. the Cloth, or, in this case, as the tablecloth) above the altar with the bread of blessing (i.e. the image of Christ) on it. If we take into account a note by Christopher Walter, stating that in *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi* Albert Blaise gives the altar-cloth as one of the meanings of the word *sinclon*,¹²⁴ which seems to be the earliest term used for designating the *Edessan Image* of Christ,¹²⁵ this supposition becomes acceptable. Therefore, in my opinion, any pictorial or literary representation of the Edessan image that involves a depiction of the cloth larger than a napkin should be associated precisely with the phenomenon described above, i.e., with the "liturgical representation of the *Mandyliion*," and not necessarily, as some assume, with the burial cloth of Christ; if any similarity while depicting the two images appear, it does not imply that it reflects a representation of a real Edessan image; it could rather suggest, to my mind, the Eucharistic symbolism associated with both relics.¹²⁶

A Mandyliion miniature from the Alaverdi Four Gospels

In my article for the *Interactions* volume, while discussing the Byzantine pictorial programs that developed around the Abgar legend, I stressed that it is based on the plot of the EA. However, when I was working on the Georgian version of my articles "King Abgar of Edessa and the Concept of a Ruler Chosen by God,"¹²⁷ and "The *Mandyliion* of Edessa and *Keramidion* of Hierapolis in the Oldest Version of the *Lives of the Syrian Fathers*,"¹²⁸ I also paid atten-

123 *NT Apocrypha* 2: 470= Kuryluk 1991, chapt. 9, "Cloth," 179-98, at 190.

124 *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, ed. A. Blaise (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), *sub verbo*=Walter 1995, 224, nt. 23.

125 Karaulashvili 2002.

126 In Gerstel's words, "Уникальное изображение плащаницы находится в храме Живоносного источника в Мессении (12 в.) в центральной алтарной апсиде, ниже образа Богородицы с младенцем... Плащаница, представленная на этой фреске, сразу вызывает в памяти образ Мандилиона, что, в принципе, не удивительно, так как оба плата главным образом связаны со страстями и Воскресением Спасителя," Герстель 1996, 80.

127 I. Karaulashvili, "Edesis mefe abgari da uflis mier rcheuli mmartvelis kristianuli ideis chamokalibeba" [King Abgar of Edessa and Formation of the Christian Idea of a Ruler Chosen by God], revised version. *Tsakhnagi* [Facet. Annual of Philological Studies] 2 (2010): 157-88; English version: Karaulashvili 2004b.

128 I. Karaulashvili, "Edesis Mandiloni da Hierapolis Keramidioni Asurel mamatha Tskhovrebis Udzveles Redaktsiashi" [Mandyliion of Edessa and Keramidion of Hierapolis in the Oldest version of the *Lives of the Syrian Fathers*," *Sakarthvelos Sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities] 14 (2010): 54-73.

tion to the mode of representation of the Edessan image of Christ in one of the miniatures that illustrate the EA in the Alaverdi Four Gospels (pic. 14). Together with the representation of the *Mandyllion* from the eleventh century Alexandria *Menologion* (*Greek Patr. Cod.* 35, fol. 142v; pic. 27),¹²⁹ it represents the rare example of the miniature of Edessan image among the ones picturing the apocryphon, without linking it to a certain episode to the plot of the legend presented in the manuscript it decorates.¹³⁰ The miniature portrays a *clipeata* type image of Christ (which depicts not only the face, but also the neck of the Saviour) on a stretch rectangular cloth. The caption above the miniature reads “ზაგრი მანდილოსად – icon of the Mandyl(ion).”¹³¹

The representation of the *Mandyllion* is placed in the middle of a larger golden plate, so that the entire composition made me think that, here, the iconographer portrayed the *Edessan image* “fastened to a board and embellished with gold,” that is to say, the way it is described in the *Narratio*. The relevant passage of the apocryphon runs as follows: “Abgar . . . destroyed this statue [of the idol] and consigned it to oblivion and in its place set up this likeness of our Lord Jesus Christ not made by hands, fastening it to a board and embellishing it with gold, which now is to be seen, inscribing these words on the gold.”¹³²

129 Weitzmann 1960, 168-69.

130 Though Skhirtladze indicates that the representation of the *Mandyllion* is also found in the Largvisi Four Gospels (*Ms A-496*, National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi) (“The manuscript of the Greek Patriarchate in Alexandria, *Cod.* 35(303) can be conventionally linked with them [Moscow, State Historical Museum, *Cod. Gr.* 9 (*Vlad.* 382); Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Cod. Gr.* 1528] since, like to the Largvisi Four Gospels, it contains only the image of the Mandyllion (fol. 142v).” Skhirtladze 1998, 82, nt. 49), the Georgian manuscript does not contain it.

131 It is difficult for me to judge whether this caption had been written simultaneously with the text, or was added later. It seems that this question needs further elaboration, since the text of the EA does not employ this epithet of the *Edessan image*. The only term exploited here is the *syndon*.

132 Interestingly enough, the text of the Armenian *Synaxarion* (thirteenth century) states: “When He put the cloth sewn with gold on His face, the face of the Lord was imprinted on it immediately.” *Le synaxaire Armeniën de Ter-Israel*. Ed. and trans. by G. Bayan in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vols. 5–6, 15–16, 18–19, 21 (1910–30); repr., (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), 391 (hereafter – Bayan 1971). The redaction by Grogol Khatetsi (fifteenth century) adds that the edges were ornamented with gold (*Ms Arm 1*, from the Armenian collection of the National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, Georgia). It is difficult for me to judge whether this motif entered this text via the local Syrian tradition, or represents an Armenian interpretation of the *Narratio* passage.

On the inclusion of the feast of the *Mandyllion* in the *Synaxarion* collections of the Armenian iconoclastic Church (with the exception of the seventh century, when several dyophysite catholicoi were leading the Armenian church), see Karaulashvili 1996. Here I will only state that this tradition germinated outside historical Armenia, first in Constantinople by the end of the tenth century and, then in Western, Cilician Armenia, which was strongly influenced by both, Orthodoxy and Catholicism. (For the Armeno-Byzantine-Roman relations during the Crusades, see: G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et croisés. Etudes sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient*

'Christ our God, whoever hopes in You, does not fail. Amen.'¹³³

The text relates that Abgar ordered to destroy the statue of the idol that had been erected in front of the gates of Edessa and to substitute it with the *Mandyllion* stretched on a wooden board. Can the Alaverdi miniature represent the *Edessan image* placed at the gates of Edessa for paying a due honour to it? The proportions of the image on the miniature as well as the golden background indicate a positive answer to this question. In fact, the horizontal "golden" margins of the miniature are very narrow, while the vertical ones are much wider, as if suggesting that the image is fixed on a gold frame. Despite the fact that all the miniatures that illustrate the EA in the Alaverdi Four Gospels, as well as in another manuscripts illustrating the same apocryphon – the Georgian Gelati Four Gospels (*Ms Q 908*, National Centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi)¹³⁴ and the Greek illuminated magical amulet¹³⁵ roll from the Pierpont Morgan Library¹³⁶ –, are set against a golden background, the decoration that

méditerranéen (1086-1150). 2 vols. (Lisbonne: Gulbenkian Foundation, 2003); I. Augé, *Byzantins, Arméniens et Francs au temps de la croisade. Politique religieuse et reconquête en orient sous la dynastie des Comnènes 1081-1185* (Paris: Geurhner, 2007)).

As Steven Runciman indicates: "the town of Edessa or Urfa stands some seventy miles east of the Euphrates, in a district claimed by geographers alike for Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia." (S. Runciman, «Some Remarks on the Image of Edessa,» *CHJ* 3 (1931): 238–52, at 238). In the seventh-eleventh centuries there was a large number of Armenian population and Edessa was even "held briefly, from 1077 to 1098 by the Armenian chieftain, from whom it was taken by Baldwin during the First Crusade." *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Strayer, (New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1984), vol. 4, 384. Moreover, Edessa was the seat of an Armenian Archbishop, whose cathedral was identified as St Ephraem's Church. The church stood close to the tomb of St Ephraem, the most eminent and celebrated Father of the Syrian Church. Another Armenian church was the Church of the Holy Apostles. Segal 1970, 239.

Supposedly the local, Edessan, tradition was well-known to the local Armenians, especially so that not only was there a large Armenian community in Edessa but also they had left their own written accounts, as confirmed by the History of Armenia written by Ukhtanes, supposedly the bishop of Urha (tenth or eleventh century). Ukhtanes Episkopos, *Patmutyun Hayots* [History of Armenia] (Vagharshapat: Surb Katoghike Echmiadzni Press, 1871).

133 *PG*, 113, col. 437. In 2007 I suggested that inclusion of this passage, plausibly, was conditioned by the divergence of icon's actual form from its legendary description. Karaulashvili 2007, 223.

134 *Karthul xelnatsertha aghtseriloba axali /Q/ kolekciisa*. [Description of the Georgian Manuscripts of the New Collection /Q/], ed. by Ilya Abuladze, M. Kavtaria et al., vol. II (Tbilisi: Metsniereba Press, 1958), 327-32; Chkhikvadze 1992, 68-69; Skhirtladze 1998, 80-82.

135 On the apotropaic function of the Abgar legend, see: E. Бакалова, „За апотропейната сила на божиего слово и образ (легендата за авгар в изкуството),“ in *Средновековният човек и неговият свят*. Сборник в чест на 70-та годишнина на проф. д. и. н. К. Попконстантинов (Велико Търново: Издателство „Фабер“, 2014), 339-58.

136 The text of the EA is included in this part of the New-York-Chicago scroll. For this

appear on the left and right sides of the cloth as depicted in the Alaverdi *Tetraevangelion*, confirms this supposition, since it looks like an inscription on the cloth (although in the miniature red ink is used).

However, it is difficult for me to say whether the painter who illuminated the Alaverdi Four Gospels (copied on the Georgian monastery of the Virgin Kalipos on the Black mountain near Antioch),¹³⁷ or the manuscript illumination that he followed was combining the miniature pictorial programs reflecting the text of the *Narratio*¹³⁸ or, solely for that representation of the *Mandyllion*, he used a model that was developing by that time in the “peripheral” Byzantine church decoration (since the closest parallel to the Alaverdi *Mandyllion* we find on the eleventh century frescoes of Cappadocian churches, namely in the Chapel 21 of Göreme (pic. 15), in Sakli Kilise (Göreme 2a; pic. 16),¹³⁹ and Karanlik Kilise, Göreme 23 (pic. 22)¹⁴⁰). To my mind, the explanatory note

Greek-Arabic amulet, see: Anonymous, *L'image d'Edesse, après un Manuscrit du VI-e ou VII-e siècle*. Extract from *Illustration*, 18. 04. 1908; S. der Nersessian, “La légende d'Abgar d'après un rouleau illustré de la bibliothèque Pierpont Morgan à New York,” in *Actes du IV Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, ed D. B. Filov. *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 9 (1935): 98–106; repr. in her *Etudes Byzantines et Arméniennes* (Louvain: Imprimerie. Orientaliste, 1973), 175–81 (hereafter – der Nersessian 1935); H. L. Kessler, “Amulet Roll (fragment),” in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from the American Collections*, an exhibition in Honour of Kurt Weitzmann, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 194–95; G. Peers, “Magic, the Mandyllion and the Letter of Abgar on a Graeco-Arabic Amulet Roll in Chicago and New York,” in *Intorno 2007*, 215-26; Id., “Art and Identity in an Amulet Roll from Fourteenth Century Trebizond,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 89.1-3 (2009): 153-78 (hereafter – Peers 2009; Karaulashvili 2007).

