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Overview of the Georgian Research into Byzantine and Medieval Georgian Patristic Theology

Preliminary note: This report does not aim to display a complete picture of the topic ranging from the Early to the High Middle Ages. Rather, it intends to present some general information on the research carried out by Georgian scholars from the turn of the 20th century onward, providing at the same time only the general spectrum of the research in reference to the major achievements of the Patristic thought, as reflected in Georgian literary tradition. The reader will neither find the prolific activity of foreign Kartvelologists, for it deserves a special scholarly attention and could not be included in this brief bibliographical survey, the main goal of which is to focus on the efforts applied by Georgian scholars of communistic and post communistic times in reviving the nation-building historical identity, which is deeply rooted in the Byzantine cultural past.

Codicology (catalogues, descriptive catalogues, guides) and Paleography

As far as the literary legacy of the Middle Ages *per se* implies the national manuscript tradition, it is reasonable to begin on a more general scale with an introductory section on manuscripts, proceeding to the publications specifically in and circa the subject matter.

Thousands of manuscripts are preserved in the main manuscript depository of Georgia, the National Center of Manuscripts (NCM) in Tbilisi (collections: A, H, S, Q). They are included and described in multi-volume descriptive catalogues, some of which have been recently revised in order to be edited anew. Besides, many other descriptive catalogues of manuscripts are available in various Georgian regions (Kutaisi, Gori, Akhaltsikhe, Svaneti, etc.), and a number of catalogues and descriptive

catalogues of Georgian manuscripts can be found in depositories abroad. The following are most significant:

- (1) Athonite manuscripts: R. Blake, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque de la Laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos*, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 3, no. 8-9 (1931-34) (around 100 MSS); *Description of Georgian Manuscripts*, Athonite Collection 1, L. Akhobadze, R. Gvaramia, N. Gogvadze, M. Dvali, M. Dolakidze, M. Kvachadze, G. Kiknadze, G. Ninua, Ts. Kurtsikidze, L. Shatirishvili, M. Shanidze, N. Chkhikvadze, editor-in-chief E. Metreveli, Tbilisi 1986 (work proceeds on preparing subsequent volumes).
- (2) Jerusalem manuscripts: R. Blake, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la Bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jerusalem*, *Oriens Christianus*, 3-4, 1922-1923 (161 manuscripts).
- (3) Sinai manuscripts (the so-called Old Collection): *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du mont Sinai*, comp. G. Garitte, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium [CSCO]* 165, Subsidia 9, Louvain: Peeters Publishers 1965; *Description of Georgian Manuscripts*, Sinai Collection 1, ed. E. Metreveli, Ts. Chankieva, L. Jghamaia, Tbilisi 1978; *Description of Georgian Manuscripts*, Sinai Collection, 2, ed. Ts. Chankieva, L. Jghamaia, editor-in-chief E. Metreveli, Tbilisi 1979; *Description of Georgian Manuscripts*, Sinai Collection 3, ed. Ts. Chankieva, L. Jghamaia, editor-in-chief E. Metreveli, Tbilisi 1987.

Recently *New Finds at Sinai. Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts* was published, prepared by Z. Alexidze, M. Shanidze, L. Khevsuriani, M. Kavtaria, translated into English by M. Shanidze and into Greek by T. Meskhi, Athens 2005 (Georgian, English and Greek). The catalogue is a joint edition of St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai, the Patriarchate of Georgia and the NCM. It presents detailed descriptions of 140 Georgian manuscripts discovered among the new multilingual manuscripts at St. Catherine's monastery on Mt. Sinai in 1975. Manuscripts catalogued here vary thematically. The earliest among them is a part of the famous Sinai Homiliary written in AD 864. The manuscripts follow an old pre-Byzantine tradition and are valuable sources for the early history of the Christian church in the Near East. Two manuscripts contain a new version of the Georgian historical chronicle, the *Conversion of Kartli*. Most of the manuscript was copied in the 10th and 11th centuries. The most important is a palimpsest containing a background text in Caucasian Albanian.¹

¹ See Z. Alexidze, J. P. Gippert, W. Schulze, J. P. Mahé, *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mt. Sinai*, in: *Monumenta Paleographica Medii Aevi*, Brepols/Turnhout 2008.

L. Khoperia and T. Tseradze prepared: *The Descriptive Catalogue of the Georgian Manuscripts Kept in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts* for publication in Georgia and Russia (both forthcoming).

Parallel to the common descriptions of Georgian manuscripts there are others that contain descriptions of Georgian translations of different Byzantine authors, such as Tamar Bregadze's book, which is a worthwhile guide to the Georgian codicological tradition of Gregory of Nazianzus: *Description of Georgian Manuscripts including Gregory of Nazianzus' Works*, description, introduction and index by T. Bregadze, Tbilisi 1988. The book covers the complete version of works by St. Gregory of Nazianzus.

In 2009 Ekvtime Kochlamazashvili and Tina Dolidze compiled *A Description of Georgian Manuscripts including St. Gregory of Nyssa's Works*, a description of manuscripts with an introduction, indices and a summary in English. The work, published in the series of *Patristic Studies in Georgia* I, Tbilisi 2009, covers the complete Georgian manuscript tradition dating from the 8th to the 11th centuries.

The collection of Greek manuscripts preserved in the NCM is small, but quite diverse. Out of 34 items, 24 codices range in date from the 9th to the 19th century and of 10 fragments the earliest is dated to the 5th century. The manuscripts and the fragments in the Tbilisi collection are mainly texts of ecclesiastic literature: the gospels, lectionaries, homiletic works, hymnographic collections, etc. The earliest manuscript is the so-called Koridethy Gospel (9th c.), studied by Grigol Tsereteli. It contains the oldest version (a so-called Caesarean type) of the Gospel of Mark. The earliest fragments are two folios of a palimpsest text (fragments from the Epistles of Paul from the 5th century included in the so-called *Papyri-Parchment Tropologion* from the 9th and 10th centuries).

The decipherment of Georgian palimpsests began as early as the 1920s with the work of Iv. Javakhishvili and A. Shanidze. The lower layer of the majority of the palimpsest folios contains texts of Holy Scripture and is dated to the 5th to 7th centuries. In 1984 L. Kajaia published a large part of this material under the title *Khanmeti Texts* (Fragments from the Four Gospels) I, Tbilisi 1984.

In 1930 a short German guide to Georgian manuscripts was composed by Grigol Peradze: *Die altchristliche Literatur in der georgischen Überlieferung*, *Oriens Christianus* 2, no. 5. In 1957 Korneli Kekelidze's *Foreign Authors in Georgian Literature* and *Georgian Translated Hagiography* appeared in his *Etudes in Old Georgian Literature*, 5, Tbilisi 1957, 8-211.²

² I acknowledge my sincere gratitude to Tamar Otkhmezuri, who read and commented on this section.

Bibliographical Works

An interested reader can find the most comprehensive overview of the vast material (manuscripts, research) to the Old Georgian ecclesiastic literature in Enriko Gabidzashvili's bibliography in six volumes with a common title *Translated Works of Old Georgian Literature. Bibliography*, Tbilisi 2004-2012. The manuscript and research data are classified thematically and cover all genres of church literature. Homiletic, Canonic, Dogmatic and Polemic works, in particular, are included in the 3rd and 6th volumes of *The Translated Works of Old Georgian Literature, 3: Homiletic works*, Tbilisi 2009, 6: *Canonic, Dogmatic-Polemic Works*, Tbilisi 2012. Georgian readers should also consult Nino Melikishvili's *Georgian Translations of Homiletic Works by Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom* (Tbilisi 2000) and Manana Maisuradze's *Catalogue of Foreign Homiletic Literature Translated into Georgian* (Tbilisi 2006). Along with this, the first part of the first volume of the collection, *Byzantine Studies in Georgia*, ed. by Neli Makharadze and Tina Dolidze (Tbilisi 2007) summarizes and presents Georgian research in Byzantine studies carried out over many decades.

A more specific bibliography in English is available in Tina Dolidze's *A Reflection of the Alexandrian Tradition in Old Georgian Literature and Modern Georgian Research*, in: *Adamantius. Notiziario del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la tradizione alessandrina*, 7, 2001, 154-172 and *Foundation of Kartvelian-Byzantine Studies in Georgia*, in: *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, vol. 18, Budapest 2012, 126-136.

Patristic Theology: Texts and Research

Many collections and writings of ecclesiastic authors have been brought to light as scholarly or critical editions through individual efforts or group projects. Of this prolific work I can highlight here just some of them.

1. Collections

Translation of the Greek patristic works starts in the first period of the Old Georgian literature (from the 5th to the 1st half of the 10th cc.). In due time the earliest translations done from Greek, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic were included in the collections compiled at the turn of the 10th century. A fairly large part of this heritage has already been published. A number of significant old collections compiled in the first period of Old Georgian literature came out already in the previous century.

A relatively bigger fragment of one of the oldest antimonophysite collections preserved in the 10th century manuscript (Q 209) includes excerpts on two natures of Christ by pre-Chalcedonic Greek and Latin fathers (Pope Celestine I, Ambrosius, Augustine). K. Kekelidze considers

this collection to be vernacular, compiled no later than the 7th century (K. Kekelidze, *History of Old Georgian Literature*, I, Tbilisi 1960, 488-489).

Sinai Polycephalon of 864 Year (text, introduction and research by A. Shanidze, Tbilisi 1959) is one of the earliest homiletic collections and at the same time the first dated Georgian manuscript altogether. Among the early collections particularly noteworthy are *Shatberdi* exegetical Collection (*Shatberdi Collection of the 10th Century*, ed. by B. Gigineishvili and El. Giunashvili, Tbilisi 1979), *Klardjeti Polycephalon* (text and comments, with an English summery ed. by T. Mgaloblishvili, Tbilisi 1991), preserved in a 10th century manuscript, but as the editor maintains, the archetype should be dated back to the 5th-6th cc., 10th century *Udabno Polycephalon* (*Udabno Polycephalon*, ed. by A. Shanidze and Z. Tshumburidze, Tbilisi 1994), and *Athos, Tbeti* (both 10th c.) and *Parchali* (11th c.) Polycephala which are waiting as yet to be brought to light.