- 137 Skhirtladze 1998, 77-78; A. Saminsky, “Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch, in *Interactions 2007*, 188-208; N. Kavtaria, “Alaverdi Gospel (A-484) and the Artistic Peculiarities of the Black Mountain School of Miniature Painting of the 11th Century,” *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, London, 21-26 August 2006. 3 vols. Ed. E. Jeffreys, F. K. Haarer, and J. Gilliland (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006), vol. 3. Abstracts and Communications, 130-31. (<http://79.170.44.101/farig.org/images/stories/pdfs/summary-alaverdi-gospel.pdf>. last accessed: 15.01.2013)
- 138 As already mentioned above, the Georgian translation of the *Narratio* is found only in two, the thirteenth (Ms. Q 762, National centre of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, Georgia) and the sixteenth (Ms *Kut 1*, collection of the State Historical-Ethnographical Museum of Kutaisi, Georgia) century manuscripts.
- 139 Moreover, on the three representations not only the face, but also the neck of Christ is depicted. E. Gedevanishvili, “Piri ghmrtisa aghmosavlethisa da dasavletis khelovne-bashi (mandilioni da veronika)” [The Holy Face in the Art of the Christian East and West (Mandyllion and St. Veronica's Icon)], Ph.D. disser., Tbilisi I. Javakhishvili State University, Faculty of History 2004; Id. 2006; See also: N. Kavtaria, “Alaverdis othkhtavis mkhatvruli gaformebis taviseburebani” [Artistic Peculiarities of Alaverdi Gospel (A-484) Illustrations] *Sakartvelos Sidzveleni* [Georgian Antiquities] 9 (2006): 89-111.
- 140 Jolivet-Lévy 2007; As she states, the closest parallel to the Karanlik Kilise acheiropoietos images is the Alaverdi *Mandyllion*. “Les deux images, géorgienne et cappadocienne, dérivent probablement d'un même modèle, dont il est difficile de dire s'il a été créé à

that accompanies the Alaverdi mandylion – icon of the Mandyl(ion), together with that of the Göreme 23 fresco – το ἄγιον Μαν(δή)λην¹⁴¹ – rather point to the second supposition.

The *Edessan image* from Chapel 21, from Karanlik Kilise and the church of St Sophia in Ochrid (dated ca. 1055),¹⁴² together with the Alaverdi *Mandylion*, seem to be the only examples where the decoration on the vertical margins of the cloth could be associated with the inscription that, according to the *Narratio*, Abgar ordered to be made on the image. At the same time, all four examples contain the so-called Seals of Christ¹⁴³ imprinted on a cloth; the seals of Christ belong to the EA and are completely omitted in the *Narratio*, while they are being mentioned in some Byzantine *Menologia*¹⁴⁴ and the eleventh century *Compendium Historiarum* of Gregory Cedrenos¹⁴⁵ (they state that the letter was sealed with seven Hebrew letters, meaning Θεοῦ Θέα Θεῖον Θαῦμα (ΘΘΘΘ, a kind of *tetragrammaton*),¹⁴⁶ that is to say, “the vision of God, divine miracle.”). Finally, the only example of the sole picture of the “stretched rectangular” representation of the *Mandylion* in Byzantine *Menologia* is the Alexandrian MS (pic. 27), which contains neither the decoration on the vertical margins of the cloth, nor the representation of the seals of Christ.

Despite some divergences, the Alaverdi and Alexandria *Mandylia* testify to the suggestion by Herbert Kessler that “through the allusion to the Temple veil... the relationship between the Old Law and cult and Christ’s image may even be realized in the fringes that are usually a feature of this type of *Mandylion*.”¹⁴⁷ As is well known, the twelfth-century manuscript containing the *Spiritual Ladder* of John Climachus (Bibl. Vat. cod. Ross. 251, fol. 12v; pic. 28), where the images of the *Mandylion* and *Keramidion* bear the explanatory inscription πλάκες πνευματικαί should be seen as the Spiritual Tablets

Edesse meme ou à Constantinople.” Ibid., 138.

141 Jolivet-Lévy 2007.

142 A. Lidov, “Holy Face-Holy Script-Holy Gate: Revealing the Edessa Paradigm in Christian Imagery,” in *Intorno* 2007, 195-212, at 205 (hereafter – Lidov 2007).

143 A study on a symbolical identity of the seven seals of Christ and the *Edessan image* is given in chapter 4 of my dissertation: Karaulashvili 2004a, ch. 4. “The Closing Part of the Letter of Christ in the *Epistula Abgari*: „The so-called Seven Seals and their Explanation.” This aspect in iconography is discussed by A. Lidov in one of his articles (Lidov 2007).

144 It is included in the texts published by Dobschütz 1899, 50**, but missing in the variant edited by Latyšev: *Menologii anonymi Byzantini. Saeculi X. quae supersunt*. Petropoli: [n.l.], 1912, 282-85 (hereafter – Latyšev 1912).

145 PG, 121, I, 310.

146 Karaulashvili 2004a, chapt. 4

147 H. Kessler, “Pictures Fertile with Truth: How Christians Managed to Make Images of God without Violating the Second Commandment,” *Journal of Walters Art Gallery* 49/50 (1991-92): 53-65, at 62; See also: Karaulashvili 2004a, 159-60.

of “Christians.”¹⁴⁸ A symbolic affinity of the Mosaic tablets and the *Edessan Icon* of Christ is found among the famous third-century AD mural paintings at a Dura Europos synagogue, where “a Jewish equivalent of Veronica with her cloth: Moses spreading between his hands a scroll covered with writing” is depicted.¹⁴⁹ In the Alaverdi Four Gospels not only the image of Christ alludes to the Old Testament Law, but also the mode of presenting the Seven Seals of Christ attached to His epistle (pics. 29) – as well as in the NY-Chicago scroll – are reminiscent of the Tablets of Moses (pic. 30), indicating that not only the acheiropoietos image of Christ, but also the letter, written by God the Son Himself could be perceived as “the Spiritual Tablets of Christians,” as if demonstrating that “the Law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.”¹⁵⁰

What attracts my additional attention here is the presence of the pseudo-Kufic letters on the margins of the Alaverdi *Mandyliion*.¹⁵¹ The Abgar tradition implies that the inscription made on the image by the order of Abgar, had to be in Syriac. It is difficult for me to judge why a Georgian painter living in Antioch imitated on the miniature Kufic letters instead. Do we have to suppose that he was simply copying the image he had in front of his eyes, while the original painting was influenced by the information of the *Narratio* that it were Arabs who handed the *Mandyliion* down to the Byzantines? Or, perhaps, was it a certain fashion for representing the Aramaic letters by that time? The latter supposition seems to be more trustworthy, since we find the pseudo-Kufic inscriptions on some Cappadocian Mandyliia as well (pic. 15, 16, 22).¹⁵²

It is difficult for me to ascertain whether these “peripheral” images of the *Mandyliion* were influenced by the plot of both the *Narratio* and the EA, or by some earlier, most probably Oriental Christian, iconographical tradi-

148 Ibid.

149 Kuryluk 1991, 32.

150 John 1: 17.

151 In Grabar’s view, the pseudo-Kufic inscription on the edges of the cloth is similar to that on Muslim tissues. A. Grabar, *L’iconoclisme byzantin. Dossier archéologique*. 2nd ed. (Paris: Flammarion, 1984), 53.

See also: N. Kavtaria, “Avgarozis legendis dasuratheba shua saukuneebis karthul miniaturashi” [Illustrations of the Abgar Legend in the Alaverdi Four Gospels], *Khelovne-bathmtsodneoba* [Art History, Collection of articles published by the Department of Art History of Theory of Tbilisi I. Javakhishvili State University] 1 (2000): 241-60; Id., „Interpretation of the Text and Image in the Culture of Christian East: Georgian Illustrations of Abgars’s Apocryphal History,” *Proceedings of the International Conference Interpretation of the Text in the Culture of Christian East: Translation, Commentary, Poetic Treatment*, St.Petersburg, Russia, 2011 (forthcoming); Id., “Avgaroz mefis tsiklis dasuratheba gelathis otkhthavshi” [Illustrations of King Abgar Cycle in the Gelati Gospels], in the proceedings of the conference *Gelati-900* (forthcoming).

152 Jolivet-Lévy 2007.

tion, testified by the Alaverdi *Tetraevangelion*, Deir-es-Suriani and Cappadocian frescoes. I hope that art historians will be able to provide a more reliable answer to this question. However, even if in their opinion the miniature representing the *Mandyllion* from the Alaverdi Four Gospels is based solely on a passage from the *Narratio*, my conclusion according to which “one can safely assume that the pre-fourteenth century illustrations are based on the EA and not, as previously thought, on those of the *Narratio*,”¹⁵³ is still legitimate, since we will have the sole image influenced by the plot of this version of the apocryphon within the Byzantine miniature tradition of the Abgar Legend, emergence of which could be determined by the influence exerted over it not by the textual, but by the pictorial tradition; moreover, as Christopher Walter had already noted, the legend that accompanies the third miniature of the Moscow Menologion (Christ gives the cloth to the messenger) employs the term *sinidon* unknown to the text of the *Narratio*, but used in the EA; To put it in Walter’s words, “we may infer that the scribe or illuminator was familiar with the *Epistola*, even, perhaps, that this miniature was copied from one illuminating the *Epistola*,”¹⁵⁴ The same term, *sinidon*, is used in the explanatory inscription of the Mateič fresco. Inclusion of “two scenes which are not attested elsewhere [except EA-I.K],” together with exploitation of the terminology pertaining to the Edessan image, lead Walter to the conclusion that the Mateič cycle “clearly derives from the *Epistola*, not from the *Narratio*.”¹⁵⁵

In favour of supposition, suggesting that the illumination of the textual tradition of the Abgar Legend depends on the EA speaks also the fact that although a pictorial tradition related to the *Narratio* and portraying the solemn translation and receipt of the *Mandyllion* by Romanos Lekapenos exists, as confirmed by the illustrations of the Madrid Skylitzes manuscript dated to the twelfth century (pic. 31),¹⁵⁶ it has never become accepted and developed within the Byzantine iconographical program of the Abgar legend.

153 Karaulashvili 2007, 231.

154 Walter 1995, 226.

155 Ibid., 228.

156 I. Ševčenko, “The Madrid Manuscript of the Chronicle of Skylitzes in the Light of Its New Dating” in *Byzanz und der Westen*, Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters, ed. Irmgard Hutter. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 432. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), 117–30.

Ms Latin 2688, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

As a thorough study of all the miniatures revealed, the only case within the entire Abgar cycle when we can talk about the influence of the non-Byzantine tradition, that is to say, of the DA, combined with the nationalised Armenian textual tradition (the *History of Armenia* by Movses Khorenatsi,¹⁵⁷ and the text devoted to the Feast of the *Mandylion* in the Armenian *Synaxarion* collection¹⁵⁸), is found in the Paris BN *Ms Latin 2688*. The interrelation of the text and the images here is as follows:

157 Movses Khorenatsi, *Patmutyun Hayots* (History of Armenia] (Venice: Surb Lazar Press, 1841), 204-313; *Moses Khorenatsi, History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary by R. W. Thomson. Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 164-77.

158 Bayan 1971, 390-93.

fol	Scene	plausible source
min 1. fol. 65r	Abgar talking to his envoys he sends to Rome	DA, DAarm
min 2. fol. 66r	Abgar's messengers holding a letter that reads 'rex' ⁱ (left), while on the right side Anania relating everything he has heard about Christ in Jerusalem to his master is depicted	DA, DAarm
min 3, fol. 68v	Abgar gives the epistle to two messengers (identified in the Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i> as Ananias and John (painter and goldsmith)	Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i>
min 4. fol. 70v	The painter, who sits on a chair, ⁱⁱ tries to paint the image of Christ, while another messenger, kneeling, takes the epistle of Christ (pic. 32) ⁱⁱⁱ	Combination of two redactions of the Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i> (and the <i>Narratio</i> or Byzantine <i>Synaxarion</i> ?)
min. 5, fol. 72r	Christ's entry to Jerusalem	Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i> ^{iv}
min. 6 fol. 73v	Apostles Philip and Andrew speak to Christ on behalf of Abgar's messengers	Moses of Khoren, Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i> ^v
min. 7, fol. 75r	Ananias hands the epistle ^{vi} to one of the Apostles, while another Apostle takes the Cloth on which the Holy Face is imprinted, from Christ (pic. 5)	This seems to be an invention of a Latin author based on Moses of Khoren and the Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i> (since two apostles are playing the role of intermediaries)
min 8, fol. 77r	Miracle at Hirapolis [called here Manpete]	EA, <i>Narratio</i> , EAarm ^{vii}
min. 9, fol. 79r	The image is put in the well ^{viii}	Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i>
min. 10, fol. 82r	Solemn procession ^{ix} on the occasion of the image being taken out from the well, Abgar taken to it lying on a stretcher (pic. 24)	Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i>
min. 11. fol. 83v	Cures accomplished by water taken from the well	This seems to be an invention of a Latin author based on the Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i> , since it says that the miracles were accomplished by a second brick, left in the well
min. 12, fol. 85r	Abgar, kneeling, receives the image ^x (pic. 23)	<i>Narratio</i> ; Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i>

min. 13, fol. 86r	Abgar, kneeling, takes the image into his hands	
min. 14, fol. 87v	Abgar, kneeling, raises the image over his head; solemn greeting of the image with trumpets, lutes, sambucas, cymbals	
min. 15, fol. 89v	Tobias meets the apostle Thaddaeus	DA, DAarm, Eusebius, <i>Narratio</i> , Khorenatsi
min 16, fol. 90r	Abgar inquires from Tobias	DA, DAarm, Eusebius, Khorenatsi
min. 17, fol. 90v	Tobias asks Thaddaeus to go to Abgar's palace	DA, DAarm, Eusebius, <i>Narratio</i> , Khorenatsi
min. 18, fol. 91v	Abgar, kneeling, greets Thaddaeus	DA, DAarm, Eusebius, Khorenatsi
min. 19, fol. 92v	Thaddaeus talks to Abgar	DA, DAarm, Eusebius, <i>Narratio</i> , Khorenatsi
min. 20, fol. 94r	Thaddaeus baptises Abgar	DA, DAarm, Eusebius, <i>Narratio</i> , Khorenatsi, EA
min. 21, fol. 95r	Abgar's son, who returned to paganism, venerates an idol, while a bishop (Thaddaeus?) is martyred on order of Abgar's son; he is killed by sword ³¹	Khorenatsi, Armenian <i>Martyrdom of the Apostle Thaddaeus</i> Armenian <i>Synaxarion</i> (Feast of 22 December, <i>Martyrdom of the Apostle Thaddaeus</i>)
min. 22, fol. 96r	Abgar's widow takes the image to Jerusalem	Khorenatsi

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- i It seems that the iconography of this scene is conditioned by the text of the DA, according to which Abgar sends a message to “the honoured Sabinus, the son of Eustorgius, the deputy of our lord the emperor.” and gets a reply from the latter. *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, ed. G. Phillips (London: Trübner, 1876), 2 (hereafter – Phillips 1876).
 - ii The *Narratio* and Byzantine *Synaxaria* are the only texts relating that while painting the image, Anania was sitting, though on a rock. One cannot exclude the possibility that the representation of the painter while painting relies on this information. However, to my mind, the painter of the Paris manuscript simply portrayed a person sitting on a chair – supposedly, for that time a traditional pictorial pose for someone who is writing, or painting.
 - iii The inscription on other letters reads: ‘rex,’ while on this one “Ih.”
 - iv In both the Latin and the Armenian text Abgar’s messengers enter Jerusalem on the same day when Jesus enters.
 - v If the author of the Latin text uses the Armenian *Synaxarion*, then, he has in hands a redaction different from the one published by Bayan and attributed to Ter-Israel (the *Synaxarion* of Ter-Israel was written in the middle of the thirteenth century, L. Melikset-Bek, *Sakartvelos istoriis tserilobiti tskaroebis publikatsiebi. Katalogi* [Publications of the Written Sources on the History of Georgia. Catalog] (Tbilisi: Press of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1949), 260; Nowadays the text published by Bayan is attributed to Grigol Anavarzetsi (second half of the thirteenth century; H. Acharyan, *Hayots andzannuneri bararan* [Dictionary of Armenian personal names] (Yerevan: State University Press, 1942), 586-87), since only the Apostle Philip is mentioned there.

However, both, Philip and Andrew are mentioned in another redaction of the Armenian *Synaxarion* written by Grigol Khlatetsi (fifteenth century, Acharjan, *Bararan*, 608). Since the *Paris Latin Ms 2688* is dated to appr. 1270, it is easy to guess that it is not the Khlatetsi redaction that served as one of the sources for the Latin author. Further work and comparison to all redactions of the Armenian *Synaxaria* is needed in order to clarify this issue.

Before this work is done, one cannot exclude the possibility that in some cases we are dealing with “vice versa influence.” That is to say, certain passages from the Paris Ms Abgar legend had entered the Armenian *Synaxarion*. This possibility should not be excluded, since we know that there existed vivid contacts between Cilician Armenia and Rome, especially active with respect to the ecclesiastical issues and attempts of religious unity. Here one might take into account Isa Ragisa’s argument according to which “the choice of types of miracles links the text with the liturgy of the sudarium at S. Spirito in Sassia,” and a testimony found in the Latin text, stating that the Edessan image was finally taken to Rome. Ragusa 1991, at 99.

- vi The epistle on the miniature reads: “rex” (pic. 5).
- vii The Greek spelling of the name of the city, Hierapolis, is given here. The episode is included in the text entitled *The Story of Lord John about King Abgar and the Holy Towel, to Which Jesus Ordered to Cure Abgar*, B. Outtier, “Une forme enrichie de la Légende d’Abgar en arménien,” in *Apocryphes arméniens: transmission - traduction - création - iconographie. Actes du colloque international sur la littérature apocryphe en langue arménienne* (Genève, 18-20 septembre 1997) Publications de l’Institut romand des sciences bibliques 1, ed. V. Calzolari Bouver, J.-D. Kaestli and B. Outtier (Lausanne: Edition du Zèbre, 1999), 129-45 (hereafter – Outtier 1999).

The *Narratio* states that the name of the city was Membich in Arabic and Mabouk in Syriac. PG 113, col. 432.

viii The motif of the image in the well is known in Syriac as well, though in a different context. The *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, in a section entitled *Concerning the well of the lepers outside Edessa*, relates how at a certain time a certain Oriental desired to steal the image. Once he managed to do it, but the image was burning his lap and he threw it into a well of the monastery. A column of fire appeared and the image was taken out. Since then, healing miracles were happening and everyone who washed himself with its water was healed. Brock 2004, 53. Brock observes the parallelism of this passage with the well episode of the Paris Ms.

ix As rightly mentioned by Ragusa, the description of the solemn procession might be an echo of the passage from the *Narratio*, describing the triumphal entry of the image to Constantinople. Ragusa 1991, 101.

x The *Synaxarion* of Ter-Israel recounts: “The next dawn Abgar ordered the entire city of Edessa to go together with him dressed in white clothes, with candles lit and fragrant incenses; they went to the well and took out the holy linen. They left one brick inside the well, which accomplishes lots of miracles till now. And the king [together with the citizens] returned to the city gaily, with great joy, singing and playing on musical instruments; he put the image on his face and was half-cured...” Bayan 1971, 392.

The redaction of Khlatetsi says: “And the king ordered to decorate the city and commanded to all citizens, from the richest to the beggars, to put on new cloths; the court also was prepared and many candles were distributed. They gave 3000 big red candles to the nobles and 20,400 other candles to all people, the old and the young. Being thus prepared, the entire population of the city went out to the well and lifted from there with a rope one small and another, larger, brick. According to the divine will the larger brick had been left in the well and became the cause of many miracles, since it was curing the ill, the lepers and the possessed...” *Ms Arm1*, Armenian Collection of Tbilisi State Centre of Manuscripts.

xi The legs of the Saint were cut off with a sword. Khorenatsi, II, 34.

In 2007 I supposed that the scenes typical to the Abgar legend illustrations presented in the Paris manuscript are derived from the EA cycle, and do not reflect the text of the *Narratio*.¹⁵⁹ However, one important fact skipped my attention – the text itself does not speak about translation of the image to Constantinople, while the miniatures seem to portray solely the events related by the text. Moreover, it clearly links the text with the Latin West – as Isa Ragusa indicates, “the choice of types of miracles links the text with the liturgy of the sudarium at S. Spirito in Sassia;”¹⁶⁰ a testimony found in the Latin text, stating that the Edessan image was finally taken to Rome, points to the same.

Therefore, the illumination of the manuscript, which stylistically is a typical example of Western medieval art, closely follows the textual evidence and seems to be independent from the traditional Byzantine pictorial tradition. To put it in Ragusa’s words which she used to describe the miniatures illustrating the episodes speaking of the *Mandyllion* in the well and which, as I think, could be applied to the entire pictorial program, we are dealing here with a “cycle unparalleled in Byzantine Abgar illustrations and original to the Paris text.”¹⁶¹

159 Earlier, Christopher Walter had suggested that “it is more likely that the author would have been familiar with the *Epistola*, translation and distribution of which outside the Greek world was much greater than for the *Narratio*...” Walter 1995, 229.

160 Ragusa 1991, 99.

161 *Ibid.*, 99.

Part II

Provenance of the New-York-Chicago Scroll

Since I have already mentioned a similar compositional setting for the miniatures in the Georgian Four Gospels (Alaverdi and Gelati) and the Greek amulet roll, now I would turn my attention to the New-York-Chicago scroll. I tried to analyse the Abgar legend included in the New-York part of this amulet roll in my article for the *Interactions* and came to the conclusion that “the inclusion of the miniatures representing Constantine and Helena with the Cross before the beginning of the apocryphon – together with the representation of the Seven Seals as a combination of the Mosaic tablets (pic. 30), a vision of the Cross seen by Constantine, and the portrait of David (on the Chicago part of the manuscript)—suggests that this was a work designed to reveal the concept of a ruler chosen by God,”¹⁶² a concept studied in relation to the multilingual versions of the Abgar legend in one of my earliest articles.¹⁶³ I was very happy to find out that Glenn Peers, who studied the manuscript thoroughly, came to the same conclusion, stating: “the combination of Constantine and Helena, Abgar and Evgenios, has a great deal of tradition of the God-led king behind it.” Peers correctly assumed that “read this way, the Chicago-New York roll reveals itself as an ideological assertion of the protection that comes to Christians who follow the right path: Evgenios and his warrior brethren lead that local path, but Constantine, David, and Abgar showed the way in which Christ protects all his faithful.”¹⁶⁴

One of the inscriptions of the scroll, where Saint Eugenius of Trebizond (whose figure “has inevitable associations with the imperial dynasty of Trebizond”¹⁶⁵) is mentioned, helped Peers in establishing the provenance of the manuscript. In his words, “the closest comparandum for the Chicago-New York roll in terms of figure style is the *Romance of Alexander the Great*, now in Venice (Hellenic Institute, Codex gr. 5)... For instance, the arrival of the portraitist and the delivery of Alexanders portrait at fol. 143v has striking similarities in terms of the handling of figures.” In Nicolette Trahoulia’s view, the

162 Karaulashvili 2007, 237.

163 Karaulashvili 2004b.

164 Peers 2009, 175.

165 *Ibid.*, 162.