An apophthegmic collection of the 11th-12th centuries *Teachings and Wisdom of Philosophers* (edition, comments and vocabulary by I. Lolashvili, Tbilisi 1969) contains the *sententiae* of the Biblical authors, ancient philosophers, and Church fathers.

Euthymios the Athonite³ was the first to translate select commentaries on Paul's *Epistles* from a Catena collection based on John Chrysostom's and other Patristic fathers' interpretations, primarily, compiling *The Explanation of Difficult Dictions of Apostle Paul selected from John Chrysostom*, followed by thorough paragraph explanation of Rom. and 1 Cor. (ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, 2003). It was Ephrem Mtsire,⁴ who did the complete translation of this Catena collection (ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, I-III, 2000, 2006, 2011). Numerous exegetical commentaries can be found in Ephraem Mtsire's predominantly independent recension of the *Psalter Catena* (the edition being in preparation by Mzekala Shanidze). The extensive text mainly relies on the commentaries of Athanasios of Alexandria and Cyril of Alexandria. Ephrem's translation of *Psalter*

³ St. Euthymios the Athonite (955-1028), one of the most authoritative figures of the Georgian Orthodox Church, the founder of the Georgian literary school on Mount Athos, a celebrated translator, whose work marked a new stage in rendering Greek ecclesiastical literature into Georgian, a theologian and a Canon law maker.

⁴ Ephrem Mtsire (d. 1103), presumably, was educated in Antioch (K. Bezarashvili, *Theory and Practice of Rhetoric and Translation*, Tbilisi 2004, 100-105). In 1091 he became head of the Castana Monastery on the Black Mountain (Antioch), which at that time was an important centre of Byzantine-Georgian religious and cultural interaction. He was not only a prolific theologian and translator but also a premier philologist who introduced the new theoretical principles of translation into Georgian literature, known as a hellenophile translation method.

Catena, in turn, provided a basis for a 12th century anonymous author, a follower of his literary school to compile *Select Commentaries on Psalms* with an impressive content of authors (ed. by Doborjginidze, I-III, 1996, 2007). The 12th century vast *Gelati Catena Bible* comprises marginal commentaries done by various translators. This collection was apparently compiled to cover the exegesis of all Biblical books. Nowadays it includes, however, only the complete commentaries on the Octateuch, from Leviticus to Ruth, and the main texts of the Major and Minor prophets. 1095 excerpts of 28 authors are already identified. Text has been published: *Gelati Catena Bible*, ed. and comm. by B. Gigineishvili and G. Todua, ed. by E. Chelidze, Tbilisi 2011).

The biggest Georgian collection *Dogmaticon* compiled by Arsen of Iqalto⁵ deserves special mentioning. It comprises 72 translated dogmatic writings. 6 more or less complete manuscripts and a few fragments of *Dogmaticon* have been preserved (N. Chikvatia, Manuscript collections of *Dogmaticon*, in: *Mravaltavi*, XX, Tbilisi 2003, 81-85). We have no evidence to testify the existence of a Greek collection of similar composition. Relatively akin to it is Athos Vat. 236. Although it somewhat follows the composition of Arsen's *Dogmaticon*, it cannot be regarded as its exact analogy as the manuscript comprises only 15 writings (see Outtier B., *Le Dogmatikon d' Arsene d' Iqalto et ses modeles Grecs*, in: *Le Muséon*, 114, fasc. 1-2, Louvain-la-Neuve 2002, 217-226; M. Rapava, *Ancient Georgian Dogmatical and Polemical Writings*, in: N. Makharadze, T. Dolidze (eds.), *Byzantine Studies in Georgia*, Tbilisi 2007, 403-415, esp. 410-413).

This comprehensive collection includes *Hodegos* of Anastasios of Sinai, *Pege gnoseos* of John of Damascus, Cyril of Alexandria's, John of Damascus' and Theodore Abu-Qurra's polemic writings, works by Niketas Stethatos, Pope Leo the Great's *Epistle to Flavian*, Michael Psellos' treatise *On the Firstborn*, etc. The composition and recensions of that impressive dogmatic anthology has been analyzed by Ivane Lolashvili in his monography *Arsen of Iqalto*, Tbilisi 1978, 104-141. Only few of the writings included in *Dogmaticon* have been edited as John of Damascus' *Dialectics*, *Expositio Fidei* (see John of Damascus below), Theodore Abu-Qurra's dialogs with Muslims and two dogmatic-polemic treatises (*Theodore Abu-Qurra, Treatises and Dialogues, translated from Greek by Arsen of Iqalto*, text, research, index and vocabulary by Leila Datiashvili, Tbilisi

⁵ Arsen of Iqalto (d. 1125) completed his studies at the monastery of St. George, at Mangana in Constantinople and became a polymath; he was a theologian, philosopher, canon lawmaker, translator, philologist, scientist, and poet.

1980), Cyril of Alexandria's three anti-Nestorian treatises (see below Cyril of Alexandria), Pope Leo *the Great's Epistle to Flavian*, which is kept only in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Georgian (T. Tsopurashvili, *Pope Leo the Great's 'Epistle to Flavian' of Constantinople*, in: N. Makharadze, M. Giorgadze (eds.), *Byzantine Studies in Georgia – 2*, dedicated to Academician Grigol Tsereteli, Tbilisi 2009, 871-887); Niketas Stethatos' five polemic speeches and epistles, orations *On soul* and *On paradise* (*Dogmaticon II: Niketas Stethatos texts, research, dictionary and indices* by M. Rapava, M. Kasradze, N. Chikvatia, Tbilisi 2013).

Among other works *Dogmaticon* contains a *Selection of Testimonies*, which is a short version of the *Doctrina Patrum*, in Georgian manuscript tradition attributed to John of Damascus.⁶ The names of the most frequently recurring authors here are: Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Athanasios of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilochios of Ikonion, Ambrose of Milan, John Chrysostom, Leo the Great, and Gelasios of Caesarea. Less often: pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, Severianos of Gabala, Cyril of Jerusalem, Eustathios of Antioch, Anastasios of Antioch, Justin ('the Philosopher'), Ephrem the Syrian, Theodotos of Antioch, Theodoros of Ankyra, John of Scythopolis, Egnatius ('the Inspired'), Pamphylios, Proclos of Constantinople, Methodios (the 'Bishop'), Isidore (the 'Presbyter'), Leontios of Byzantium, Mark the Diakon, and Eubulos of Lystra. Among the cited works of heretics we find passages from Apollinaris, his student Polemon, Manentos, Mani, Eudoxios of Constantinople and Lucios of Alexandria (adherents of Arios), as well as Eutyches, and Severos of Antioch.

Out of the capacious material only the excerpts from the works of Gregory of Nazianzus' and Gregory of Nyssa have undergone critical investigation: D. Shengelia's doctoral thesis *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus as a Source for the Selection of Testimonies*, Tbilisi 2006; T. Dolidze, E. Kochlamazashvili, *Excerpts of St. Gregory of Nyssa's Works in the Old Georgian Translation of Doctrina Patrum* (in preparation).

At present, a team of philologists at the National Center of Manuscripts (M. Rapava, N. Chikvatia, D. Shengelia) thoroughly explores Old Georgian translations from the *Dogmaticon*. The next publications are

⁶ The heading reads: Saint John, so-called Mansur, *Words of Holy Fathers*, that is selection of testimonies, through which we learn explicitly the faith of the Universal Church, I mean teaching about Divinity, and the words on Divine dispensation, and many other truthful laws of the Church, which are without error.

Hodegos by Anastasios of Sinai, prepared by N. Chikvatia and *Selection of Testimonies* by D. Shengelia.

Some years ago Nino Melikishvili compiled a collection of Old Georgian translations of Christmas homilies in the series: *Georgian Translated Homiletic Works. I: Teachings of Church Fathers Concerning the Incarnation of God*, texts prepared for publication, foreword and glossary submitted by N. Melikishvili, Tbilisi 2010.⁷

2. Selected Authors

(a) Georgian Theology

The oldest collections (A 19, A 95) contain an oration *On Baptism*. This short pseudo-epigraphical treatise is ascribed to St. Nino of Cappadocia and is addressed against Arianism as well as other trinitarian heresies. In Kekelidze's opinion, it should have been compiled according to or translated from an unknown original before the 7th century in the period of Georgian-Armenian literary contacts (see K. Kekelidze, *History of Old Georgian Literature*, I, Tbilisi 1960, 482). The same collections include an oration *On Natality* also attributed to St. Nino and addressed against monophysites (ibid. 487-8). Like the oration *On Baptism*, it rather seems to be a compilation from some unknown work.

The above noted 10th century Athos Polycephalon is a homiletic collection containing translations from Greek done at various times. Among others, it includes homilies written by Ioane Bolneli, who in the opinion of the editors of these artistic orations should be identified with the Georgian preacher active in the 7th century (*The Athos Polycephalon. The Preachings of Ioane Bolneli*, research and text edition by M. Maisuradze, M. Mamulashvili, A. Gambashidze, M. Chkhenkeli, Tbilisi 1999).

When thinking about recent significant editions of original Georgian ecclesiastic literature, Nana Chikvatia's publication of St. Euthymios the Athonite's dogmatic treatise *Guide* is to be mentioned. It is the first handbook for Orthodox theology in Georgian ecclesiastical literature. The purpose of this compilation was the systematic exposition of Christian dogmas as well as critics of different heretical stances. Euthymios compiled it on the basis of the dogmatic works of John of Damascus, Anastasios of Sinai, Michael Synkelos and other byzantine authors. Late Tornike Chqonia,⁸ who primarily started a systematical research in the

⁷ I acknowledge my sincere gratitude to Ekvtime Kochlamazashvili, who commented on this section during its preparation.

⁸ Many unfinished or unpublished works by Tornike Chqonia (1909-1989) later appeared in the publications of the next generations of scholars, whose activity is connected with the National Centre of Manuscripts.

field of Patristic dogmatics, has partly studied the attribution, sources, translation principles and theological terminology of that work. Chqonia's research, together with other previous investigations, has been critically revised by N. Chikvatia and enriched with her own insights on the subject. Her research (p. 5-139) and publication of the text is supplied with an extensive documented Georgian-Greek vocabulary (*St. Euthymios the Athonite, Guide*, ed. by T. Chqonia and N. Chikvatia, research, vocabulary and index prepared by N. Chikvatia, Tbilisi 2007). Another dogmatic compilation Euthymios accomplished from John of Damascus' antimonophysite and antimonothelite treatises, incorporated under a common title *On Two Natures and One Hypostasis*. The same working method he applied to Maximus's (*Some Passages of the Gospel Selected from St. Maximus's Writings*) and John Chrisostom's exegetical writings (*The Explanation of Difficult Dictions of Apostle Paul selected from John of Chrysostom*) (see above *Collections*).