Venice manuscript was composed in the Empire of Trebizond during the reign of Emperor Alexios III Komnenos (r. 1341-1390).¹⁶⁶ Moreover, as Peers, based on received wisdom, states “the presence of Georgian script in the manuscript indicates a strong probability that the artists were originally Georgian.”¹⁶⁷

Finally, with respect to the provenance of the scroll Peers assumes that “a good deal of circumstantial evidence – most strongly the very presence of Evgenios and his three compatriots – points to Trebizond as the place of origin of Chicago-New York roll. The stylistic similarities with the Venice *Romance of Alexander* are sufficiently convincing for a common workshop to be posited, which narrows the time frame to the reign of Alexios III. The *terminus ante quem* is the Arabic colophon on the reverse, so a good case can be advanced for the roll being produced at Trebizond in the period between 1350-1380.”¹⁶⁸

To the best of my knowledge, there exists no work of a Georgian scholar scrutinizing the Venetian Manuscript; while with respect to the illuminated texts of the Abgar legend Z. Skhirtladze states: “although the iconography of the majority of episodes in both cycles [the *Menologia* and *Tetraevangelia* – I.K.] must point to the affinity of their common prototypes, the differences both in character of the text illumination and selection of separate miniatures, as well as their artistic rendering are discernible.”¹⁶⁹ Hopefully, Georgian art historians would add their works to the existing wisdom, taking into account recent studies on the Venice manuscript of the *Alexander Romance*. As a scholar dealing with the textual history of the Abgar legend, I can only state that apart from the New-York-Chicago scroll, there are only two manuscripts that illuminate the text of the EA so that they are illustrating the entire plot of the apocryphon: these are the aforementioned Alaverdi (5 miniatures)¹⁷⁰ and

166 N. S. Trahoulias, *The Greek Alexander Romance: Venice, Hellenic Institute, Codex Gr. 5* (Athens, 1997)= Peers 2009, 157, nt. 10.

167 D. Mouriki, “The Formative Role of Byzantine Art on the Artistic Style of the Cultural Neighbors of Byzantium: Reflections of Constantinopolitan Styles in Georgian Monumental Painting,” *JöB* 31.2 (1981): 725-57; H. Belting, “Le peintre Manuel Eugenikos de Constantinople, en Géorgie,” *CahArch* 28 (1979): 103-14; G. Drettas, “Sur quelques aspects de la polyglossie pontique durant la période médiévale (XIIe–XVe siècles),” *Mésogeios* 12 (2001): 183-93= Peers 2009, 157, nt. 11.

168 Peers 2009, 164.

169 Skhirtladze 1998, 83.

170 A relatively small number of the miniatures in the Alaverdi *Tetraevangelion* might suggest that the pictorial program of the Abgar legend presented there is related more to the *Menologion* illustration tradition than to that of the EA. However, the selection of the scenes reveals more similarities with the latter than with the former. Thus, the scene representing Abgar sending a messenger (and a letter) to Christ is represented in all five manuscripts; the scene portraying Christ writing a letter to Abgar is present in the Alaverdi Four Gospels and the Moscow *Menologion*; a special accent on the Seven seals of Christ in the Alaverdi *Tetraevangelion* is matched by the miniatures of the Ge-

Gelati (14 scenes in 10 miniatures) Four Gospels. The number of the miniatures in the scroll amounts to 14 (together with the representation of the Seven Seals). The number of the scenes that illustrate the text of the *Narratio* in the manuscripts is less: 4 in the Moscow (*cod. Syn. gr. 183 [Vlad. 382]*, Moscow State History Museum, dated 1063)¹⁷¹ and the Paris *Menologion* (*cod. gr. 1528*, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, dated to the end of the eleventh – beginning of the twelfth century);¹⁷² Single miniatures related to the Abgar legend are found in the *Menologia* of Oxford¹⁷³ (Bodleian Library, *MS. Gr. th. f. 1*, fol. 51 v.; dated to 1322-40; pic 33)¹⁷⁴ and Alexandria (*Greek Patr. Cod. 35*, fol. 142v; eleventh century, pic. 27).¹⁷⁵ For the moment I don't know the exact readings the Alexandria *Menologion* contains for 16 of August. However, as could be easily assumed, this might be either the *Narratio*, or a shortened text that relates about transfer of the image, similar to the one published by Latyšev.¹⁷⁶

In my 2007 article I presented a comparative table of illustrations of the plot of the Abgar legend in various manuscripts, together with an example from church decoration (the Church of the Virgin at Mateič, Macedonia; pic. 6, 25).¹⁷⁷ Now I am presenting the abridged and revised version of the same table here as well, in order to clarify to which version of the apocryphon the illustrations of the iconographical Abgar cycle of the New-York-Chicago scroll are related.

lati Four Gospels and the Pierpont Morgan Library Scroll; a separate miniature of the *Edessan Image* is present only in the Alaverdi *Tetraevangelion*; the miracle of Hierapolis is illustrated only in the manuscript containing the EA; Thaddaeus baptising Abgar is painted in the Paris *Menologion* and the Alaverdi and Gelati *Tetraevangelia*. Therefore, the selection of the scenes does not provide sufficient ground for linking the illustrations from the Alaverdi manuscript to those found in the *Menologia*.

171 N. Patterson Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Studies in Medieval Manuscript Illumination) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 71 and 194 (hereafter – Patterson Ševčenko 1984); A. Lidov and A. Zhakarova, “La storia del re Abgar e il *Mandyliion* nelle miniature del *Menologion* di Mosca del 1063,” in *Mandyliion* 2004, 72-77.

172 Patterson Ševčenko 1984, 137-45, 192-95.

173 In Christopher Walter's words, “this manuscript consists entirely of miniatures without texts, like a wall-calendar.” Walter 1995, 226.

174 The image is located on the bottom right side of the folio, which contains three other images, unrelated to the Abgar legend, painted against a golden background. See: <http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~8~8~59183~132138:Menologion> (last accessed: 06.03.2013).

175 Weitzmann 1960, 168-69.

176 Latyšev 1912, 282-85.

177 Пешковић 1932. As already indicated by Walter, “The Mateič cycle... clearly derives from the *Epistola*, not from the *Narratio*.... The clue is provided by the word *sinidon*,” which was found in a legend read by Peškovič. Walter 1995, 221, 229; Karaulashvili 2007, 232-33.

#	Scene	Alaverdi Tetraevangelion	Gelati Tetraevangelion	NY-Chicago scroll	Moscow Menol.	Paris Menol.	Oxford Menol.	Alexandria Menol.
1	Abgar sends a messenger (with the epistle) to Christ	* (min. 1; fol. 316v)	* (min. 1; fol. 287r)	*(min. 1)	* (min. 1; fol. 210r)	* (min. 1; 181v)		
2	Portrait of Thaddaeus ^{xiii}			* (min. 2)				
3	Christ receiving the epistle ^{xiii}		* (min. 2 fol. 287 v)	* (min. 3)				
4	i) ^{xv} Christ, gives the epistle to Anania/ ii) Christ writes the epistle to Abgar ^{xv}	* (min. 2; fol. 318r)	* (min. 3 fol. 288v)	* (min. 4)	* (min. 2; fol. 210r)			
5	Christ, the messenger and Thaddaeus			* (min. 5)				
6	i) Seven Seals of Christ/ ii) Hand of God pointing to the Seals	* (fol. 319v)	* (min. 4; 289r)	* (min. 6)				
7	Abgar receives the messenger Abgar sends Anania/a painter to Christ		* here – a) ^{xvi} (min. 5; 289v) * here – b)	* (min. 7) – here i) * (min. 8); here – ii)				
8	Christ receives Abgar's messenger in front of the gates of Jerusalem ^{xvii}		* (min. 6; fol. 290r)					
9	Edessian image	* (min. 3; fol. 320v)						* (min. 3; fol. 142v)
10	a) The messenger approaches Christ b) Christ washes His hands, the messenger (?) pours water on His hands and gives Him the cloth c) The messenger gives the cloth to Christ	* * (min. 7; fol. 290v) *						

11	i) Christ gives the image to Anania (and other messengers)/ ii) Christ and the painter with the image/ iii) Christ gives the image to two Apostles ^{xviii}			* (min. 9)	* (min.3; fol. 210r)	* (min. 2; fol. 181v) * min. 1 (fol. 51v)	
12	i) Miracle of Hierapolis/ ii) Pillar of light descending in front of the gates of Hierapolis (pic. 34) ^{xix}	* (min. 4; fol. 321v)	* (min. 8; fol. 291 r)	* (min. 10)			
13	Anania with the image of Edessa, a native of Hierapolis with the <i>Keramidion</i>			* (min. 11)			
14	A paralytic before Abgar			* (min. 13)			
15	A paralytic cured by the image/ Anania (and the messengers) deliver the image to Abgar		* here – a) (min. 9; fol. 292r) * here – b)	* (min. 12); here – i) * (min. 14); here – ii)	* (min. 3; 210r); here – ii)		
16	Thaddaeus baptizes Abgar	* (min. 5; fol. 323v)	* (min. 10; fol. 292r)			* (min. 3; fol. 181v)	

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- xii In my article in the *Interaction* volume a portrait of Abgar is wrongly mentioned before the portrait of Thaddaeus.
- xiii This scene is missing in the list printed in my article for the *Interactions* volume.
- xiv The roman numbers indicate that slightly different scenes are presented in separate miniatures.
- xv Balicka-Witakowska identifies this scene as “Jesus dictates his answer to Abgar’s envoy,” stating that “this scene was wrongly identified by scholars as representing Jesus writing the letter to Abgar.” E. Balicka-Witakowska, “The Holy Face of Edessa on the Frame of the *Volto Santo* of Genoa: The Literary and Pictorial Sources,” in *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture*, ed., J. O. Rosenqvist (Papers Read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1-5 December, 1999). Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions 13 (Stockholm & London: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul & Tauris, 2004), 100–133: hereafter – Balicka-Witakowska 2004, at 116, nt. 96. To my mind, the previous identification is correct. Balicka-Witakowska seems to be influenced by the opinion of some scholars, seeing the Alaverdi text of the EA as being “based on a Greek version which seems to develop the oriental tradition, mostly the Syriac Teaching of Addai.” (N. Chkhikvadze). Ibid. 115.

However, as I have demonstrated in my dissertation, the Alaverdi text of the EA is not derived from the Syriac DA. With respect to the epistles of Abgar and Christ it shows affinity with the Arabic version preserved in the text of Yahya of Antioch. To my mind, both seem to be derived from a common, plausibly Syriac source that contained a developed version of the correspondence between Abgar and Christ. The editor of the Georgian text, N. Chkhikvadze, inserts a marginal note stating that Jesus is delivering his answer orally, in the main text of the apocryphon. However, the miniature representing Christ in the same posture in which usually the evangelists writing the Gospels are depicted, makes me believe that the scene was correctly identified by previous scholars. Karaulashvili 2004a, chapter 7, “Yahyā of Antioch and the Georgian translation of the EA, as presented by the Alaverdi Four Gospels,” 202-27.

Balicka-Witakowska’s statement, according to which “the first meeting between Jesus and the messenger and his unsuccessful effort to produce the portrait is omitted from this version of the story” (made while identifying the miniatures of the Gelati Four Gospels) is also incorrect: As we read in the Gelati text of the EA, “The messenger entered with the painter, stood and began to paint the likeness of Jesus, but was unable to represent the image of His face, so that he became worried.” Karaulashvili 2004a, app. 4. Moreover, it is present in the Greek version of the apocryphon as well: “ὁ δὲ ταχυδρόμος εἰσελθὼν ἔστη εἰς τὸ προπύλαιον ζωγραφῶν τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. καὶ μὴ δυναμένου καταλαβέσθαι τὴν μορφήν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ.” Karaulashvili 2004a, chapter 2, “The Texts of the Letters within the Main Body of the *Epistula Abgari*,” 70.

- xvi The letters indicate that several scenes are presented in one miniature.
- xvii This scene is also missing in the list printed in my article for the *Interactions* volume.
- xviii Since the manuscript contains only the miniatures and lacks the text, one also has to stress that this miniature pictures either one of the versions of the EA (preserved in the

Georgian (Alaverdi and Sinai) translations (the relevant passage runs as follows: *სოლო ტილოდ იგი მისცა თადეოზს მოციქულსა და უბრძანა შემდგომად ამაღლებისა მისისა წარსლვად ედესე ქალაქად...* – The Lord gave the cloth to Thaddeus the Apostle and ordered him to go to the city of Edessa after His [Jesus'] ascension..” (Sinai redaction; Chkhikvadze 2007, 140), or echoes the relevant passage from the *Narratio* (“He gave it to Thomas and told him to send it to Abgar with Thaddaeus after His ascension into heaven” PG 113, col. 433). Yet there exists the third option (though without knowing the detailed description and provenance of this manuscript it is difficult for me to explain interaction of the different versions of the legend in this particular case) – this passage could be influenced by the local Armenian tradition (Khorenatsi, Armenian *Synaxaria*), according to which Apostles Philip and Andrew acted as intermediaries between Christ and Abgar’s messengers.

- xix The majority of scholars identify this scene as ‘a gate of Edessa.’ Skhirtladze 1998, 80; Balicka-Witakowska 2004, 116; Gedevanishvili 2006, 14. However, Alexander Saminskiy turned my attention to the fact that this miniature depicts not the gate of Edessa, but the miracle at the gate of Hierapolis. On the left bottom side of the image one could distinguish the brick and the pillar of light descending from heaven.

As evident, in 4 cases (# 2; 5; 13; 14) the Pierpont Morgan Library scroll presents a unique selection of the scenes, while an unprecedented selection (within the EA manuscript tradition) is found once in the Alaverdi Four Gospels (# 9) and in 2 miniatures (but 4 scenes) of the Gelati Four Gospels (# 8; 10 a; 10b; 10c); in 10 cases the Pierpont Morgan Library scroll follows the Georgian *Tetraevangelia* (#1; 3; 4i; 4ii; 6; 7i; 7ii; 12; 15i; 15ii); once it follows the *Menologia* scene (#15ii) and, in 2 cases, the selection of the scenes in the Scroll, the *Tetraevangelia* and the *Menologia* coincide (# 1, 15ii), while in two cases there are similarities between the *Menologia* and the *Tetraevangelia* (# 4iii; 16) without the Scroll following these.

Evidently, the iconographical cycles illustrating the texts of the EA and *Narratio* are interconnected. However, one has to bear in mind that the text of the EA is illustrated only in the NY-Chicago scroll and the Georgian manuscripts, while a great number of the miniatures is attested only in the scroll and the Gelati Four Gospels.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the mode of presenting the Seven Seals of Christ in the form of the Mosaic Tablets in the Alaverdi *Tetraevangelion* (pic. 29) and the amulet roll (pic. 30) may also point to a common tradition.¹⁷⁹

To my mind, the iconographical program of the Abgar legend in the NY-Chicago scroll (independently of the manner of their execution and the artistic schools to which they belong) also allows to suggest that “the artists were originally Georgian,” providing additional ground for the aforementioned conclusion by Glenn Peers with respect to the common provenance for the NY-Chicago scroll and the Venice manuscript of the *Alexander Romance*.¹⁸⁰

The Edessan image in some tenth and post-tenth century sources

The first account that provides some proof with respect to the existence of the image is the *Narratio*, the plot of which is set against the real historical background. In 944 the Byzantine military leader John Curcuas captured Melitene and Samosata. He besieged Edessa and, after negotiating peace with the emir of Edessa, the latter had to give away the most precious relic of Eastern Christendom, the *Mandylion*. The arrival of the relic in Constantinople on 16 August 944 was accompanied by a triumphal procession and, a year later, a text commemorating this event in the ecclesiastical collection on the same date was included in the Byzantine *Menologion*.¹⁸¹

178 As I have already demonstrated, the illustrations of the Paris Ms 2688 have independent pictorial program.

179 On interpretation of this representation, see: Karaulashvili 2002, 94-95.

180 Peers 2009, 157.

181 Patlagean 1995, 22.

The Greek text of the *Narratio*, the text for 16 of August for *Menologion*¹⁸² and a liturgical tractate included in two eleventh century manuscripts, were edited by Ernst von Dobschütz,¹⁸³ the same tractate was published in 1897 by Yakov Smirnov.¹⁸⁴ It is entitled *About the Holy and Divine Acheiropoietos Image of Our God Jesus Christ, How it was Honoured in the City of Edessa by Those who Lived There* – Περὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀχειροποιήτου Θείας εἰκόνης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ [ἀληθινοῦ] Θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐτιμᾶτο ἐν Ἐδέσῃ τῇ πᾶσι παρὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικούντων. The text described the ritual which took place in Edessa during the Lent. According to this narrative, on the first Sunday of the first week of the Lent the image was brought to the sacristy of the Church. The *acheiropoietos* image, wrapped in white linen, was placed in honour on a throne that had been prepared for it. The throne was carried out in a solemn procession. Then, the image was placed on a small elevated table east of the holy altar. After the celebration of the holy liturgy only the high priest¹⁸⁵ was allowed to approach the divine image, to revere and to kiss it, then, to exchange the white linen that was covering it into a purple one and return it to the sacristy. On the fourth day of the middle week of the Lent the high priest went there, opened the chest in which the image was kept, wiped the icon with an unused sponge that was soaked with water, first gave the water that he squeezed out to the people then sprinkled the water over them. Ordinarily the chest with the image was kept behind the doors of the sacristy, which were opened on Wednesday and Friday. Everybody was able to see the chest from a distance but nobody was allowed to approach and touch it. In the words of the anonymous author, this was done in order to increase the faith in the people through fear of God for the revered object.¹⁸⁶

According to the *Narratio*, the emperor of Constantinople meets the image, which is locked in a casket and worships it together with the clergy.¹⁸⁷ Another text, dated to the end of the twelfth century and attributed to an anonymous Latin pilgrim, says that no one was allowed to open the case where the image was kept, with the exception of the Emperor of Constantinople. The fol-

182 Printed in parallel columns, Dobschütz 1899, 29**–107**.

183 Ibid., 107**–14**.

184 In Smirnov's idea, the Byzantine Menologia for 16 of August contained four texts. Я. И. Смирнов, "Слово X века о том, как чтился образ Спаса на Убресе в Эдессе," in *Commentationes philologicae*. Сборник статей в честь И.В.Помяловского (Санкт-Петербург: Императорская Академия Наук, 1897), 209–19.

185 In Palmer's words "The use of the title "high priest" (*archiereus*) here recalls the fact that only Aaron was allowed to enter the Holiest Place of All in the Tabernacle (Hebr 9, 7), and that but "once a year" and "not without blood" of atonement by sacrifice (foreshadowing the Crucifixion)." Palmer 2009, 145, nt. 91.

186 Dobschütz 1899, 111**–12**.

187 PG. 113, cols. 449–52.

lowing reason, explaining why ordinary mortals could not have a glance at it, is given: once the case had been left open and a terrible earthquake devastated the town. A heavenly vision revealed that the disaster would continue until the linen cloth with the Lord's face on it should be locked up and hidden away, far from human eyes.¹⁸⁸

So, according to the tenth and eleventh-century-sources, the image was stretched on a piece of wood already by the king Abgar (*Narratio*); in Edessa it was kept in an ancient casket, from which it was taken out only once a year for a solemn procession, during which no one was allowed to look at It except for the archbishop of the city (the Liturgical tractate); upon its arrival in Byzantium the relic, locked in a chest, was worshipped by the clergymen and the Emperor of Constantinople (*Narratio*); two centuries later no-one had the right to see the image, with the exception of the emperor of Constantinople (*Ms. Tarragonensis* 55). Interestingly enough, the *Life of Romanos Lekapenos*, included in the compendium of imperial biographies,¹⁸⁹ tells us that the *Edessan image* revealed itself clearly only to Constantine VII, while for his brothers-in-law it appeared to be extremely blurred), as if displaying a special benevolence toward the young emperor. As the *Vita St Pauli iunioris*, composed in 955 AD, narrates, the Saint asked the emperor [*sic!*] to put a piece of cloth on the precious relic and send it to him. His request was granted; however, only the Saint himself was able to discern the Face of God imprinted on it.¹⁹⁰

While reading these passages, one notes that according to these texts, if in Edessa the honour of viewing the *Mandyllion* was conferred to a high priest, in Constantinople it became the prerogative of the Byzantine Emperor himself. Most probably, the Byzantines continued to view the *Edessan image* of Christ as a token of a special benevolence of God towards the emperor, the trail blazed via the *Narratio* by Constantine Porphyrogennetus himself. Al-

188 K. N. Ciggaar, "Une Description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55," *REB* 53 (1995): 117-40.

189 Known as Theophanes Continuatus (*Theophanes Continuatus, Vita Romani*) and composed under the guidance of Constantine. Patlagean 1995, 23. See also: S. G. Engberg, "Romanos Lekapenos and the Mandyllion of Edessa," in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*. Table ronde. Les reliques de la passion. XX Congrès international des études byzantines, 19-25 août, 2001, ed. J. Durand and B. Flusin. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies, 17 (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2004), 123-42; P. Hetherington, "The Image of Edessa: Some Notes on Its Later Fortunes." In *Byzantine Style, Religion and Culture: In Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. E. Jeffreys (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 192-205.

190 *Vita S Pauli iunioris*, in T. Wiegand, *Der Latmos* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1913), 127= Герцфельд 1996, 77, nt. 6.

though the initiative of the translation came from Romanus Lecapenus,¹⁹¹ the significance of the *Mandyllion* for the imperial propaganda of Constantine VII is clearly demonstrated not only by the *Narratio* itself and by the fact of inclusion of the Feast of the transfer of the icon into the ecclesiastical calendar, but also by the Sinai icon, where the emperor is depicted as a new Abgar, receiving the acheiropoietos image of the Lord (pic. 1).