The Georgian scholar of the 11th century Ephrem Mtsire is a follower of the contemporary byzantine scholarly tradition, as he furnishes various types of long and short explanations (introductions, forewords, epilogues, commentaries written on the margins of manuscripts) with his interpretations of the *Bible* and Greek Patristic literature. Nevertheless, these texts show his authentic approach to the history of Byzantine and Old Georgian literature and language, principles and methods of translation, and other philological issues. Ephrem's scholarly discourse is thoroughly analyzed in monographs by Darejan Tvaltvdze (*Ephrem Mtsire's Colophons*, Tbilisi 2009), Ketevan Bezarashvili (*The Problems of Byzantine and Old Georgian Rhetorical Theory and Versification according to the Colophons of Antioch: Ephrem Mtsire, I-III*, Tbilisi 2011), Tamar Otkhmezuri (*The Commentarial Genre in the Medieval Georgian Translation Tradition: Ephrem Mtsire and Commentaries on the Sermons of Gregory the Theologian*, Tbilisi 2011) and, on a wider socio-linguistic scale, in the work of Nino Doborjginidze (*Die georgische Sprache im Mittelalter (= Sprachen und Kulturen des christlichen Orients, Bd. 17)*, hrsg. v. Johannes den Heijer, Stephen Emmel, Martin Krause, Andrea Schmidt, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag 2009 and *Linguistic and Hermeneutic Metatexts: Practical Grammar and Hermeneutics in Georgian Sources of the 10th-13th Centuries*, Tbilisi 2012).

Within this article, it is not possible to touch upon a rich endogenous hymnography that flourished in medieval Georgia and to illustrate the theological considerations of Orthodoxy presented in a poetic form.⁹ I

⁹ See e. g. M. Tarnischvili, *Die geistliche Dichtung Georgiens und ihr Verhältnis zur Byzantinischen*, in: *Oriens Christianus*, 41, 1957, 76-94; B. Outtier, H. Métrévélí,

have to restrict myself to just one masterpiece of that poetry, King David the Builder's (1073-1125) *The Canon of Repentance*. Along with the sincere, penetrating lamentations expressed in highly refined language, the author of the poem shows profound knowledge of theology. He touches upon Trinitarian, Christological and Mariological doctrines, focuses on the human nature as responsible for all his actions within Divine economy, and man's free will as the main cause of his sin. Besides, St. David upholds the patristic view that faith has an advantage over philosophical thinking. These, as well as other concepts, reveal the author of the *Canon* to be a devoted adherent of the ecclesiastical orthodoxy.¹⁰

Before this edition, a didactical poem *Ladder of Virtues* was published. Relying mainly on the manuscript tradition, the editor of the text Ivane Lolashvili, attributes the poem to King David's contemporary, Ioane Petritsi¹¹ (*Ioane Petritsi. Ladder of Virtues*, text edition, research and vocabulary by Iv. Lolashvili, Tbilisi 1968). The iambic poem in 30 chapters with acrostics goes back to St. Euthymios the Athonite's prosaic translation of *The Heavenly Ladder* by John of Sinai. Whether the attribution correct or wrong, the fact is that the author of the poem compiles an original work on the basis of Euthymios translation, rather differing from the latter.

The reader was first acquainted with Petritsi's authentic philosophical work through the publication of his translation of Proclus' *Elementatio Theologica*¹² and his *Commentary* to it: *Explanations of Proclus Diadochus and on Platonic Philosophy*, edition and introduction by Shalva Nutsubidze and Simon Kaukchishvili, 2, Tbilisi 1937; *Ioane Petritsi. The Elementatio of Proclus*

Contribution à l'histoire de l'Hirmologion: Anciens Hirmologia géorgiens: Le Muséon, t. 88, fasc. 3-4, 1975, 331-359. *The Oldest Iadgari*, ed. by El. Metreveli, C. Chankiev, L. Chevsuriani, Tbilisi 1980 (summary in Russian and French; N. Sulava, *The Georgian Hymnography of the 12th-13th Centuries*, Tbilisi 2003).

¹⁰ See L. Grigalashvili, *From the History of Georgian Hymnography* (David the Builder, *The Canon of Repentance*), Diss., Tbilisi 1972; David the Builder, *The Canon of Repentance*, text in Georgian, Russian and German ed. by Guram Tevzadze, Tbilisi 1989; Z. Chavchavadze, *History of Literature, Literary Criticism, Social and Political Essays, Translation*, Tbilisi 1993; Verse, *Just One Verse*, ed. by E. Khintbidze, Tbilisi 1995; Davide IV *Cantico Penitenziale*, N. Ladaria, *Saggio di Analisi storico-liturgica*, Edizioni PIO, Roma 1996; Ladaria N., *Piegando le ginocchia del cuore (Davide IV)*, in collana Testi dei padri della Chiesa, Bose 1998.

¹¹ Ioane Petritsi is the central figure of the medieval Georgian philosophy. According to the traditional dating of his lifetime, he lived at the junction of the 11th-12th cc. (ca. 1050-1125) studied in Constantinople, and belonged to the intellectual circle of Michael Psellos and John Italos.

¹² Petritsi's translation is believed to be the earliest rendering of Proclus's work, for the preceding Arabic one, *Liber de causis*, is a short version of Proclus' treatise.

Diadochus the Platonic Philosopher, Old Georgian translation by Ioane Petritsi with research and vocabulary by S. Kaukhchishvili, 1, Tbilisi 1940. Petritsi's *Commentary* does not merely provide an interpretation on Proclus' text, but is rather an ingenious philosophical treatise. It encompasses *Introduction*, the *lemmata* with applied interpretation and *Epilogue*. Of particular scholarly importance was Edisher Chelidze's discovery (*Life and Activity of Ioane Petritsi*, in: *Religia*, 1-2-3, 1995, 76-89) that the *Epilogue* of the *Commentary* on Proclus' *Elementatio* in fact must be the preface to Petritsi's translation of *Psalter* which too was supplied with metaphysical commentaries. The main text did not survive, however we have a complete edited text of the *Introduction* presented as *Epilogue* in the Kaukhchishvili-Nutsubidze publication. The first translation of Petritsi's *Commentary* was accomplished in Russian (*Ioane Petritsi. A Discussion of Platonic Philosophy and Proclus Diadochos*, translated from Old Georgian by I. D. Pantskhava, intr. comments by G. Tevzadze, Moscow 1984). There exists a modern Georgian translation of Petritsi's *Commentary* by Damana Melikishvili (*Ioane Petritsi. Commentary on Proclus Diadochos' Elementatio Theologica*, in: *Modern Georgian Translation, with investigation, commentaries and lexicon* by D. Melikishvili, Tbilisi 1999) and a German translation by Lela Alexidze and Lutz Bergeman (*Ioane Petritsi. Kommentar zur Elementatio Theologica des Proklos. Übersetzung aus dem Altgeorgischen, Anmerkungen Indices und Einleitung*, hrsg. von L. Alexidze und L. Bergemann. *Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie*, 47, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2009);¹³ the publication of the English translation by Levan Gigineishvili und Istvan Perzel is underway.

Shota Rustaveli (12th-13th c.), the author of the poem *The Knight in the Panther's Skin*, shows a profound knowledge of the *Bible* and its patristic reflections. However, it is primarily, the development of the central idea of this poem, Love, that adheres him to the foremost Christian thinkers of his epoch. The starting point of the Rustvelological studies goes back to 1712, when the commission of king Vakhtang VI accomplished the first critical edition of *The Man in the Panther's Skin*. Since then scholars and wide audience have been supplied with many new text editions of the poem, translations in European and Oriental languages, and specialized researches into Rustaveli's poetics, his theological and philosophical outlook, his attitude to the classical legacy, his ethics and aesthetic ideals, the issue of attributing his poem to a certain period and cultural

¹³ See book review by Levan Gigineishvili: Ioane Petritsi, *Kommentar zur Elementatio theologica des Proklos*, eds. Lela Alexidze and Lutz Bergemann, B. R. Grüner Publishing Company, in: *The International Journal of the Platonic Tradition*, 2, 2010, 192-193.

environment (the Byzantine and European Late Middle Ages, the transitional period from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the Byzantine or the Oriental Renaissance), the impact of the poem on Georgian literature and thought of the subsequent centuries (see bibliography: E. Khintibidze, *Georgian Literature in European Scholarship*, Adolf M. Hakkert publishers/Amsterdam 2001 and latest works: E. Khintibidze, *The World View of Rustaveli's Vepkhistqaosani (The Man in the Panther's Skin)*, Tbilisi 2009; N. Sulava, *The Man in the Panther's Skin - Metaphor, Symbol, Allusion, Enigma*, Tbilisi 2009; R. Tvaradze, *The Areopagite and Rustaveli*, in collection: *What the Knight in the Panther's Skin Tell Us*, Cezanne/Tbilisi 2009, 158-160; M. Kurdiani, *The Knight in the Panther's Skin' from Semiotic Point of View*, *ibid.*, 77-81; E. Khintibidze, *Rustaveli's The Man in the Panther's Skin*, Bennett/Bloom, London 2011; L. Gigineishvili, *Rescuing Socrates from Hell: Personal Agency in Shota Rustaveli's Knight in the Panther's Skin*, *AFP Working Papers*, 1, 2010-2011, 25-34.

http://www.academicwebfolio.org/web/guest/home/news_and_announcements/428681; by the same author: *Eros in Theology of Ioane Petritsi and Shota Rustaveli*, in: *Studia Patristica. Papers Presented at the 16th International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2011*, 6: *Neoplatonism and Patristics*, Peeters/Leuven 2013, 181-189.