Interrelation of the textual and iconographical traditions

Along with possible theological and symbolical interpretations of various evidences related to the way the image was kept in Edessa and Constantinople (especially with respect to the white and purple cloths that had to cover the image; here I will mention only the parallel between the iconographic representations of the *Mandyllion*, painted on a white cloth, and *Keramidion*, represented on a dark red background), one always has to bear in mind Averil Cameron's proposition according to which "the image never actually looked like a cloth at all" and "probably it was indistinguishable from any other precious Christ-icon."¹⁹² Indeed, the narrative of the DA that it was a painted icon, that of the *Narratio* that it was stretched on wood, as well as the afore-mentioned passage from the Ms. Tarragonensis 55 suggesting that, soon after the *Mandyllion* arrived from Edessa to Constantinople, a new legend announcing the divine will forbidding mortals to look at the *Edessan image* was created. My initial thought was that it plausibly happened due to the divergence of the actual image and its literary description. However, now I would not exclude the possibility that it could have been caused by other reasons as well: For the Byzantines the *Edessan image*, as a token of divine approval for image worship, had to look like traditional icons widely used and revered by Christians, that is to say, to be an image on a flat surface; perhaps this is the main reason why we see the early Byzantine representations of the frescoes of the *Mandyllion* as a flat, stretched quadrangle (as in Boyana church; pic. 35)¹⁹³ or as a rectangular cloth (as in Cappadocia, pic. 15, 16, 22).¹⁹⁴ Therefore, the earliest examples of the *Edessan image* used as elements of church decoration were formed in accord to an already established canon; it was not the actual object that influenced the tradition but rather the tradition extended its authority upon the object.

However, one has to admit that, even if the formation of the iconographical models of the *Mandyllion* took place in Byzantium after the tenth century,

191 Karaulashvili 2004b; Engberg, "Romanos Lekapenos."

192 Cameron 1983, 87–88.

193 N. Mavrodinov, *L'église de Boyana et ses peintures murales* (Sofia: Éditions bulgariques de la revue "L'art et l'architecture", 1943).

194 Jolivet-Lévy 2007.

it existed, though in a different form, in the Christian East before; Moreover, the literary tradition relating the miraculous emergence of the image in Edessa existed much earlier as well as an actual image in Edessa, independently of its essence, honoured as the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ, even if different from its legendary description. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why some Syrian authors call the church where the *Mandyllion* is kept the “House of the Image of the Lord,”¹⁹⁵ in which “the image of You, O my Lord and God, Jesus Christ, which was by Your hand sent to the king Abgar for strength of his faith and wisdom,” is kept.¹⁹⁶

In 2007, when I was writing my article, I was so much perplexed by the lack of homogeneity of the textual and visual material that, although I stated that the Greek text of the EA originated during the sixth-seventh century, I neglected all important arguments that I found earlier and discussed in one of my articles¹⁹⁷ and more thoroughly in my dissertation,¹⁹⁸ with respect to the plausible Syriac nucleus of the legend relating how the *acheiropoietos* image of Christ came into being. That is to say, although I didn’t renounce my hypothesis with respect to the dating and origins of the EA in my article for the *Interactions* volume, I just failed to clarify this issue properly.

For the moment, I believe that we have to be very careful while we are talking about the interrelation of the textual and iconographic material related to the Abgar legend and that we have to remember that the development of the textual and iconographical traditions, most probably, followed their own distinct paths both spatially and chronologically. Moreover, we have to pay special attention to the suggestion of Gerhard Wolf, stating that there is “a clear distinction between the attempt to visualize the origin of the image on the cloth and the representation of the *Mandyllion* as the cult object.”¹⁹⁹ Probably, this is one of the major aspects that I overlooked before, and all the arguments that I had ever presented while discussing the interrelation of textual and iconographical traditions related either to traditional, or to the full-length figure *acheiropoietos* images of Christ should be reviewed bearing this argument of Wolf in mind.

195 A Melkite colophon dated to 723. Thomson 1962, 253.

196 The eleventh century Georgian translation of the *Life of John, bishop of Urha* (dated to the ninth century). К. Кекелидзе 1914, 304. Note that the above-mentioned Melkite colophon says that “it is the image that He impressed with His face and sent to Abgar, the king of Edessa...” Thomson 1962, 253.

197 Karaulashvili 2002.

198 Karaulashvili 2004a.

199 G. Wolf, “From Mandyllion to Veronica: Picturing the ‘Disembodied’ Face and Disseminating the True Image of Christ in the Latin West,” in *The Holy Face* 1998, 153-79, at 160.

Clothing metaphor and the “acheiropoietos’ image on Cloth

If we consider that literary development of the “Mandylyon model” owes its emergence, most probably, to a combination of evidence taken from the DA (relating to the icon of Christ, painted by Ananias and brought to Abgar)²⁰⁰ and a tradition whose nucleus is reflected (independently of its authenticity) in the story about the miracle of St Stephen attributed to Euodius, bishop of Uzala (relating a “quasi-miraculous appearance of a *velum* [sic] depicting a miracle which had been operated the previous day by the relics of St Stephen preserved in the city”),²⁰¹ which later developed into the traditions related by the pilgrim Anthony of Piacenza (who stated that he had seen “*pallium lineum in quo est effigies Salvatoris*, and he was told that this had been produced by Christ himself who had pressed the piece of cloth against his face”²⁰²) in Memphis.²⁰³ That is to say, we have to suppose that the most practical mode for representing the portable sacred object (wood) for theological purposes was substituted by another mode (cloth),²⁰⁴ since “in the Old Testament “cloth,” “clothing and their various synonyms metaphorize attributes and qualities of divinity, humanity and the universe,”²⁰⁵ being, at the same time, “the most obvious link to Christ’s humanity.”²⁰⁶ To put it in Palmer’s words, “whoever developed the theological

200 Phillips 1876, 5.

201 Dobschuts, 115*-17*. E. Kitzinger, “The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm,” *DOP* 8 (1954): 82-150, at 92, n. 25 (hereafter – Kitzinger 1954).

202 *Ibid.*, 114.

203 Interestingly enough, the pilgrim relates that “he prayed in the Praetorium of Pilate, where there was a picture of Christ said to have been painted in His lifetime.” *Ibid.*, 96-97; See also: L. Brubaker, “Icons Before Iconoclasm?” in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo*. Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’ Alto Medioevo 45 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del centro, 1998), 1215-56, at 1230.

204 Most plausibly, representations on the cloth were also used in the early church, but, as indicated in the article by R. Shurinova, as a curtain in the church. Р. Д. Шуринова, “Коптская ткань 5-6 вв. с изображением святого,” *ВВ* 27 (1967): 243-47. In C. Metzger’s view, “L’emploi des étoffes y est abondant et varié que ce soit par le vêtement religieux, costume liturgique ou habit monastique par exemple, linceul ou vêtement de funérailles, ou pour décor et l’aménagement des églises comme les rideaux, tentures, portières ou encore nappes d’autel connus par les représentations figurées. La fragilité des textiles nous empêche malheureusement de prendre la mesure exacte de leur rôle dans la liturgie et le décor des édifices religieux de l’Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Age.” C. Metzger, “Tissus et culte des reliques,” *Antiquité tardive* 12 (2004): 183-86, at 186. In J. Trilling’s words, “There is nothing mysterious about the idea of an image on cloth. Stretched canvas has been the preferred support for painting in the West for centuries, and paintings on cloth survive from antiquity itself” Trilling, “The Image not Made by Hands and the Byzantine Way of Seeing, in *The Holy Face* 1998, 109-26, at 112.

205 Kuryluk 1991, 185.

206 *Ibid.*, 192. For importance of the clothing metaphor in Syriac Christianity, see: Sebastian P. Brock, “Clothing metaphors as a means of theological expression in Syriac tradi-

rationale of “the *image* not made with hands”, he drew heavily upon Ephraim’s [the Syrian’s – I.K.] teaching [related to the clothing metaphor – I.K.] and this can only have happened in a Syriac milieu.”²⁰⁷

*Egyptian funerary cloth – a possible model for the acheiropietos images
on the cloth.*

Evidently, the clothing metaphor lies behind the theology of the Edessene acheiropietos image; also the physical object revered as *Mandyliion* seems to be connected with the Egyptian funeral art. As already stated by Hans Belting and Herbert Kessler, “Egyptian funerary art... seems to lie at the origin of Christian icons.”²⁰⁸ In one of his articles H. Kessler speaks about an image on cloth, saying that a portrait, such as “a cloth insert from a Fayum mummy in Cleveland... may, indeed, have lain behind the earliest recorded reference to a miraculous image of Christ, the report written ca. 570 by the Piacenza pilgrim of an image made when Christ pressed his face on a cloth that was venerated at Memphis, which is in the vicinity of Fayum in Egypt.” To my mind, another note by Kessler, indicating that, “like most of the Fayum paintings, the Cleveland portrait is life-size and show the figure looking straight out, giving the impression of direct contact,”²⁰⁹ is perfectly in accordance with literary characteristics of the *Mandyliion*, which had to be life-size due to the fact that it was impregnated on the cloth after being touched to the original and, as the representations of the *Edessan image* reveal, indeed shows the face “looking straight out, giving the impression of direct contact.” That is to say, the main features of the Egyptian funerary representation had been transformed into the peculiar characteristics of the most revered Christian cult object.

*The Edessan acheiropietos image – a token testifying to the divine
approval for image worship*

As I have already indicated, the *Mandyliion* (and Veronica stories) were not the only literary accounts connected to the emergence of the *acheiropietoi* images. In my article for the *Interactions* volume I cited several passages connected to the stories related to the representations of the full-length figure of

tion,” in *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihre Parallelen im Mittelalter*, Margot Schmidt, ed., Eichstätter Beiträge, 4 (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1982), 11–38.

207 Palmer 2009, 126.

208 H. Kessler, “Christ’s Dazzling Dark Face,” in *Intorno* 2007, 231–46, at 232; H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Tr. E. Jephcott (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 80–98 (hereafter – Belting 1994).

209 Kessler, “Dazzling Face,” 232.

Christ.²¹⁰ It seems that the legends connected to such miraculous representations appeared almost simultaneously with those about the Holy Face of Jesus, as could be deduced from the text of Antony of Piacenza who also mentions “an image of Christ which was visible on the Column of the Flagellation in Sion Church.” In Kitzinger’s words, “actually, according to Antonius, this was not really a complete image, but merely an impression of Christ’s chest and hands miraculously left on the stone while he was tied to it. Already forty years earlier, however, the pilgrim Theodosius had claimed that not only Christ’s arms and hands, but also His face were impressed on the column.”²¹¹ One also has to recall the story about the *semi-acheiropietos* image of the Virgin, started by St Luke²¹² and finished by an angel,²¹³ in order to deduce that, most probably, these stories were created in order to justify the mode of representations of the cult objects as elements of the Byzantine church decoration – not only of the material carriers on which the image is depicted, that is to say, of the icon and the fresco, as confirmed by the Georgian *Life of the Thirteen Syrian Fathers*,²¹⁴

210 Karaulashvili 2007, 224-29; See also: *L'immagine di Cristo dall'acheropite all' mano d'artista. Dal tardo medioevo all'eta barocca*, C. L. Frommel, and G. Wolf, eds. Studi e testi 432 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 2006).

211 Kitzinger 1954, 104-5; Cameron 1983, 38.

212 It seems that one of the Armenian versions of the Abgar legend tries to unite the narrative of the EA with this tradition. Here Jesus asks his disciples [*sic!*] to paint his image, but since they did not succeed. That is to say, the tradition attributing painting of the image of the Saviour to one of the apostles is linked to the legend of Abgar. H. Марр, “Хитон господень в книжных легендах армян, грузин и сирийцев” [Khiton (Unsewn Garment) of the Lord in the written legends of the Armenians, Georgians and Syrians], in Сборник статей учеников проф. В. Р. Розена (Санкт-Петербург: Типография Имперской Академии Наук, 1897): 67-96, 89 (hereafter – Марр 1897). The text represents the expanded version of the apocryphon published by Outtier (Outtier 1999), and is titled *Pseudo-John Chrysostom's Account of the Seamless Tunic of Christ, Descended from Heaven and [the story] about Abgar, the Armenian King* (All Armenian versions of the Abgar legend, except the Armenian translation of the DA, name Abgar as the king of the Armenians and Syrians). The direct source of this version has not been identified. Supposedly, it was the account from the *Book of Bees* by the Nestorian Bishop Solomon, written in the thirteenth century. Марр 1897, 96.

Interestingly enough, the author of the apocryphon defines the place of the *Mandylin* in church decoration, stating: “Abgar constructed a church and with great honour placed the Divine image on the altar [*sic*] there.” Ibid., 90. It is difficult for me to say, whether this narrative represents a reworking of the passage from the abovementioned liturgical tractate stating that the image was placed on the altar when carried in a solemn procession during Lent (see at 205)

For symbolism see: Герстель 1996; Velmans 1995.

213 Belting 1994, 57-59; A. Eörsi, “The Incarnation of the Word and of the Form. Some thoughts about St Luke the Painter, and about Some Painters of St Luke,” *Acta Historiae Artium* (Budapest) 44 (2003): 47-80.

214 Alexidze 2001, 14.

but also of the mode of representing the images themselves, that is to say, of the face (reps. bust), and the full-length figure.

*The Edessan image – a pre-condition for the “twin conception”
of the emperor*

One also has to stress that it should not be surprising that the Abgar legend acquired a special importance and popularity among other stories related to the emergence of the *acheiropoietos* images – the fact that the image was impressed on a cloth by Christ himself for sending it to a king was an ideal token proving a “legal” sanctioning of the image veneration by the incarnate Logos. Moreover, one cannot exclude the supposition that the earliest text pertaining to the *Edessan image*, to my mind the EA, served as a tool for forming the idea that the icon sent by Christ Himself to the earthly ruler should be connected to the substitution of the veneration of the imperial images²¹⁵ by that of the icon of Christ by the emperors themselves.²¹⁶ Thus, a reworked version of the Abgar legend served as means not only for a physical proof that the “Word became flesh,” but also for “legitimising” the aforementioned replacement; that is to say, the Incarnate God himself sent his own representation to the ruler as the rightful substitute for the imperial image.²¹⁷ Therefore, it is even possible to suggest that the earliest version of the EA pre-conditioned the “twin conception” of the emperor that emerged during the sixth century, envisaging the emperor as *imago Christi* and Christ as *rex regum*.²¹⁸

Conclusion

1. The literary and iconographical tradition of the Abgar legend underwent their own distinct ways of development. Judging from the textual and pictorial evidences that came down to us, the iconography related to the Edessan image of Christ came into being later in comparison to its textual counterpart;

215 For the importance of the imperial cult in connection the later rejection of images, see L.W. Barnard, “The Emperor Cult and the Origins of the Iconoclastic Controversy,” *Byzantion* 43 (1973): 13-29.

216 In Kitzinger’s view, it happened in the mid-sixth century that “the Byzantine rulers and local authorities began to make public and official use in civic and military context of the protective and salutary properties of religious images which private devotion had ascribed to them for some time.” Kitzinger 1954, 125.

217 Interestingly enough Paris Ms 2688 tells us that Abgar placed the Mandylion in his treasury and “ordered a silk curtain decorated with gold and precious stones to be placed before it...” fol. 88. As Belting stresses, “the use of curtain... formed an indispensable part of emperor worship.” Belting 1994, 81-82. The analogy drawn by the medieval author is self-evident.

218 Av. Cameron, “Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium,” *Past and Present* 84 (1979): 3-35, at 16-17.

2. Thorough analysis of the pre-tenth century representations of the *Mandyllion*, as presented by the Deir es-Suriani and Telovani frescoes, allows to conclude that a Syriac iconographic tradition depicting the *Edessan image*, different from its Byzantine counterpart, existed. Moreover, their placement in the sanctuary, above the altar and the decorative details of the cloth on the Deir es-Suriani fresco allow to speak about the “liturgical” mode of depiction of the *Mandyllion*; that is to say, about the symbolical placement of the liturgical covering (i.e. the Cloth, or, in this case, as the tablecloth) above the altar with the bread of blessing (i.e. the image of Christ) on it;

3. The iconographical program of the Alaverdi Four Gospels seems to be the most enigmatic one within the entire miniature tradition related to the Abgar legend and poses more questions than provides answers. Not only does it contain the sole miniature that could be linked to the plot of the *Narratio*, but also offers abundance of plausible symbolical interpretations of the scenes; the earliest depictions of the *Edessan image* seem to portray either a simple *clipeata* image, or a medallion on linen reminiscent of the liturgical cloth used for the Eucharist;

4. Even if the miniature of the *Mandyllion* in the *Alaverdi Tetraevangelion* could be seen as a pictorial echo of the *Narratio* and not as a reflection of the Eastern Christian iconographic tradition, my earlier supposition that the Byzantine (or Byzantine-based) miniature cycles of the Abgar legend illustrate the plot of the EA still remains valid;

5. In the *Paris Ms Latinus 2688*, the Abgar legend illumination is based on a text found in the manuscript as well as on local pictorial traditions; to my mind, not only is its iconography independent and should not be connected to the Byzantine cycle, but also the text itself does not seem to depend directly on the Greek original; therefore, its comparison to Byzantine cycles in an attempt to see an overall textual influence on illustrations, as I did before, is unjustifiable;

6. The New-York-Chicago amulet roll, just like the Venice manuscript of the *Alexander Romance*, seems to be executed in a Trebizond scriptorium with the participation of Georgian artists;

7. According to the post tenth-century Byzantine sources, if in Edessa the honour of viewing the *Mandyllion* was conferred to the high clergy official, in Constantinople it became the prerogative of the Byzantine Emperor himself;

8. Most plausibly, for the Byzantines the *Edessan image*, as a token of divine approval for image worship, had to look like traditional icons widely used and revered by Christians before the translation of the image to Constantinople in 945 AD. That is to say, the earliest Byzantine examples of the depiction of the *Edessan image* used as elements of church decoration were formed in

accordance to already established canon, and it was not the actual object that influenced the tradition, but rather the tradition extended its authority upon the object;

9. Plausibly, the clothing metaphor lies behind the theology of the Edessan *acheiropoietos* image, while the main features of the Egyptian funerary representation on cloth had been transformed into the peculiar characteristics of the most revered Christian cult object;

10. The legends about the miraculous, or semi-miraculous emergence of *acheiropoietos* images came into being, most plausibly, in order to justify the mode of representations of the cult objects, as elements of the Byzantine church decoration – not only of the means on which the image is depicted, that is to say, cloth and wood, but also the types of representations used in the church decoration, i.e., the icon and the fresco, and the mode of representing the images themselves, i.e., the face (reps. bust) and the full-length figure;

11. Inclusion of the motif of the *Edessan image* within the plot of the Abgar legend probably aimed at confirming that God himself sanctioned the substitution of the veneration of the imperial images by that of the icon of Christ.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS / შებოქლებათა სია

<i>CahArch</i>	<i>Cahiers archéologiques,</i>
CHJ	<i>The Cambridge Historical Journal</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
JöB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
REGC	<i>Revue des Etudes Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes</i>
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
BB	<i>Византийский Временник</i>
<i>The Holy Face</i> 1998	<i>The Holy Face and Paradox of Representation: papers from a colloquium held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996, H. L. Kessler and G. Wolf, eds., Villa Spelman colloquia, vol. 6. Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998.</i>
<i>Il volto di Cristo</i> 2000	<i>Il volto di Cristo. G. Wolf and G. Morello, eds., Milano: Electa, 2000.</i>
<i>Mandylion</i> 2004	<i>Mandylion: intorno al Sacro Volto, da Bisanzio a Genova. Genova Palazzo Ducale. Catalog of an exhibition held at the Museo diocesano, Genoa, Apr. 18-July 18, 2004. G. Wolf, C. Dufour Bozzo, A. R. Calderoni Masetti, eds., Milano: Skira, 2004.</i>
<i>Intorno</i> 2007	<i>Intorno al Sacro Volto: Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (XI-XIV secolo). A. R. Calderoni Masetti, C. Dufour-Bozzo and G. Wolf, eds. Collana del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut 11 Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2007.</i>
<i>Interactions</i> 2007	<i>Interactions: Artistic Interchange between the Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period. A Colloquium organized by the Index of Christian Art, Department of Art and Archeology, Princeton University, April 8-9, 2004. C. Hourihane, ed. Princeton & Pennsylvania: University Press, 2007.</i>

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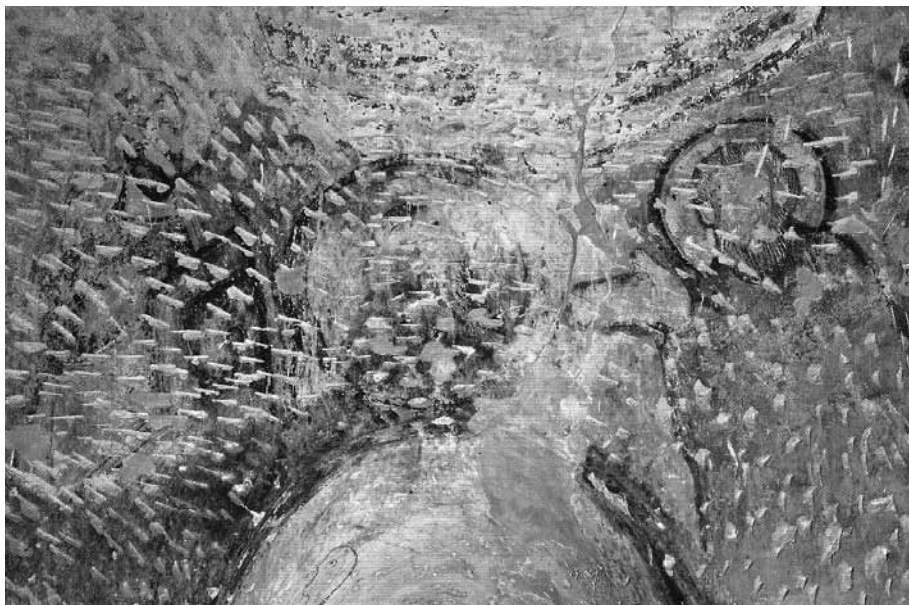
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სურ. / Pic. 1