In addition, I should touch upon the significance of theological discourses in vernacular historiography represented by the monumental collection of medieval Georgian chronicles *Life of Kartli (Kartlis Tskhovreba*, ed. by S. Kaukhchishvili, Tbilisi, 1: 1955, 2: 1959, 4: 1973), Georgian hagiography (*Monuments of Georgian Hagiographical Literature (5th-18th cc.)*, Tbilisi 1963-1968) and religious poetry (ecclesiastical and secular), as a whole (for foreign reader: Tarchnischvili M., *Die geistliche Dichtung Georgiens und ihr Verhältnis zur Byzantinischen*, in: *Oriens Christianus*, 41, 1957, 76-94).

(b) *Byzantine Patristic Authors*

Origen

The Old Georgian writings expose two main attitudes towards Origen. On the one hand, we have authors who are categorically intolerant of Origen's beliefs as heretical and deviating; on the other hand, there is another group that, contrary to this dominating attitude towards his philosophy, try to give a positive evaluation of his thinking and to make way - anonymously or openly - for him in Church literature. Euthymios the Athonite is the central figure of the first position. In his two canonical letters that have come down to us, among the heretics who cannot be

tolerated by the Church, Euthymios in the first place mentions Origen (see: *The Monuments of the Georgian Law, 3: Canonical Documents of the 11th-19th Centuries*, ed., research and index attached by Is. Dolidze, Tbilisi 1970, 5, 12). An evidence of Euthymios' extremely negative attitude towards Origen's theology one can see also in his translations, where he consistently shortens those passages of the original Greek texts which contain Origenian tenets. Arsen of Iqalto in his *Dogmaticon* along with other polemical papers has included an anonymous treatise titled *To Those Who Say that Human Souls Have Existed Prior to Flesh* (K. Kekelidze, *History of Georgian Literature*, I, Tbilisi 1960, 483-484; I. Lolashvili, *Arsen of Iqalto*, Tbilisi 1978, 137-141). In addition, the two other collections of polemical works of the same epoch include treatises entitled *The Story of a Deprived Philosopher Origen* (S 312) and *The Answer of the Blessed Theodor Abu-Qurra to Origen* (S 312, S 248).

A different attitude towards Origen's teaching can be found in the writings by Ephrem Mtsire. In the introduction of the *Psalter's Catenae* Ephrem deals with the contents of commentaries and cautiously notes that although he would never dare to tolerate either Origen or Arius, he is inclined to agree with those Greek theologians who used a principle of selective approach to the works of Greek authors as well as non-canonical Christian thinkers (M. Shanidze, *Introduction to the Commentaries of Psalter by Ephrem Mtsire*, in: *Proceedings of the Department of the Georgian Language of Tbilisi State University*, 11, Tbilisi 1968, 77-122, specifically, 78-79). As Nino Doborjginidze, the editor of *The Selective Commentaries of Psalter* (I-III, Tbilisi 1996, 2007) discovered, even if the author of selective commentaries names Origen as the author of only two commentaries (Psalms 78, 7 and 80), the greater part of the anonymous commentaries are in fact the excerpts from his works. Also the above noted *Gelati Catena* collection (12th c.) adduces number of fragments from Origen.

Although Ioane Petritsi in his commentaries on *Elementatio Theologica* does not mention Origen, some scholars see Origen's influence on Petritsi's writings: D. Melikishvili, *The Gelathi Monastic and Literary School. Its Main Trend and Literary and Speculative Interests*, *Bulletin of Kutaisi University*, 1993, N 1, 121-134), N 2 (162-177); G. Tevzadze, *A History of Medieval Philosophy*, Tbilisi 1996; L. Gigineishvili, *Towards Understanding of One Passage in Ioane Petritsi's Commentaries*, in: *Annual of Gelathi Academy of Sciences*, N 1, 1998; L. Gigineishvili, *Doctrine of Logos and Intellect in the Philosophy of Ioane Petritsi: Origenist-Evagrian Influences*, in: *Origeniana Octava. Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition. Papers of Eight International Origen Congress*, Pisa 27-31 August 2001, ed. by L. Perrone in collab. with

P. Bernardino and D. Marchini, II, Leuven, University Press 2003, 1139-1148; L. Gigineishvili, *The Platonic Theology of Ioane Petritsi*, Piscataway N. J., Gorgias Press 2007; L. Gigineishvili, *John Petritsi's Translation of One Passage of Nemesios of Emesa's On Human Nature: Origen's Theory of Apokatastasis*, in: N. Makharadze, M. Giorgadze (eds.), *Byzantine Studies in Georgia - 2*, Tbilisi 2009, 156-164; L. Alexidze, *Ioane Petritsi and Ancient Philosophy*, with a German summary, Tbilisi 2008.

Another prominent clergyman who also was tolerant of Origen's beliefs was Catholicos Anton I,¹⁴ who in his references to the Alexandrian theologian used the words "Origen the Great". In the second part of his famous dogmatic work titled *Theology* Anton I broadly discusses Origen's theory of *apokatastasis* (see a brief description of this up-to-now unedited text in K. Kekelidze, *History of Georgian Literature*, 377). In the other theological work titled *Collection of the Precious Thoughts*,¹⁵ Anton provides his judgement on Origen's doctrine of soul. While, in general, he recognizes the heretic nature of Origen's theory, during his discussions on memory he refers to Origen as an authority (See *Anton I, Collection of the Precious Thoughts*, ed. invest. and voc. by G. Dedabrishvili, Tbilisi 1991, 304, 319).

Origen's biblical hermeneutics from various points of view is discussed in T. Dolidze's papers: *Einige Aspekte der allegorischen Sprache in den Auslegungen von Origenes und Gregor von Nyssa zum 'Hohenlied': Origeniana Octava. Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense*, Peeters/Leuven 2003, 1061-1070; *Der Glaube als Erkenntnis bei Origenes*, in: *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter. Neue Beiträge zu seiner Erforschung*, hrsg. von W. Geerlings und C. Schulze (*Clavis commentariorum antiquitatis et medii aevi* 3), Brill/Leiden 2004, 185-211; *Der Begriff des Freien Willens als Gegenstand der origenischen Hermeneutik*, in: *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, 7, Tbilisi 2005, 31-43; *Der freie Wille in der Hermeneutik des Origenes*, in: M. Beriashvili, B. Moysisch (eds.) unter Mitwirkung von H. Grabst, *Die Idee der Freiheit in Philosophie und Sozialtheorie*, SVH/Saarbrücken 2010, 87-111; *Equivocality of Biblical Language in Origen*, in: *Studia Patristica. Papers Presented at the 16th International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford* 2011, 4; *Rediscovering Origen*, Peeters/Leuven 2013, 65-72.

¹⁴ The second half of the 18th century. A theologian, philosopher-logician, scholar and poet.

¹⁵ The work has another title too: *Interpretations of Philosophical Expressions of Plato and Aristotle and Porphyry and of Church Philosophers*.

Evagrius of Pontus

Among the manuscripts translated into Georgian are fragments authored by Evagrius, which Kekelidze finds to be translated by Euthymios the Athonite: "A 4th century Georgian from Abroad. A Thinker and Public Figure" (K. Kekelidze, *Etudes*, 6, Tbilisi 1960). On the basis of linguistic analysis, the editor of these fragments, S. Makharashvili identifies them as a translation from Greek done in the first period of Georgian literature, which is before the second half of the 10th century. The fragments are published under following titles: *Sentences to Monks*, three fragments; *On Eight Passions*, *To Eulogios*, *Speech of Evagrius*, and *Couples* (seven pairs of evil and good). The last two texts seem to be preserved only in Georgian Literature (see S. Makharashvili, *The Life and Activities of Evagrius of Pontus and the Georgian Translation of His Works*, in: *Old Georgian Literary Chronicle*, 1, Tbilisi 1984, 3-39).

Athanasios of Alexandria

Among many translations of Athanasios' works contained in number of manuscripts, the following have been edited:

(a) *Investigation of the Force of the Psalms* (*Epistula ad Marcellinum de interpretatione psalmodum*), included in *The Psalter*, dated to 974; M. Janashvili published excerpts in: *Georgian Literature*, 1, Tbilisi 1909, 144-163.

(b) Athanasios' interpretations of the *Psalms* are preserved as excerpts in Ephrem Mtsire's *catena* commentaries on the *Psalter*, which is in the main based on the commentaries of Athanasios and Cyril of Alexandria.

(c) *On Faith*, translated by George the Hagiorite (d. 1065),¹⁶ is a translation of *Symbolum "quicumque"*, which is considered *spuria*. This is the translation of the very version where the pneumatological formula – the proceeding of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son – is maintained. The text has been edited by E. Kochlamazashvili and A. Ghambashidze: *Symbol by Athanasios of Alexandria*, *Mravaltavi*, 18, 1999, 153-162. The editors of the text interpret George the Hagiorite's choice of the source text as evidence of his antischematic position.

(d) Georgian manuscripts attribute the *Sermon on the Birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ* (*Sermo in nativitate Christi*), to Athanasios, although it is also

¹⁶ George the Hagiorite or Athonite was a successor of Euthymios' ecclesiastical and translation activities. He was a highly knowledgeable theologian educated in Constantinople for 12 years. Originally George served in the Georgian monastery on the Black Mountain near Antioch, thereafter he entered the Iveron monastery on Mount Athos.

known under the names of Gregory Thaumaturgos and John Chrysostom. The translation made in the early period of Old Georgian Literature was edited first by I. Abuladze, in: *Enimkis Moambe*, 14, 1994, 279- 288, and then by A. Shanidze in: *The Sinai Polycephalon of 864 Year*, 31-39).

(e) *In pentecosten*. According to the editor of the *Klardjeti Polycephalon* (manuscript from the 10th c.; the archetype dated back to the 5th-6th cc.) the homily is kept only in this collection and differs from that of known Greek one (*The Klardjeti Polycephalon*, text and comments, with an English summary by T. Mgaloblishvili, Tbilisi 1991; see 112, 341-344).

(f) *In ascensionem* is also preserved only in the *Klardjeti Polycephalon* and differs from the only known Greek text (*The Klardjeti Polycephalon*, 111, 307-309).

(g) Two versions of the *Vita Antonii* exist in the Georgian tradition – the archetypal and metaphrastic. The first version is preserved in the 9th-11th cc. manuscripts, out of which the latter is a separate recension. The text has been edited by V. Imnaishvili (*The Life of Saint Anton*, research and glossary, Tbilisi 1970). A separate 11th century recension is included in the edition of the Georgian manuscript of Palestine Paterics: *The Lives of Fathers. British Museum Georgian Manuscript of the 11th Century*, text edition, research and glossary by V. Imnaishvili, Tbilisi 1975, 9-53.