სურ. / Pic. 2





სურ. / Pic. 3



სურ. / Pic. 4



სურ. / Pic. 5



სურ. / Pic. 6

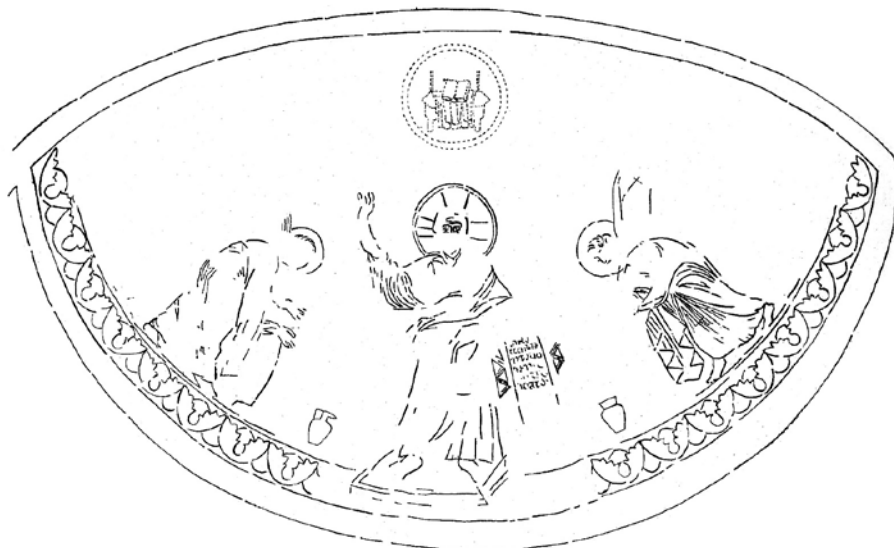


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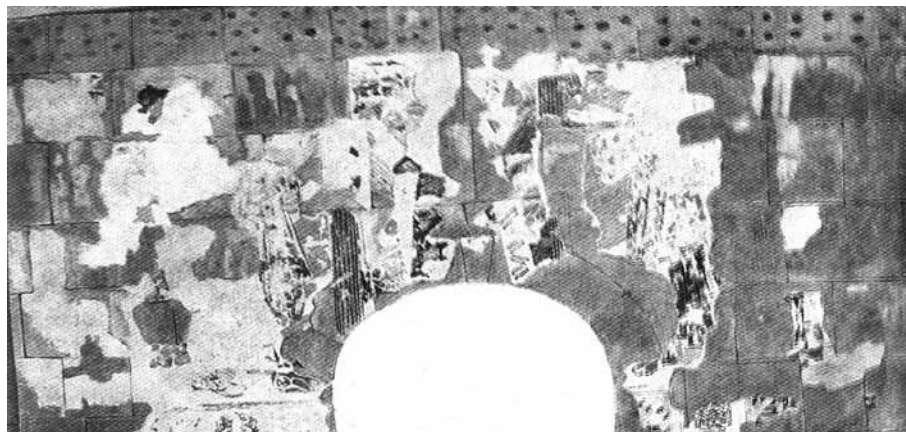
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ТАБЛИЦА 5

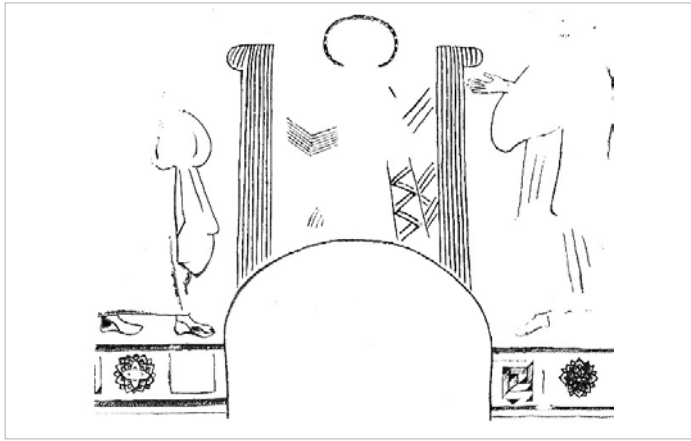


Цркви. Схема мозаичной росписи конхи алтарной абсиды, VII в.

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სურ. / Pic. 10

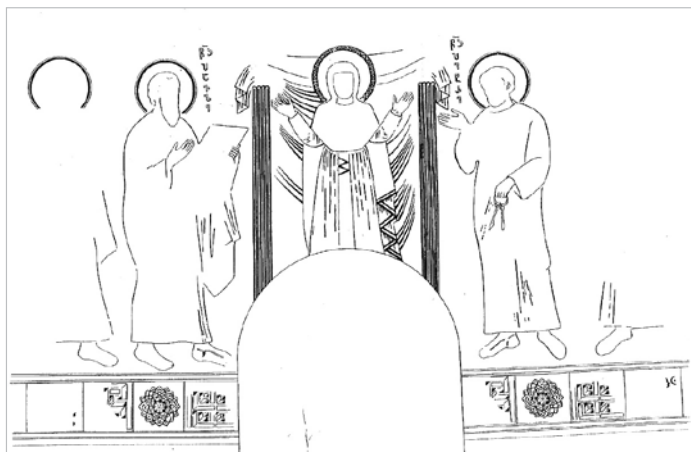


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Sch. 3 — Partie centrale du registre.

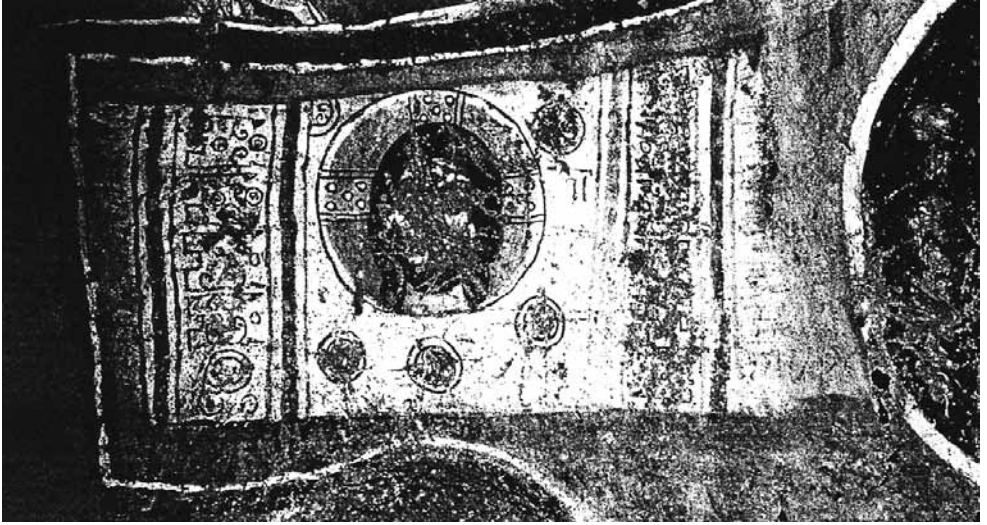
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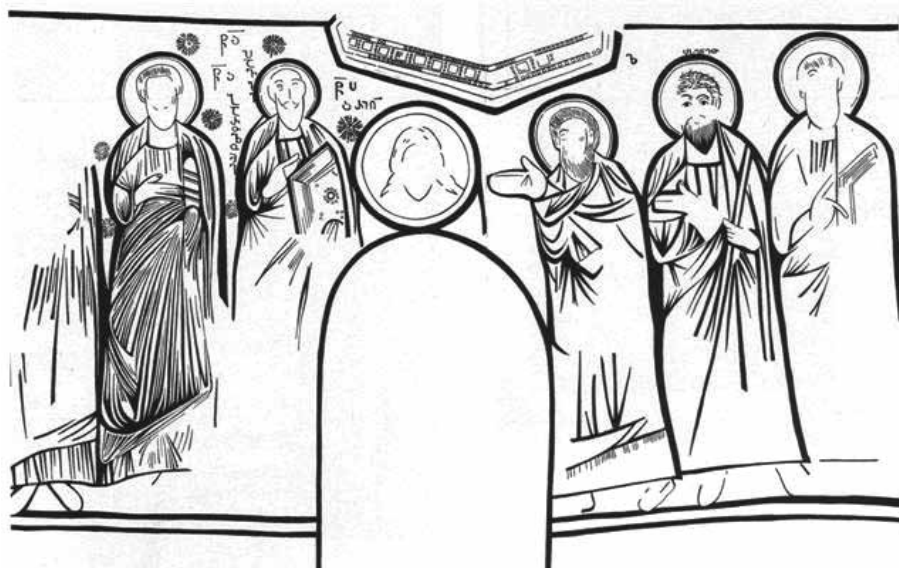
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სურ. / Pic. 16



სურ. / Pic. 17



სურ. / Pic. 18



სურ. / Pic. 19



სურ. / Pic. 20



სურ. / Pic. 21



სურ. / Pic. 22

85
dicēs s̄cō sp̄i inspiratiis.



Quoniam de uultu tuo
iudiciū prodeat et
oculi mei uideant iustitiam.
In lumine uultū

სურ. / Pic. 23

gloria in excelsis deo
in terra pax hominibus
bonae voluntatis. Et cum
angelus ait illis. Nunc
prophetae sui coronationem
predictam.



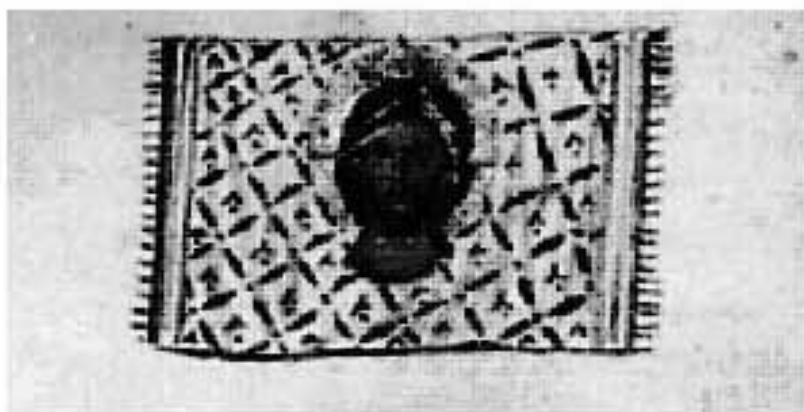
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სურ. / Pic. 25



სურ. / Pic. 26



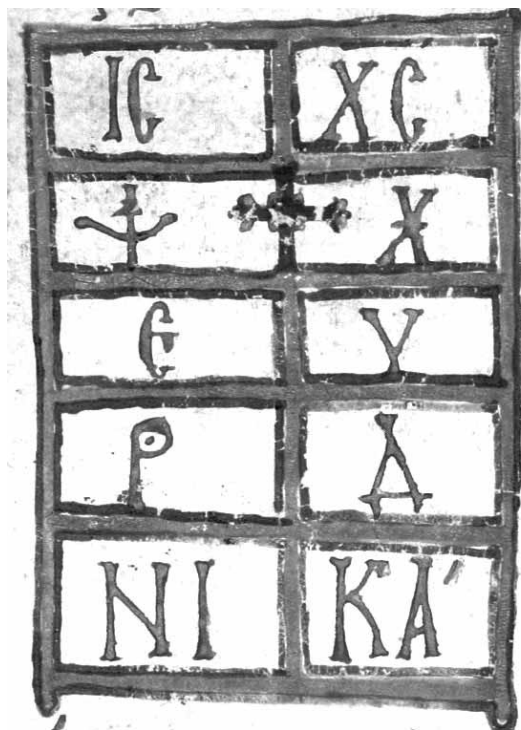
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სურ. / Pic. 28



სურ. / Pic. 29



სურ. / Pic. 30



სურ. / Pic. 31



სურ. / Pic. 32



სურ. / Pic. 33



სურ. / Pic. 34



სურ. / Pic. 35