(h) The Georgian manuscript tradition also ascribes the *Life of the Saint Fathers Stephanus and Nikon* to Athanasios, which seems to be preserved only in Georgian literature. This text from a British Museum 11th century manuscript was published for the first time by A. Khakhanashvili (*Moambe*, 8, 1905) and then by V. Imnaishvili in *The Lives of Fathers* (257-261; see also 357-359).

(i) Georgian canon law knows Athanasios' three canonic epistles, included in the Great Nomocanon by Arsen of Iqalto: *Epistula ad Amun* (466-469), *Epistula festales* (*Epistula XXXIX in collectione canonum*) (470-471) and *Epistula ad Rufinianum* (540-542). Besides, Athanasios is represented in other medieval legislative collections. Two of his canons, kept in the Georgian translation of *The Greek Law*, are included in the King Vachtang VI *Law Collection* (1705-1708) (*Monuments of Georgian Law*, ed., research and vocabulary by I. Dolidze, 1, Tbilisi 1963, 196-197; 219). He is quoted several times in the *Small Nomocanon*, a collection of canon law compiled by Euthymios the Athonite (*Small Nomocanon*, ed. E. Giunashvili, Tbilisi 1972).

The Cappadocian Fathers

Three great Cappadocians, widely represented in the Old Georgian manuscript tradition, are thoroughly studied in modern Georgian research. A

profound survey of the influence of Cappadocian thought on the Georgian theology of the Middle Ages is provided in Guram Tevzadze's book, *A History of Medieval Philosophy*, Tbilisi 1996.

Basil the Great

Georgian translations of Basil's works can be found already in the earliest collections and polycephala. They appear, for example, in the above *Sinai* (115-123) and *Udabno* (45-48) Polycephala (see *Collections*). Both include Basil's *In Quadraginta Martyres*. The *Udabno Polycephalon* includes also his *De Jejunio* (123-126) and Pseudo-Basil's Homily *In Illud: Pater si possibile est transeat a me calix iste* (195-198). The latter also enters the *Klardjeti Polycephalon* (221-226). Besides, the collection *The Doctrines of Fathers according to the 9th-11th cc. Manuscripts* (ed. by I. Abuladze, Tbilisi 1955) includes the homilies *On Repentance* and *On Envy* under the name of Basil. The Greek origin of these homilies has not yet been identified. The translation of Basil's *In Hexaameron* is preserved in two recensions. The first was done from Greek or Arabic at the turn of the 9th century, edited by I. Abuladze (*The Oldest Recensions of Basil of Caesarea's On the Six Days and Gregory of Nyssa's The Commentary on the Creation of Man*, Tbilisi 1964); the second, translated by George the Hagiorite, was published by M. Kakhadze (*Basil the Great, In Hexaameron*, Tbilisi 1947).

E. Khintibidze devoted several works to the Georgian manuscript tradition of *Asceticon* (preserved in approximately 150 manuscripts): *Georgian Recensions of Basil the Cappadocian's Asceticon*, Tbilisi 1968; Its French resume *Rédactions géorgiennes de l'asceticon de Basile de Cappadocien, Bedi Kartlisa, Revue de kartvélologie*, XXVI, Paris 1969; *Byzantine-Georgian Literary Contacts*, Tbilisi 1969; *Byzantine-Georgian Literary Contacts in: Revue de kartvélologie*, XXXVI, Paris 1978, 275-286 (in English); *To the History of Byzantine-Georgian Literary Contacts*, Tbilisi 1982 (a complete translation in English is published in Amsterdam 1996). The author discusses the significance of *Asceticon's* Georgian translations to the restoration of the initial Greek text, and also dwells on other philological, codicological, historical and cultural issues in reference to St. Basil's work in the Georgian tradition.

In 1983 Ts. Kurzikidze edited Basil's works in Euthymios the Athonite's translation, and supplied it with research and vocabulary (title: *Basil of Caesarea's Teachings in Euthymios the Athonite's Translation*). N. Kajaja's book, *Old Georgian Translations of Basil of Caesarea's Works* (Tbilisi 1992) includes Georgian translations of Basil's epistles and the texts of three early versions of Basil's liturgy. She has also published a critical text of Basil's and Gregory of Nazianzus' correspondence in Old

Georgian translation: *Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Letters*, ed. N. Kadjaia, critical text with research, commentaries and lexicon, 2nd ed., Tbilisi 2006.

K. Bezarashvili and Th. Otkhmezuri examined a Greek manuscript preserved in National Center of Manuscripts which contains Basil the Great's treatises: K. Bezarashvili, Th. Otkhmezuri, *Education and Scholarship in Byzantium: The Byzantine Manuscript* (Cod. Tbilis. Gr. 48) *Containing Works of Basil of Caesarea and its Peculiarities*, in: *Adamantius. Rivista del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su "Origene e la tradizione alessandrina"*, 17, 2011, 220-237.

St. Basil figures in Georgian ecclesiastical law. Translation of the *Great Nomocanon* includes Basil's 91 canons (*Great Nomocanon*, ed. E. Gabidzashvili, E. Giunashvili, M. Dolakidze, G. Ninua, Tbilisi 1975).

The Old Georgian text of Basil's commentaries on Psalms still remains unpublished. However, there are several editions of the modern translations of St. Basil's *Commentaries on Psalms* (1st ed., Tbilisi 1994) and *On the Six days* (1st ed., Tbilisi 2000) by Gvantsa Koplataдзе; both translations, furnished with an introduction, were published in 2002 by the Patriarchate of Georgia Press. G. Koplataдзе's works offers a systemic scholarly coverage of St. Basil's theology. Apart from her doctoral thesis on Basil the Great's *Trinitarian Doctrine*, she is an author of several articles addressing various aspects of Basil's doctrine.

Gregory of Nazianzus

Gregory of Nazianzus' work was virtually completely rendered in the Middle Ages. Nowadays this great cultural acquisition is a subject of intense study in Georgian philology. At the end of 1980s the National Center of Manuscripts (NCM) and the Catholic University of Louvain-la-Neuve set up a joint project to publish the Georgian version of Gregory of Nazianzus' works in the series *Corpus Christianorum, S. Gregorii Nazianzeni opera. Versio Iberica* (Turnhout/Leuven). Five volumes have already appeared (1998, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2007; authors: H. Metreveli, K. Bezarashvili, Ts. Kourtsikidze, N. Melikishvili, Th. Otkhmezouri. M. Rapava, M. Chanidze). At present the textual study is underway towards preparing the remaining editions. Parallel to text editions, members of the Georgian group provide systematic research into the translations of Nazianzus's works. Special studies are devoted to St. Gregory's manuscripts preserved in book depositories in Russia and Bulgaria: J. Mossay, Th. Otkhmezuri, K. Bezarashvili, *Codices Bulgariae* and J. Mossay, Th. Otkhmezouri, *Codices Russiarum*, in: *Repertorium Nazianzenum, Orationes, Textus Graecus 3 (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums,*

NS, 2nd section: *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz*, Im Auftrag der Görres-Gesellschaft, hrsg. v. J. Mossay, Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich 1993, 48-54, 242-251, 1993).

Ketevan Bezarashvili has published a number of investigations on Nazianzus's poetry, rhetorical style, commentaries on his works, the influence of St. Gregory's writings and their translations on Old Georgian literature. See, for example, her papers written in English: *The Problem of the So-called "Aporeta" in the Georgian Corpus of the Works of Gregory the Theologian*, in: *Le Muséon, Revue d'Etudes Orientales*, 108, 1995, 131-142; *The Significance of Gregory the Theologian's Works for the Georgian Literary Tradition*, in: *Le Muséon, Revue d' Etudes Orientales*, 118, 2005, 269-298. *The Interrelation between the Classical Literary Form and Christian Contents Interpreted by Gregory the Theologian in his Poem 'On his Own Verses'*, in: *Motivi e forme della poesia cristiana Antica tra Scrittura e tradizione Classica. XXXVI Incontro di studiosi dell' anticità cristiana*, Roma, 3-5 maggio, 2007 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 108), Institutum Patrisitcum Augustinianum, Roma 2008, 281-292; In her book *Theory and Practice of Rhetoric and Translation. A Study of Georgian Translations of Gregory the Theologian's Writings*, Tbilisi 2004 (in Georgian with an English summary) and the recent investigation in three volumes *The Problems of Byzantine and Old Georgian Rhetorical Theory and Versification according to the Colophons of Antioch: Ephrem Mtsire*, Tbilisi 2011, Bezarashvili dwells upon the impact of Gregory of Nazianzus's work on the Old Georgian literature, and, in particular, on the Georgian literary school on the Black Mountain, the influence of the Byzantine rhetorical theory on the Georgian rhetoric and translation technique, treats the thought of the 11th century Georgian intellectual Ephrem Mtsire in the light of his contemporary Byzantine erudition, discusses his idea of rhetoric and poetry, his technical terminology, problems of Greek and Georgian versification, etc.

Alongside text edition and codicological studies, represented by papers, for example, as *Signes marginaux dans les manuscrits Géorgiens de Grégoire de Nazianze* (*Le Muséon, Revue d'Etudes Orientales*, 104, 1991, 335-347) and *Education and Scholarship in Byzantium* (co-author K. Bezarashvili, see above), one can avail himself of Tamar Otkhmezuri's research on the commentaries by Ps. Nonnos, Maximus the Confessor, Basil Minimus, and Nicetas of Heraclea (a fragment preserved) on St. Gregory's works. She analyzes the translation methods and artistic peculiarities of the Georgian translations, the theoretical thought of the Georgian scholars of the 11th and 12th centuries, and the attitude towards the classical tradition as a cultural orientation. Additionally, out of her works, the following can be

listed: *The Georgian Translations of the Pseudo-Nonnos' Mythological Commentaries*, Tbilisi 1989; *The Georgian Versions of the Ps-Nonnos' 'Mythological Commentaries' and Their Greek Originals*, in: *Le Muséon*, 106, fasc. 3-4, 1993 (with J. Nimmo-Smith), 289-308; the book-length study *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationem Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii*, *Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca* 50, *Corpus Nazianzenum* 16, Turnhout-Leuven 2002; *Commentaries on Gregory of Nazianzus' Works*, translated by Euthymios the Athonite, in: *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, Tbilisi 2007, 183-193; *The Liturgical Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus. On the Date of the Georgian Translation by Ephrem Mtsire*, in: *Studia Nazianzenica* II, ed. A. Schmidt, (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca* 73, *Corpus Nazianzenum* 24, Brepols/Turnhout 2010, 469-475 and her recently published book: *The Commentarial Genre in the Medieval Georgian Translation Tradition: Ephrem Mtsire and Commentaries on the Sermons of Gregory the Theologian*, Tbilisi 2011 (with an English summary).

Nino Melikishvili's research is concerned with codicological issues and the style of translations of Euthymios the Athonite and Ephrem Mtsire (see e. g. her paper *Le Traductions georgiens du Discours 38 de Grégoire de Nazianze dans le Mravaltavi*, in: *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 73, *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 24, *Studia Nazianzenica*, II, ed. Andrea Schmidt, Brepols/Turnhout 2010, 477-489). Likewise, Maia Rapava investigates Gregory of Nazianzus' Old Georgian translations by Euthymios the Athonite and Ephrem Mtsire, and provides analysis of Old Georgian and Armenian translations of some of St. Gregory's *Orationes* (see her papers: M. Raphava, B. Coulie, *Les colophons d' Ephrem Mtsire et les traductions géorgiennes de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in: *Le Muséon*, 104, fasc. 1-2, 1991, 109-124; M. Raphava, *Les traductions géorgiennes du discours 38 de Grégoire de Nazianze*, in: *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 73, *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 24, *Studia Nazianzenica*, II, ed. Andrea Schmidt, Brepols/Turnhout 2010, 491-517). Besides, out of the team's research output published in Europe, I would like to single out works by E. Chelidze, *The Two Georgian Translations of the Works of St. Gregory the Theologian* (*Studia Patristica*, 33, 1996, 506-508), Ts. Kourtsikidze, *La composition du manuscrit Ivron 68 et le colophon d'Ephrem Mtsiré* (*Le Muséon*, 113, 2000, 429-437), M. Machavariani, *The Names of Christ in Gregory Nazianzen's Homily II by Euthymius the Athonite* (*Studia Nazianzenica* I, ed. B. Coulie, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 41, *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 8, Brepols/Turnhout 2000, 259-271), by the same author, *Hagiografic Paradigms in Homiletic Genre. Oration 36 of Gregory of Nazianzus translated by David Tbeli* (*Studia Nazianzenica*, 2, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 73, *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 24, ed. by Andrea

Schmidt, Brepols/Turnhout 2010, 459-468) and N. Doborjginidze's *Die Übersetzungen der Werke des Gregor von Nazianz und die Entwicklung der georgischen Begriffssprache (Studia Nazianzenica, 2, 391-432).*

Gregory of Nyssa

Georgians have been acquainted with the works of St. Gregory since the earliest period of medieval Georgian literature. Three translations from the earliest period (before the end of the 10th c.) are extant: (1) *De officio hominis*. The text has been published twice: by I. Abuladze¹⁷ and, later, with other texts of the 10th century in *Shatberdi Collection*; (2) the homily on the Epiphany *Hic est Filius meus dilectus*¹⁸ and (3) the *Encomium in Sanctum Stephanum Protomartyrem primum*. Only a fragment of this latter homily is preserved in the oldest Georgian *Polycephalon*, edited by I. Abuladze.¹⁹

Euthymios the Athonite translated Gregory of Nyssa's *Oratio catechetica magna*,²⁰ *De anima et resurrectione*,²¹ *De oratione Dominica*,²² *De vita Moysis*,²³ *De virginitate*,²⁴ *De Deitate Filii et Spiritus Sancti*,²⁵ *Encomium*

¹⁷ *The Oldest Recensions of Basil of Caesarea's On Six Days and Gregory of Nyssa's The Commentary on the Creation of Man*, text, research and vocabulary by I. Abuladze, Tbilisi 1964.

¹⁸ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Homily on the Epiphany*, text and vocabulary by E. Kochlamazashvili, Tbilisi 2002.

¹⁹ See: *Mraovaltavi*, Proceedings of the K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts 14, Tbilisi 1944, 290; for the second time it was published in: I. Abuladze, *Works*, 3, Tbilisi 1982. The homily was retranslated in the late tenth century and the first half of the eleventh century (both translations unedited).

²⁰ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Oration on Teaching and Instruction*, text, investigation and Georgian-Greek lexicon by E. Kochlamazashvili, in: *Studies in Christian Archaeology*, 1, 2008, 7-204.

²¹ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Investigation on the Soul with His Sister Macrina*, ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, in: *Calendar of the Georgian Church for 2005, Annual Natlismtsemeli*, Tbilisi 2004.

²² St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Commentaries on Our Father*, rendered by Euthymios the Athonite, text and introduction by E. Kiria, Tbilisi 2006. In her article, 'De Oratione Dominica' of Gregory of Nyssa and its Old Georgian Translation (*Studia Patristica*, 37, Leuven 2001, 121-125) Kiria typologically determines the place of the Georgian translation among the Greek manuscripts.

²³ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Life of Moses* by Euthymios the Athonite, the text with research and Greek-Georgian lexicon by T. Aptsiauri (in preparation).

²⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *On Virginitate*, The text prepared for publication, research, comments and a terminological dictionary submitted by Protopresbyter Giorgi Zviadadze, Patriarchate of Georgia, Tbilisi Theological Academy, Tbilisi 2011.

²⁵ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Reading for the Holy Trinity in which He Mentions Abraham*, ed. by T. Dolidze and E. Kochlamazashvili, Tbilisi 2003.

in *Basiliū fratrem*,²⁶ *Vita S. Macrinae*,²⁷ *Adhortatio ad poenitentiam* and *In principium jejuniorum*.²⁸ Euthymios' younger contemporary, George the Hagiorite, rendered *De opificio hominis*,²⁹ *In Hexaemeron*,³⁰ *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*,³¹ *In Canticum canticorum*,³² *De professione Christiana*,³³ *De perfectione*,³⁴ *De beatitudinibus*,³⁵ *In diem natalem Christi*,³⁶ *In Christi re-*

²⁶ The Old Georgian Translation of *The Praise to Saint and Great Basil told by St. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, Brother of Saint Basil*, ed. by M. Kobiashvili, in: *Studies in Christian Archaeology*, 1, 2008, 205-222.

²⁷ The Translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of St. Macrina* (in preparation by T. Baakashvili).

²⁸ Both are attributed to Asterios of Amaseia (Patrologia Graeca 40, col. 351- 369, col. 370-390).

²⁹ Three editions came out during two years: St. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Creation of Man*, translated by George the Athonite, critical text and introduction by E. Kochlamazashvili, in: *Studies in Christian Archaeology*, 2, 2009, 54-235 (introduction: 54-98; text: 90-235); St. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Creation of Man*, translated by St. George the Athonite, text according to the 11th to 13th cc. manuscripts, ed. Grigol Rukhadze, in: *Calendar of the Georgian Church*, 2010, 219-325 and *On the Creation of Man*. The oldest translation (8th to 9th cc.), translation done by St. George the Hagiorite (11th c.) and the modern Georgian translation by G. Koplatadze, Tbilisi 2010.

³⁰ *In Six Days*, translated by George the Athonite, text, investigation and Georgian-Greek lexicon by E. Tchelidze, in: *Theological Collection*, Tbilisi 1988, 218-301; 2nd ed. in: *Calendar of the Georgian Church*, Tbilisi 1989, 194-412.

³¹ Two Old Georgian translations by George the Athonite and Ephrem Mtsire, were edited: first by N. Mrevlishvili, *The Georgian Recension of Gregory of Nyssa's 'Life of Gregory Thaumaturgos*, Tbilisi 2001 and then by E. Kochlamazashvili, in: *Studies in Christian Archaeology*, 2, 2009, 294-448.

³² The doctoral thesis of the late G. Kiknadze, defended in Tbilisi 1968 has been recently edited by N. Melikishvili: St. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Commentary on the Song of Songs*, text prepared for publication, research and dictionary submitted by G. Kiknadze, ed. by N. Melikishvili, Tbilisi, Theological Academy and Seminary Publishing House 2013.

³³ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Profession of Christianity, Its Power and Name*, ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, *Calendar of the Georgian Church for 2005, Annual Natlismtsemeli*, ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, Tbilisi 2004, 286-296.

³⁴ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *On Perfection*, ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, in: *Calendar of the Georgian Church for 2005, Annual Natlismtsemeli*, ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, Tbilisi 2004, 297-328.

³⁵ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Commentary on the 'Remember Us'*, ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, in: *Calendar of the Georgian Church for 2005, Annual Natlismtsemeli*, ed. by E. Kochlamazashvili, Tbilisi 2004, 198-285. Instead of *De beatitudines* the Georgian version has a heading *Remember Us*.

³⁶ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Feast of Christ's Birth* in two Old Georgian translations of George the Athonite and Ephrem Mtsire, texts and Georgian-Greek lexicon by E. Kochlamazashvili, K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi 2006.

surrectionem (Oratio I),³⁷ the 3rd translation of the *Encomium in Sanctum Stephanum Protomarturem* (Oratio I), *Oratio funebris in Meletium*,³⁸ *Encomium in sanctum Ephrem*,³⁹ *De S. Theodoro martyre* and *Orationes duo in quadraginta martyres*, which belongs to *dubia*.

Ephrem Mtsire made two translations of Gregory of Nyssa's works: *In diem natalem Christi* and *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*, both translated earlier by George the Hagiorite. Arsen of Iqalto included the translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Epistula canonica ad Letoium* in his translation of the *Great Nomocanon*.⁴⁰

A survey of Gregory of Nyssa's writings in Old Georgian translations is provided in E. Kochlamazashvili's and T. Dolidze's co-authored article: *Old Georgian Translations of St. Gregory of Nyssa's Works*, in: *Gregory of Nyssa. The Minor Treatises on Trinitarian Theology*, ed. V. H. Drecoll and M. Berghaus, Brill/Leiden 2011, 577-592. Parallel to the above philological research, Nyssa's Georgian researchers have a particular interest in exploring his theological doctrine. Below I cite some papers published in European languages:

Tamar Aptsiauri, *Die altgeorgische Übersetzung der Schrift 'Leben des Mose' Gregors von Nyssa*, in: *Minutes of the 9th International Conference on St. Gregory of Nyssa* (Athens, 7-12 September 2000), Athens 2005, 811-829; *Die Allegorese in der Schrift 'Leben des Mose' Gregors von Nyssa im Kontext seiner Epinoia-Theorie*, *Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *Contra Eunomium II, An English Version with Supporting Studies Proceedings of the 10th International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa* (Olomouc, September 15-18, 2004), ed. by L. Karfíková, S. Douglass and J. Zachhuber, Brill/Leiden 2007, 495-504.

Tina Dolidze, *Kinesis -Begriff der griechischen Philosophie bei Gregor von Nyssa*, in: *Gregory of Nyssa, Homilies on the Beatitudes, Proceedings of the 8th International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa*, (Paderborn, 14-18 September 1998), ed. R. Drobner, A. Viciano, Brill/Leiden 2000, 221-245; *Der Begriff der Bewegung in der Gotteslehre Plotins und Gregors von Nyssa*, in: *Selbst - Singularität - Subjektivität. Vom Neuplatonismus zum Deutschen Idealismus*,

³⁷ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Resurrection*, text and Old Georgian lexicon by N. Bukia, Tbilisi 2002.

³⁸ Gregory of Nyssa's *Praise to Meletios of Antioch*, ed. by M. Kobiashvili, in: *Annals of Old Georgian Literature*, 2, Tbilisi 1985, 92-104; 2nd edition in: *Calendar of the Georgian Church for 2005, Annual Natlismtsemeli*, Tbilisi 2004, 356-367.

³⁹ St. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Praise to Our Saint Father Ephrem the Syrian*, ed. by M. Kobiashvili, *Calendar of the Georgian Church for 2005, Annual Natlismtsemeli*, Tbilisi 2004, 329-355.

⁴⁰ *Great Nomocanon*, ed. by E. Gabidzashvili, E. Giunashvii, M. Dolakidze, G. Ninua, Tbilisi 1975, 509-521.

hrsg. Th. Kobusch, B. Mojsisch, O. F. Summerell, B. R. Grüner/Amsterdam 2003, 41-75; *Einige Aspekte der allegorischen Sprache in den Auslegungen von Origenes und Gregor von Nyssa zum 'Hohenlied': Origeniana Octava, Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense*, Peeters/Leuven 2003, 1061-1070; *The Cognitive Function of Epinoia in Contra Eunomium II and its Meaning for St. Gregory of Nyssa's Theory of Theological Language*, in: *Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eunomium II, Proceedings of the 10th International Colloquium on Gregory of Nyssa in Olomouc (15th-18th September 2004)*, Brill/Leiden 2007, 445-459.

Ekaterine Kiria, *Die vierte Bitte des Vaterunsers bei Gregor von Nyssa*, in: *Jesus Christ in St. Gregory of Nyssa's Theology, Minutes of the 9th International Conference on St. Gregory of Nyssa (Athens, 7-12 September 2000)*, Athens 2005, 653-667; *Pneumatological Research according to the Third Homily of 'De Oratione Dominica' of Gregory of Nyssa*, in: *Phasis. Greek and Roman Studies*, 13-14, Tbilisi 2010-2011, 281-289.

Nemesios of Emesa

Bishop of Emesa's treatise *On the Nature of Man* was one of the frequently read texts in Medieval Church literature. It was rendered into Georgian by Ioane Petritsi. The scholarly edition of this profoundly scientific translation – *Nemesios of Emesa's On the Nature of Man, translated from Greek by Ioane Petritsi*, prepared and furnished with a glossary and indices by S. Gorgadze (Tbilisi 1914) – is among the earliest Georgian publications of the kind. Along with text edition, the editor undertook the task of facilitating the development of Modern Georgian philosophical and theological terminology through compiling and attaching to his publication a comprehensive glossary, where each lexical unit consists of Old Georgian, Modern Georgian, Russian and in some cases, Old Greek equivalents.

Cyril of Alexandria

St. Cyril was a popular author in the Georgian ecclesiastical literature. In his dogmatic collection *Dogmaticon Arsen* of Iqalto included some of Cyril's works against Nestorius. These are: *Explanatio capitulorum*, two letters *Ad Successum episcopum Diocaesareae*, and fragments from his work *De incarnatione Unigeniti*. The critical edition of these works, investigation, and vocabulary are given in Anna Chantladze's book *Antinestorian Treatises of Arsen the Son of Vache's Dogmaticon*, Tbilisi 1996. Three canonic letters are included in Arsen's second monumental collection: *The Great Nomocanon*, ed. by E. Gabidzashvili, E. Giunashvili, M. Dolakidze, G. Ninua, Tbilisi 1975.

Cyril takes a significant place in the *catena* genre. I have already noted above that together with Athanasios, he is the main author in the *Psalter's*

catenae compiled by Ephrem Mtsire. In this respect it is noteworthy to mention the Georgian translation of the *Apostolic catenae*. The collection has been translated twice. The first, translation (only *Romans* and *I Corinthians*) was made by Euthymios the Athonite; the second, the complete one, by Ephrem Mtsire. Both translators consider Cyril to be the author of the compilation. Ephrem Mtsire explains references to authors of later periods than Cyril by the fact that a later compiler could have made some insertions into the text. Both translations, by Euthymios (Tbilisi 2003) and Ephrem Mtsire (I-III, 2000, 2006, 2010), has been edited by E. Kochlamazashvili.

The Georgian version of Cyril of Alexandria's work has been thoroughly studied by Tamar Tsopurashvili in her monograph *St. Cyril of Alexandria in Old Georgian Literature* (Tbilisi 2009) and her numerous papers.

Theodoret of Cyrus

The heritage of the great Antiochian theologian is well represented in Georgian patristic theology. His *Interpretatio in Psalmos* was translated from Armenian in the early period of Old Georgian literature and is included in *Shatberdi Collection* (364-423). In spite of his unsteady confessional position, excerpts from his works are widely included in *catenae* commentaries (mostly without naming him, as in the case of Origen). Several commentaries by him appear in the *Catena Psalter* by Ephrem Mtsire, as well as in the *Gelati Catena Bible*. Victoria Jugheli is an author of the first monograph on Theodoret's writings in the Old Georgian translation entitled *The Blessed Theodoret of Cyrus: The Life, Activities, Creed, Writings and Their Georgian Translation* (1: Tbilisi 2008, 2: Tbilisi 2011; both volumes with English summaries). This profound study actually covers the entire Georgian tradition about the Antiochian church father. The first volume consists of research into Theodoret's exegetical, dogmatic, apologetic and historic treatises, sermons, epistles, dubia, and spuria. Alongside, the author touches upon references in Old Georgian literature about Theodoret, the problem of creed ascribed to him, the authenticity of extant fragments and other issues. In the second volume she dwells upon *Historia Philothea*, analyzes Syrian asceticism, Theodoret's conceptual project, the style and language of his work, discusses the issue of *Historia Philothea* according to Georgian manuscripts, as well as its full and partial translations (7 in all) into Old Georgian.

Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite

Corpus Areopagiticum translated into Georgian by Ephrem Mtsire is among the most influential texts in medieval Georgian ecclesiastical literature.

The Old Georgian translation was published by S. Enuakashvili under the title *Peter the Iberian (Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite), Works*, ed. text, introduction and vocabulary by S. Enuakashvili, Tbilisi 1961. The title of the book reflects the reception of a respective hypothesis concerning the authorship of *Areopagitica* by Sh. Nutsubidze and E. Honigmann. Nutsubidze in his book: *The Secret of Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite* (in Russian) published in Tbilisi 1942, ventured a hypothesis of the identity of Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite and Peter the Iberian (the 5th c.), active in Palestine as a bishop of Maiuma (the issue is treated also in his studies: *Once Again About the Secret of Pseudo-Dionysus* (in Russian), *Proceedings of Tbilisi State University*, I, 59, 1955, 1-18; *The History of Georgian Philosophy*, I, Tbilisi 1956, 178-208; *Peter the Iberian and Ancient Philosophic Heritage*, Tbilisi 1963 (in Russian)). Independently from the Georgian scholar, the same hypothesis was developed by a Belgian byzantinist Ernst Honigmann (E. Honigmann, *Pierre l'Ibérien et les écrits du Pseudo-Denys d'Aréopagite*, Bruxelles 1952). Nutsubidze-Honigmann's theory has been shared by some other Georgian and foreign scholars who tried to add new arguments to the theory. In Georgian scholarship the theory was maintained by S. Kaukhchishvili (see e. g. *The History of Byzantine Literature*, Tbilisi, 1st ed., 1963, 102-119), Sh. Khidasheli (*To the Identity of Peter the Iberian and Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite*, in: *Mnatobi*, 1957, 5, 146-156), S. Enuakashvili (introduction of the book *Peter the Iberian (Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite), Works*, 1961) and E. Khintibidze (*A New Argument for Identification of Peter the Iberian with Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite* (in Russian), in: *Vizantiiskie Etiudi*, Tbilisi 1991). Providing critical analysis of the Georgian and Syrian Lives of Peter the Iberian, G. Koplatadze inclines towards the conclusion that the confessional stance of the bishop of Maiuma was orthodoxy (G. Koplatadze, *St. Peter the Iberian*, in: *Sami Saunje*, 1, 2011, 159-187). This view in a sense correlates with M. Esbroeck's position, who, adducing new arguments to the problem of Peter the Iberian's confession, assumes that being a monophysite, he later should have been converted to dyophysitism, like the queen Eudocia.

Among Georgian scholars, the Nutsubidze-Honigmann theory is denied by K. Kekelidze in his *Rustaveli and the Oriental Renaissance* (Etudes, IV, 1957, 37-55) and his review of Honigmann's book: *Prof. Honigmann's Theory about Peter the Iberian and Works by Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite* (Proceedings of Tbilisi State University, vol. 73, 1956). This hypothesis is likewise denied by Akaki Gatsferelia (A. Gatsferelia, *Biographic Issues of Peter the Iberian*, in: *Mnatobi*, 3, 1970, 134-619) and Ivane Lolashvili, who discusses this subject in his books: *The Issues of Areopagitica*, (Tbilisi 1972)

and *Areopagitic Collection* (Tbilisi 1983). Both studies refer to extensive material from Old Georgian literary sources about Pseudo-Dionysus and Peter the Iberian.

A collection of articles by Georgian and Russian scholars concerning conceptual as well as philological and historical issues of the *Corpus* was published in 1986 (*Investigations in Areopagitica*, ed. D. Sumbadze, Tbilisi 1986).

A linguistic and stylistic aspect of Pseudo-Dionysus' epistles' is provided in J. Shoshiashvili's book *Byzantine Epistolography and Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite's Epistles* (Tbilisi 1992). The author attaches Modern Georgian translations of the 10 authentic and 2 spurious epistles to her research.

The Dionysian liturgy in Greek and Georgian traditions is investigated in Nino Sakvarelidze's works written in German: *Die Rezeption der areopagitischen liturgischen Vision in der mittelalterlichen georgischen Tradition*, in: *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata, rivista scientifica annuale*, ed. S. Parenti, Terza Serie, 5/2, (Papers of the I International SOL-Congress in Eichstätt 2006), Grottaferrata, Roma 2008, 299-325; *Areopagitisches Verständnis von Synaxe und Koinonia in der altgeorgischen Übersetzung der Schrift De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, in: *Orthodoxes Forum. Zeitschrift des Instituts für Orthodoxe Theologie der Universität München*, hg. von K. Nikolakopoulos 24. Jahrgang, Heft 2, St. Ottilien 2010, 35-42; *Liturgie als Symbol und Mysterium: Die himmlische Liturgie des Dionysios Areopagites (Einige Aspekte der Rezeption der areopagitischen Schau der Liturgie im Georgien des 11.-12. Jh.)*, Dissertation (in print).

The impact of the Areopagitic corpus on the Georgian Christian philosophy of the following epochs is discussed in M. Makharadze, Sh. Chidasheli, *Areopagitics and the Issues of Georgian Philosophical Thought*, Tbilisi 1991. The commentaries on the corpus attributed in Georgian manuscript tradition to Maximus the Confessor are analyzed in L. Alexidze's paper: *The Georgian Version of the Scholia on Corpus Dionysiacum: Commentaries Known under the Name of 'Maximus'*, in: T. Mgaloblishvili, L. Khoperia (eds.), *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia, Iberica Caucasia*, 3, London 2009, 113-131.

Guram Tevzadze in his booklet about Peter the Iberian (*The Life of Peter the Iberian*, Tbilisi 2010) deals mainly with anthropological and epistemological doctrines of the bishop of Maiuma, and points to certain parallels with concepts of Gregory of Nyssa and *Corpus Areopagiticum*.

John Klimax

John Klimax's *The Heavenly Ladder*, a work immensely popular throughout centuries, was rendered into Georgian three times: The first is a selected

translation, which should have been done before the 9th century. As the father of the Iviron Monastery on Athos considered this translation inaccurate, Euthymios the Athonite rendered it anew, evidently, already at the end of the 10th century. For the third time it was translated by Peter of Gelati (13th c.), according to the translation principle of so called hellenophile trend.

Besides, there are two Old Georgian iambic poems composed after Euthymios' rendition of this work. The earlier one, entitled *The Ladder of Virtues* and ascribed to Ioane Petritsi (see above, *Georgian Theology*), is composed according to the first part of Euthymios' translation, whereas the other one, written by Catholicos Anton I (the 18th c.) is based on the second part of Euthymios' rendition.

Maximus the Confessor

Many of St. Maximus' works were rendered into Old Georgian, primarily by Euthymios the Athonite and then by the representatives of the Petritsi school. The *Life of Maximus* preserved in Old Georgian is a compilation done by Euthymios the Athonite, who partly used a Greek original text and partly completed it by other literary sources. *The Vita* is published by K. Kekelidze in *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica*, I, 60-103, Tbilisi 1918. Kekelidze also published the Russian translation of the work with attached comments: *Georgian Sources about Maximus the Confessor, Papers of Kiev Clerical Academy*, 1912, September-October, the same in: *Etudes*, VII, 14-54. Besides, Kekelidze discovered another *Life of Maximus*. It is the Georgian version of Theodorus of Gangra's *Hypomnesticum*, the metaphrastic redaction of which was done by John Xiphilinus. It was translated into Georgian in the 12th century in Petritsi's literary school (see Kekelidze K., *The Georgian Version of Theodorus of Gangra's 'Hypomnesticum' and Its Scholarly Relevance, Etudes*, III, 271-310).

A concentrated research on Maximus the Confessor has been carried out by Lela Khoperia, first in her PhD thesis *Two Georgian Translations of Maximus the Confessor's Dispute with Pyrrhus* (1998) and then in her Georgian and English publications on this topic. A list of her works published abroad includes: *The Old Georgian Translations of Saint Maximus the Confessor's Work*, in: *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 6, ed. K. Szende and M. Sebock, Budapest 2001, 225-231; *Maximus the Confessor in Ancient Georgian Sources*, in: *Studia Patristica*, XXXVI, 2001, 134-139; *Old Georgian Sources Concerning Maximus the Confessor's Life*, in: *Le Muséon. Revue d'études Orientales*, t. 116, fasc. 3-4, Louvain-la Neuve 2003, 395-414; *Maximus the Confessor: Life and Works in the Georgian Tradition*, in: *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia, Iberica Caucasia*, III, London 2009, 25-48; *One Geor-*

gian Source and the Literary Heritage of John Xiphilinos, in: *Studia Patristica. Papers presented at the 15th International conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford in 2007*, Peeters/Leuven 2010.

Euthymios the Athonite's translation of *Questiones ad Thalassium* is dealt in Anna Chantladze's paper *Maximus the Confessor's Questiones ad Thalassium in Georgian Translations*, in: *Christianskij Vostok*, New Series, t. 1(7), S. Petersburg/Moscow, 391-399 (in Russian). The author maintains that Maximus wrote only a part of *Questiones-responses*, while the rest belongs to Anastasios of Sinai.

Tamila Mgaloblishvili and Lela Khoperia, being the members of the recently established research team *The Centre for Exploration of Georgian Activities* at the St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University, have published a collection of papers dedicated to Maximus the Confessor in Georgian tradition: *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia, Iberica Caucasia*, 3, ed. by T. Mgaloblishvili and L. Khoperia, Bennet&Bloom/London 2009, which includes works of Georgian and foreign specialists (T. Mgaloblishvili, L. Khoperia, L. Alexidze, A. Chantladze, N. Sakvarelidze, T. Otkhmezuri, M. Rapava, D. Melikishvili, K. Bezarashvili, E. Kavtaradze, M. Chikovani, I. Surguladze, G. Shrade).

N. Sakvarelidze, who is closely connected with the team's activity, has published some papers in German: *Zur Übertragung einiger christologischer Termini in den altgeorgischen Übersetzungen Maximus des Bekenner*, in: *Studia Patristica*, 36, Leuven 2001, 87-93 and *Einige Besonderheiten der eucharistischen Deutung der vierten Bitte des Vaterunsergebetes durch Maximus den Bekenner in ihrer altgeorgischen Gelati-Übersetzung*, in: *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship*, Selected Papers of the 2nd International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgies, Rome, 17-21 September 2008, ed. B. J. Groen, S. Alexopoulos and St. Hawkes Teeples, *Eastern Christian Studies*, 12, Leuven 2011, 209-225.

John of Damascus

Some works of this greatest Eastern systematizer of Patristic theology have been translated already by the Athonite fathers Euthymios and George the Athonites, as well as other translators of the pre-hellenophile trend. However, Ephrem Mtsire, Arsen of Iqualto and Petritsi school representatives were especially fond of the systemic nature of his dogmatic and philosophical reasoning and attempted to render in the most accurate way his dogmatic and polemic treatises.

In fact a very short interval of time can be observed between two translations of *Dialectics* and *Exposition Fidei* by Ephrem Mtsire and Arsen of Iqualto. In 1976 Maia Rapava published the *Dialectics* in parallel texts,

investigating the various recensions of the Old Georgian translations by St. Ephrem and St. Arsen and discussing some issues of translation methods (*John of Damascus, Dialectics*, Georgian texts edited, research and vocabulary supplied by M. Rapava, Tbilisi 1976).

In 2000 on the basis of late Roman Miminoshvili's textological research, M. Rapava edited John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei* in two parallel translations by Ephrem Mtsire and Arsen of Iqalto. The publication also includes a Modern Georgian translation of the treatise (*St. John Damascus, Exact Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, the two ancient Georgian translations of St. Ephrem Mtsire and St. Arsen of Iqalto edited by R. Miminoshvili and M. Rapava with an introduction and notes by M. Rapava; the work translated into contemporary Georgian with a preface and notes by E. Chelidze, Tbilisi Theological Academy Publishing House 2000). There is another publication of these Old Georgian translations exclusively in the version of Roman Miminoshvili's scholarly legacy: *Georgian Versions of John of Damascus, Expositio Fidei*, ed. by R. Miminoshvili, Tbilisi 2006.

Along with Cyril of Alexandria's writings against Nestorios, A. Chantladze's book *Antinestorian Treatises of Arsen the Son of Vache's 'Dogmaticon'* (Tbilisi 1996), includes two anti-Nestorian writings by John of Damascus. Translations of anti-Iconoclast treatises, homilies, praises, hagiographic works and hymnography (the latter was published many times in the publications of *Octoechos* in the 18th and 19th cc.) are waiting to appear in scholarly editions.

In conclusion to this survey, I would like to stress that the works by many Byzantine Patristic authors have not so far been closely examined. Among these are the rich Old Georgian manuscript traditions of Ephrem the Syrian, John Chrysostomos, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Thaumaturgos, Antony the Great, Theodor of Studios, Photios.

As illustrated above, the scholarly study of Patristic literature started in Georgia around a hundred years ago and, in spite of all the ideological pressures in Communist times, proceeded to develop on a large scale, particularly, in terms of philological text research. At this particular stage, new studies of more general nature are to be expected. The scholarly quest should be primarily focused on comparative studies: typological parallels and differences, reception history and innovations are to be explored to identify the Georgian theology of the Middle Ages and to locate it in the overall context of the Medieval Eastern Christianity.